CHAPTER - FIVE

CONCLUSION
CHAPTER - FIVE

CONCLUSION

India in its 50 years of existence no doubt has carved a niche for itself. As an independent nation with massive poverty, illiteracy and backwardness, which has persisted the progress of the nation, at no point can be deemed to have been a failure. From rising nexus between the criminals and politicians to the problem of cessationist movements, social, economic deterioration with failure of bureaucracy and faith in our political institutions have no doubt established the fact that there is crisis of governability in India. The mere size of nation itself is a factor, while it is also true that there is also lacunae on the part of policies formulated by the representatives of the people. If in some places, one locates the inadequacies of policies, in other areas, policies are apparently misconceived. In some areas, one can identify lack of vision, in other areas, it is inaction and illness of implementation that haunts the government constantly. Obviously growth of the state is also a cause for concern, while lack of people's participation is equally a matter of concern. As a result, the problems that India is facing clearly stems from various corners of socio-political, economic and cultural milieu of
Indian society, calling for holistic solution to the problem. Although, time and again failure to solve the problems by subsequent governments have led to debates ranging from revamping of Constitution to the need for presidential form of government. What is being ignored is the role of two important components of democracy, viz., the governing and the governed. The role playing of these two important actors in various socio-political, economic and cultural institutions is also being overlooked. This kind of overemphasis on political institutions, weaknesses of governments, failure of economy and so on without considering the contributions of the above said groups, i.e., governing and the governed in a democracy, we have today come to a stage where the crisis of faith in the Constitution, governance and democracy itself, calling for greater autonomy, more and more decentralisation and solutions to Regional Disparity problem and Regional Development, are thus narrowing the spirits of nationalism and raising the spirits of regionalism.

The state of Karnataka being one of the prominent models of governance in modern India, with its enlightened rulers from erstwhile Mysore has today traversed a long way being subjected to the rule of various political party rules, unfortunately a state found to be a model is also the victim of a cessationist
psychology, with mighty emotions, running, giving the call for a separate state for reasons of Regional Development.

Being a passive state compared to Northern India and comparatively an accommodative state, within the southern states of India, a clear case for a detailed study of this problem, in academic circle, is a well established fact and hence the study.

A Brief Historical Background:

For a large country like India, which believes in unity in diversity, the pressures of centrifugal and centripetal forces is by no means a new problem. The richness of diversity at national level, federal level and regional level and at local level, is at times a living proof of a nation that is passing through a transitory period. Since Reorganisation in 1956, many states in India have been constantly fighting amongst themselves and also within their own jurisdiction. Each of these problems no doubt has a history stemming from their own self serving interests. Similar to such a problem, is the problem of Regional Disparity in Northern Karnataka.

The state of Karnataka before it attained the current shape and size was distributed in various parts such as the Provinces of Bombay (popularly known as Bombay Karnataka), Madras
Province and the part 'C' state of Coorg. Each of them were governed by the rules and regulations framed under the governments prevailing then later part 'C' state Coorg was annexed as a part of Mysore while the provinces, that fell under Madras was retained to its proximity to erstwhile princely state of Mysore and healthy relations, that existed between Mysore and Madras. With this acceptance, of the Kannada speaking areas as a part of newly established erstwhile princely state of Mysore, the Mysore state came into existence. As against this harmonious fusion the coming together of North Karnataka, which fell under Bombay province covering a major area both of geographical and agricultural areas, some how, failed to show the signs of harmonious fusion with erstwhile princely state of Mysore.

