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# Struggles and Challenges in Development: Governance and Management Issues in a Regional Context

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## Abstract

Development is viewed here as a struggle involving clash of interests of different groups in different sectors namely, agriculture, industry, fisheries, tourism and education. The experiences in Dakshina Kannada , a coastal district of Karnataka, reveal that struggles and challenges in development in a region get intensified if the interests of that region conflict with the policies initiated at the macro level. This can also lead to a situation ' Development vs Environment'. The struggles and challenges in the course of development are influenced by a number of subjective factors including of course political factors operating both at the regional and macro levels. Dakshina Kannada provides an interesting case for tracing the history of different development experiences in a regional context and also for identifying governance and management issues calling for some redirections in policies for growth and development in different sectors in future.

**Keywords:** Development struggles, urban Influence, infrastructure, environmental struggles and subjective factors in development.

## INTRODUCTION

Macroeconomic management and formulation of policies requires sound knowledge of the micro regional dimensions of the economy in a vast country where diversities among regions are significant (Mohanty, 2012). Diversities do exist in terms of topography, climatic conditions, natural resources and demographic characteristics. The need for regional perspective arises in identifying development struggles, concerns and challenges to see how policies framed at the macro level sometimes clash with the interests of the people in a fast growing region.

In 2009 the Brookings Institution of Washington D C published an anthology titled *What Works in Development: Thinking Big and Thinking Small*, edited by Cohen & Easterly, (2009). In their introduction they persuasively argue that growth or development still remains something of a mystery. There is no consensus on what works for growth or

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development. It is purely a subjective phenomenon. This article attempts to show that development struggles in Dakshina Kannada (hereafter DK) district were more often than not influenced by a wide range of subjective factors some of which were conditioned by historical circumstances. It would show how governance and management issues here were shaped and moulded by these circumstances.

The subjectivity of the process of development is brought out by Panchamukhi in his writings discussing the impact of globalisation (Panchamukhi, 2003). Development is a struggle with conflict of interests of different groups who are willingly or unwillingly involved in it. What follows in this article would attempt to show that development struggles in DK too were pronounced because interests of different groups of people here conflicted with one other though their basic ambitious nature pushed the district in the direction of realizing the goal of development. To put it in different words, the article is very much concerned with the political economy of development in the district for identifying governance and management issues.

The development struggles in a regional context would be different in different stages depending upon the relative significance of endogenous and exogenous factors. Kanbur (2004) attempts to show that development of development thinking is influenced by a large and varied set of experiences, in a range of countries around the world. It may be reasonable to hypothesise that development experiences would be different in different regions and development of development thinking is shaped by these experiences representing regional or local interests. An attempt is made in this article to trace the history of development experiences in DK with a view to bring to light the governance and management issues to be reckoned while formulating measures and policies for future.

This article relies very much on secondary data and information. Books and reports throwing light on different sectors and fields namely, agriculture, industry, transport, infrastructure, rural-urban migration, banking and human development are consulted. For tracing the history of development experiences in DK, Ph. D theses submitted to Mangalore University are referred. The sources based on information available on internet and reports published in the English dailies namely, The Hindu, Indian Express and Deccan Herald have been appropriately used for

bringing out the origin, growth and limitations of recent environmental struggles. The articles and reports appeared in Udayavani, a Kannada daily published from Manipal, are included for throwing light on some development experiences in DK. The close acquaintance of the author with DK and Udupi district having a history of over 33 years has stood him in good stead. DK is treated as a part of the coastal region in Karnataka wherever necessary for pinpointing needed redirections in policies for development

### ***DK as a Region***

DK has a population of over 20 lakh (It was 20, 83,625 as per 2011 Census). High level of literacy is a distinct achievement of the district. It is one of the developed districts in Karnataka with per capita income of Rs 76, 438. The proportion of urban population to total population here increased from 38.4% in 2001 to 47% in 2011. More on urbanisation in DK later.

A research paper by Ashwini (2013) based on in-depth field work of Bettadka village brings to the fore that socio-economic and ecological divergence in DK adds to its cultural heterogeneity quotient as compared with the rest of Karnataka. Within the district heterogeneity exists between regions, as villages differ from one another in their geographical patterns, variations in political hegemony, caste supremacy and values. They have their own historical narratives as they create an interesting area for an anthropological inquiry exploring the agrarian society. Villages here are fairly complex, with the appearance of small town. People in these villages are politically conscious and aware of development programmes initiated by the central, state and local governments. The development struggles in DK were much shaped by the diversity of circumstances rooted in history. Historians have viewed it as a region with window to the West by serving as a big opening for overseas trade since centuries. It became a salad-bowl of cultures (Rao, 2016).

In 1947 DK was a very big district comprising the present DK having five taluks (Mangalore, Bantwal, Puttur, Sullia and Belthangady), Udupi district and Kasargod which is now in Kerala. This big district experienced powerful freedom struggles led by inspiring leaders. There were awakened masses almost everywhere on the eve of Independence.

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Development consciousness then generated acted as a driving force in the post-Independence period. By 1947 itself the district as part of erstwhile Madras State made good progress in education and banking with community orientation. In his historical analysis of banking development in undivided DK, Thingalaya informs that some of the leading banking institutions were the creations of leaders of dominant communities in society (Thingalaya, 1999). For instance, Canara Bank Limited, Canara Banking Corporation Ltd, Pangal Nayak Bank Ltd, Karnataka Bank Ltd, Jayalakshmi Bank Ltd, Udupi Bank Ltd, Catholic Bank Ltd and Canara Industrial and Banking Syndicate Ltd were all designed by landlords, merchants and businessmen representing dominant communities. There were many other institutions also bearing the impact of deep rooted social factors. In a way these financial institutions changed the outlook of the communities they served. The beneficiaries of such community oriented banking organisations were ready to participate in the development struggles in undivided DK for a number of decades following Independence.

### **PEASANT STRUGGLES**

In 1940s, 50s and 60s DK exhibited all the typical characteristics of an agriculture dominated region, paddy being the principal crop grown all over the district by peasants the overwhelming majority of whom was steeped in poverty and degradation. Exploitative land tenancy system became the natural cause of series of peasant uprisings in which *Chalgenidars* or temporary tenants formed the bulwark (G. V Joshi, 2000). In 1952, with the establishment of Dakshina Kannada Jilla Rayat Sangh, under the leadership of B V Kakkilaya and Krishna Shettigar, the peasant movement gathered strength. The major demand of the movement was just to secure receipts from landlords acknowledging the payment of land rent by their tenants. Even this simple demand was not honoured by landlords, a large number of whom were residing in the very villages in which the Rayat Sangha organised its activities.

Though the Madras Government under the pressure of peasant associations in DK passed Tenancy Acts in the early 1950s, there was ejection of *Chalgenidars* who had taken to rebellious course. The number of tenants in DK declined from, 5, 89,017 in 1951 to 4, 90, 571 in 1957

(Damle, 1991). This number drastically declined in the subsequent period also. As recorded by Rajshekar (1975), the landlord oriented legislations resulted in ruthless ejection of poor tenants. Having lost their leaseholds, they migrated to towns and cities in search of livelihood. Governance and management failures thus caused difficulties to poor and impoverished tenants.

