Conclusion

Rhetoric and Reality of Karnataka Organic Farming

Policy and Programmes
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Introduction:

The research set out to explore the Karnataka state organic farming policy-2004 and its reception and efficacy at the village level, i.e. in a village where it was implemented as a pilot project. The intention was also to understand farmers’ perspectives on farming, particularly organic farming, as well as their reflections on the state of farming in the region and its future. Farmers’ perspective on organic farming was collected through multi-sited ethnography, wherein the focus was on trying to understand the discursive field of organic farming in Karnataka.

In the introduction, I provided the rationale for conducting a study on ‘Karnataka State Policy on Organic Farming – 2004’ (KSPOF); presented a critique of the policy; and demonstrated as to how the profile of farmers has diversified, taking examples from Karnataka, to argue that policy makers do not recognise the same as fundamental to policy formulation. The introduction also elaborates on the methodology of my research.

Chapter one presents the agriculture history of Karnataka, beginning from the early 20th century, i.e. from the formation of the Princely Mysore state till the recent agricultural crisis. The focus was on mapping the agriculture development of Karnataka since pre-colonial times. The second chapter is based on the field experiences of South India (from 1970s onwards), captured both through anthropological studies on south India as well as the critique offered by organic farming to modern agriculture the world over. The third chapter is on the village where I did my research- Moodanahalli village in Dakshina Kannada. The chapter presents a socio-economic and ecological profile of the village as well as the region. Chapter four focuses on the organic farming project implementation in Moodanahalli and villagers’ perspective on organic farming. Chapter five is on a dimension of Dakshina Kannada farming that I consider as a new approach to understanding farmers’ responses to contemporary challenges in farming. Present day constraints of market fluctuations, crop failure or cutthroat competition are met with collective collaborations among farmers through the formation of farmers’ associations. Farm journalism is also a similar initiative among farmers that tries to reach out to the community of farmers with latest information on farming activities, commentaries and
discussions. Farm journalism has actually contributed towards the growth of farmers as a collective.

In the research process, I have explored the alternative and collective farmers’ approaches to cope with state and market policies. The agricultural research studies that are undertaken in India and Karnataka were conducted by the state and research institutions, which have focused on scientific and economic aspects of farming. In its investigations, studies gave prominence on quantitative, economic features such as productivity and profitability of farming practice in the state. Such studies are useful indicators for further research, however, many have not discussed the farmers’ perceptions on the state led policies and practices and its implications on farming community at the local level. In the thesis, different themes cut across chapters. In this thesis conclusion section, I am reflecting on the State organic farming Policy and discuss the rhetoric and realities of Karnataka organic farming initiatives and highlight what I consider are the drawbacks of the project, both in terms of its implementation, as well as design.

Karnataka Organic Farming Policy & Programme- Afterthought

Within a decade, organic farming has become an interesting subject of discussion for everyone. For many people, organic has become new fitness and style mantra and different crops, commodities today are available organically in India. The state governments are showing their interest in the introduction of policies and programmes on organic farming. Karnataka organic farming experience could be quoted as a fine example of the development initiative of the government to promote organic farming in the state to capture the national and international organic market. However, Karnataka organic farming policy is not free from controversy, as it has created negative public opinion among the practitioners and activities due to its politics. Nonetheless, the introduction of alternative approach of farming has contributed to the popping up of different domains of organic farming sector within the state. In the recent time, tremendous changes have been observed among farmers; as many are interested to do organic farming in their land. Also, entrepreneur farmers or groups of farmers in different part of the state and country have started their own chain of organic shops and products in the local, national and international market. Therefore, it becomes even more interesting to discuss some of the important findings of my research, which I have discussed here.