The Bombay province consisting of seven districts namely, Karwar, Belgaum, Dharwad, Haveri, Gadag, Bijapur and Bagalkot have a distinct history, which is visibly different from the experiences of southern Karnataka. From language to culture, and the religious faith, there was hardly anything beyond language that could be identified as a strong reason, justifying the needed merger of this area, with the erstwhile Mysore state. This uneasy merger for reasons of identify, coupled with new found religion vegetarianism, the peripheral existence, lack of
benevolent governance and so on and so forth, thus contributed to the loss of emotional unity at a time, when the merger of Northern Bombay province took place, lack of focussed attention existence of these regions at borders of the state, their distant location, from the state capital, thus became the hurdles for nourishing, the emotional gap, that existed between southern Karnataka’s erstwhile princely state of Mysore and the Northern provinces. The emotional integration between the two regions became a cause of concern leading to a psychology of comparable competitiveness. The problems of such historical roots and their persisted impact seems to have skipped (although very strangely) the attention of socio-economic political, educational elites in the region.

As a result, as can be seen in the previous chapters, continued negligence by the state, apathetic attitude of elites, unconcerned attitude of political leadership, lack of desire amongst people for development and progress, greatly contributed to the multiplication of problems in the area, contributing mightily to uneven development, within the state causing Regional Disparity.

If one browses, through the profile of North Karnataka, from its historical perspective to its current standing, one would
notice that there is no dearth of any resource, for the region. Be it natural wealth, or the investment from the state. However, a comparative picture of the yardsticks of progress, between the two regions, i.e., southern Karnataka region and Northern Karnataka region one would notice a glaring variation on several counts between the two regions. (Please see Appendix - 2 and 3).

This being the crux of the problem, the backwardness of an area currently in focus i.e., North Karnataka is seen as a result of its historical circumstances, supported by the apathetic elites of this region, who by virtue of their social existence, as a peer group i.e., influential in the power circles, seem to have contributed very meagerly to overcome these problems causing concern for the gravity of situation and also the disproportionate growth of disparity. As can be seen from chapter 3, the development of a region, apart from government and other auxiliary machinery also depends on the vision and futuristic perspectives of the elites, in the region. However, when it is observed that, much of the things discussed above had not happened, the problem of Regional Disparity was seen as a problem worth to be subjected to a research study. Since, this involved an understanding at the field level, realities in relation to the policies of the state, a thorough empirical study was
necessitated to be supported and guided by the objectives and the hypotheses drawn earlier (See chapter I).

The chapterisation as can be seen, attempts at indicating an methodological approach, for the subject after explaining the problem, followed by a brief profile of North Karnataka, wherein historical method is employed to explain, how possibly the North Karnataka region has been affected in its development, right from the historical context, to the current situation.

Another chapter III on Elites and Development deals with the conceptual framework, facilitating an understanding of the concept of Elite and the concept of Development, underdevelopment giving certain theories, in order to provide a theoretical base for the work of analysis. Followed by these background and theoretical chapters, the empirical survey was undertaken. In fact, before going to actual fieldwork, in the initial stages of our research, a pilot survey was conducted. After a pilot survey, followed by the actual research, the data collected have been put to certain statistical tests ('Z' hypothesis test which can be seen as presented in Appendix), and analysed to arrive at certain conclusions, which are put in the form of findings and suggestions. Since, this research was focussed to analyse, the role of elites in Regional Development, a schedule was prepared and
was served to this effect and the responses, therein thus, are conceptualised to arrive at certain conclusions, which may reflect upon elites in the region this is purely academic work. Although it is submitted here, that these are the conclusions arrived at. It is not expected to give an impression that whatever is put in here is the only cause for Regional Disparity and that whatever, we have said is the beginning and end of the problem. Therefore, the conclusion drawn it is submitted are only the results of a study conducted with a focus. Hence the limitations if any.

Although, what is being narrated is put under sub heading 'Findings'. It is required, that one takes a closer look at these problems keeping in mind, the framework of a Ph.D. Dissertation. Hence, the findings, which may not be the only cause for concern about Regional Development or the reasons for Regional Disparity.