The Karnataka Land Reforms (Amendment) Act of 1974 became instrumental in bringing about substantial transfer of ownership of land from landlords to actual tillers in three districts of Karnataka viz. Uttara Kannada, DK and Shimoga. To say that the 1974 Act was highly successful in DK would not be fair as the actual success rate of tenancy reform was only 27.9% by the end of 1987. However, the peasant struggles in DK with all their limitations raised the level of consciousness of a fairly large number of tenants who captured the benefits of the land-to-the tiller legislation of 1974 (Gowda, 1997).

## **DEVELOPMENTS IN DIFFERENT SECTORS**

The 1950s and 60s were the decades of some remarkable developments viz., development of road transport, Green Revolution, growth of small industries and rapid urbanisation.

A Ph.D thesis in Economics titled *Road Transport and Rural Development: A Case Study of DK District* by Jayarama Bhat (1987) stressed the contributions of passenger road transport in terms of its implications to (1) Agricultural development (2) Industrial development (3) Intra- regional development and (4) Consumer satisfaction. The study showed that road transport undoubtedly contributed much to rural development in the district. This was possible because there was fairly successful governance and management of road transport as the 1981 Census reported that 74% of the villages in DK had good approach roads.

In the late 1960s, the district witnessed Green Revolution, thanks to adoption of improved practices of paddy cultivation by a large number of farmers the bulk of whom were tenants. Shetty's research study found that tenancy was not an inhibiting factor in the intensity of adoption of improved seeds. He reported that the positive association between the extent of adoption and extent of tenancy indicates that the tenant farmers

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did not lag behind in the use of improved seeds as compared to own cultivators (Shetty, 1967). There was an institutional setting conducive to growth of agriculture. Weekly village markets also had their share along with road transport as nearness to markets was leading to rural development of which agricultural development is a chief component (Varmudy, 1986). The overall agricultural scenario in the district reminded of the observation by a British agriculture economist Ashby: “If I could do only one thing in a region to spur agricultural development, I would build roads. And if to these I could add a second, I would build more roads and if to these I could add a third, I would still build more roads” (Mosher, 1965). The present dismal and disappointing state of many rural roads in DK is a reflection on governance and management failures.

The growth of infrastructure during the post-Independence period could be attributed to the role played by leaders in the district having vision of the future. Though both availability of, and accessibility to infrastructure facilities were the major factors governing the impact of these facilities, the fact remains that in DK there was rural development as a result of roads, electricity, drinking water and schooling (Hans, 2007). Besides, the district was fortunate in remaining a region of strong banks, vibrant banking and dynamic bankers who evinced interest in financing industries with local thrust. K. S. N Adiga, the founder Chairman of the Karnataka Bank, was vocal when he said in 1976 that banks in DK had to prove their worth by encouraging people by way of advancing loans to start small industries instead of migrating to distant cities like Bombay. T. A. Pai was more vocal when he said in 1974 that the rural people in DK were to be helped by the nationalised banks to start small industrial units for utilising local resources.

Small scale industries registered rapid strides both in terms of investment and employment. The enterprising spirit of the local people was complemented by the Rural Development and Self-Employment Training Institute ( RUDSETI ) at Ujire of Belthangady taluk sponsored by Sri Dharmasthala Manjunatheshwar Education Trust , Canara Bank and Syndicate Bank which helped unemployed youths in rural and semi-urban areas (Moodithaya, 2009). The following categories of small industries significantly contributed to the overall development of the district : 1) Agro based industries 2) Forest based industries 3) Mineral based industries 4) Engineering and allied industries 5) Textile industries

6) Chemical industries 7) Animal husbandry based industries and 8) Building materials based industries. The importance of agro based industries was evidenced in 1988, for they accounted for as much as 47% of total employment. However, the picture became different later.

During 1980s agriculture in the large part of DK was rapidly commercialised. The percentage share of rice in the total cropped area declined from over 75% in 1955-56 to around 50% in 1988-89. A substantial decline in area under rice has in recent years resulted in an increase in the area of high value horticultural crops. This was confirmed by T. N. Prakash Kammardi, Chairman of Karnataka State Agriculture Price Commission in his meeting with media persons at Mangaluru on September 13, 2016. He said that in the past decade, area under agriculture in DK came down by 5193 hectares or 9%. The area under paddy declined by 8%. The area under horticultural crops increased by 17,306 hectares.

Obviously now DK is not a major rice growing region at all. Many paddy fields are left uncultivated. If the official statistics does not reveal this reality, it is not un-understandable because there was tragedy of agricultural statistics in many coastal villages (G. V Joshi & Suprabha, 2011). If paddy farmers in this district are not struggling to survive, it is only due to the reason that they have non-agricultural income earning opportunities generated mainly in the services sector.

Now the agricultural sector in DK is competing with other sectors (secondary and tertiary sectors) for getting inputs like credit, labour, power, water and other infrastructure facilities. Within agriculture, there are two distinct subsectors, subsistence sector of paddy farms and the commercial sector of areca and coconut gardens. There is keen competition between these two subsectors, the bargaining strength being on the side of the latter. Thus there are intra-sectoral struggles as well as inter-sectoral struggles manifesting conflicting interests of parties involved, giving rise to governance and management challenges at the grass roots levels. In the light of all these realities, the Chairman of Karnataka Agricultural Price Commission has recently proposed to recommend introducing a scheme of integrated farming in the State Budget for 2017-2018, choosing DK as the pilot district.

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A research study financed by the Indian Institute of Bank Finance, Mumbai showed that power shortage, obsolete technology and informal status were prohibiting the progress of many small agro based industries in DK (G. V Joshi & Prasad, 2012). There were instances of agro based industries shifting their operations to neighbouring districts like Shimoga and Chikmagalur since it was difficult for them to get raw materials in DK with altered cropping pattern by 2012. The study showed the difficulties associated with the management of these industries, given the constraints and challenges faced by them.

### **THE SMALL NOT REMAINING BEAUTIFUL**

DK until recently was an area proving the oft-quoted statement “Small is Beautiful”. In 1801 Sir Thomas Munro, the first Collector of Kanara, reported to the Madras Board of Revenue that the land in Kanara was parcelled out amongst a prodigious number of landlords or original proprietors of land (called Mulvargadars) having scrupulous regard for their right to property. The beauty of the deep rooted system of private property at once impressed him. Though inclined to recommend Zamindari settlement of land revenue in the beginning of his career in Kanara, Munro changed his mind later. He strongly felt that it was not worthwhile to initiate any process that would hamper the system of private property well maintained in the region (N. Shayama Bhat, 1998).

The large class of small farmers in DK played an important role in spreading Green Revolution in 1960s and 70s holding out a vivid proof to the beauty of small scale farming. But now a large number of uneconomically small holdings is treated as a major obstacle in the efforts to raise productivity because these are the days of economies of scale in farming (G. V. Joshi & Prasad, 2012).

