Chapter – I

Problematising the Categories: Region, Imagination and Community

1.1 Introduction

At a very general level, the thesis aims to understand a limited phenomenon related to ‘media’ and a designated political community known as the ‘region’. More specifically, it seeks to understand and interpret the category ‘region’ referred to interchangeably as Karnataka, through the editorials of a regional English language newspaper ‘Deccan-Herald’ over a period of 26 years (1956-1983). The thesis will rest on the claim that the expressions and utterances found in the editorials will invoke a world of shared meanings and values of the times towards the construct and perceived reality known as the ‘region’.

Though the title of the thesis, Region as an Imagined Community, stands as a statement, the basic objective of the project is to reproduce and recreate the image of the region as guided by sources within and outside the newspaper. The analysis is informed by an interpretative method\(^1\) that is sensitive to both historical and spatial dimensions.\(^2\) It is an effort to conduct a subjective reconnaissance of Karnataka through the editorials of the newspaper.

The central idea of the thesis is to make available a notion of region that is not determined on the basis of language, ethnicity, class, caste, history or territory.\(^3\) Its motivation stems less from an urge to demonstrate the ontological vacuity of the ‘region’. Its desire is to capture the form of the imagination rather than focus on the truth or naivety of the region as it appears in the editorials of the newspaper. The style of its image as rendered in the newspaper forms the material basis for discussion of region.

\(^1\) Anselm Strauss, Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists. Cambridge University Press 1987. He makes the useful point that theory should not be mechanically applied to data.

\(^2\) Historical interpretation involves the unfolding of succession of events and spatial interpretation involves the unraveling of the simultaneity of events.

\(^3\) This proposition emerged during the process of investigation.
Other objectives include a survey of colonial policy, nationalist’s proclivities and regionalist’s demands before and after independence, over the claim for the idea and reality of linguistic regions. Specific attention has been paid to the entrepreneurial and seemingly liberal culture of the early twentieth century history of the Princely state of Mysore so as to establish linkages with the Nehruvian liberal State. Since the material for analysis belongs to the post-colonial period (1958-83), the discussion seeks to retrieve the contemporaneous history of the competitive politics of the region along with an economic and media profile of the region.

As stated earlier, the study seeks to interpret region from a position that is inclined to deny its ‘natural’ associations to any particularistic ties like language, territory or history. It is very appropriate here to interrogate the literature that establishes such connections.

1.2 Interrogating the Category ‘Region’

This section deals with ‘region’ as a replaceable category for nation at one end and Karnataka at the other end. The first part engages with region as a universal category, the latter part with Karnataka as a potential object of intellectual enquiry.

Going by the claim that there existed only regional histories rather than national histories before 19th century, Winifred M. Day, several decades ago stated that Indian history consisted of three regional histories, a history pertaining to north of Narmada river, south of the Krishna river and the intervening territories.4

Combining material notions with cultural notions, the medieval historian Burton Stein opined that a “major portion of South India can be apprehended as arising from a particular material structure...together with contingent political and ideological features and that this set of elements comprised a structure”.5 Thinking innovatively at the political category of a district as a structure that has been historically evolved, political scientist Kothari wrote:

4 Cited in Burton Stein “Circulation and the Historical Geography of Tamil Country” Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.XXVII, No.1 November 1977: 7 “...until well into the nineteenth century, Indian history consists of three separate histories: that of India north of the Narbudda river, south of Kistna river, and the intervening lands.”
The traditional power wielded by the district collector has also succeeded in creating an image of authority, which makes for certainty and dependability in the minds of the people. Any structure of authority, when it gains stability over a long period, articulates many other structures after its own image. Thus, it has happened that owing to its continuity from Moghul to British to post-Independent times, the district has become a level at which not only the administration but also political and social communications have crystallized.

Rajni Kothari is suggesting the existence of an idea and a reality called the district in the everyday life of an ordinary Indian over several centuries. Since such a centre provides a converging point for commerce, transport, work and education, the experience of a district is reproduced as a political category in the institutional and non-discursive practices of contemporary Indians. However, in placing the burden disproportionately on history, the spatial features tend to be undermined.

Historians have pointed out the existence of vernacular languages and corresponding cultural formations in India from the twelfth century onwards. Further, the formation of states based on linguistic principles in the post-Independence period legitimized the interests of social scientists in looking at region as an object of empirical and theoretical interest in the decades after independence.

In the context of globalization, and in the age of porous national boundaries, there seems to be a thickening of regional boundaries. The present exercise is supposedly an attempt to conceptually de-thicken the boundaries and soften the effect of perceived realities referred to as regional identities.

Delineating the principles of demarcating region, the social geographer Schwartzberg makes a somewhat superficial distinction between the varieties of ways in which a region gets delimited. He identifies three processes and calls them as 'naively given' 'instituted' and 'denotative'. The naively given refers to the existence

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7 The caving in of Yugoslavia is a case in point.
of a particular region in the historical or folk consciousness of a people. The
instituted variety pertains to an administrative category wherein a boundary is marked
so as to facilitate an efficient governance or administration. The denotative variety
refers to deliberately delineating territories for the purposes of solving certain
problems like Greirson's Linguistic Survey.

In the popular constructions of Karnataka, all these three ways of delimiting
region are invoked. Scholars have tried to locate the earliest Kannada imaginary from
an extant medieval text. The overlapping of linguistic and territorial identity has been
recovered from a ninth century Kannada text on poetics known as "Kavirajamarga"
henceforth KRM. It also happens to be the inceptive moment of literarisation of
Kannada language, the moment when the vernacular was being chosen for literary and
religious purposes. Engaging with pre-colonial textual production with a variety of
construal like public sphere, vernacular textuality and imagined communities;
Scholars like Sheldon Pollock have tried to arrive at some generalizations between
culture and power in the medieval age. It is precisely in this context that Sheldon
Pollock has persuasively argued that the text (KRM) "aims to produce not a unified
language for the polity from among competing dialects, but a language qualified for
literature." 9

The instituted variety of the region confirms to the boundaries drawn based on
the recommendations of the State Reorganisation Commission Report. One noted
litterateur recently lamented that the demarcation of linguistic territory in Kavi Raja
Marga 'Cauverindima Godavarvaramirpa...nade Kannada tirul' does not correspond
with the instituted boundary. 10 It is the contention of this thesis that cultural
arguments that were put forward by regional elites, at the time of Independence for
drawing internal boundaries based on linguistic principles received scant attention
from national leaders like Nehru. 11 If not for the death of the Telugu nationalist Potti