The Karnataka organic farming policy initiative reflects the political interest of the state government. For supporting the statement, I describe Karnataka politics five
years before the amendment of the Karnataka State Policy on organic farming -2004. In October 1999, Karnataka legislative assembly election was held in 224 constituencies to elect the ruling party for the next five-year term in Karnataka. In the election, Indian National Congress secured majority as it won 132 seats and National Democratic Alliance of the Bharatiya Janata Party and Janata Dal (United) could only take hold of 63 seats. Indian National Congress formed the government in Karnataka under the leadership of S.M. Krishna who became the Chief Minister and took oath on 11 October 1999. Krishna’s government was perceived to be a Bangalore- centric government, in the way the IT industry developed in the city. His tenure of five years from 1999 to 2004, gave prominence and invested in major infrastructural projects with a aim of making Bangalore as ‘investor- friendly’ (Scoones, 2006: 191) city. His government sanctioned Bangalore- Mysore expressway, construction of International Airport, Information Technology Park at Whitefield. Krishna was keen to present the image or identity of Karnataka as a ‘modern progressive state’ so as to draw the interest of the Multinational companies to invest in the Karnataka economy. He was successful in creating that image among the investors. The path of investor friendly policies of the government has contributed towards the development of biotechnology, hi-tech industries in the state. The Karnataka development approach has led to the expansion of the urban; growth of state economy has created a highest number of middle class families in urban centres. This created a class disparity as one section of urban and rural poor are still struggling to lead a day- to- day life as they are bound by poverty. In 2004, general elections were called in Karnataka; Congress government to gain majority in the state election supported the idea of introducing KSOFP, and it was passed as a policy on 8 March 2004, just a month before the general election (elections held on 20th and 26th April 2004). The Congress government introduced organic farming policy with an eye on farmers’ vote bank and wanted to regain the confidence and trust of the farmers, which they had lost during Krishna’s tenure as Chief Minster in Karnataka. Congress thought that the introduction of an alternative policy would provide them the much-needed votes from farmers to win the election, however the policy was not able to save the Congress party from losing the majority in the state election. 1

1 In the 2004 Karnataka Assembly election, BJP emerged as the single largest political party with 79 seats. However, Janata Dal (Secular) or JD(S) and Congress does not wanted BJP rule: therefore, both the parties with their 58 and 65 members respectively formed a coalition government in May 2004 with congress’ Dharma Singh became the Chief Minister of Karnataka.
Political cohesion and political leadership are very important for the effective implementation of the policy - programmes at the local level. Karnataka political scenario inhibited the effective introduction of the Policy. Following the fall of the Congress, Dharma Singh as the Chief Minster for 20 months (until February 2006) of the coalition government could not continue as one of the partners, i.e. the JDS withdrew its support from the Congress, and created a new coalition with the BJP to form the government under Kumaraswamy (the son of H.D. Devegowda). Yeddyurappa, who was the leader of the BJP, became the deputy Chief Minister and finance Minister of Karnataka. He also started the grama vastavya and Janata Darshana programmes, which gave him popularity and familiarity with government’s development activities. He had presented and introduced the Karnataka State Agricultural Policy 2006 where the policy gave emphasis on the different aspects of the agriculture. During his administration, the organic farming programme was further extended (within a year) to each taluka (Business Standard: August 18 2006). This information on the project could not justify due to the fact that, there was no transparency on the part of the Organic Cell in Karnataka. Service providers of Village organic programme, (in my field it was VRF) attended the meeting organised at the taluka level, but their feedback or review of organic farming were not taken into consideration and the implementation of the project at the taluka level was assigned to a new organisation, whose identity, legitimacy and credibility was questionable.

After 20 months, Kumaraswamy government did not hand over power to the BJP as per the terms of the coalition arrangement, which lead to the resignation of Yeddyurappa. The coalition government collapsed and president rule was imposed in the state. During the Karnataka Assembly elections in 2008, BJP emerged as a majority and formed government. Yeddyurappa became the Chief Minister of Karnataka on May 2008. Yeddyurappa gave support for organic farming through state budgetary allocations. The government process of introducing organic farming was politicised in Karnataka. Organic farming Mission which came in 2008, diverted the project from the ecological, agriculture, livelihood based organisations, which worked as a service provider in the

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2 A pact was made between the BJP leader Yeddyurappa and JD(S) leader Kumaraswamy. As per the pact, Kumaraswamy had to hold the position of Chief Minster for 20 months and then he had to transfer the powers to Yeddyurappa.

3 Yeddyurappa as a finance minister gave scope in the state budget for the welfare programmes such as Bhagyalakshmi scheme for girl child, distribution of bicycle for high school students, banned the preparation of arrack or toddy and farm loan waiver are some of his programmes.

4 However in November 2008, the BJP and JD(s) came together and made an agreement and tried to form a government where Yeddyurappa became the CM of the state; however due to the difference of opinion over the distribution of political positions, the government was gain collapsed within 7 days.
local level to right wing political actors, which created a negative public image towards the state organic farming initiative (Discussed in the Introduction). The institutionalisation of organic farming by the state was not able to reach all sections of the society mainly due to the political power struggle in the state. In the past 8 years, two elections have been held, and Karnataka has had five chief ministers and it has been under president’s rule twice during this period. The political instability in the state reflected in the lack of vision and leadership in the context of the policy and its implementation.

**The foremost concern with many farmers is on the institutionalisation of organic farming** as a threat to the biodiversity of farming. Institutionalisation of organics is a greater threat to the future of organic farming as it jeopardizes the existing diversities in its knowledge and practices. Diversity in organic movement is central for developing environment friendly, region specific, sustainable agriculture knowledge and practice in India. During Dharma Singh administration, for the first time, Bangalore became the curtain raiser for investors to invest in organic market. The fair trade initiatives have created an image, as organic farming has the potential to develop as an industry for the investors and organic entrepreneurs in the country. The institutionalisation of the organic farming through the introduction of state policy has commercialised organic sector where MNCs have ventured as organic raw material producers, buyers, food processors and organic food suppliers in the market. In November 2005, Karnataka government hosted the India Organic Trade Fair 2005, which emerged as collaboration between International Competence Centre for Organic Agriculture (ICCOA), and Agricultural Processed Food Products Export Development Authority (APEDA), which is associated with the Government of India. It received international support from International Federation of Organic Agricultural Movements or IFOAM. Kumaraswamy government gave scope for developing organic market, therefore in 2006, Karnataka yet again hosted the India Organic Fair Trade 2006 that was organised in Palace Ground Bangalore and programme consisted of Trade fair, Organic food festival, and the Congress consisted of international seminar. However in the following two years (2007 and 2008), the organic fair trade and exhibitions were shifted to New Delhi. In 2009, the fair trade movement became global and changed its name to “BioFach India- International Organic Trade Fair”. The fair was organised for continuous two years in Mumbai. In 2011 and 2012, Organic Trade Fair was organised in Bangalore. In the past eight years (2005-2012), Bangalore has hosted the fair trade four times and according to the executive director of ICCOA Manoj Kumar Menon, “Bangalore is a prominent city for organic.”
In the past 4-5 years, Bangalore has become the hub for organic consumers as city has innumerable brands such as Lumiere Organic Restaurant, organic food retails such as Namdharis Organic Stores, Brown Tree, 4 Letter Mantra, etc, organic cotton textiles such as Mother Tree, Fabindia, organic beauty industries, alternative medicines such as ayurveda, and alternative health systems such as yoga etc. Along with these brands, there are many e-commerce online links and networks, organic homemade industries etc, and all of them contribute to the organic industry and have developed the market for organic products and alternative health lifestyle services in the state. The consumers’ awareness over the food they consume has contributed in the increased demand for organically produced commodities. Due to the limited supply chain and production of organic commodities in the state, farmers receive better price for their commodities from buyers and this has increased agricultural returns from organic crops as compared to chemical crops (Case of nutmeg in chapter- 4). There have been various initiatives by farmers to set up companies for marketing of organic farming commodities. In Bangalore, Sahaja Organics is a known brand under Sahaja Samrudha Organic Producers Company Ltd formed in 2010, which is part of Sahaja Samrudha, a farmers’ initiative started in 2001. Here Sahaja Samrudha has created a chain of linkages between farmers and consumers and 10 farmers are its founder members. The company has 786 certified organic producers and 1000 farmers are in conversion status.

Another trajectory of Karnataka government organic farming initiative is that, it was introduced for production purpose to develop the organic market; in the process, it has **protected the interest of seed companies**. Organic farming policy and programmes, did not introduce organic seed policies to restrict supply and use of high breed seeds and subsidies for organic manure to restrict chemical manure supply in the state. The activists and organic farmers have criticized the state government approach of protecting the interest of the international corporate. According to KP Suresh executive director, Go Green

The state government is clearly discouraging local produce by promoting company seeds at subsidized rates in its counters. The advantage of a local seed is its capacity to withstand the rapid climate changes that we are witnessing now. Farmers are losing out on a good yield every year, thanks to use of chemical pesticides which are also promoted by the same multinational companies and distributed through government outlets (TOI, May 21 2012).

Karnataka is one of the states that is losing seed variety and majority of the seeds, which are available today in the market, come with a terminator gene. Food security would be a major concern of the people in the future. It is clearly visible in Karnataka
state, as agricultural department or organic farming mission, did not propose a plan of
preserving local indigenous seeds through the setting up of seeds banks in each taluka or
village across the state. Organic farmers have announced that it would be impossible for
the government to achieve its vision or objective of reducing the debt burden of the
farmers and enable them to achieve Swavalambana (self-sustenance) and Swabimana
(self-respect) in agriculture. For instance, in Tumkur, attempts by farmers to grow hybrid
ragi purchased from the market organically, i.e. with minimum or no chemical inputs in
farming thereafter, has yielded less production and have been susceptible to pest attack
(field notes, 2008). Cotton farmers have similar stories where BT industry has monopoly
over cotton seeds. It is clear from the above cases that the State government has followed
a market centric approach in its implementation of organic farming.

The enhanced awareness of organic farming and increased demand for organic
products in national and international market has changed the local practices of organic
farming. Farmers moved to more monoculture cropping depending on the demand of the
organic product in the region. Large organic retail shops have replaced small shops, they
distribute organic products regionally, and some large business firms and NGOs
(Morarka “Down To Earth”, 24 letter Mantra, organic India, Ecofarms, Satvik) are
importing organic products from international market and many international organic
brands are there in Indian market as there is a rising consumer demand for organically
produced foods and international trades are more profitable for the firm. The changes in
organic farming production and patterns of certifications have increased the opportunity
for big farmers to export their products in national and international markets. This has
created a pressure on the farmers to secure organic standards and certifications.

In Karnataka, the government is interested in capturing the global organic market,
particularly in relation to horticultural crops. Therefore, the state government is
promoting farmers to grow horticulture and commercial crops and assistance was given to
farmers to apply for organic certification and organic lands were certified though an
accredited certifying agency. Small and marginal farmers are considering organic farming
certification as a burden. State government has sanctioned financial assistance for
certification but it did not encourage the use of Participatory Guarantee System (PGS) of
organic certification, which was designed mostly for small and marginal farmers. The
focus was on improving the quality of the products from the local market (discussed in
chapter - 2). PGS is based on trust, social network and knowledge exchange (IFOAM;
2008) which were essential requisite for developing a strong base of organic farmers in
the local level. PGS was not able to give the required support system for farmers, as this certification is useful in the local level, they have short supply chains and small landholding farmers with limited agricultural production can become the part of the organic process. There are policy and implementation level flaws; state is introducing the alternative practice of farming in the villages, which is heavily influenced by the green revolution approaches. Instead of developing strong base of the farmers at the local level, state is dictated by the trends and demands of the global organic market. Farmers suffer the most because of this as they do not have local institutional support for organic farming or organised farmers’ collectives that facilitate the marketing of organic crops and products internationally. Plantation farmers hardly receive one or two requests in a year from the buyers for organically produced commodities. Many farmers sell their organically producer commodity in local market as they lack infrastructure facilities to preserve the post harvested crops. Many are small farmers’ and they require money to lead their life and reinvest in farming.

Karnataka state government alone is not responsible for lack of proper implementation of organic farming; there are other factors such as lack of interest or willingness on the part of farmers to engage in organic farming and agriculture in particular. In the process of its introduction in the village, many actors and agencies were involved in the implementation of the project. As I referred to earlier, Karnataka model of organic farming is primarily market-oriented and not user centric. Clearly, from its inception, the project followed a top-down model. Although the action plan were prepared at the village organic farming committee, the decision making power however remained at the state level. Government failed to foresee some of the problems associated with organic farming such as proper and timely distribution of finances for functioning of programme, technological assistances with local resources and farmers need, developing a local market for organic producers and conversion stage farmers as it would have created a trust among farmers over the functioning of village organic farming programme. The nature of institutions engaged in the implementation of programmes become decisive while analysing the credibility of policies or programmes. The lack of active support from taluka nodal office, agricultural department, and lack of interactions on the part of Nodal officer and service provider, political and profit interests of the service provider, top-down model of development. Interestingly, many farmers are not aware of State Organic Farming Policy, the lack of proper propaganda on the part of agricultural
officers and service provider, lack of collectives in the local level are some of the factors that can be pointed as the drawback for its effective implementation.

The focal point of Karnataka organic farming programme has shifted from the actual actors for whom policy and programme was introduced to market driven agriculture. The green revolution model of development seems to dominate organic farming too, where importance is being given to productivity than farmers’ sustainability in the long run. There are no clarity in how farmers can sustain themselves in organic farming after state incentives for organic farming stops. In supporting organic and chemical farming simultaneously, the government is sending muddled messages to the farmers. This confusion is reflected also at the local level. In the introduction chapter, I have highlighted as to how there was increase in the use of chemical manure during the implementation of village organic farming programme in the state. This demonstrates the \textit{state's dualistic position on the question of organic farming}. The question as it appears here is as to how can the Karnataka government actually expects farmers to leave chemical farming and take up organic farming, if it does not do the same in the agricultural policies and programmes? Bhutan, for instance, is making an effort to completely ban the sale of pesticides and herbicides in the country and making an effort to turn completely organic with the use of animals and farm waste for fertilisers. The argument made here is not to follow Bhutan’s route to organic farming, but at least to take steps that express the sincere intentions of the government to encourage organic farming, for example, by reducing subsidy for chemical manures and increasing the subsidy for organic and other allied activities within farming.

Public private partnership and state patronage for NGOs to introduce organic farming in Karnataka has contributed towards the emergence of \textit{NGO-isation of Organic farming} (discussed in Chapter- 2), however the ultimate consequence of this development has \textit{led to the capitalisation of the organic farming movement} in the country. In India, organic farming has its base in the seeds campaigns, which emerged as an opposition to high yielding seeds. These oppositions were organised by farmers, activists, who believed in traditional knowledge, farming practices and techniques and anticipated the impact of market on the farming and farmers livelihoods. The entry of privatisation into country through the structural adjustment in 1993 has created a situation where the NGOs sector developed like ‘wild mushrooms in the forest’, received huge monetary assistance from the multinational corporate and reduced the government expenditure in the public investment for the development of infrastructural facility. The NGO sector created
employment opportunity for the unemployed youth, engaged in the social problems and many organisations at the village level have brought changes in the life of marginalised sections of the society. In this process, NGO sector is equally responsible for capitalising agricultural market. As rightly pointed out by Roy in her article on *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* that,

> Armed with their billions, these NGOs have waded into the world, turning potential revolutionaries into salaried activists, funding artists, intellectuals and filmmakers, gently luring them away from radical confrontation, ushering them in the direction of multi-culturalism, gender, community development—the discourse couched in the language of identity politics and human rights. *(Outlook India, 26th March 2012)*

Different organisations have emerged with the NGO tag and are marketing the organic commodities, new fashionable clothes that were produced to attract the consumers. Today capitalism has contributed towards development of consumerism; as many NGOs that preach sustainability ecology, three Rs (Reduce, Reuse and Recycle) are producing more commodities for the market and in the process attracting more entrepreneurs, private investors to invest in organic farming industry. In this process, it is creating consumer identity and farmers’ identity in society; therefore, organic farming is not free from *identity politics*. Over the past years, I have observed the power struggle in many of international organic farming conferences. In many occasion intermediaries (NGOs) have become the mediators between farmers and consumers, as it is common to find organizations selling agricultural commodities in these conferences and one hardly find farmers as the actual producers of these commodities selling their products.

The state patronage for organic farming has created hype among and middle class, gated community consumers, and contributed towards the development of certified organic market. In rural areas, state initiatives have contributed towards the formation of farmers collective so as to develop local networks of organic farmers. Now there is distinction made between organic farmers and conventional farmers. The experiment of Karnataka Organic farming over the years has contributed in the development of different identities among organic farmers. There are different types of farmers who practice organic farming. The Karnataka organic farming policy depends on modern and scientific understanding of ecology, soil science and integrating traditional agricultural knowledge into system. This kind of farming is trying to regenerate the lost (due to green revolution) soil nutrients for production of crops (food) that is sustainable and in the process, it try to minimize the use of external inputs. Different kinds of scientific experiments, such as use
of composts, nutrients, bio-pesticides, etc as alternatives to chemical inputs for achieving better results in agriculture. Traditional knowledge with modern farm approach provides results that are more satisfying and it is providing an opportunity for farmers to become innovators in their fields. Combination of both has led to great variety in agriculture practices and each farmer is trying to evolve their own set of practices for their land. Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to express that farmers have become both researchers and scientists in terms of the way they now approach farming. Over the years, there is a transformation within organic farming ideology, and practice as scientific approaches are increasingly associating with organic philosophy. Today we could broadly identify 5 categories of organic farmers based on their farm diversity (ideology and methodology), agricultural productivity (food crops) and their approach towards organic farming (market and research).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Farming</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Food Crops</th>
<th>Approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Food crops - Self-sufficiency</td>
<td>Diversity and Local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Food crop for food security and commercial crops</td>
<td>Productivity and Certification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscious</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Multiple crops for bringing in diversity</td>
<td>Research, Certification, market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Commercial crops</td>
<td>Certification and Global Organic market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurial</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Market oriented in a large scale</td>
<td>Certification, research, Processing, access local and global market,</td>
</tr>
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Individual farmers have different reasons for shifting to organic farming, depending on their socio-economic background, education, training, access to knowledge and practice. In the meanwhile, the concept of organic farming has been interpreted differently in terms of its values and agro-scientific knowledge. Various stakeholders (farmers, scientist, certifying agency to market and consumers) view farm practices differently, and this has led to various categories of knowledge and practical techniques in organic farming.

Irrespective of these differences, on the whole organic farmers in Dakshina Kannada have been trying to make profit from organic farming but there have been various difficulties in ascertaining the same. The very nature of plantation farming and commercial crops makes it difficult for farmers to capture the local organic market. While compared to rest of Karnataka, farmers who speak of modernising organic agriculture are those farmers who have accessibility to water and organic manures. There are different
dilemmas among farmers over theory and practice of doing organic farming. At the local level, organic farming is associated with various forms of agricultural systems. Farmers are concerned with the question of sustainability of organic farming at the farm level. The purchase of high yielding seeds, organic manures, increased demand of agricultural labour and reduction in farm productivity during the initial years, all add to the existing problems of the farmers. Farmers are also unsure of the support that the government would provide once the government project gets over in the region. Farmers have suggested the introduction of seeds and manure policies in the state to protect the rights of the farmers and ensure the effective practice of organic farming philosophy and traditional methods of farming at the local level.

Second major concern of the organic farmers is as to how the state government would ensure the sustainability of the farmers in the market. State has not taken any active measures to develop the local organic markets. It is not linked with the co-operative societies, which are already prevailed in the rural areas. It looks as through state is arbitrarily introducing organic farming initiatives but it was not able to provide a strong platform for the farmers in the local level. As compared to the government, NGOs, peoples’ collectives are far more effective in the regional level and are contributing towards the development of local organic market in many parts of the state.

Future Studies

While discussing the politics of Karnataka Organic farming in the context of Dakshina Kannada, this study has addressed different themes. As it is an empirical study, there is much scope for conducting further studies in the area of Karnataka agriculture, and the Indian organic farming sector so as to better comprehend the history and nature of agriculture in the state.

1. In Karnataka, there is a dearth of knowledge in the regional history of agriculture during the colonial time. A detailed compilation of agrarian historical archives, land policies, traditional knowledge and technologies from Bombay Karnataka, Hyderabad Karnataka, Madras Presidency regions, Mysore Kingdom, Coorg and their contributions to the political economy would actually help us in understanding present day development of Karnataka.

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5 Green foundation is an organisation from South India, which basically work with the small and marginal farmers in the dry zone belt of the country and work towards the conservation of agro-biodiversity of the county.
2. It would be interesting to observe how old and new technologies influence the thought and practice of agriculture. (Adams, 2012; Mulvaney, 2011; Sillitoe, 1998, Mulvaney, 2011, Palm, 2005). It would be interesting to study through anthropology as to how culture becomes an important mechanism for the transfer of technology to agriculture.

3. A macro level study on different farmers associations or farmers groups to understand their collective mobilisation and lobby with state and market.

4. A macro-level study to identify the farmers and their ideological perspectives on the notion of agriculture and further rework the categories of farmers, which I have discussed in my Introduction section.

5. A detailed quantitative study on Karnataka Organic farming initiative from across state so as to develop a macro understanding of what is actually happening in the organic sector.

In conclusion, it is clear from these discussions that theories and practices of organic farming have shaken the old ideologies and new perspectives are emerging within the sector. The Indian organic farming movement includes the progressive component that seeks to integrate with the global organic market and second group that is conservative and an advocate of local traditional knowledge and practices. Both these groups are interconnected in the web of organic farming politics. Another significant point, which emerges from this study, is that any development initiative of the state should direct towards some value addition and provide an alternative; however in its process of development on many occasions it loses its ‘human face’. Although the state government introduced value addition programmes such as honeybee farming, animal husbandry, it did not pass any policy or programmes within the honeybee sector which would be beneficial to the organic farmers. Policy and programmes have to be cohesive in character and should take into consideration of all aspects of the sector. Recently, a new party has been formed in Karnataka, namely ‘Praja Pragati Ranga’ or PPR on Ambedkar Jayanti, (14 April) 2012. The party is a coalition of 16 organisations which include, KRRS, Dalit and Christian groups. The party called itself as an ‘Alternative Political Forum to the Congress, the BJP and the Janata Dal (S)’, and is under the leadership of Kodihalli Chandrashekar (KRRS leader). It is yet another attempt by progressive groups

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6 Dalit units, Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha, Republican Party of India, Dalit Sangharsh Samithi, Samata Sainik Dal, Welfare Party of India, Popular Front of India(PFI), Lok Janashakthi Party, of All India Christian council and Dalit Christian forum
in the state to try and forge an alternative to existing state politics, as mainstream political parties are busy in internal power struggle. According to the party, Congress, BJP and JD(S) have misused their political power in the past 2 decades, worked against the interest of marginalised and oppressed communities, and promoted capitalist form of development in the state. The party is contesting for this 2013 Assembly election and it would really interesting to observe as to how farmers from rural Karnataka respond to this political development in the state. Lastly, Karnataka organic farming policy was a great initiative on the part of government of Karnataka, however, tragedy was that it was overshadowed by the whims of state political parties and captivated by the fancy global organic market. In the process, organic farming policy- programmes are disconnected from local realities of farming and farmers in the state.

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7 On Wednesday, they said that they would be participating in the coming Assembly elections on May 5 and provide a “political alternative”. Previously in 1987, Karnataka Pragati Ranga was formed in 1987 under P. Lankesh, which failed miserably, M.D. Nanjundaswamy the leader of KRRS, launched the Kannada Desha, (1989) it too did not achieved expected results in the state assembly election.