All the banks having their origin on the soil of DK put up a fairly good performance when they were small sized organisations (Thingalaya, 2006). Banking for the small man began in DK with the introduction of Pigmy Deposit Scheme by the Syndicate Bank which made a name all over the country. Even the World Bank once applauded this scheme. The small banks of the district were called upon to become big with the state takeover of these banks in 1969 and 1980. The operational and managerial capacity

of branches of many of these banks was put to acid test when they were required to increase their size of activities in the name of poverty alleviation. But now in the era of reforms even these nationalised banks are treated as small because they are often compared to world level giants in the banking sector. Very often the people of DK have to hear the rumours of mergers and acquisitions of banks that took birth in undivided DK with the banks born and brought up elsewhere in the country.

The Planning Department, Government of Karnataka analysed the developments that took place between 1960-61 to 1970-71 in all districts on the basis of certain indicators like agriculture, industry, utilisation of land and infrastructural development. According to the classification of the Department (which was of course questionable) the undivided D K was an industrially developed district. During the period under review, the district was honeycombed with small scale industries, big industries being very few in number. In fact these big industries hardly mattered in the evaluation of development process. But in the WTO era the scenario altered. Many small scale industries ceased to be beautiful. The policy of de-reservation for industries in the late 1990s hit a large number of small enterprises. In addition, the difficulty of getting subsidies on time was causing serious concern. Power shortage obviously did not leave them untouched. Big industries started becoming beautiful while the small industries had to remain content with the beautiful memories of the past.

The worst victim of the development process probably is the Beedi industry. The Coastal Agenda Task Force (hereafter CATF) under the leadership of Vinaya Hegde in its report on industry and environment (2002) had this to say: "In the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Beedi industry started in DK. A unique example of entrepreneurship, the entire raw materials, inputs and packing materials were imported from faraway places in the country. Only the skill of the labourers and capital and entrepreneurship of the employers was local. This flourished as a major industry providing the highest employment for over three decades." The CATF deplored that Beedi industry was declining.

DK with coastline of 42 kms and many inland water bodies holds good scope for developing fisheries sector. Here also the problem of low productivity exists with a pretty long history. A research study (2006) in Mysore University analysed the impact of government support, subsidies,

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incentives and welfare schemes in Coastal Karnataka with special reference to DK. It found that mechanised boats cannot produce optimal impact unless the efficiency of fishermen is raised considerably. The Human Development Report for Dakshina Kannada (hereafter HDRDK) of 2014 lists the constraints and challenges in the fisheries sector such as lack of infrastructure facilities, exploitation by middlemen in the unorganised markets and absence of value addition (Shetty, 2014). There is complex governance issue stemming from the application of Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) Act prohibiting development activities in the areas covered by it. Consequently, in these areas it is not possible to improve the living conditions of several families depending on fishing occupation. Here as in other sectors there are conflicting interests.

Since the beginning of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Coastal Karnataka has been witnessing upsurge of investment opportunities. The New Mangalore Port, situated between the ports of Kochi in the south and Mormgoa in the north, has been able to reach new heights with a wide array of equipments and facilities, for both navigation and cargo handling. It was awarded the prestigious ISO 9001-2000 international quality certification. Only after coming up of the port, medium and large industrial units started appearing one after the other in DK. Both Yeyyadi and Baikampady industrial estates have increased in importance in the wake of the development of the New Mangalore Port.

The Government of India has very recently initiated the coastal circuit policy for Global Cruise Lines, identifying Mormgoa, Mumbai and Kochi as possible ports of call. The Kanara Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mangalore in its memorandum dated January 19, 2016 submitted to the Union Minister of Road Transport, Highways and Shipping has pleaded for inclusion of Mangalore as it has a major port. The Chamber has hoped that this will contribute immensely to the development of DK and Udupi districts the dimensions of which have been discussed in conferences and summits.

On Jan 4-5, 2012 there was the Coastal Business Development Summit in Mangalore organised by the Federation of Karnataka Chambers of Commerce and Industry in association with the Department of Industries and Commerce, Department Infrastructure Development, NRI forum in Karnataka and the Coastal Development Authority. The organisers of

this Summit announced that it was intended to showcase strength, to motivate the existing enterprises and also to attract new entrepreneurs in the coastal districts in Karnataka. Industrial development, infrastructure, tourism, IT/BT, food processing, knowledge based industries, fisheries and education were the thrust areas for discussions and deliberations in the Summit. In all these deliberations, the medium and big industries formed the nucleus of attention, while small industries hardly figured! When the state level officers in the Departments of Commerce and Industry Tourism gave a call to industrialists to invest in Coastal Karnataka, they created a little embarrassing situation for them by demanding good roads. They went to the extent of saying that foreign visitors were disgusted with the poor maintenance of roads both in rural and urban areas.

### **SWEEPING URBAN INFLUENCE**

There is urbanisation on an extensive scale in the sense in which the term was understood by M N Srinivas, a sociologist, as villages in the district are dramatically transformed with the spread of urban influence. The report of the 1961 Census stated that there had been continuous drift in population from villages to towns in the district. The Gazetteer for South Kanara published by the Government of Karnataka in 1973 extended support to the main findings of the 1961 Census. The 1981 Census after furnishing necessary data pointedly showed that DK was getting more and more urbanised with the passage of each decade (G. V. Joshi & Suprabha, 2012b). I Remittance on a large scale accounted for the evolution of what T. A. Pai called “ Money Order Economy” in undivided DK.

Studies on rural-to- urban migration have made insightful observations on its causes as well as consequences. Karnad K & K. Vishwanath (1994) recorded that the presence of Dakshina Kannadigas in Mumbai during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. G. V Joshi & Lobo, (2003) noted that many community associations of Tuluvas in Mumbai had a history of over 90 years.

The district has experienced different types of migration identified as temporary, permanent, inter-village, inter-district, state and international migrations (Ashwini, 2013). It is not difficult to distinguish the causes of

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rural-urban migration in 1950s and 1960s and those operating since the beginning of 1980s. The ‘push’ factors namely, poverty, tiny land holdings and defective land legislations caused migration on a large scale in the earlier decades while since 80s attractions of town or city life called “bright city lights” have been causing migrations of various patterns and types. The migratory character of some the leading communities, viz. Muslims, Christians, Brahmins and Bunts have their roots in history. In recent decades Billavas too have been exhibiting their tendency to migrate presumably attributable to the reason that they are participating in development struggles. Many Tuluvas are today migrants in Gulf countries being under the influence of what is popularly called Demonstration Effect produced by out-migrations.

Shri Kshetra Dharmasthala Rural Development Programme ( hereafter SKDRDP) under the leadership of D. Veerendra Heggade covered the entire DK about 15 years back. It has the unique distinction of being one of the most successful and integrated programmes in the fields of poverty alleviation and rural development being tried and implemented by any NGO in the country (Nayak, 2007). Its main accomplishment is inclusiveness. It is making many laudable efforts to revitalise paddy cultivation in DK also. Though there are many success stories of governance and management in the development programmes of Dharmasthala ( Harper, 2008) in promoting team spirit and group actions, rural-to- urban migration is a formidable challenge even to SKDRDP (G. V. Joshi & Suprabha, 2012a).