The empirical study, guided by the hypotheses formulated, helped us to pool massive data together to put it into an analysis, following the various statistical methods viz., stratified sampling method and 'Z' hypothesis testing methods, since elites have been focussed for the study, to assess their role in contributing to Regional Development, in this thesis. They were seen in framework which clearly puts them, as those, who by their mere birth
and by the qualities or superior being above the rest, possessing by virtue of their position, the power and influence to sway the state and to influence its policies in the directions that they favour. Having said this, we also had classified certain socially influential groups of people as generally identified as ‘elites’ by various studies.

With this generally accepted yardsticks of elites, the choice was made, since, the chosen respondents are expected to be in vintage situation, this pre supposition also influenced us in preparing the schedules, which began with the questions pertaining to general awareness, amongst the chosen respondents about the state of Karnataka and the problems therein.

It was found, in the process of analysis their familiarity regarding the state of Karnataka, which is also their state of domicile, does not necessarily give them an edge over their understanding familiarity, about the state. Although a majority of 98 per cent of them were familiar with the state. The extent of familiarity indicated that, it was rather not to a greater extent. strangely much of political elites in the response had clearly shown their laxity in their understanding, about the state. Reasons like did not make any attempts, did not think on those
lines, did not think it as important were the responses for their failure to have an understanding of the state.

However, despite their limited extent of familiarity (i.e., 90 per cent) most of the respondents i.e., 96 per cent were familiar with North-south dilemma in Karnataka. They also showed great interest in the politics of the state and this was evidenced by their awareness about the recent political issues in Karnataka (viz., about 90 per cent of respondents identified Regional Disparity problem. About 5 per cent respondents have identified River water issue. About 2 per cent respondents have identified dissidence and leadership clash, wherein 3 per cent of the respondents have identified border dispute.) While, they identified the major political issues in Karnataka today. in prioritising the major political issues, Regional Disparity problem has been prioritised as the top most political issue today. There by strengthening our belief that Regional Disparity is a problem worth considering this helps us in substantiating our choice for the study. Though there were differences about the needed solutions to the problem, 96 per cent of them believed that this problem of Regional Disparity needed a solution in a given time-frame. However, it is clearly noticed that, a majority of 96 per cent of respondents willfully disbelieved in the fact
that, the state had made any attempts to resolve this issue at the time of writing this research dissertation. This opinion was further strengthened, when the elites in the region irrespective of category failed to match the issues against the attempts, made by the state in this direction (See Graph 8), while in the course of this study, it is further noticed that most of the elites were attempting to raise the issues which had received maximum publicity, due to the participation of political parties in socialising the issues connected to Regional Disparity in NORTH Karnataka region. As a result, most of them (43 per cent) believed that, state does not consider Regional Disparity as a very important issue, while considerable number of respondents (40 per cent) believed that there were no pressure groups in this region to articulate their interest and that this had caused the negative attitude towards this problem in the portal of the state. It is pertinent to make a note that a very meager variation is seen between those who preferred that the problem of Regional Disparity or lack of Regional Development in North Karnataka as resulting from the historical reasons while a very close 42 per cent of elites to the above believed that it was a recent political development. People's representatives, people's apathy, lack of futuristic perception among the politicians/political parties/bureaucrats, continued negligence on the part of the state
have also been held as factors responsible for creating disparity and subdued Regional Development.