8 Basavaraja Kalgudi. "Kavirajamarga In search of Nativity?", Aniketana, April-September 1999:71
10 K.V. Subban "A New Reading of Kavirajamarga" Aniketana, April-September 1999:69
11 "The state of this map, which disappeared after Narasimhenga, was restored if not from Godavari to
Cauvery, then at least from the Krishna to the Cauvery, as a linguistic state of an almost identical shape
Granville Austin "Comparative Frames", Seminar, Volume 521, 2003:43
12 Recounting the pressures on the national leaders at the time of Independence, Granville Austin
recently wrote, "India in 1947, faced double trouble. Its equivalent of the American Civil War came
when Partition actually divided the subcontinent into Pakistan and India. India’s leaders particularly
Sriramulu in 1952, boundaries based on linguistic criteria may not have ever happened.¹²

From the colonial times, there has been a preoccupation to associate a monolingual population to a specified territory. It is not clear as to when the usage of the term mother tongue began. Applying the territorial principle to language speakers, Grierson in his famous *Linguistic Survey* mapped the Kannada speaking areas as:

Kannada is the principal language of Mysore and adjoining parts of Coimbatore, Salem, Anantpur and Bellary. The frontier thence goes Northwards through dominions of the Nizam, as far as Bedar, where it turns almost due West on to about the 78th degree and further Southwards so as to include the South-Eastern portion of Jat and Dalphapur. Kannada is also spoken in the extreme South-East of Satara, in the Taluq Tasgoon, to some extent in the Aundh State of Satara agency; and in the South of Belgaum, and further to the West, in Kolhapur almost so far West as the Town of Kolhapur.

The line thence turns Southwards, following the ghats to about Honnawar where it goes down to the sea. In the North Kanara, Kannada is the official language all over the district. It is the principal language of South Kanara with the exception of the Southern-most corner.

The Frontier line thence coincides with the Southern frontier of Mysore; Kannada (Kanares) dialects are also spoken in Nilgiris, and immigrants have lastly brought the language to Madura and to the Central provinces. Kannada is bounded on the North and West by

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¹² Potti Sriramulu, had died agitating for a separate Telugu state. Violence followed his death all over the Andhra state. Nehru immediately announced statehood for Andhra.
Maharatti...and on the East by Telugu and Tamil and on the South by Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu.\textsuperscript{13}

From the survey conducted in the thirties, it is clear that Kannada lives amidst several language groups including Marathi, Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu, Niligiri and perhaps Urdu, Konkani and Coorgi. Since Karnataka shares its political boundaries with so many neighbors, many districts are likely to have bi-lingual populations in the post-Independence context. Contemporary linguists have agreed that 'most of the regions in South Asia are marked by the plurality of cultures and languages in one 'space' (village, town, district, state, nation)'.\textsuperscript{14} Khubchandani in his examination of the 1961 Census has observed that out of the 330 districts belonging to 26 states, nearly half the districts are non-monolingual districts.\textsuperscript{15}

So far, the focus of the discussion has been to disengage the category region from its supposed history, geography and language. From another viewpoint, this exercise has been made not to delink a people from language, memory and territory but to reconstitute them in terms of print language and administrative memory.

It has been observed that till the late nineteenth century Kannada failed to become a uniform, standardized print language. Such a moment arrived in its history only during the early twentieth century. Its presence as a print language coincided with the emergence of the Backward Class stirrings in Mysore state and the awareness of the hegemonic Marathi language in Bombay Karnataka region together with the volatile non-Brahmin movement in Madras Presidency.

It is precisely at such a juncture that nation becomes an attractive proposition for the cultural entrepreneurs (to be read as Brahmins) of the region. Since the nation and the region have to be conceived in transcendental terms, there is no impetus for building a Kannada community on horizontal lines.\textsuperscript{16} The arrival of the Kannada print

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\textsuperscript{14} Cited in Lachman Khubchandani "India as a Sociolinguistic Area", in N.H. Itagi Ed., *Spatial Aspects of Language*, CIIL, 1994:33
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid
\textsuperscript{16} Partha Chatterjee in the national context and Raghavendra Rao in Karnataka context make the point that it is in the realm of the spiritual that the nation and region are imagined. See Chatterjee's *Nation*
language discursively produced a non-inclusive community. This community lived in popular anonymity and was co-opted by the legal and economic state of Princely Mysore.17

With the reorganization of states in 1956, the effort to imagine the region became the responsibility of the state. At this point non-Mysorean Kannada speakers from 19 different administrative units were becoming Mysoreans rather than Kannadigas. It is in this context that the state imagines a community on the terrain of development. Though DH is a non-state elite newspaper, it participates in the construction of the regional community on its own. The newspaper employs the administrative memory rather than cultural memory in fashioning the new community. In the years between 1958-1983, Karnataka state emerges as a politico-economic state rather than a cultural state.

From here onwards, the focus of the dissertation turns on to a more theoretical enquiry. In this connection, an effort has been made to understand the term ‘region’ as a theoretical object from the standpoint of a positivist, Marxist and a post-structuralist framework.18 While each one of these approaches does not explicitly engage with the term ‘region’, the positivists consider objective dimensions of region and argue for a physical determinist position, the Marxists focus on the historical and material dimension of region and thereby question the reification of the category by the positivists. The post-modernists construe region as an instrumental category providing a site for domination and control.

This study attempts to frame region not merely as a sub national space to be looked at as a politically neutral space with the presence of objective factors of production, or as an expression of capital and exploitative social relations or as an

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17 Janaki Nair has referred to this process as ‘the displacement of cultural nationalism with economic nationalism. See Janaki’s “Memories of Underdevelopment”, EPW, Vol XXXI (41&42), 1996: 2809-2816
18 The important texts that were read for engaging with the construct region were Benedict Anderson’s Imagined Communities, Edward Soja’s The Postmodern Geography, the Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory and Partha Chatterjee’s Nation and its Fragments. While these texts were instructive to explore a larger unit of analysis, namely, ‘Nation’; Sudhir Chandra’s The Oppressive Present and Raghavendra Rao’s The Unimaginable Communities helped to address the category ‘region’.
administrative, fiscal and political unit employed for governance but as they emerge in the editorials of the regional newspaper.