During 1960s and 70s people migrated from villages since agriculture alone could not enable them to survive. Migration has taken place on such a large scale in the recent past with the result that it is difficult for agriculture to survive now! A socio-economic survey including seven villages in Mangaluru Taluk undertaken by Shri Durga Parameshwari First Grade College, Kateel of which the present author was Honorary Director and Chief Reporter disclosed in 1993 that there were several potential migrants in these villages (G. V Joshi & Lobo, 2003). This finding was substantiated by several cases of migration in those villages in subsequent years. It is said that now virtually in all agricultural families in DK there are potential migrants.

Some resemblance between the socio-economic scenarios in Kerala and

those in DK could be noticed. An interesting study was completed by the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) at Thiruvananthapuram in 2000 with the financial support of the Indian Council of Social Science Research. It found that nearly a million married women in Kerala living away from their husbands were burdened with loneliness and family responsibilities and therefore, came to be recognised as 'Gulf Wives'. However, at the end of the day, most Gulf Wives came out of gloom with flying colours. They enjoyed status, independence and autonomy. In the long run the transformation of these women would have contributed to socio-economic development in Kerala than all the temporary euphoria created by the remittances and modern gadgetry. The study of CDS stresses the need for providing education to potential migrants keeping in view the skills required in the world job market.

There are Gulf Wives in DK too and their number has increased over the years. It is time to know the similarities and dissimilarities between Gulf Wives in DK and their counterparts in Kerala to know whether migrants and potential migrants in DK must upgrade skills to find placements in the world job market at a time when the nation has launched 'Skill India' programme. Indeed undivided DK provides tremendous scope for making community wise and reason wise migration studies with historical perspectives since migrations here were very much influenced by historical circumstances. Such studies would help to highlight the possibilities as well as the problems of socio-economic development in DK.

### **DEVELOPMENT versus ENVIRONMENT**

The decades that saw the emergence of investment opportunities also saw protests from environmentalists. The idea of sustainable development often lurking in the minds of environmentalists in DK found expression in the form of movements. Here mention needs to be made of the Save Western Ghats Padayatra which became the starting point for quite a few environmental struggles in 1980s. Dakshina Kannada District Environment Federations, Dakshina Kannada District Farmers' Forum, Dakshina Kannada District Fishermen Environmental Protection Committee etc were but a few organisational arrangements which characterised the overall development scenario in the District, at times halting the very process of development.

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One of the leading environmentalists and an ardent lover of nature was Shivaram Karanth described as Rabindranath Tagore of Modern India by no less an intellectual than Ramachandra Guha. In 1950s Karanth agitated for the preservation of forests. In 1950s and 60s he raised his voice against large polluting industries (G. V Joshi, 2012). T. M. A Pai of Manipal played a major role in developing small enterprises even in the rural areas of DK by providing credit facility from the Syndicate Bank. Another important person who discounted the potential for major industries was T. A. Pai. He laid emphasis on the role of small scale industries in DK for placing it on the industrial map of the country. He pointed out as the Union Minister for Heavy Industry in 1975 that in view of the narrow coastline stretching to not more than 30 to 50 Kms the district could not take heavy industries (R. M. Bhat, 1996). Karanth, T. M. A Pai and T. A. Pai had clear thinking, conviction and vision of the future. Now environmental movements in DK are quite often sporadic and directionless. There are therefore environmental struggles without development!

There are now two major burning issues confronting DK: Niddodi Ultra Mega Power Project (hereafter NUMPP) which has been in news since nearly six years and Ettinhole River Diversion Project (hereafter ERDP) the origin of which could be roughly traced back to 2001. In both these issues the interests of the local people are conflicting with the interests of the state and the country. The struggles of local people against these projects are partly environmental of course for strategic reasons also

NUMPP, a thermal project, was proposed to be set up in Niddodi village of Mangalore taluk for generating 4000 MW of power which is one of the nine Ultra Mega Power Projects pursued by National Thermal Power Corporation. Initially it was proposed in Tadadi in the neighbouring district of Uttar Kannada as Tadadi Ultra Mega Power Project. Since it met with stiff opposition of 'environmentalists' in Uttara Kannada, it could not take off in Tadadi. However, it was again proposed in 2013 by the existing BJP Government in Karnataka in the coastal village of Niddodi, that too when Nandikur Thermal Plant was often in the news for its environmental impact on a few villages of Udupi district causing concern.

The initial battle against NUMPP began in July 2013 with the initiative taken by Mathru Bhoomi Samrakshna Samiti of Niddodi. Nearly 2000

people of 10 villages went on hunger strike the bulk of whom were agriculturists. In August 2013 as many as 2000 villagers signed a letter to the Chief Minister of Karnataka highlighting potential environmental and agriculture impact of NUMP. In September 2013 a thousand people associated with the Indian Catholic Youth Movement protested. A social activist Ravindranath Shanbhogue associated himself with the cause of agitators and explained the possible damage of the project on Western Ghats.

The agitation against NUMPP gathered momentum as local political leaders started taking interest disregarding their political affiliations. They aligned with regional interests as against the interests of the state and the country. The then Minister for Fisheries in the Government of Karnataka and local Congress leader Abhaychandra Jain stoutly opposed NUMPP on 8th of July 2013 and attacked the earlier BJP Government for mooting it. He went to the extent of declaring that he would not allow the project to come up at the pristine Niddodi village in the Western Ghats at any cost. He promised to mount pressure on the state and central governments to withdraw it.

In the light of the continued resistance both the central and state governments agreed to stall the project in May 2014. B. Ramanath Rai, the Minister for Forests, Environment and Ecology in Karnataka and Minister in Charge of DK declared that considering the opposition of the people NUMPP was shelved. But before the people of DK forgot this announcement there was another announcement contrary to what Ramanath Rai said. The Energy Minister in Karnataka D.K Shivakumar told media persons in Mangalore on 14th of September 2014 that despite stiff hostility from Niddodi villagers to the proposed NUMPP the State Government was likely to go ahead. He adopted a political strategy by saying that the Central Government (Modi Government!) was putting pressure on the state to execute NUMPP. Shivkumar's statement could at once spread panic among the residents of Niddodi and surrounding villages who thought of protesting again. Rallies and meetings of peasants and environmentalists followed under the directions of Mathrubhoomi Samrakshna Samiti again became active. By now Samiti members were bewildered, for a Samiti activist Alphone D'souza publicly admitted on 15<sup>th</sup> of January 2015 that efforts made in the past turned out to be fruitless as the government was quite likely to issue a notification for

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acquiring land. However, the environmental issue was brought to light as a matter of strategy. It was evident when social worker Shambhavi Shetty said that not even a single person in Niddodi was ready to give up his fertile land for an environmentally dangerous project like a thermal power plant.