In fact, the following responses have clearly answered our first hypothesis, 'That, the causes for disparity in North Karnataka may have been due to lack of political farsightedness' by supporting it overwhelmingly and this also carries within it some other components, which more or less tilted in for our second hypothesis too. Although most of the respondents accounting to 98 per cent believed that this problem could be overcome, they seem to be in favour of an effective intertwining of both the intervention of the state and of people's participation to sort out this glaring problem. They also see reasons for the state to consider this problem as a worth problem. Majority of them believed that North Karnataka has a number of criteria that matches the criteria prescribed to identify the backward regions in the federal states in India. The elites are in agreement with a view that the lackluster of Regional Development in North Karnataka is an issue across the political parties and that most of the regions in North Karnataka with stress on Bombay Karnataka is experiencing the effects of disparity, when compared with the developed regions within the state. The respondents despite the fact being in agreement with the question of Regional Disparity as
being experienced by North Karnataka, however, failed to define it in their own terms but agreed to the fact that it was a consequence of the failure of socio-economic elites to guide the destiny of North Karnataka in the post-unification period. While it was to be anticipated on their part by virtue of experience that disparity and slow development was a problem common to those places, which were far away from the capital forming the borders of a state. Reasons like capital-peripheral syndrome, to people's resistance to change and domination of southerners in the state were all drawn as supportive strength to argue for the causes of lack of development of the region. That apart, socio-economic backwardness, poor communication, poor health and hygiene facilities, low per capita income, low literacy rate, improper civic amenities and negligence of the state to promote the interest of the region have also been identified as reasons for disparity. A massive 62 per cent of the respondents believe that since unification, apart from farsightedness of politicians stemming up from the region and the limited demands of the people, it is the step motherly treatment meted out to North Kannadigas, as it has experienced always as causing for Regional Disparity.

This and the other reasons discussed earlier. Thus supports the second hypothesis drawn, 'That the lack of farsightedness
may have resulted from limited demands of the people in the region, while involving themselves in the democratic process.

Analysis of the results of the empirical survey, thus is clearly indicative of the fact, that in the post-unification period the people of this region have barely attempted to exert pressures on the political leadership or on the elites in the region by putting forth their required demands. Since there has been a kind of docile demand, despite their involvement in democratic process, political agenda could not be strengthened. As a result, one notices the lack of political farsightedness in the region.

In spite of all these factors, the elites agreed that there is a solution to the problem, while they failed to specify it. For a specific question about their role, the responses varied between their ability to mediate between the state and the people, influencing the government through their guilds, to organising investment of funds and so on. While none of them agreed to the fact that Regional Development problem leading to disparity is a political ploy. They are in full agreement that there is apathy among socio-economic political elites in the region and that there is weak leadership in the region. They also believed that the poor infrastructure facilities available naturally caused the 'snail' pace of development and saw the economic backwardness in the region.
and the long-term negligence of the state as causing Regional Disparity in the North Karnataka when compared with southern Karnataka region. The elites, however, were in agreement with the fact that they failed to understand people’s requirements in the region or prioritising those requests made and their failure for development of infrastructure and capital inflow. Their failure to mirror people’s aspiration before the state and their failure to take a proactive role to work towards the development of the region, as the acceptable causes for their failed leadership.

They were in fact clear about this, when they agreed that they did not guide people and their demand, which went way the misplaced political priorities were other causes for this disparity. This in fact strengthens our third hypothesis, ‘That the weakened demands of the people in the region may have been due to their misplaced political priorities’. In analysis, with the demands of political leaders and elites in the region before the state from time to time, indicate that there was hardly anything that called for the causes of North Karnataka region. As a result, most of the demands from the citizens of this region, are mostly, primarily individualistic, personified requests rather than community based requests. As one can notice very clearly, the problem of North
Karnataka remains a weakened demand with misplaced priorities. Hence the problem.

What is more interesting and comforting is the fact that the elites did not believe that separate state could be a solution to the problem. While they agreed that this problem had a solution, which contemplated on change in leadership while demand for a separate state was not seen as something that was pregnant within the state. The point to ponder over in this analysis is the question of role of southerners' domination at state level, which the respondents believed is also a cause that has contributed to Regional Disparity in the North Karnataka apart from the weak leadership in the state. In sum total, the findings of the study can be listed as below.

Findings:

It is revealed that elites in this region are to some extent familiar with their own state, which is their state of domicile.

Despite the fact that their familiarity is only to about some extent, it is clearly evident that most of them were aware about North-south dilemma in Karnataka.