Until recently, it was believed that region is the product of objective characteristics like race, ethnicity, religion, state, language class or territory that people possess in common. This study assumes that region is a constructed entity that bears no direct causal relationship with objective characteristics like ethnicity, language or religion.

It was this persuasive logic that informed Anderson’s oft repeated formulation that anything “larger than a primordial village is imagined”.19 For Anderson, “it is an imagined community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”.20 He argues that most individuals even in the smallest of nations will never know most of their countrymen but there does exists in the minds of each member some deep recognition of their communion. This recognition, through an act of imagination makes them symbolically and emotionally bonded to each other.

By miniaturizing this formulation, it is possible to argue that ‘regions’, which are sub-national spaces are also imagined. Initially, the States Re-organisation Committee instituted their boundaries and the Indian Constitution assured a quasi-federal system wherein regions shared sovereignty with the Union of India. Prior to 1947, these spaces existed either as Provinces with British India possessions, the three Presidencies or as the innumerable Princely States. After the re-organisation of states on linguistic lines, they emerged as objective political actors in a quasi-federal arrangement with the Union of India. These politically engineered sub-national spaces had to freshly imagine themselves in the context of being situated in a new political and economic order.

Although certain ‘regions’ aspired to be construed as a cultural/historical/linguistic category during the colonial period, the objective ‘regions’ or ‘states’ was a product of an administrative fiat of the states Re-organisation Committee constituted by the Union Of India. Though there was

19 Benedict Anderson Imagined Communities Verso 1991:6
20 Ibid:6
tremendous pressure on the Central Government to draw internal boundaries based on linguistic principle and it conceded reluctantly and haltingly, the ultimate author of regions was the Indian state. In the official imagination of the Indian state, the demand for linguistic states from the regional elites was motivated by other instrumental concerns rather than purely expressive needs.

In some sense, the objective reality of 'Mysore' or 'Karnataka' state preceded the imagination of the community. Though the Nation State does not recognize any other community than the National community, the fact that it constituted the States Re-organisation Committee meant that it did feel the need to recognize the pluralistic character of Indian society.

It may be important to understand the nuances of such an imagination. Imagination is related to thinking of something as possibly being so. As the philosopher White points out, even as we imagine an object, "such as someone's face or a logical difficulty, what we are imagining is what it is or would be like. Hence, we can be asked how we imagine or think of it or what we imagine it to be".\(^{21}\)

An objective territorial entity 'Mysore State' was foisted on to the map of India by an administrative fiat on November 1st, 1956. In which case, the 'possible' had been already occasioned. The effort to imagine consists of mapping this possible. How was one to think of the 'new enlarged Mysore State'? What did the editorials of the newspaper imagine it to be? This project is about mapping the imagination of this new political arrangement. The principal constructs of the project are 'print media' and 'regional community' referred to interchangeably as 'region'. These two terms can be substituted for 'Deccan Herald' and 'Karnataka' respectively in this study.

1.3 Print Media, Imagination and Community

Scholars like Harold Innis, Marshal McLuhan, Elizabeth Einstein and others have discussed the linkages between societal structures and the predominant means of communication used in any given society. Without directly engaging with the concept of nation as an imagined community, McLuhan has suggested that the property of print

\(^{21}\) Allan White, *The Language of Imagination*, Blackwell 1990:185
provided a public arena for the discussion of common issues and in nurturing the
seems likely that the growth of newspapers in early twentieth century
impressed upon the imagination of sub-national territories within known as regions. Among
Another factor, the normalizing of the public sphere in India gave an

Press in Old Myanmar State and Kingdom

that existed between the English language and the vernacular.
vernacular print language in the early twentieth century but also due to the tension
vernacular print language in the region was possible not only because of the arrival of
vernacular press constituted the Indian nation in the late nineteenth and early
Vernacular

Press in Old Myanmar State and Kingdom

Mention of the press and national movement is too novel cultural synthesis that produced nationalism initially and nation-state later.

Benedict Anderson in Imagined Communities has demonstrated the role of
in creating national consciousness and their contribution to the national identity, which in
is too novel cultural synthesis very central to the production of nation space.
formation of interest based communities like the non-Brahmin associations and the nationalists as well.

Interestingly, Kannada emerged as a print language only in the 20th century. In recounting the history of Press in Old Mysore and other Kannada speaking regions, the researcher has borrowed exclusively from Sreenivas Havanur’s “Hosa Kannadada Arunodaya”. Between the years 1840-1890, there were less than 25 newspapers published in the Kannada speaking region and a significant number of them were published bilingually.

The Basel Missionaries started their Kannada fortnightly “Mangalore Samachar” (1843). The reportage ranged from depiction of census statistics to Mysore Maharaja’s philanthropy, to theology to Dasa Literature. It was circulated in the areas of Mangalore, Mysore, Tumkur, Bellary, Shimoga and Hubli. Circulation wise, this newspaper appears to be the first Pan-Kannada periodical.

The only region where there was overlapping of language and territory was the State of Mysore and the British Commissioner administered this State from 1831-1881. If Kannada had to contend with another language it had to be English and English happened to be the language of the elites. Perhaps this led to the Government bringing out the first Anglo-Kannada weekly, The Mysore Gazzette in 1866. For the next thirty years there were as many English titles as Kannada. The Mysorean vs. the Non-Mysorean debate or the Mysore Brahmin vs. the Tamil Brahmin seemed to fill the pages of the newspaper. The struggle became so vicious that the local Brahmins supported the non-Brahmin movement in order to oust the Tamil Brahmins. At this point in time, the non-Brahmin movement was still in its incipient stage. However, when the movement reached its height in the early decades of the twentieth century, newspapers like ‘Vokkaligara Pattrike’ acted as powerful spokesperson for the non-Brahmin movement.

In keeping with the nationalist press in British India, Mysore newspapers frequently criticized the colonial administration. On one occasion, the British Resident in Mysore remarked that one paper “would have been prosecuted half a
dozen times in British India during the last one year". Though the Princely authorities were permissive towards attacks on the colonial dispensation, they dealt firmly with any writings against their rule. As and when there were occasions when their authority was being questioned, they had armed themselves with draconian laws.

Albeit, from 1917-1935 vernacular newspapers offered criticisms against the Princely authorities. A Kannada newspaper by name Janavani was the only daily which had a regular readership of more than ten thousand and it catered to the growing appetite for nationalism in the mid-thirties. Though individual copies reached the interiors of small towns, the majority of readers were concentrated in the two big cities of Bangalore and Mysore.

The print media over the first three decades after Independence grew at a sluggish pace in Karnataka. Given below is a table showing the circulation of newspapers per thousand population for specific language groups as per the 1951 Census.

Table 1.1: Linguistic Communities and Circulation of Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic Community</th>
<th>Population (lakhs)</th>
<th>Daily circulation (lakhs)</th>
<th>Circulation per 1000 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>1302</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada (including Coorg)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National Average: circulation per thousand of population 5.4
Literacy (per thousand population) 166.4

While in the Old Mysore state, there existed a visible press; the other territories that merged into Karnataka, especially the Kannada speaking territories

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27 Ibid
from Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad State lacked a vibrant newspaper culture. In Table 1.1, except for the Telugu language population, the other neighboring language communities like Malayalam, Tamil and Marathi speakers have more circulation of newspapers than the Kannada speakers.

It appears that a seemingly cohesive Kannada community was inaugurated only in the early 20th century. It is admitted that the growth of Kannada language and journalism suffered due to the spatial and administrative segregation of the Kannada speaking community. Reflecting on the imponderables that came in the way of constituting regional consciousness, the nationalist historian Nadig Krishnamurthy writes:

No other linguistic region is so heterogeneous as the State of Karnataka i.e., New Mysore, which is surrounded by Maharashtra in the North, Andhra in the East, Tamilnadu and Kerala in the South, and has the Arabian sea in the West. Kannada has been the written and spoken language for eighteen centuries. The Pallava, Kadamba, Chalukya, Rashttrakuta and Vijayanagara dynasties developed and crystallized the literature and the history of the Kannada people of the pre-British days. The Karnataka State played her valiant part for India’s freedom in the British days and her contribution has not been small. How splintered a state, once homogeneous, had become could be seen from the fact that after the disappearance of the Princely states, the Kannada speaking area population had no opportunity of evolving a common public opinion. Still the Kannada press, scattered in the various administrative units strove hard to unite the region but fell far behind in the technical aspects of journalism. Fifty years of continuous and intensive effort for the unification of the Karnataka State bore fruit on November 1, 1956.28

Nadig Krishna Murthy in writing the journalism history purportedly wrote the discursive history of the ‘region’. In some sense, there is an admission to the effect that prior to fifty years there was no ‘continuous’ and ‘intensive effort’ to create a

\[1\text{ Nadig Krishna Murthy } \text{History of Journalism in India, Prasaranga, Mysore University, 1968: 289}\]
territorial community. In the early fifties, according to the First Press Commission, there were twenty-five newspapers in Mysore state, two in English and three in Urdu. The Printer’s Limited, owners of Deccan-Herald and Prajavani claimed the largest portion of the newspaper circulation in Mysore state.

Table 1.2 : Newspaper Ownership Patterns in Bangalore City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>% of total English circulation (estimated 16000)</th>
<th>% of total Indian languages circulation (estimated 14000)</th>
<th>% of the total circulation of all papers (estimated 30,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mysore Printers Ltd. (Deccan Herald and Prajavani)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goenka Chain (Indian Express, Dinanani and Andhra Prabha)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasturi &amp; Sons (Hindu)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.R.Ramaih (Tainadu)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohd.Abudul Bari (Azad)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated Publishers (Mail)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.M.Ismail Tabish Pasban</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore Press (Janavani)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.2 shows the breakdown of circulation according to the ownership in Bangalore city. It will be noticed that eight owners share between them 85% of the total circulation. The local group, Printers Ltd. claims the largest portion (34%) of the total circulation while the next in order are the Goenka chain and a single unit paper from Madras.

Table-1.2 gives a comparative circulation figures for English and non-English newspapers. Though there is no mention of circulation figures for Kannada language dailies, the report suggested that there was very modest circulation of Kannada
dailies. The circulation figures of Kannada dailies per thousand population for the years 1960, 1970 and 1979 were 38.70, 40.24 and 42.81 against the figures for Malayalam dailies 67.81, 74.27 and 73.99 respectively. It will be interesting to relate newspaper circulation figures to other socio-demographic features of the region. The table below displays both these aspects.

Table 1.3: Karnataka and Kannada — Population, Speakers and Newspapers, 1961-1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population (millions)</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of literate (millions)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy (per cent of total population)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanisation per cent Kannada speakers (millions)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada daily circulations (000)</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>Estimated 678</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Robin Jeffrey Kannada: "We fake it there is competition" EPW March 22nd 1997

Robin Jeffrey, in the piece cited above has suggested that Kannada language dailies have failed to adapt itself to the market and therefore the growth of Kannada dailies have not corresponded to the regions urbanization rate or its literacy rate. For Jeffrey, the lack of support for the language from the state has resulted in the poor growth of the language press.

So far, an effort was made to provide a history of the growth of the press and regional language press in particular. More details in terms of circulation figures and ownership patterns of the press in the re-organised state of Karnataka for the first three decades after Independence are laid out in the methodology chapter. Along with the contemporary history of political, economic and administrative aspects, the print media environment of the region was discussed. As pointed out earlier, a background section of this nature serves to offer an adequate context for an interpretative analysis of the editorials of the most prominent newspaper of the region during the period of study.
1.4 Deccan Herald and the Region

In the period following the re-organisation of states, English media provided the content and form for ‘Mysore’ state as well. Since Deccan Herald was the most important newspaper of the ‘region’ during the period of this study, the paper provides an excellent field for the self-understanding of the ‘region’.

Apart from being the largest circulated newspaper during the period under discussion (1958-1983), other factors like its peculiar history and the attitude of its editors allow it to become the most dominant voice of the region. It was during this period that the region, more or less, had attained some kind of political and economic unity if not emotional and psychological unity.

DH, through its editorials, was mirroring, and in the process drew on both institutional and societal resources, to author the reflection. In that sense, its images are arguably tied up with a collective social inter-subjectivity. Though, it is an elite newspaper, it is possible not merely to hear the dominant voice, but also the latent, repressed, social and historical meanings and ideologies. The idea of choosing editorials vis-à-vis news or features needs to be attended to. For one thing, DH for the first four decades of its existence has been considered as an ‘editor’s daily’. Again, editorials are the least studied genre. Though conventional scheme that exists for ‘news’ in the form of inverted pyramid is not available for editorials, Van Dijk recently proposed, that press editorials can be classified under three functional categories. In the inverted pyramid model, the most important aspects of a news story appear in the lead followed by less important aspects of the story. Very significantly, he points out that editorials display argumentative structures and rhetorical strategies.

Apart from focusing on the content of the editorials, the interpretation included a focus on the context too. While the content generally focused on aspects of

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29 The theme of political unity has been engaged with in chapter II
30 This topic has been dealt with in chapter IV
31 Interview with Ramesh, a senior editorial personnel in the office of DH
He identified the categories as Definition, Explanation and Evaluation.
development, generally the lack of it, the context provided the politics of development. The politics of development involved national, inter-regional and regional actors and the discussions both at the informational level and editorial level either articulated structural modifications or elided such discussions. Two kinds of contexts have been employed for interpreting these editorials. One refers to a historical context subsuming a linear, temporal narration and the other refers to a spatial context, subsuming a horizontal, simultaneous narration.

With these substantive and methodological innovations, it is appropriate to return to DH's engagement with region. Though the term 'region' has a spatial bounded-ness attached to it in the form of the geo-demography of 'Karnataka', for DH its boundaries constantly shift in relation to the nation, other regions and sub-regions. However, the only terrain on which the entire people of the region become visible or imagined happens to be the plastic category called 'development'. This is not to say that development lacks political frontiers. But to say that its edges are seemingly less pointed than other cultural and historical specificities like language or ethnicity. This process of imagining the people involves an emptying out of particularities like ethnicity, language, religion etc.

For DH, it is mostly in the making of roads, dams or industries that the people of the 'region' as a 'community' are manifest. The editorials have spatialized the sub-regions as ports for Mangalore, Malpe and Karwar, plantations of Malnad, ores and a steel plant in Hospet, channelising Thungabhadra, Ghataprabha and Malaprabha for power and irrigation facilities in order to reduce the destitution of the parched and scarcity prone Northern Karnataka districts of Bijapur, Gulbarga and Raichur, an airport for Hubli and a Central University for Bangalore.

The 'people of the region' are created and recreated in these entrepreneurial visions of the region. These are instances of harmonizing or ironing out differences and speaking of and for the people of the region as a whole.

More importantly, the manner in which this idea of the community becomes visible deserves attention. Apart from other markers, the theme of development seems to be the most important point of convergence for symbolizing the idea of 'Mysore',
'the people of Mysore' or 'Karnataka'. It seems plausible to argue that the 'regional community' emerges in the discourse on 'development' more effectively and visibly a people become manifest and participate in the idea of constructing rail roads, sea ports, airports, dams, big industries or universities.

On the face of it, the community that DH creates and re-creates appears to be primarily an interest-based community. But DH has a complex understanding of interest, being sensitive to its political, social and historical context. On occasions, there are signs of awareness of a moral community too. In several of its editorials, there is frequently an implicit and occasionally explicit normative argument for the programme of economic modernization of the region. In very many inter-regional squabbles, envy becomes morally defensible whereas a kind of moral economy is offered to understand the sub-regional differences.

Competing economic and political interests are effectively brought to the notice of its readers when the region supposedly loses in a bargaining battle either with the Centre or with its neighbours. Differences within the regional community are elided and when they receive attention, the reigning political outfit is blamed for not effectively bartering with the Centre and its institutions.

It is important at this juncture to provide a spatial frame for the Nehruvian model of development in which the conversation emerges. The Nehruvian model laid the foundations for industrialization and expansion of capital. While it was true, that without agrarian political mobilization, the model chose to promote industrialization so as to reduce conflict. The institution of planning emerged in the process of legitimating the dominance of capital over nation-state. The transformative role of capital was recognized and the institution was rationalized "at the level not of this or that particular group but of the social whole". Accumulation and legitimation were the twin process of Nehruvian liberal democracy. Even as political actors were busy mobilizing support from their electoral constituencies for legitimating the transformative role of capital, a development bureaucracy was carrying out the process of accumulation.

33 Partha Chatterjee, The Nation and its Fragments, OUP, 1994:207
The post-colonial region-states including Karnataka were also keen competitors for capital. In some sense, the editorials of DH breathe this twin principle of accumulation and legitimation. Development focuses on raising resources within and without to be re-invested in activities that would expand capital. It is very clear that when the region is perceived to have received an inequitable allocation from the centre, the newspaper raises the question of legitimacy; otherwise, it would speak the language of accumulation without recourse to political accountability. Modern science, law and a transformative economy have been frequently cited in the editorials as a basis for legitimacy.

Alongside a spatial frame, the editorials alert the reader of the presence of a historical frame. As discussed in the second chapter, the editorials on many occasions invoke the entrepreneurial past of the Princely State of Mysore. This is resorted to so as to effect a depleted present with a more dynamic past.

1.5 Disciplinary Specificities

The present enquiry can be broadly situated in the area of post-colonial studies. This study along with other studies ventures to frame region as an object of post-colonial thought and concern. Obviously, the point is not to suggest that nation has become less real and region has acquired a new salience in the supposedly de-territorialized and globalized contemporary world. In fact, the material for discussion belongs to a period where the nation had thick boundaries and remarkable salience.

In some measure, this attempt is aimed to understand the political practices of a region in a post-colonial nation. Does its self-understanding allow itself to regard Karnataka as a meaningful political and cultural unit? Is it a product of post-national or a post-colonial or a post-princely state politics? Though this study engages itself with the post-Independence period, it is aware that the region’s contemporary political practices need to be located historically in the colonial intervention and the structure

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34 This aspect has been discussed in Chapter I
35 Most post-colonial studies focus on nation as a very important object of enquiry.
of anti-colonial responses found in nationalists narratives, it seems useful to treat
region, nation and metropole as a shared field.36

In a larger sense, this study is an effort to track the path of modernity of a
specific region in a post-colonial context. Again, this is not to completely ally with
those who have either totalized the idea of modernity or absolutely relativized the
notion of modernity. This project is an exploratory exercise in that direction. The
exercise is merely suggestive; it is neither descriptive nor demonstrative.

The works of communication scholars like Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm
and others in the 1950s and 1960s gave rise to the much-critiqued field known as
development communication. In their respective classics like The Passing of
Traditional Society and Mass Media and National Development, these U.S. based
scholars have established the linkages between literacy, economic and media indices
and a liberal democratic order. The Left has pointed out that not only these
modernization narratives elide over the colonial history of these Third World nations
but they also continue to perpetuate a hegemonic North over a marginalized South by
exporting an ideology of capitalism, communication and other technologies. Alongside,
the communitarians have highlighted the disintegration of historically
evolved communities and the rampant ecological disasters caused by Western science
and technology.

Notwithstanding these critiques of development communication, this study
seeks to revisit these examinations in a round about way. The unit of analysis for
development communication studies in the third world has been either national level
studies or micro level studies. Menfee's village studies in Karnataka and Lakshman
Rao's micro level studies in Andhra are a case in point.

These studies have not been replicated for regions per se. While development
communication theorists have refused to pluralize the notion of nation, they have
recently been persuaded by anti-modernity critics to valorize the persistence of non-

36 The British called the Princely State of Mysore as a 'model state' and Gandhi used a hyperbole to
describe 'Rama Rajya'
modern communities, to be read as destitute communities with little economic, social or cultural capital.\textsuperscript{37}

For the purpose of this study, the dominant paradigm of development will not be castigated as a-historical and a-cultural. The Princely State of Mysore had pursued a program of economic modernization from the last decade of 19th century onwards. A cultural notion of economy, industry and science had been attempted much before the arrival of Independence and the Nehruvian model of economy. Economic nationalism rather than cultural nationalism informed the organizing principle of the native state. Unlike the high culture associated with nationalism and nationalist elite, it is likely that the subaltern aristocratic elite took more pride and dignity in secular trappings rather than the philosophical and cultural moorings of nationalist elites.\textsuperscript{38}

In the twentieth century, political formations known as nation state began to be associated with an identifiable national culture. After partition, Nehru articulated a supposedly recognizable secular and composite culture for India. In the same fashion, there was an attempt to recognize and replicate a secular culture for the most meaningful political units below the nation, officially referred to as states, but for the purposes of this project read as ‘regions’.

Benedict Anderson has the most elaborate discussion on this issue in his classic \textit{Imagined Communities}.\textsuperscript{39} Anderson argues that nation as a political form is of recent origin and a product of a culture generated through print capitalism. This print capitalism corresponds to the emergence of a vernacular public sphere and the arrival of nationalisms and nations.

In the Indian context, Partha Chatterjee from an anti-essentialist viewpoint, Ashis Nandy from an essentialist framework and Sanjay Subramanyam from a revisionist point of view have engaged with this issue. In some sense, certain regions like Bengal and Maharastra have been associated with national culture in the early

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"We ...assert the heuristic value of alternative, non-western, local experiences, and knowledge systems to the tasks of social change."

\textsuperscript{38} The Mysore rulers belonged to a ritually backward community known as Arasu

\textsuperscript{39} Benedict Anderson \textit{The Imagined Communities}, Verso 1983
}
decades of 20th century while Tamil Nadu and the other states like Punjab, Assam were associated with non-dominant cultures in the early decades after Independence.

The idea of Karnataka emerged alongside the emergence of a Kannada print language. The vernacular public sphere in the early 20th century in the Princely state of Mysore was completely appropriated by the native state. In the same fashion, the nationalist agenda too was appropriated by the native state and incorporated into the economic modernization programme of the state. Prior to the reorganized Mysore state in 1956, Kannada speakers were spread over 20 different administrative units.

The old Mysore state was the only place where language and territory overlapped to a considerable extent. Janaki Nair has recently pointed out that Kannada nationalism from the beginning of the last century to the final end of that century lacked a political moral project. In other words, 'cultural nationalism was displaced by economic nationalism'. However, Raghavendra Rao analyzing the discursive practices of the early Kannada nationalist tends to concede an ontological authenticity and an epistemic objectivity to the Kannada project of the early nationalists. Unlike these attempts, this thesis from a certain vantage ground seeks to retrieve certain notions of development and modernity associated with region as having in itself a normative basis and not merely an instrumental criterion.

During the period of the study (1958-83), only two movements outside the realm of state emerged in the late seventies and early eighties. They were the Gokak agitation and the Farmers movement. In fact, the Farmers movement was still nascent. Both these movements as scholars have pointed out were conservative in character and they seem to be less democratic than the imagined community that DH manufactures for its readers. Though the community constructed in the newspaper seems closer to the official imagination, it still appears less closed and more open.

For a detailed discussion see James Manor, Political Change In An Indian State, Manohar, 1978
Janaki Nair "Memories of Underdevelopment", EPW, Vol XXXI (41&42), 1996: 2809-2816
Ibid
In Chapter V, under the thematic category of 'prohibition', it is discussed how DH contests the normative grounds on which the state and the center think about the issue.
1.6 Chapterization

The dissertation consists of six chapters inclusive of the introductory and concluding chapters. The introductory chapter provided an overview of the physical and conceptual tasks that were undertaken for the project. The second chapter lays out a background for engaging with the political, economic, administrative and media history of the region. The third chapter deals with the issue of methodology in a substantive and in a technical sense. The fourth and the fifth chapters are analytic sections where interpretations of DH thematic categories are provided. The sixth chapter links the initial statement with the analysis.

The introductory chapter is divided into two sections. One section deals with substantial and methodological issues connected with the project. The other section provides a skeletal structure of each chapter. The overall purpose of the chapter is to elaborate on the initial statement of the thesis ‘region is an imagined community’ based on an interpretation of DH editorials. Interpretation includes the weaving of data to theory and vice versa. The analysis involved explicating the form and style of the imagination rather than verifying the trueness or falseness of this community.

The first section gives an account of the process through which the editorials were classified into thematic categories along with an overriding core category that acted as an integrative motif across categories. The core category has been recognized as ‘development’. The historical affinity of DH’s entrepreneurial vision with the Princely state of Mysore and its spatial affinity with the Nehruvian model have been briefly touched upon.

While Benedict Anderson’s formulation provided the logic and framework for the study, the connection between forms of media and societal forms in communication theories has been traced in the works of scholars like McLuhan, Einstien and others. The section traces the communication theorists’ links with Anderson to their formulation that there exists a correspondence between forms of communication and forms of societal organization. Reference is made to Indian scholars like Veena Naregal and others, who have observed that in the absence of a typical print capitalism, a bi-lingual educational policy gave rise to the emergence of a public sphere and a concomitant national culture. Since the objective reality of a
territorial community was realized only after the Re-organisation of States (1956), the need to imagine afresh the 'regional community' arose in the English and the Kannada press as well.

Another variety of communication theory that has been engaged with, relates to 'Development Communication'. The studies done in the fifties and sixties have been revisited for purposes of contesting that the framework for these studies were neither a-historical nor a-cultural. To support such a claim it has been argued that certain cultural notions of economy and welfare state prevailed even in the Princely state of Mysore.

Apart from situating this study from diverse traditions of communication discipline, there is also an attempt at including the project under the broad rubric of post-colonial studies. Since the subject matter of discussion is related to understanding the post-colonial political practices of a region, the awareness of linking the particular with the universal and the universal with the particular is pointed out.

The second chapter rests on the assumption that without a historical awareness of the times (1958-1983), it would become difficult to understand and interpret the editorials of the daily newspaper. It is for this reason that an attempt to retrieve the contemporaneous period under discussion, along with the political history of the Princely state of Mysore in the early twentieth century is visited upon in this chapter. Only the history of a particular region is included because the history of governance in the Princely state of Mysore is infrequently but significantly invoked to suggest a benchmark for conducting the affairs of the people in the post-Independent region. Further political history has been referred to as 'structure of Karnataka polity' and economic history has been referred to as 'program of Karnataka state'.

This section highlights the fact that the issue of Kannada-Kannadiga-Karnataka did not figure as an important political agenda. The post-Independent

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44 As pointed out in Chapter II 'the historical link lay in the impression that the Princely state of Mysore was associated with the idea of an economic nationalism, with development as a legitimating principle of the autocratic state'.
politics of Karnataka has been characterized in terms of dominance of the numerically dominant communities namely Lingayats and Vokkaligas in electoral politics till the seventies. Notwithstanding their dominance, the idea that the national and the regional state were prime agents of development stood ground. With Devraj Urs, the popular Chief Minister, the regional state positively intervened in the socio-economic spheres and permeated different segments and levels of social reality.

It has been noticed that during the regime of Vokkaliga Raj, Hanumanthaiah was instrumental in bringing the rural hinterlands in Mysore into active electoral politics. Prior, to his rule, the local arenas were not integrated into the state system. The section throws light on the fact that all the Chief Ministers during this period (1947-1956) belonged to the Vokkaliga community. Some of the major legislations that were taken up soon after Mysore state acceded to the Indian Union were related to temple entry, prohibition etc. The composition of the Congress leadership consisting of urban professional elite was expanded to include agrarian elite too.

Again, this part draws attention to the fact that, after the reorganisation of states (1956); the Lingayats became the numerically dominant community in the enlarged Mysore state. Between 1956-1971, there were several Lingayat Chief Ministers. It included Nijilinagappa, Jatti, Kanthi and Veerandra Patil. Nijilingappa was an important Congress leader of that period. Mention is made of the 1969 Congress split and the Central Governments bias towards the Cong (O) ruling party in Mysore. It was during Nijilingappa’s tenure that the Congress party at the regional level lost its autonomy. The most important legislation of the period relate to land reforms. Reference is made to the lack of seriousness in implementing the reforms.

The subsequent section considers Urs regime as the most dynamic regime (1971-80) because he was singularly responsible for dislodging the hegemony of Lingayat–Vokkaliga dominance in Karnataka politics. It regards Devaraj Urs as being instrumental in raising structural questions and to an extent providing solutions for such queries.

45 Mysore Land Reforms Act 1961
He is importantly remembered as the champion of the masses for several deeds including constituting the Havanur Backward Classes Commission, for the amendment and implementation of the Land Reform Act (1961), for decentralizing the state planning process, for having a clout over the Central Government and implementing the poverty alleviation programmes more rigorously.

After discussing the structure of Karnataka polity, the programme of the rulers, namely its economy was touched upon briefly. Again, the economic indices of the state are divided into a pre-Urs phase and a post-Urs phase. In the area of per capita income, agricultural and industrial growth and performance, area of irrigated land vs. rain-fed lands, urbanization, poverty alleviation, there appeared to be significant changes from the pre-Urs period to the post-Urs period. This classification has been made merely to suggest that the economy picked up from 1970s onwards and it has not been made to suggest that there is a causal relationship between Urs regime and the economic indices. It is shown that like the rest of the country, the region experienced both growth and poverty. It highlights the fact that Urs regime evolved a discourse and fabricated institutional devices to reign in the structural inequities.

Among other things, the chapter on methodology lays emphasis on the interpretative strategy evolved for the analysis of DH editorials. In fact, the chapter details the entire research process, from the time of the formulation of the problem to the archival work to the final analysis of the material. The physical and the conceptual tasks are charted out in a manner that performance of any one of the tasks tends to be informed by the other. The distinction between data and theory is kept blurred; the assumption being that there is no theory-less data.

This part describes the physical task as consisting of browsing through all the editorials for the period cited above for selecting editorials pertaining to 'region' Mysore State before 1973 and Karnataka afterwards. It is informed by a census of editorials beginning from Jan 1st, 1958 to December 1983, which were scanned for arriving at a complete list of editorials pertaining to the category 'region'. It resulted in an identification of 295 editorials. After the identification of the editorials, they were photocopied and a close reading of the items were made possible. The intensive
reading proceeded alongside taking notes of each editorial. This helped to codify thematic categories and a core category as well.46

Initially, the archival work was informed by theories about ‘federalism’ and more specifically about ‘centre-state’ relations in India. Gradually, as the study progressed, literature pertaining to ‘region’ from a Marxists and post-structuralist’s viewpoints were also cued into the process of thinking about region. However, Anselm’s *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* warned the researcher of mechanical application of theories to data. This work suggested the absence of theory-less data. It highlighted the importance of grounding theory in data.

With the identification of the core category ‘Development’ and various thematic categories, the task was one of decoding the core category in each editorial and across each thematic category.

The subjective understanding of data required not only a grasp of content, but also the form. The study drew on Van Djik’s schema for examining editorials. According to Van Djik editorials can be classified under three categories namely definition, evaluation and moral category. Further, he pointed out that editorials display rhetorical, persuasive goals along with argumentative strategies and structures. This led to the formulation that rhetorical and argumentative structures regarding development have to be decoded in the editorials.

The fourth and fifth chapters are segments dealing with analysis. While the fourth chapter deals with two thematic categories, namely ‘Boundary disputes’ and ‘Language policy’ the fifth chapter deals with ‘Communication Infrastructure’, ‘Food Policy’, ‘River Water disputes’ and ‘Prohibition’. The themes in the fifth chapter are directly related to development. The editorials discussed in this chapter speak about the relatively depleted state of the region with regard to communication infrastructure, food, power and irrigation and cut in resource mobilization due to prohibition. In other words, the daily vociferously lobbies for more resources for development of the region.

46 See chapter III for the manner in which these categories have been arrived.
The fourth chapter can be seen as consisting of two elaborate prefatory notes on linguistic boundaries and language policy. The themes relating to boundary and language are centrally mentioned in the popular construction of region. The purpose of this section is to look at language and territory as strategic values rather than as intrinsic values.

In the note on the thematic category ‘Boundary Disputes’, the discussion focuses on the sensitivities of the colonial regime, nationalists and the Kannada nationalist’s towards language and territory. It is brought out clearly that in all the instances, be it in the colonial stance, nationalist’s discourse or in the rhetoric of Kannada elites, language and territory are employed strategically rather than intrinsically. Exceptions are also mentioned.

It has been observed in the chapter that the colonial policy towards drawing internal boundaries grew out of a bi-lingual educational policy and a shrinking imperial coffer. The nationalists, especially Gandhi and Nehru took a more pragmatic approach towards linguistic boundaries. In fact, the Congress leaders changed their stand towards the idea of linguistic boundaries once they acquired power. The first two decades after Independence seemed particularly crucial for the central leaders like Nehru to protect the national unity and promote socio-economic progress of the nation as a whole. Even the State Reorganization Commission had this twin objective in mind while recommending the redrawing of boundaries on linguistic lines.

The analysis of the newspaper editorials on the thematic category revealed that its discussions largely centred on the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka. The dispute arose as a result of State Reorganisation Commission’s award of Belgaum, Karwar and Nipani to Mysore state. Maharashtra protested against this recommendation as it felt that the majority of speakers in these areas spoke Marathi rather than Kannada.

Similarly, the dispute between Mysore state and Kerala emerged due to the award of Kasargod to Kerala where a significant Kannada speaking population resided. In the former case, the editorials argue that administrative efficiency should
be perceived as a criterion rather than any particularistic criteria like language. In the latter case, the editorials argue that apart from language being useful as criteria for demarcation, linguistic boundaries also enhance trade and governance.

The next section lays out the historical and political context for discussing the editorial analysis on ‘Language Policy’. Issues like, should there be one language for the entire nation or many languages? Gandhi’s idea on having Hindustani as the national language with scripts both in Devanagari and Arabic is also being discussed.

The Constituent Assembly debates on whether English should continue permanently as Official language or should it be withdrawn within a timeframe and Hindi be positioned as a national language, also receive attention. Issues like the relation between regional languages and Hindi and communication across regions and within regions are also discussed in the background section. Several legislations in the sixties and seventies relating to language policy are also engaged with in this section.

The interpretative exercise finds that the Daily extensively focused on the Hindi vs. English debate and also the issue of status of regional languages vis-à-vis Hindi in its editorials. The issue has been framed as Hindi speaking minorities’ vs non-Hindi speaking majorities with the latter fearing relegation to a second-class citizenry.

Mention is made of the volatile situation that prevailed in Tamil Nadu as any anti-Hindi rhetoric was woven along with an anti-North rhetoric. Reference to linguistic minorities in Karnataka is made in the context of persuading the minorities to learn Kannada.

The fifth chapter is the key source for the primary formulation of the thesis, the formulation being ‘region is an imagined community’. This section links the abstract space region with the concrete space referred to as ‘Karnataka’ through the ideology of ‘development’. Like the Nehruvian imagination, the newspaper’s cultural notions of economy and development are also given attention. The nuanced differences between the two notions of development are engaged with alongside the consequences for the envisaged community of the nation and the region.
The interpretative analysis deals with five thematic categories namely Food policy, River Water Disputes, Prohibition, Communication Infrastructure and allocation of Industrial and Development Projects. The exercise entails the assumption that the ideology of development is powerfully encoded in the specified thematic categories.

Food, water and liquor associated with food policy, river water disputes and prohibition belong apparently to the lower order needs of the members of the regional community. While food policy deals with meeting the survival needs of its citizenry, exploiting water resources and liquor marketing are editorially treated as directly leading to economic assets for the nation and the state.

Two kinds of problems relating to food are brought to the notice of DH readers. One is related to the pre-green revolution period in the mid-sixties and the other to the post-green revolution period. The former issue is treated as a problem concerning low agricultural production and the latter concerns the issue of growth with social justice.

In the editorials, river water disputes centre on issues of law, technology, foreign reserves and perceived iniquitous allocation of capital from Planning Commission for building dams across its major rivers. The daily does suggest that hydel power generation leads to quick profits and growth of industry and agriculture.

DH engages with prohibition as an issue having moral, legal and development dimensions. It categorically rejects the idea that drinking needs to be perceived as a moral problem. On the other hand, it holds the view that loss incurred due to prohibition may dilute the welfare measures of the Central/Regional Governments and thereby cause moral degradation of the national and regional community.

Editorials on communication infrastructure included the demand for roads for the most interior part of the region, railways to the coffee rich Malnad region and airport for Hubli and better aircraft for Bangalore. Steel plants for Bellary-Hospet and Mangalore, Fertiliser plants for Mangalore and power projects of both Hydel and
Atomic energy namely Kalinadi and Kaiga projects were advocated in the daily for the economic growth of the region.

The sixth chapter provides the findings related to this study. The three key variables ‘region’ ‘imagination’ and ‘community’ receive attention. Two kinds of imagined regional communities are identified and examined. One community as drawn from the textual analysis of DH editorials is referred to primarily as an instrumental community.

The other drawn from a political analysis of the Kannada assertions pertaining to three different periods of the last century (early twentieth century, forties/fifties and eighties) have been referred to symbolically as non-instrumental identitarian movements but actually displaying hegemonic designs of dominant communities.

This segment elaborates the idea that region is a socially produced space inclusive of physical and psychological space. The invisibility of power relations embodied in the ideology of development that links the abstract space with the concrete place is examined. The boundaries of the region space are always perceived in relation to nation, other regions and sub-regions. It also details the manner in which region gets reproduced through conflicts that occur between personalities at the national level and at the regional level, between political parties and so on.