However for various reasons the State Government did not proceed with notification to acquire land for NUMPP. In fact the struggle against the proposed project has often been sporadic. Right now, Mathrubhoomi Samrakshna Samiti is dormant. It has never raised any protracted struggle. Its approach has been piecemeal, not comprehensive. Only the political leaders of DK attended to the issue of NUMPP, leaders of Udupi district remaining indifferent. To make the struggle against NUMPP politically strong, the need for involving Udupi district was felt by some who were in the forefront of the struggle. H.M. Watson, Professor of Karnataka Theological College, Balmatta in Mangalore in a symposium held in 2013 gave a call to the people of undivided DK to join hands against NUMPP. However this call did not wake up the people of Udupi district. The struggle against Niddodi Thermal Plant has so far a very limited coverage with limited success. Of late there is a widespread feeling that NUMPP will be executed sooner or later and to fight against it would be futile exercise. Moreover in many families residing in Niddodi and surrounding villages old and aged people are numerically preponderant as their young sons and daughters have migrated to far off places. Therefore opposition to NUMPP may lose its fervour. . It is said that efforts to sabotage the movements against the project are also afoot by way of exercising tremendous socio-economic pressures which the local leadership failed to contemplate.

Another project imbued with environmental issues is ERDP (Ettinahoe Project) which is effectively initiated by the Government of Karnataka (hereafter GOK). The central government has no any say right now. The ERDP is apparently an offshoot of the Netravati diversion project proposed by irrigation expert late G.S. Paramsivaiya to the GOK on March 23, 2001. However in reality it is very much different from what that expert proposed. The ERDP took concrete shape with Chief Minister Siddaramaiah earmarking a sum of Rs.1000 crore in the state budget for 2013-14. The project is intended in the main for diverting flood waters of Ettinahole, a tributary of the river Netravati from Sakleshpur in Hassan

district (west) to Kolar and Chikballapur district (east). The feasibility report for ERDP was submitted to Neeravari Nigam Ltd of GOK by M/s E I Technologies on May 19, 2012.

The ERDP was cleared in principle by BJP Government on July 6, 2012 to quench the thirst of people in the five districts of Bangalore Rural, Chikkaballapur, Tumkur, Kolar and Ramanagar at an estimated cost of Rs.8,323 crore. . Some of the obvious difficulties which have been figuring in the discussions on the Project since 2012 include construction of dams and reservoirs even in the Western Ghats known for fabulous biodiversity, pumping of water involving consumption of power, flowing of water with gravitational pull, filling of lakes, construction of over 100 bridges in villages and nearly 100 bridges road bridges and pumping of water to the beneficiary districts again necessitating the use of power in a state already hit by power crisis.

Since 2013 Netravati Samrakshana Samiti ( hereafter NSS) and various committees formed by local people in DK have been opposing ERDP in various ways. Seminars, rallies, protests, articles exclusive cartoon exhibitions to highlight the adverse impact of the Project ecology and environment have been organised. Not infrequently, the observations and views of environmental experts and knowledgeable persons have been used by NSS to question the utility and feasibility of ERDP. Among them the following are important:

1. S. G. Mayya, former Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Applied Mechanics and Hydraulics, NITK, Surathkal has come down heavily on the feasibility report submitted by Neeravari Nigam Ltd. The water available for diversion in Yettinhole, according to Mayya, will be only 6 to 7 TMC. Therefore the possibility of getting 24 TMC which is estimated in feasibility report is just ridiculed. The sagacity of spending as much as Rs.20,000 crore for diverting just 6 to 7 TMC of water to satisfy requirements in some selected areas for only three months in a year can also be questioned without any difficulty.

2. Ravindrath Shanbhogue who is in the front line of anti Ettinahole agitation has this to say: “The project is like inviting disaster for the people of the coastal area. It will cause unlimited danger to the flora and fauna of the Western Ghats and convert this area into a barren land. The project would also pose threat to the marine life of the Arabian Sea and

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endanger the livelihood of fishermen of the entire coastal region ‘

3.N.M. Madhyastha, environmentalist, explained the disastrous consequences of diverting rivers which the nature has gifted. Human interventions can disturb birds, animals, spiders, dragonfly and snails dependent on it which have their specific roles in maintaining environment equilibrium. He cautioned in 2013 saying that “Unless these environmental issues are answered through environment impact assessment by a competent autonomous body, this project should not be taken up.” But the GOK turned a deaf ear to this suggestion and went ahead with the project.

4. Kishore of Malnadu Janapara Horata Samiti urged that the government should organise a public hearing to brief people about the project, especially for people who are affected the most. Since Karnataka has only 19 per cent forest land it is not advisable to execute ERDP resulting in reckless felling of plants and trees, Kishore added.

5. Dinesh Holla has been an avid trekker for nearly two decades observed that there are 129 types of ants and termites which help the land to absorb water and play the role of sponge. All these are needed for waterfalls to maintain equilibrium during hot summer. Holla further argued that to divert a river is to kill a river.

Anti-Ettinahole protest has some conflicting and contradicting dimensions. Leadership is divided on this issue. Though the BJP Government initially cleared the project in 2012 there are now BJP leaders like Nalin Kumar Kateel, Member of Lok Sabha relentlessly opposing it. In September 2015 when check dams were being constructed for ERDP, district-in-charge Minister Ramanath Rai ventured to say in a public meeting that only preliminary works were being done and the project as such had not yet begun! No wonder if he had to face the criticism that he was misleading the people in DK.

Ronald Fernandes taking stock of the whole situation in August 2013 reported that there was glaring conflict of views expressed by political leaders (Fernandes, 2013). U.T. Khader, the erstwhile Minister of Health in Karnataka remarked that there was no point in worrying as the people of coastal region had already missed the train because ERDP had already begun. He targeted D. V. Sadananda Gowda for approving the Project as

Chief Minister. Gowda facing attacks from NSS assured that Western Ghats would not be disturbed at all. Later he took a slightly different stand saying that if development work has to be taken up, then environment may be “affected a little bit”. This again reminds of the situation ‘Development vs Environment’!

Veteran political leaders Veerappa Moily of Congress and Sadananda Gowda of BJP are sons of undivided DK. They are extending support to ERDP as they are now representing Chikkaballapur and Bangalore North in the Lok Sabha respectively. Their support to ERDP for obvious reasons has reduced the strength and vitality of anti Ettinahole struggle. Evidently, this is also a part of political economy of environmental movements in DK where growth matters much for promoting the interests of the state.

Unlike the struggle against NUMPP the struggle against ERDP was a struggle of both DK and Udupi districts, former being predominant. In anti Ettinahole protests students were also involved. Yet the struggle did not become that powerful albeit official announcements indicating speedy implementation of the project. Once in September 2015 the President of NSS in one of the protest rallies lamented the lacklustre response of the people of twin districts to ERDP. In fact protests over the days have tended to become occasional outbursts instead of becoming protracted. Moreover infightings and differences of opinions for trivial reasons sometimes manifesting themselves in public meetings have weakened the NSS and the committees constituted under its aegis. All these could be treated as limitations associated with governance and management of struggle against ERDP. In the struggles against NUMPP as well as ERDP, regional interests are being effectively overshadowed by macro level interests and policy decisions. While NUMPP has not yet taken off, ERDP is no doubt in progress. The prospects of NUMPP may get brightened with the passage of time as forces start building up to its advantage.

### **STRUGGLING AND SUFFERING TOURISM**

DK holds tremendous potential of tourism development like other coastal districts namely Udupi and Uttara Kannada. In this connection, we can do no better than quote the report of CATF: “With beautiful beaches, verdant Western Ghats, many religious and spiritual centres, Coastal Karnataka needs to be promoted as a sought destination, lying in between

Goa and Kerala. This would boost economic growth in the region. Promotion of tourism along Coastal Karnataka is a long term high benefit investment. Proper coordination in planning investment in infrastructure, developing civic amenities, creating a tourism friendly public and exploiting nature's bounty in the region would definitely yield rich dividends in a short span of time".

The HDRDK of 2014 has also recognised the immense scope for development of tourism in DK as it reported, that bound by lush green mountains of Western Ghats on the east and palm-fringed beaches around the Arabian Sea on the west, the district is studded with numerous tourist spots (Shetty, 2014). However, it laments that the tourist potential here has remained unexploited. Many tourist spots are lacking even basic facilities to attract tourists. Therefore, there is tourism in DK without tourists! (G. V. Joshi & Rao, 2012).

Governance and management failures at the local level have not found a place in the important public documents like the revised Gazetteer (English) for DK published in 2011. Even this publication which was unduly delayed furnished a false picture about the state of tourism here. It reports that to attract visitors to the tourist places of the district, tourist information, route directory, facility of good roads, hotel for the food and accommodation are already available to the tourists. "In this regard, the Tourist Department is active in the district", the Gazetteer adds. Anybody who moves in DK now would say that the roads in many parts can hardly enthruse tourists.

What the erstwhile Deputy Commissioner for DK, N.S. Channappa Gowda said on September 27, 2012 at Mangaluru, was contrary to the observation of the above mentioned Gazetteer. Inaugurating the 'World Tourism Day' celebrations, he said that there is a need to create an environment conducive to boost tourism. He made an effort to convey why DK is not able to tap the tourism potential it has. In his own words, "We have the beauty of Kerala as well as rich beaches like Goa. We have all four modes of transport; however, we have failed to attract tourists like these two states have".

The proprietor of Nirmala Travels Vatika Pai, a leading participant in the seminar of September 27, narrated the sad experiences of foreign tourists in the district. They complained that even clean toilets were not available

in a large number of tourist spots. Therefore those who have concern for tourism would naturally wonder how the Gazetteer of 2011 ventured to give a rosy picture in spite of thorns easily pricking tourists!

All the major problems of tourism were forcefully brought to forefront again in the Convention on the theme “Invest Dakshina Kannada 2016” organised in Mangaluru on January 12, 2016. This seminar was organised jointly by the Dakshina Kannada district administration, Department of Industries and Commerce and the District Industries Centre. Mangaluru South Legislator J. R Lobo presiding over the seminar levelled sharp and scathing criticisms against State Government and said that CRZ rules are posing problems at every step. These rules together with “moral policing” created a lot of disinterest among tourists.

IAS officer Bharath Lal Meena who participated in the Convention in an important official capacity did not mince words when he observed that opportunities for promotion of tourism in DK were waiting for utilization. To reproduce his words, “The district, however needs to learn from Kerala and Goa, who have created brands in the field of tourism. Various government agencies, elected representative and stakeholders too should work in coordination with one another in-order to attract investment in the district. In spite of Mangaluru having provision for connectivity through sea, road, rail and air, it has failed to become the true Gateway of Karnataka.”

Seminars after seminars have been organised on the need and scope for developing tourism in DK However all these seminars have ended with deliberations giving publicity to tourism development in Goa and Kerala, tourist spots in the district not getting any publicity. The policy failures at the level of the State Government along with governance and management lapses at the regional level have resulted in a situation where tourism not only struggles but also suffers. This is indeed an area of concern.

### **SUBJECTIVE FACTORS IN DEVELOPMENT STRUGGLES**

Subjective factors sometimes shaping development struggles in Coastal Karnataka were highlighted in One Day State Level Conference on February 16, 2008 held at Mangaluru. The St Aloysius College, Mangalore

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and Mangalore University Economics Association jointly organised this Conference at a time when there were serious debates on development struggles in DK, Udupi and Uttara Kannada districts. The erstwhile Chairman, Administrative Reforms Commission, Government of India, M Veerappa Moily inaugurated the Conference. The author of this article delivered Keynote Address. V K Thalithaya, Chairman, Primacy Industries Ltd, Baikampady was a resource person in the Conference.

Moily argued that many challenges in coastal districts could be converted into opportunities. When he said that the process of development in coastal districts needed a proper mindset, he was in his own way emphasising the significance of subjective factors. The development here should be a team process and not an individual initiative, he added.

In Thalithaya's opinion, the comforts of stagnation come in the way of development. The resistance to development from deep rooted interest groups such as the religious institutions, the landowning class, the political elite, sundry traditionalists, etc is indicative of a lack of understanding of the effect of stagnation.

A SWOT analysis of coastal districts was made by him. The enterprising spirit of the people in DK and Udupi districts, abundant scope for tourist attraction, relatively lower level of poverty and educated women are strengths of the region. The weakness of the same region are conspicuous in white collar culture, romanticising the past culture and vagaries of climate. After listing opportunities like scope for manufacturing for exports and exposure of the people to Gulf countries, Thalithaya threw light on threats as well. The major threat is that in the decision making process of the state the coastal districts counts the least. There is a clear need for paradigm shift in the attitude of the people. The Mangalore Special Economic Zone (MSEZ) with appropriate governance can open up enormous employment opportunities, considering the kind of industries it can accommodate viz. IT, garments, automobiles, etc.

Thalithaya further argued that development needs to be seen as a system. We cannot have agriculture, industrial or educational development separately. One leads to the other. And all will have impetus from infrastructure. The coastal districts need to address this issue much more scientifically and elaborately. Both Moily and Thalithaya were touching upon political economy of development in Coastal Karnataka.

In fact, DK like other coastal districts has missed many buses so far. The report of the Committee on Redressal of Regional Imbalances in Karnataka popularly called the Nanjundappa Committee Report noted that there is shortage of irrigation in the coastal region. It also recorded the difficulties of getting drinking water and electricity in many villages. In an exemplary manner the Committee threw light on immense possibility of developing tourism sector in coastal Karnataka. But the leaders of DK have failed to use the Nanjundappa Committee Report thinking wrongly that it is concerned with the backward regions of North Karnataka only.

The CATF made useful recommendations for developing seven sectors in Udupi and DK districts: 1. Agriculture and Allied Sectors 2. Human and Social Development 3. Industry and Environment 4. Infrastructure 5. Information technology 6. Tourism and 7. Urban Development. It suggested the institutional agencies for these sectors. But the recommendations of CATF are in cold storage.

In the Convention on Invest Dakshina Kannada 2016 the Minister Ramanath Rai admitted that the district had failed to attract the expected number of investors in spite of the potential it has. The legislator J R Lobo discharged batteries of criticism against the State Government when he said that it has no desire to create a conducive atmosphere in the district for investors. When he lamented that the enterprising people were made to beg before the government for years for getting basic facilities like good roads, water and electricity, he too was touching upon institutional factors or political economy of development in DK.

### **A BIG TRANSFORMATION IN DK**

There are clear indicators of transformation taking place in DK with proliferation of investment opportunities in secondary and tertiary sectors. In the Convention on Invest Daksina Kannada 2016 as many as 33 fresh proposals involving investment of Rs.11,746.35 crore were submitted to the Department of Commerce and Industry. The Mangalore Refineries and Petrochemicals Ltd (MRPL) was in the frontline as it submitted three proposals for investment of Rs. 10,000 crore. With such investments, the growth process would get expedited. However, the new investment opportunities can be effectively and successfully captured only if

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infrastructure facilities are made available.

There are two important documents helping us to identify a big change in the socio-economic map of DK. The Gazetteer for South Kanara observed in 1973: “The South Kanara District, which is rich in fishery resources and second richest in forest wealth in the State, has heavy and reliable rainfall, vast extents of paddy fields, coconut, arecanut and cashew gardens, good sea-borne trade through six of its ports, a greatly improved transport system and airport linking Bombay and Bangalore, well developed educational and training facilities, many small and cottage industries and best developed banking system. With this background and enterprising spirit of the people and development of Mangalore as an all weather major port, establishment of a fertilizer factory, construction of the Mangalore-Hassan Railway and the West Coast Highway which are taking shape, the District can well look forward to a bright future of economic development”.

By 2011 the impact of development struggles was manifestly clear. The revised Gazetteer for DK observed in that year that there were fascinating changes over the decades of development. It is appropriate to the quote the preface of revised Gazetteer also: “South Kanara District has a District entity of its own. It has fascinating natural resources, luxurious forests, orchards and gardens, lofty mountain, swift flowing rivers, peaceful valleys, Mangalore sea port on the west coast, an all weather port at Panambur, large scale industries and above all a cosmopolitan social atmosphere that helped the District in attaining prosperity. The District has several engineering, medical and other technical institutions of national importance”.

In 1973 paddy fields and small scale industries found a place in the public document mentioned.. In 2011 paddy fields and small industries did not matter at all. Now DK has the credit of maintaining institutions of higher learning which are Engineering, Medical and Technical Institutions. The undivided DK district enjoyed reputation for running colleges providing quality general higher education in 1973. By 2011 these colleges became incredibly sick which could not be obviously treated by the efficient doctors in medical colleges of the same district! One wonders whether the so-called champions of development process in the Karnataka State as a whole have mercilessly hit and annihilated the institutions providing general

higher education in D K also. By 2007 it was becoming the cradle of self-financing professional education with the thriving education sector replacing traditional industries as the largest revenue earner . But the colleges producing B.A, B Sc and B.Com graduates with their well established infrastructure facilities have no voice as the choice of the ambitious youngsters does not fall on them. More or less due to similar reasons and also other reasons, the progress of Mangalore University, once hailed as “ a University with a difference”, is halted in spite of having fairly developed infrastructure facilities. Are not all these governance and management failures in the field of higher education causing enormous social costs?

### AN EVALUATION

The foregoing would reveal that DK offers a unique case of a region with development involving clash of interests of different groups of people, conflicting interests of different sectors and subsectors, different experiences emerging from struggles and constraints in the process of development and visible impact of subjective factors most of which were shaped by historical circumstances. The clash of interests of the region with the policies initiated at the macro level gave rise to environmental struggles in recent times so much so that development and environment are not considered as complementary to each other at the regional level. Important governance and management issues in this region have linkages with struggles and challenges in the development of different sectors. What follows now would show that understanding this reality is very much essential for formulating policies for future development in the region.

DK as a part of Coastal Karnataka has experienced transformative growth, the rate of urbanisation here being more than that in Karnataka at large which is one of the fast urbanising states in India. In other words, the economy of this district now is conspicuously urban-industrial, not rural agrarian. As the HDRDK of 2014 has aptly observed, “With the declining importance of agriculture, the future of district’s economy mainly depends on industrialisation.” (Shetty, 2014). The structural change that has taken place in DK has some far- reaching implications: In the first instance, since agriculture is being practised by the aged persons, it does not have

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the drive needed for boosting up productivity. The bulk of the youths have set their eyes on non - farm vocations outside the district because the impact of out-migration is conspicuous, widespread and deep-rooted in rural Secondly, agrarian situation and relations are quite likely to change further due to movements of educational institutions and industries into rural areas. Already, such movements have produced their impact because enough land is not available in urban areas to educational institutions which are expanding and to industries that are growing. Given the present diminishing interest of youngsters in agriculture and the related activities, it will not be a surprise if real estate business flourishes more in villages than in urban areas in future. Thirdly, there is the problem of migrant labour in agriculture which needs to be reckoned in connection with raising productivity. Labourers hailing from North Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Chattisgarh, Bihar and North-eastern States are employed to perform seasonal agricultural operations. They have no skills necessary to carry out these operations with efficiency. Employment of these outside labourers having no knowledge of agriculture in the region could be one of the factors retarding productivity. This of course needs to be confirmed with research by comparing the performance of local labour with the performance of migrant labour.

A major problem confronting agriculture in DK is the hard reality that hundreds of acres paddy land is remaining uncultivated for decades together even in a single village. One of the solutions lies in permitting leasing of land by law. The original Karnataka Land Reforms Act of 1961 was drastically amended in 1974 for transferring the ownership of leased lands to the erstwhile tenants and also to ban tenancy except in a very few cases. But time has come to recognise the inevitability of tenancy as an arrangement of production in agriculture. Even in Japan which has the credit of enacting a revolutionary land reforms programme in 1946, certain amount of tenancy was found necessary to enable small landowners without resources to lease out lands. It was also found necessary because it would permit adjustment of the size of the farm to the capital of the farmer and his labour force (Klein, 1958). Long back Raj Krishna stated that in the short run the only prudent course is to recognise the inevitability of tenancy and to promote productivity- oriented forms of tenancy instead of pushing it underground by outlawing it (Raj, 1968). With adequate safeguards such as open recorded tenancy and cost sharing between the

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lesser and the lessee, tenant loses its exploitative edge and is regarded as a help rather than a hindrance. Having considered all these realities, the Niti Aayog has prepared a model law for regularising leasing of agricultural land. This model law is sent to states for passing new laws or amending existing laws with the purpose of promoting equity and productivity oriented agricultural land leasing arrangements.

The conditions prevailing all over rural DK call for suitable legislative measures for legalising tenancy arrangements to utilise land resources. True that undivided DK experienced peasant uprisings against tenancy and its oppressive character. But now the circumstances are entirely different as there is acute shortage of labour severely hitting agriculture. The landowners having no resources and interest in agriculture may be permitted by law to lease out lands to parties having necessary resources and interest. There can be leasing arrangements with equitable terms and conditions provided there are appropriate legal supports which only the State Government can provide. More than 80 households agreed for leasing arrangements with realistic terms and conditions in the villages of Belthangady taluk in 2012- 2013 for undertaking paddy cultivation with the guidance and encouragement of SKDRP. These arrangements without legal backing were found acceptable as there was no any exploitative edge. The rent to be paid by the lessees did not exceed 30% of the produce to be paid in kind or cash equivalent to it. The considerations of management of land resources governed the distribution of terms and benefits between the two parties, the lesser and the lessee in these tenancy contracts.

Now the Karnataka Land reforms Act needs to be amended to legalise tenancy to facilitate proper allocation and utilisation of resources in agriculture in DK too. The law in future cannot be pro-tenant or pro-landlord and its purpose should be to permit tenancy and also to specify all the terms and conditions of tenancy pertaining to crop sharing and cost sharing by the lesser and the lessee (Nadkarni, 1997). The forms and terms of tenancy should be flexible enough to enable both the parties to review, modify or terminate the lease arrangements at the end of the period of these arrangements. Thus, tenancy with realistic and equitable terms and conditions is being advocated for equitable governance and management of agrarian relations in DK for realising the goal of productive

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efficiency in the light of the exercise recently done by Niti Aayog. The region that once required radical legislation to convert tenants into owners now needs legislation to regulate tenancy on the twin grounds of equity and productivity. This indicates the possibility of accumulation of different development experiences at different points of time in the sector of the same region.

Governance and management issues are looming large in urban areas in the district. Urbanisation would gather momentum in the years to come as new 'pull' and 'push' factors play their games. Therefore the existing civic facilities and amenities (street lighting, city roads and parks, drinking water and health care facilities) could not cope up with the growing demand. The urban local bodies will have to gear up to meet this challenge. The HDRKDK of 2014 has recommended shifting of the administrative focus more towards outcome based approach based on effective and efficient service delivery, rather than approach aimed at nearly management of investment and asset creation.

The pressing needs of urban areas in DK such as underground drainage facilities, proper storm water drains, paved footpaths, etc needs to be prioritised. A study conducted by the Mangalore City Corporation in 2001 found that the problem of poor quality of water will probably be compounded by a lack of availability of river water during the dry months, when surface water is over-exploited and saline waters ingress upstream and threaten fresh water resources. During the summer of 2016 the Mangalore City was reeling under water crisis. While the problem of getting drinking water turns out to be a formidable challenge in towns and overcrowded villages during hot summer, artificial floods during rainy season cause havoc. It is high time that land use planning is formulated and implemented in DK district to prevent future disasters (G. V Joshi & Sudhirraj, 2009). The concerned Government departments have to take initiatives in formulating land use planning at least in Mangalore city, towns and thickly populated villages with the active involvement of local bodies. All sections of the society in DK have to accept the reality that among material resources, the greatest, unquestionably, is the land. If we study how a society uses its land, we can come to reliable conclusion as to what its future will be (Schumacher, 1973).

In all the major development struggles in DK, there have been clash of

interests of different groups involved in, and affected by these struggles. In the development struggles which ensued after the beginning of 1960s the interests of agriculture as a whole clashed with the interests of the non-agricultural sectors. The terms of trade for agriculture became unfavourable vis-a-vis non- agricultural sectors. Not surprisingly, people started moving out of agriculture. Even within agriculture there has been conflict of interests between the subsistence sector of paddy farms and the commercial sector of plantation crops. With its serious difficulties the paddy sector got hit. The interests of the paddy sector are superseded by the interests of the plantation sector with its relatively high profitability. The governance and management issues in the agriculture as a whole get complicated owing to all these conflicts which are not duly recognised in the policy making circles. The Chairman of Karnataka Agricultural Price Commission has recently proposed to recommend to introduce a scheme to on integrated farming in the State Budget for 2017-2018, choosing DK as the pilot district. This is certainly a good proposition and if accepted by the State Government, it can go a long way in easing the situation in agriculture in the district.

Development experiences in DK were different in different stages. As a region of small landholdings, small industries and small banks made strides and came up as one of the developed districts in Karnataka State. The enterprising spirit of the people manifested itself in all most all sectors. Even then the experiences of clashing of interests of small and large industries were getting registered. For instance, in a seminar held on June 2, 1990 Bhaskar Kini, the erstwhile Chairman of the Industrial Promotion Council of the Kanara Chamber of Commerce and Industry stated that the large industries were exhibiting unhelpful attitude towards small units.

The paucity of workers possessing necessary skills is causing concern to industrial and construction sectors in the district. The association of small industries in DK and the Kanara Chamber of Commerce and Industry have been trying at various levels since nearly two decades to find a solution to this problem. They are suggesting polytechnics and Industrial Training Institutes to formulate teaching and training programmes to meet the requirements of local industries. In the Coastal Business Development Summit demand for organising short duration training programmes of 3 to 6 months was expressed. The management institutes in DK can also

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do well by running short term programmes for meeting the changing needs of industries.

After the dawn of 1990s, for a variety of practical purposes, DK got transformed as a region of medium scale and large industries. This transformation without the consent, support and involvement of the local people intensified conflicts of interests leading to stiff resistance and environmental struggles. Both NUMPP and ERDP are the outcomes of clash of interests of the region with the macro level interests involving the state and the country. The opposition to these projects is not able to acquire strength because with the structural change and loss of interest of youths in agriculture, the socio-economic profile of the region has become outstandingly different. Whatever opposition comes from the old and the weak, not from the young and the strong many of whom are in the lengthy list of migrants. Besides there is no denying the fact that battles against both NUMPP and ERDP were short-lived as there were no forces or serious attempts to make them protracted. The NUMPP is temporarily halted. The ERDP is progressing as political forces in the areas to be benefited from it are strong, vigorous and powerful. Frequent announcements of political leaders at the helm of affairs in Karnataka pointedly show that the waters of Ettinahole will flow to the targeted regions without any delay.

The subjective factors affecting development in DK have been often discussed in seminars and conferences. There are conflicting views on the second phase of the Mangalore Special Economic Zone. The Kanara Chamber of Commerce and Industry has welcomed it. On the contrary, there are religious institutions vehemently opposing it. The leadership on the issue of ERDP is sharply divided. The undivided DK counted in the decision making process of the state. Now with the formation of Udupi district, there is a change in the situation as the political strength of the present DK is considerably less. For getting a comprehensive picture of struggles and challenges in development in the district the political economy approach may be profitably used as it emphasises the role of institutional and historical factors. A critical study of these struggles and challenges helps to highlight redirections in policies needed for future development.

To lose sight of various opportunities, struggles and challenges in

development in Dakshina Kannada district would be detrimental to the interests of the entire Karnataka State. The intelligent and enterprising people of this developed district who have experienced both successes and failures of governance and management in all important sectors may do well by remembering the thrilling words of Tennyson (Alfred Tennyson quoted in Sen, 2005) bringing out the significance of the vision of future : “ For I dip into the future, far as human eyes could see, Say the Vision of the World, and all the wonder that could be”. These words may serve as a warning to the people of DK who have helplessly accepted the impact of macroeconomic management and formulation of policies in recent years with the fond memory of powerful, committed and dedicated local leadership in the distant past.

***Acknowledgement:** This article is an enlarged and revised version of the paper presented in the National Level Seminar on the theme ‘ Daksina Kannada after 1947’ held on 14 and 15 February 2014 organised by the Department of History of St. Aloysius College(Autonomous), Mangaluru(India). For providing information on the recent environmental struggles in Dakshina Kannada district the author is grateful to Sri. R C Bhat, Senior Reporter in Mangaluru for Vijaya Karnataka, a Kannada daily and Dr. Norbert Lobo, Head, Department of Economics of St. Aloysius College (Autonomous), Mangaluru. However, for all errors the author alone is responsible.*

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