It is also revealed that the elites in the region have shown greater awareness about the politics of the state and that they
were aware of the politics of the state in much more quantum than expected.

The problem of Regional Disparity without an iota of doubt has been seen as the top most political issue today in Karnataka.

A good number of respondents (i.e., 96 per cent) believed that this problem needed immediate solution. As they felt Regional Disparity was the cause for the kind of disparity that has been prevailing within the state.

There was a divided response so far as the attempts made by the state to sort out this problem of Regional Disparity with most of the respondents (96 per cent) attempting to grapple up with much publicised issues, as the real issues of Regional Disparity, needed Regional Development while failing to identify the attempts made by the state to solve these problem.

Nearly a huge 43 per cent respondents believed that the state does not consider the problem of Regional Disparity as a very important issue or problem, while a very close 40 per cent respondents believed that there are no pressure groups in this region to articulate their interest.
42 per cent respondents identified historical reasons apart, 41 per cent respondents close to this believed that the problem of Regional Disparity is of recent political development.

47 per cent respondents believed that people's representatives coupled with people's apathy, negligence on the part of the state, lack of futuristic perception among politicians/bureaucrats as the causes responsible for this problem, which they believed was a problem that could be sorted out, if both people and the state work together for development of a region.

Most of the respondents (93 per cent) are not in favour of the direction of the politics in the state to sort out this issue. They are no doubt in agreement that North Karnataka is backward and that the political parties irrespective of their ideology believed it as an issue that is before the state.

They also agreed that entire North Karnataka is facing this problem, (about 86 per cent respondents opined) by believing in the fact that Bombay Karnataka is facing it rather too sharply. They are also in agreement to the fact that causing backwardness in Regional Development, the failure of socio-economic, political elites has no doubt a major role, while capital-peripheral
syndrome, historically specific reasons also substituted in enlarging this problem.

About 62 per cent respondents identified socio-economic backwardness, poor communication, poor health/hygiene facilities, low per capita income, poor infrastructural facilities support in various permutations and combinations causing Regional Disparity.

They also see low literary rate, poor transport facilities, and inadequate civic amenities as being the reasons for this problem.

It is a feeling amongst North Karnataka in general and elites in particular that the state is doing injustice with its stepmotherly attitude peripheral presence, of these regions, proximity between the capital and regions have also been identified as the reasons for disparity.

The failure of elites despite the fact that they have faith in solving the problem can be witnessed from their inability as they specify their proposed solutions to this problem.

The elites though are in agreement in believing that they have a role to play in sorting out this glaring problem of Regional Disparity in North Karnataka region. See their role playing as a
mediator between the state and people, influencing and pressuring the governments through their various guilds, and giving calls for more economic activities to create sound infrastructure in supporting the activities for preparing development plans, in creating a reactive movement and such other pro-people and mediating roles. Thus, though elites do have knowledge about these no action has been initiated to tackle this problem.

They, however, refuse to accept the failure individually but agreed to the fact that there is a general apathy amongst elites and also pointed out the weak leadership in North Karnataka.

They disagreed to the fact that Regional Disparity problem in North Karnataka is a political ploy.

They also see comparative evaluation between North and south Karnataka and a reactionary attitude of the people in the region and the long-term negligence of this region as causes contributing to the Regional Disparity.

The elites, however, were convinced that they have failed to know people's emotions and requirements in the region. They also agreed that they have failed to see the development of
infrastructure or capital inflow and even in mirroring the people's aspirations before the state.

On the whole, they agreed that they had not taken a pro-active role so far as the cause of Regional Disparity is concerned.

Disagreeing to the fact that this problem that called for a separate state, cessationist movement, they believed that this problem has solution although change for leadership, call for separate state did not surprise them.

Lastly, the elites shown a tendency that the Regional Disparity is a problem that had in it certain components the dominant southern Karnataka leadership in the state as against the weak disposition of elite leadership of North Karnataka.

Suggestions:

There is a need to clarify the conceptual difficulties involved in understanding the problem of Regional Disparity while attempts have to be made to theoretically describe the problem before working towards any solutions of the problem.

There is need to specifically organise one or more study groups entrusted with the task of identifying the problem areas in this region. Since North Karnataka covers an area of 52 per cent
of the total area of the state. While doing so care has to be taken in composing these study groups, on a multi-disciplinary basis so that comprehensive issues connected to the area is studied.

Such a study should also aim at disseminating information, so that people in the region are given proper orientation about their needs and requirements.

The state should, however, must concentrate on prioritising the demands of the region and work for solutions, by providing comprehensive packages to sort out the demands.

It is important to educate the people in the region the problem of Regional Disparity is beyond the much publicised political issues such as establishment of High Court, setting up of Northwest Railway Zonal Office, laying railway tracks between Hubli and Ankola, etc., or otherwise. Thereby one can work towards identifying certain other areas, which can offer solutions to the problem of Regional Disparity. Since this problem has historical backdrop, there is a need to view this problem as different from the routine problems of Regional Disparity and concentrated efforts both by the people and the state have to be worked out.
Because of this, historical context, the region has also diversified interest, which call for different solutions. Although the study area currently is concentrating on Bombay Karnataka region, the North Karnataka region covering Hyderabad Karnataka, etc., show existing diversified societies. Therefore, the need for diversified packages.

Capital-peripheral syndrome has been a phenomenon haunting most of the regions, which have problems of disparity, which is theoretically identified problem and there is a need to resolve this problem sooner than later because the proximity of the region has always been matter of concern and experiences have shown that right from federal states in the Union down to the decentralised units in the state, these are the problems that haunt the state. There are also specific solutions required to sort out the problem of Regional Disparity in matters of society, economic development, infrastructure, civic amenities, etc.

It is firmly believed that this problem is not here to stay and soon, a solution will be found to sort out this problem and there are signs of it as the policy alternatives are provided by the subsequent governments.
In other words, this is not a problem that deserves a call for separate state and we do not believe that this is the solution to the problem. Enlarged capital investment continued supply of electricity and other civic amenities needed entrepreneurship change in place of industries and the attitudes and habits of people, will soon contribute to the development of this region.

There is a need for united efforts by the elites in bringing or uniting the people of these two regions emotionally.

Though there are good number of NGOs in the region they have to be given greater role in working towards amicable solutions by negotiating with the state as people's representative.

There is a need for crusading by media as well elites in the region to reach out for a logical end by offering solutions to the problem.

Political parties in the region will have to work towards political solutions and must contribute to the growth of this region. Thus, helping to resolve the problem, which cannot be resolved administratively.

Most of the problems in the region arises because of intra-regional disparity that is existing in the region one has to work
towards finding a commonly acceptable proposal amongst several regional groups in the region for which, perhaps, a mass movement on the lines of pre-unification movement would greatly contribute in resolving this problem.

Both literary and academic elites residing at different levels of education and literary unions could socialise several issues to elicit consensus, thus avoiding hurdles to find solution to Regional Disparity. They could also work out several academic dissertations to contribute their minds in parts to resolve the crisis.

Change in the attitude of the people and change in their adaptability would greatly benefit the problems confronted by this region. This involves in developing cosmopolitan culture, shedding crab syndrome, negativism, developing positive thinking, breaking the shells of traditions and living besides the mud-smell, would greatly contribute to the vast generation gap between the developed and underdeveloped regions of Karnataka.

Participation of women as it used to be in pre-unification movement and also during national movement should once again be encouraged to tackle this problem.
Thus, our study clearly indicated that it is the people, who have to work with democratic apparatus and that most of the aberrations of this kind in a democracy arises from the simple fact that they have very little democratic value adopted in their daily life and if people can support the cause of the state and if state can support to work to fulfil the aspirations of the people, there can be nothing as disparity.
Footnotes:

