MODULE 007

Post-Independence Karnataka

Social Justice, Backward Classes and Regional Issues



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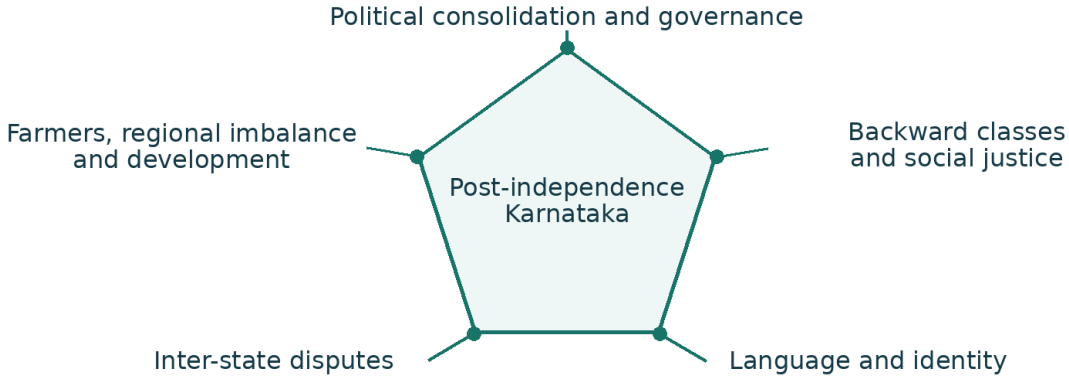
Unit	Topics covered
7.1	Political Consolidation and Governance
7.2	Backward Classes and Social Justice
7.3	Language and Identity
7.4	Inter-State Disputes
7.5	Farmers, Regional Imbalance and Development

Module 7 — Post-Independence Karnataka

Social Justice, Backward Classes and Regional Issues

GS1 • Paper II • Section II • Unit 1

How did a linguistically unified state distribute land, public opportunities and development across unequal regions? Karnataka's post-independence history connects this question to the institutions and movements that gave citizens a voice.



Analysis Three useful contrasts recur throughout the module: unification and integration, recommendation and implementation, and allocation and actual access. Use each distinction to explain a Karnataka example.

MODULE 007 / SYLLABUS AND PAGE GUIDE

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7.1 Political Consolidation and Governance

Five regions and one state

- **1947** → Kannada-speaking regions had different authorities for land revenue, schools and courts.
- **1956** → One legislature inherited these distinct administrative systems.

Regional inheritance	What entered the enlarged Mysore State in 1956
Old Mysore	Bengaluru and an established civil service anchored the new administration.
Bombay Karnataka	Bombay revenue practices and organised non-Brahmin politics shaped integration.
Hyderabad Karnataka	Integration in 1948 and distinct landholding patterns shaped local claims.
Madras and Coorg	Madras supplied coastal and inland areas; Coorg exchanged Part C statehood for district status.

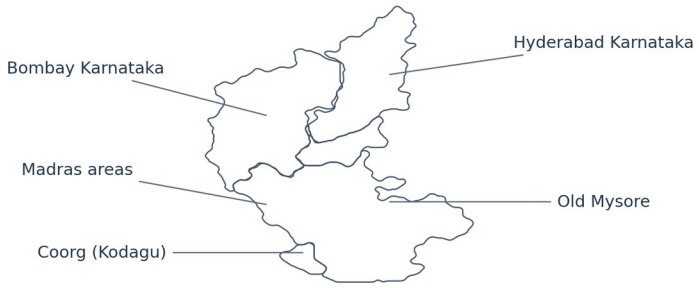
Region in 1956	Territory entering enlarged Mysore	Sq mi (% share)
Old Mysore	Entire state, including the Bellary areas transferred in 1953	33,319 (45.0%)
Bombay	Belgaum except Chandgad; Bijapur, Dharwar and North Kanara	20,984 (28.4%)
Hyderabad	Transferred portions of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur districts	13,789 (18.6%)
Madras	South Kanara except Kasaragod and Amindivi Islands; Kollegal taluk	4,313 (5.8%)
Coorg	Entire former Part C state → Coorg district	1,595 (2.2%)

Socio-economic profile of enlarged Mysore · 1961 Census

Population	Urban share	Effective literacy	Work participation	Sex ratio
2.36 crore	22.33%	29.80%	45.48%	959 women/1,000 men

Two historical processes
Accession linked princely states to the Union (Hyderabad, 1948). Linguistic reorganisation redrew state boundaries (Mysore, 1956).

Reading the frontier
Belagavi illustrates a multilingual frontier. Kodagu retained its cultural identity within a larger state.



Schematic of the main regional components in **1956**. Boundaries are approximate.

Analysis Unification provided a common arena for negotiation. Integration depended on whether entrants could access services, influence priorities and recognise their own histories within that arena.

Integration challenges	Integrative measures	Political implications
• **Fragmentation.** Five regions inherited different rules. • **Land tenure.** Cultivators held unequal rights. • **Regional inequality.** School access varied.	• **Reorganisation. One legislature served five regions.** • **Cadre integration.** Officials needed common ranks. • **Fiscal equity.** Budgets could target regional gaps.	• **Consolidation. Regional claims reached one assembly.** • **Bargaining.** Districts competed for irrigation funds. • **Minority rights.** Border towns needed language safeguards.

Mains practice Did linguistic reorganisation make public opportunities more equal? Examine two administrative challenges inherited by enlarged Mysore.

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From Ekikarana to Karnataka

- Kannada literature helped readers imagine a shared region → associations turned that idea into a territorial demand.
- Political organisation sustained the demand until Parliament approved reorganisation.

Contribution to unification

1890 · Dharwad

- R. H. Deshpande's **Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha** fostered Kannada scholarship in a region administered from Bombay. *Its monthly Vagbhushana (1896) linked Kannada readers across regions.*

Early twentieth century

- **Alur Venkata Rao**'s Karnataka Gatha Vaibhava supplied a historical vocabulary for unity. The **Kannada Sahitya Parishat**, founded in **1915**, connected literary workers across jurisdictions.

1924 · Belagavi

- The Congress session and parallel unification conference gave the demand an all-India political audience. Huilgol Narayana Rao's song voiced the imagined community. *(President: Siddappa Kambli.)*

1953–56

- The creation of Andhra State revived linguistic claims. The **States Reorganisation Commission** assessed language alongside viability and administrative convenience. The **1956** Act created an enlarged Mysore on 1 November.

1973

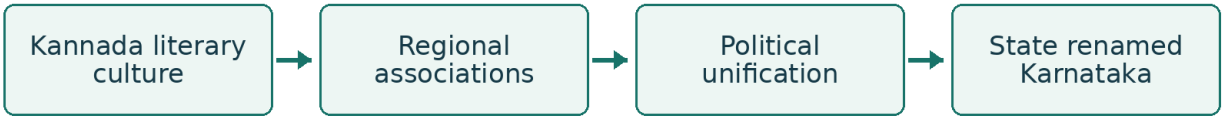
- Mysore was renamed Karnataka on 1 November under **Devaraj Urs**. The name acknowledged regions whose histories extended beyond the old princely state.

Sources of support

Samyukta Karnataka and Vishala Karnataka *carried the case for unification to newspaper readers. In 1928, the* ***Karnataka Ekikarana Sabha*** *and the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee set out the political case in United Karnataka.*

Sources of hesitation

Some residents of old Mysore feared dilution of established institutions and resources. A unitary language argument also left questions about speakers of Tulu, Kodava, Urdu and Marathi inside the new boundaries.



Analysis The seventeen-year gap between reorganisation and renaming distinguishes territorial union from the slower enlargement of political identity.

Cultural foundations	Political mobilisation	Critical dimensions
• **Print culture.** Kannada journals connected readers across provincial borders. • **Historical consciousness.** Writers recalled a shared regional past. • **Literary associations.** Conferences gave readers a forum to organise.	• **Public petitions.** Associations turned cultural claims into political demands. • **Belagavi conference.** Activists carried unification onto a wider political platform. • **Parliamentary action.** Reorganisation gave the demand territorial effect.	• **Educated leadership.** Print networks reached literate groups most readily. • **Regional reservations.** Some in old Mysore feared losing influence. • **Symbolic integration.** The name Karnataka followed statehood in 1973.

Mains practice How did the Ekikarana movement turn a shared literary culture into a political demand?

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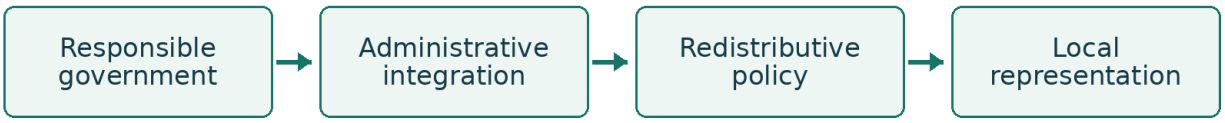
Governing an enlarged Mysore

- One legislature inherited different rules for tenancy, schooling, local government and public employment.
- Common rules raised three questions. Who gained, who bore the costs, and where would institutions be located?

Government or period	Policy instrument and political significance
K. C. Reddy · 1947	The first chief minister of Mysore headed a responsible ministry. Authority moved towards elected government within the Indian Union.
Kengal Hanumanthaiah · 1950s	Vidhana Soudha gave representative government a visible public institution. The building also expressed continuity with regional architectural traditions.
S. Nijalingappa · 1956 onwards	As the first chief minister of enlarged Mysore, he faced integration of services and development priorities across former provincial boundaries. *(Section 115, States Reorganisation Act: allocation of public servants.)*
Devaraj Urs · 1970s	Tenancy reform and the backward-classes commission widened the social base of state policy. Distributive conflict entered the centre of electoral politics.
Ramakrishna Hegde · 1980s	Janata government and elected zilla parishads and mandal panchayats opened channels for territorial representation below the state level.

Administrative integration	Political integration
Service integration raised practical questions about seniority, qualifications and transfers. A uniform rule could disadvantage employees trained under a different provincial system. Harmonisation therefore required transition arrangements.	Regional representation in cabinets, irrigation investment and the location of institutions shaped whether residents experienced the state as accessible. Local self-government could widen participation while reproducing local inequalities. *Permanent High Court benches at Dharwad and Kalaburagi (2013) brought hearings closer to northern litigants.*



Analysis A convincing assessment of successive governments identifies an instrument, its intended constituency and the administrative constraint it encountered.

Administrative priorities	Governance trade-offs	Evaluation criteria
• **Cadre integration.** Officials from different services needed equivalent ranks. • **Revenue harmonisation.** Similar holdings could face different inherited rules. • **Institutional location.** New offices affected which districts could reach them.	• **Seniority.** Equal rank did not always reflect equal experience. • **Administrative access.** Centralisation could lengthen travel for rural residents. • **Fiscal equity.** Investment decisions balanced growth against regional need.	• **Representation.** Which regions had a voice in the cabinet? • **Service access.** Could residents obtain records or resolve grievances locally? • **Fiscal autonomy.** Did local bodies control funds for devolved duties?

Mains practice Using service integration and local government, examine how far a common administration made government more accessible.

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Changes in social and political power

- Cultivators, backward classes, Dalits and language organisations used different channels to press claims.
- Shared interests encouraged coalitions. Competition over land, jobs and representation could divide them.

Mechanism and illustration

Dominant castes
- **M. N. Srinivas**'s concept links numbers, land, education and political influence. Lingayat and Vokkaliga influence varied by region and by the structure of the local economy.

Coalition building
- Urs mobilised support among backward classes, minorities and Dalits. Land reform and educational access helped translate electoral entry into material claims. *(James Manor identifies 1972 as a turning point in Lingayat–Vokkaliga dominance.)*

Party competition
- The Janata breakthrough in **1983** ended uninterrupted Congress dominance at state level. Decentralisation made district leaders more consequential. *(After 1985, local funding shifted some spending decisions to elected bodies.)*

Movement politics
- Dalit organisations foregrounded dignity and land. Raitha organisations pressed for producer prices and relief from levies. Neither agenda exhausted rural interests. *Housing and tenancy reform also appealed to poorer households across caste lines.*

Market-led growth
- Bengaluru's growth expanded opportunities in skilled employment while highlighting disparities in schooling, connectivity and urban services across regions.

Representation
Descriptive representation asks who occupies office. **Substantive representation** asks whether that representative changes budgets, implementation or access. A reserved seat, a hostel and a functioning land tribunal act at different points in that chain.

Local government
Devolution brings decisions closer to residents. Its distributive effect depends on who attends the gram sabha, controls records, sets priorities and can demand reasons when a service fails.



Analysis Social groups gained bargaining power through different institutions. Electoral inclusion, control over productive assets and everyday equality can therefore change at different speeds.

Sources of power	Democratising forces	Limits to democratisation
• **Dominant caste.** Landownership and numerical strength reinforced electoral influence. • **Educational advantage.** Credentials widened access to office and employment. • **Patronage.** Party networks connected local leaders to state resources.	• **Backward-class coalitions.** Alliances widened competition for public office. • **Tenancy reform.** Occupancy rights could reduce dependence on landlords. • **Dalit assertion.** Collective action brought exclusion onto the public agenda.	• **Elite capture. Local officeholders could direct benefits towards supporters.** • **Patron–client ties. Dependence on work or credit constrained dissent.** • **Substantive representation.** Control over spending tested whose voice mattered.

Mains practice Using one agrarian and one electoral example, assess why wider political representation could coexist with concentrated local power.

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7.2 Backward Classes and Social Justice

The Mysore roots of backward-class policy

- Unequal access to English education → unequal entry into Mysore's bureaucracy.
- The non-Brahmin movement linked fair recruitment to representation and access to education.

Why it matters

Praja Mitra Mandali

• Non-Brahmin political organisation challenged concentration of public offices among groups with an early educational advantage.

1918 · Miller Committee

• The Mysore government appointed Sir Leslie Miller's committee to examine representation in public service and access to higher and professional education. *Miller proposed a seven-year target for non-Brahmin representation: half of higher appointments and two-thirds of lower appointments.*

1921 · Mysore measures

• **Preferential recruitment** measures supplied a precedent for state action. The colonial-era vocabulary of backward communities belonged to its administrative context.

Constitutional transition

• **Article 15(4)** permits special provision for socially and educationally backward classes and for SCs and STs. **Article 16(4)** concerns backward classes inadequately represented in state services.

1963 · M. R. Balaji

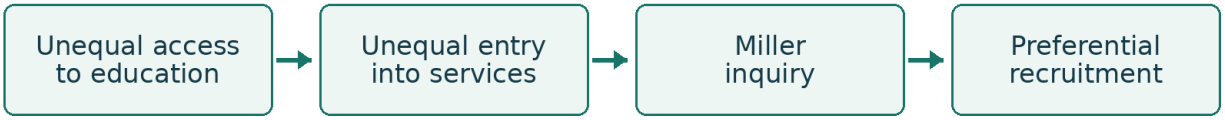
• The Supreme Court examined a Mysore reservation order and the identification of backwardness. Cite the case in its historical context when discussing the limits of classification.

Two mechanisms

A scholarship or hostel reduces the cost of reaching a qualification. Reservation changes access at the selection stage. A village with high school dropout needs both an effective educational pipeline and fair selection procedures. *Mysore Gazetteer: from 1917, ₹1 lakh annually for backward-community education, including ₹15,000 earmarked for the Depressed Classes.*

A persistent question

A broad coalition can challenge monopoly while masking unequal access within its own ranks. That tension explains why later commissions examined relative disadvantage and the distribution of benefits.



Analysis The shift from communal representation to constitutional affirmative action changed the evidence the state needed to justify a policy.

Structural exclusion	Corrective instruments	Critical tests
• **Educational exclusion.** Access to English schooling shaped eligibility for office. • **Rural disadvantage.** Distance from schools narrowed the recruitment pool. • **Occupational inheritance.** Family resources influenced who could study longer.	• **Scholarships. Financial support lowered the cost of staying in education.** • **Student hostels.** Accommodation widened access beyond towns. • **Preferential recruitment.** Eligible candidates gained a route into public service.	• **First-generation entry.** Did new households gain access to education? • **Retention.** Could rural students complete the qualifications recruitment required? • **Intra-group distribution.** Which sections secured the available posts?

Mains practice Why did recruitment reform in Mysore also require educational support? Assess the link using one barrier faced by rural candidates.

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Havanur Commission

- **1972** → **Devaraj Urs** appointed the **Havanur Commission**. **1975** → **L. G. Havanur** submitted its report.
- Educational disparities supplied evidence for deciding whether groups needed different remedies.

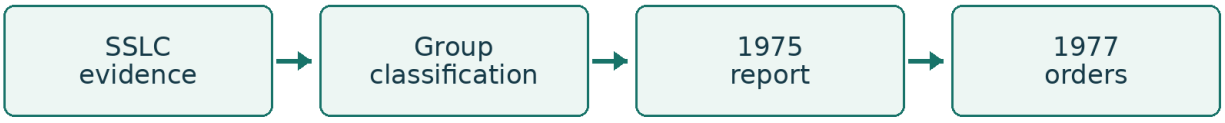
Inquiry stage	Finding or proposal
Measurement	Compared educational participation, particularly **SSLC**-level representation, with the **state average**. Occupation and living conditions supplied context for interpreting group disadvantage. *(1972 SSLC passes per 1,000 residents: state 1.69, Scheduled Castes 0.56.)*
Classification	Distinguished backward communities, backward castes and backward tribes. These are historical report categories; "backward tribes" here is distinct from the constitutional Scheduled Tribes list.
Recommendation	Proposed **32%** across the three categories: **16%** for backward communities, **10%** for backward castes and **6%** for backward tribes. These are historical recommendations.
Government response	The February **1977** order modified coverage and added a backward special group. The report and the executive order consequently answer different questions about policy.
Beyond quotas	Hostels, scholarships, specialised administration and development finance recognised that a reserved opportunity may still be unreachable to a first-generation learner.

Why SSLC mattered

An educational benchmark offered a traceable comparison across groups. Yet an **SSLC** indicator records those who reached secondary schooling. Early dropout, school distance and gender barriers can disappear inside a group average. *Survey scale: about 63,650 households, 3.55 lakh people and 171 groups.*

A useful comparison

The executive included Muslims in the backward-communities list under its order. Havanur had discussed a distinct route for assistance. This illustrates why the text of an order matters when identifying actual beneficiaries. *Illustration: 15 passes among 20 examinees = 75%, but only 15% of an original cohort of 100.*



Analysis Havanur connected a measurable educational gap with graded remedies. The distance between recommendation and implementation also reveals the role of political bargaining.

Analytical contribution	Methodological limits	Complementary evidence
• **SSLC benchmark.** School attainment supplied a common basis for comparison. • **Group-level comparison.** Differences in attainment helped identify educational disadvantage. • **Graded classification. Degrees of backwardness informed policy design.**	• **Early dropout.** Pupils who left before SSLC were easy to overlook. • **Regional variation.** Poor school access could depress a group's results. • **Gender disparity.** A group average could conceal girls' disadvantage.	• **Cohort completion.** Track entrants through school to capture early exits. • **Disaggregated data.** Compare attainment by gender and taluk. • **Representation.** Check whether school disadvantage also appears in recruitment.

Mains practice Two communities have similar SSLC results but different dropout rates. What does this reveal about the Havanur benchmark?

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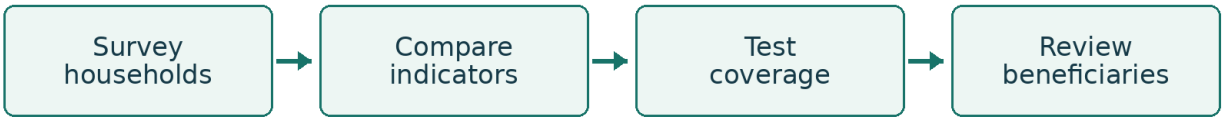
Venkataswamy and Chinnappa Reddy

- Once reservation was in place, the **Venkataswamy** and **Chinnappa Reddy** commissions faced a question of distribution.
- Revising eligibility required identifying under-represented groups and examining who repeatedly secured benefits.

Dimension	Venkataswamy · report 1986	Chinnappa Reddy · report 1990
Evidence	Appointed in **1983**. A large household survey and **17 indicators** included education, work, land, housing and income. *(1984 survey: low scores on at least 9 of 17 indicators.)*	Revisited the evidence gathered by its predecessor and considered social and **educational backwardness** alongside occupational and economic disadvantage.
Design	Distinguished **educational disadvantage** from under-representation in employment. Recommended **27%** in two groups. *(35 communities proposed.)*	Proposed graded categories. Its occupational component recognised vulnerabilities of manual workers and other relatively insecure groups. *(Proposed shares: most backward 5%, backward 28%, poor labourers 5%.)*
Distribution	Considered income, assets and family history of benefits in designing exclusions.	Favoured criteria to exclude advanced sections and a continuing mechanism to review the progress of groups. *The report estimated a 41% population share against 22% of Assembly seats for backward classes.*
After the report	Survey reliability, employment counts and exclusions drew objections. The government used an interim classification rather than adopting the report in full.	Placed recurring review, educational measures and differences within broad groups at the centre of policy debate.

Evidence problem	Political problem
A household survey can reveal informal employment that payroll data miss. Payroll records can identify representation in specific cadres. Disagreement between them may reflect different units of measurement as well as errors.	Inclusion is visible and immediate. Benefits from more accurate targeting are dispersed and gradual. Publishing criteria and hearing objections gives affected groups a way to contest a classification.



Analysis Remember the sequence by the problem each highlighted: Havanur measured educational gaps → **Venkataswamy** tested several dimensions → **Chinnappa Reddy** revisited relative disadvantage and review.

Venkataswamy's approach	Chinnappa Reddy's approach	Common policy dilemmas
• **Enumeration.** Households supplied direct evidence. • **Indicators.** Seventeen measures widened the inquiry. • **Assets.** Ownership helped reveal material insecurity.	• **Relative backwardness.** Groups were reassessed. • **Education.** Schooling indicated unequal opportunity. • **Occupation.** Work patterns informed reclassification.	• **Weighting. Changing weights could alter rankings.** • **Obsolescence.** Old records missed shifts in work. • **Distribution.** Group averages hid internal inequality.

Mains practice Compare how Venkataswamy and Chinnappa Reddy identified disadvantage. Why could a change in criteria alter the beneficiary list?

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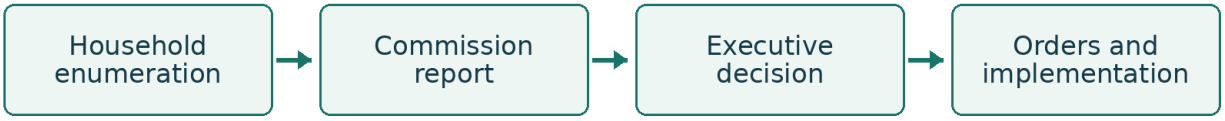
Recent backward-class policy debates

- A caste survey informs decisions about access to opportunities. Population share measures group size.
- **Educational disadvantage** measures barriers to qualification. Public-service representation shows who reaches government employment.

Dated development	Policy significance
1995 · statutory commission	The Karnataka State Commission for Backward Classes Act created a continuing institution for examining backward-class questions and representations. *(Section 9: inclusion complaints; section 11: ten-year review.)*
2021 · 105th Amendment	The constitutional amendment clarified states' authority to maintain their own lists of socially and educationally backward classes for state purposes. Central and state lists can differ.
2025 · fresh survey	Karnataka's commission conducted a Social and Educational Survey. Coverage, self-identification and willingness to answer affected confidence in its estimates. *Earlier cycle: 2015 enumeration → February 2024 report.*
27 May 2026 · report submission	The commission headed by Madhusudan R. Naik submitted its report. It proposed raising the backward-class quota to **42%**. Public demands for implementation continued in **November 2026**. Submission alone does not establish a revised reservation entitlement.
Reading a claim	Ask which list, category, recruitment or admission process, order and date it refers to. A commission finding, cabinet discussion and operative government notification have different legal effects.

Inside a category	Practical safeguards
Sub-categorisation seeks fair access among differently placed communities. Relevant evidence includes who applies, qualifies and obtains seats or posts. A headcount alone cannot show at which stage exclusion occurs. *(Ravi Varma Kumar report, 2000: classification and creamy-layer review.)*	Publish the method, define how migrants and absent households were treated, permit corrections, and report educational and employment outcomes. Protect individual responses while making aggregate findings open to scrutiny.



Analysis A defensible policy needs credible evidence about disadvantage and a transparent account of how the remedy addresses it. SC sub-classification belongs to a separate constitutional discussion.

Evidence requirements	Sources of distortion	Procedural safeguards
• **Population share.** A reliable denominator makes representation gaps interpretable. • **Cadre-wise data.** Aggregate employment can hide exclusion from senior posts. • **Benefit incidence.** Identify which households actually gain access.	• **Coverage error.** Mobile households may be missed during enumeration. • **Classification error.** Different names for one community can split its count. • **Aggregate bias.** A state average can conceal local deprivation.	• **Published methodology.** Explain the categories, indicators and counting rules. • **Coverage audit.** Check omissions before drawing policy conclusions. • **Objection hearings.** Give communities a route to contest classification.

Mains practice A survey finds low representation of a community in senior posts. What checks should precede a revision of backward-class policy?

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Dalit mobilisation and the Boosa controversy

- The Dalit movement linked self-respect to access to public space, education and land.
- Organisation in the former Hyderabad region and activism among students and Kannada writers gave these claims a wider audience.

Contribution to mobilisation

B. Shyam Sunder

- **Bhim Sena** emerged in the late **1960**s in the Hyderabad-Karnataka region. Ambedkarite organisation challenged dependence on dominant-caste patrons and asserted collective dignity.

1973 · Boosa controversy

- Minister **B. Basavalingappa** questioned the value of much inherited Kannada literature for oppressed people. "**Boosa**" or cattle fodder condensed a dispute about whose lives the literary canon represented.

Student mobilisation

- Hostels and colleges connected first-generation learners. Public defence of **Basavalingappa** turned a controversy about literature into an argument over voice and political authority. *(Siddhartha Students Hostel, Mysore, 1975: activists agreed to draft a manifesto.)*

Bhadravati networks

- Writers, artists and activists built links that sustained **Dalit Sangharsha Samiti** organising during the **1970**s. B. Krishnappa connected intellectual debate with village-level action. *(Bhadravati conference, December 1976 → organisational merger, June 1977.)*

Dalit and Bandaya writing

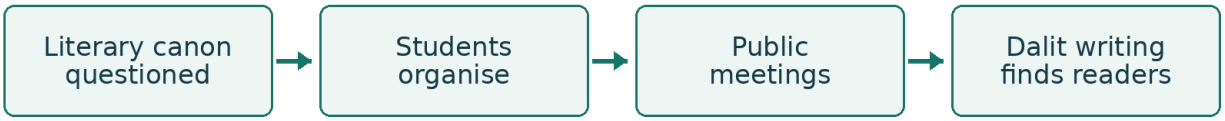
- Siddalingaiah's poetry and Devanuru Mahadeva's fiction made hunger, stigma and self-respect subjects of Kannada literature. Literature could carry testimony beyond the locality. *(Dyavanuru, 1973; Holemadigara Hadu, 1975.)*

Mechanism of change

A grievance inside a village could be dismissed as a private quarrel. A public meeting, student network or poem gave witnesses a vocabulary for naming discrimination and made it harder for officials to ignore.

Limits of mobilisation

A shared Dalit identity did not erase differences of occupation, gender or access to land. Women facing caste and patriarchal power could experience the same village institution differently.



Analysis The **Boosa** controversy mattered because it connected literary authority to the right of oppressed communities to describe social reality in their own words.

Cultural contestation	Mobilising channels	Political significance
• **Literary canon.** The controversy opened debate over whose writing counted. • **Caste hegemony.** Established tastes could marginalise Dalit experience. • **Self-respect.** Ambedkarite thought affirmed the authority of lived experience.	• **Hostel networks.** Students carried the debate across campuses. • **Protest poetry.** Performances made everyday humiliation publicly intelligible. • **Alternative publications.** Writers reached audiences outside established literary circles.	• **Autonomous voice.** Dalit writers could frame grievances in their own terms. • **Collective identity.** Public narration connected experiences across villages. • **Material claims.** Cultural assertion opened space to raise land and wage issues.

Mains practice Why did the Boosa controversy resonate beyond literary circles? Trace one route from cultural protest to collective action.

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Dalit Sangharsha Samiti in practice

- Village and taluk networks → collective petitions → pressure on administrators and elected representatives.
- The **DSS** connected resistance to untouchability with claims over wages, land and personal security.

How the issue became a public claim

Bonded labour

- The **Hangarhalli** struggle foregrounded dependence on creditors and employers. Release from bondage also required income, housing and access to cultivable land.

Land and livelihood

- Occupation, allotment and restoration struggles questioned who controlled productive assets. Effective possession mattered even where a paper grant existed. *Sidlipura (1977–78): 33 irrigated acres allotted to Dalits remained disputed in practice.*

Public space

- Access to wells, temples, roads and public facilities tested whether constitutional equality altered daily social relations.

Atrocity response

- Collective petitions, demonstrations and legal follow-up helped families approach institutions despite local dependence or intimidation.

Culture and organisation

- Songs, street performances, reading circles and conferences linked rural experiences with urban audiences. The form of protest widened who could speak. *Nagasandra (1985): labourers sought food cultivation on roughly 600 acres used for toddy palms.*

Constitutional linkage

Article 17 abolishes untouchability. The Protection of Civil Rights Act, **1955** and the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, **1989** address distinct legal aspects of exclusion and violence. Enforcement depends on access to police, evidence and support.

Organisational dilemma

Party alliances could open channels to government, yet also divide activists over autonomy. A movement's influence includes altered public language and institutional response even where its organisational unity weakened.



Analysis Pair dignity with material independence. Access to a common well changes civic status; secure land or work can reduce the cost of asserting that right.

Fields of struggle	Methods of assertion	Tests of lasting impact
• **Bonded labour.** Debt could tie workers to an employer. • **Land alienation.** Loss of possession weakened household bargaining power. • **Untouchability.** Exclusion from wells made caste visible in everyday life.	• **Collective petitions.** Village networks took individual complaints to officials. • **Public demonstrations.** Organised pressure raised the cost of official inaction. • **Legal advocacy.** Follow-up helped survivors pursue remedies.	• **Material independence.** Could a released worker avoid renewed bondage? • **Effective possession.** Could the claimant actually cultivate the land? • **Civic equality.** Could Dalit households use common wells safely?

Mains practice Using bonded labour and access to common wells, assess when DSS mobilisation produced lasting change in village power relations.

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Devaraj Urs and land to the tiller

- Tenancy separated cultivation from ownership. Under Urs, the **1973** amendment to the **Karnataka Land Reforms Act**, **1961** strengthened cultivators' claims.
- **1 March 1974** → qualifying tenanted land vested in the state. A tenant still had to establish the claim to occupancy.

Legal step	What changed for the cultivator
Vesting · section 44	Qualifying tenanted land vested in the state. Vesting broke the earlier landlord–tenant relationship for land covered by the provision.
Occupancy · section 45	Eligible tenants personally cultivating the land could seek registration as occupants. The law attached the claim to cultivation and the statutory conditions. *(Y. R. Veeranna, 1997: the sons cultivated the land; their father filed the claim.)*
Adjudication	A claimant applied, commonly through **Form 7**. **Land tribunals** assessed tenancy, cultivation and competing claims using records, testimony and local inquiry. *(Kuriyala, Dakshina Kannada: claimant cited rice rent in a dispute over 3.07 acres.)*
Ceilings	Limits on holdings created a separate route for identifying surplus land and redistribution. Ceiling-surplus distribution and tenant occupancy are distinct mechanisms.
Political strategy	Urs linked asset redistribution with wider representation of disadvantaged communities. Reform challenged the ability of large landholders to mediate access to the state.

Who gained?
A recorded tenant able to establish cultivation could secure a productive asset and greater bargaining power. A landless wage labourer had no equivalent tenancy claim. Household-level title could also conceal women's unequal control.

Why outcomes varied
Oral leases, incomplete records, prior eviction, litigation and landlord influence altered claimants' ability to prove tenancy. Coastal tenancy patterns differed from dryland areas with extensive wage labour.

Tenant cultivates → Land vests in the state → Tribunal examines claim → Occupancy if approved



Devaraj Urs and the agrarian coalition
A coastal tenant who established cultivation could seek occupancy. A landless labourer working on the same holding had to rely on different measures for wages or access to land. Both belonged to the rural poor, but their statutory claims differed.

Analysis Land reform changed a legal relationship into a claim on the state. Its redistributive depth depended on proof, enforcement and support for cultivation after title.

Redistributive mechanisms	Implementation barriers	Distributional assessment
• **Vesting.** Eligible land passed to the state. • **Form 7.** Tenants filed occupancy claims. • **Land Tribunals. Claims required adjudication.**	• **Oral leases. Tenants lacked written proof.** • **Eviction.** Prior removal weakened claims. • **Litigation. Disputes delayed possession.**	• **Ownership.** Registered tenants gained security. • **Landlessness.** Labourers lacked tenancy claims. • **Gender.** Women could remain outside titles.

Mains practice Compare the reach of the 1974 reforms for oral tenants and landless labourers.

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7.3 Language and Identity

The Gokak movement

- Kannada's place relative to Sanskrit in school language study sparked the immediate dispute.
- Curricular priority → a wider debate over the public standing of Kannada in a linguistically organised state.

Actors and issue

Committee

- The state appointed a committee chaired by V. K. **Gokak** to examine the place of languages in school education. It recommended primacy for Kannada as the first language. *The six-member panel proposed compulsory Kannada from Class III and 150 marks for first-language Kannada in Classes VIII–X.*

Agitation · 1982

- Delay over implementation mobilised writers and teachers. Dharwad became an important centre, with relay fasts and public meetings.

Cultural leadership

- **Kuvempu** and other writers lent literary authority. Actor **Dr Rajkumar**'s participation carried the agitation into cinema audiences and popular associations.

Public response

- Students, artists and Kannada organisations broadened participation. Linguistic minorities questioned the consequences of a uniform first-language requirement. *The panel proposed a later start for non-Kannada speakers (1986–87).*

Longer significance

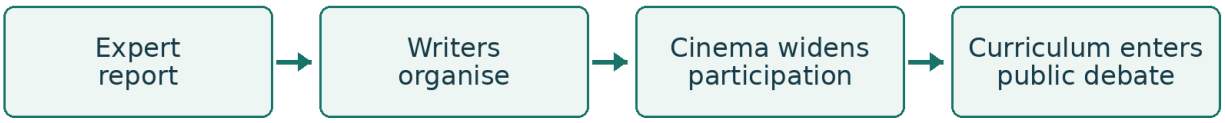
- Language policy moved from expert deliberation into electoral and associational politics. The campaign remains a reference point in debates about Kannada in schools and public life.

Why cinema mattered

Literary associations already connected towns and intellectuals. Cinema supplied recognition across social groups and helped convert an administrative question about curriculum into a public question about belonging.

Distinguish three issues

First-language status determines curricular priority. Compulsory study concerns whether a language must be learned. Medium of instruction concerns the language through which other subjects are taught.



Analysis The movement successfully widened the constituency for Kannada. Assessing its policy legacy also requires asking how children from different linguistic backgrounds access education.

Sources of mobilisation	Political significance	Policy tensions
• **Literary networks.** Writers and teachers circulated the curricular demand.	• **Linguistic assertion.** Kannada's place in school became a question of status.	• **First-language status.** This sets curricular priority among languages.
• **Student activism.** Campus meetings widened participation beyond literary circles.	• **Mass participation.** Public meetings broadened the constituency for reform.	• **Medium of instruction.** This determines the language used to teach subjects.
• **Popular cinema.** Rajkumar brought the issue to a statewide audience.	• **Accountability.** Mobilisation pressed the state to explain its language priorities.	• **Minority choice. Implementation had to accommodate other home languages.**

Mains practice How did the Gokak movement broaden support for Kannada? Explain why first-language priority and medium of instruction raised different concerns.

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Kannada in education and public life

- One test of language policy is whether residents can learn Kannada and use it to obtain public services.
- Another is whether speakers of minority languages retain access to education and cultural life in their languages.

Policy arena	Institution or provision	Implementation question
Official business	**Article 345** allows a state legislature to adopt an official language. The Karnataka Official Language Act, **1963** establishes the statutory basis for Kannada in state business.	Can an applicant obtain a form, understand the response and complete the transaction in Kannada? *Example: Kannada translations of important central laws with Karnataka amendments.*
School curriculum	The Kannada Language Learning Act, **2015** provides for Kannada as one language in schools, with phased application to classes I–X.	Are trained teachers, textbooks and age-appropriate pathways available to new learners? *The Supreme Court's 2014 primary-school ruling distinguished choosing the teaching medium from learning Kannada.*
Linguistic minorities	**Article 350A** asks states and local authorities to endeavour to provide mother-tongue instruction facilities at the primary stage for children of linguistic minorities.	Can Urdu-, Marathi- or other language-speaking families access appropriate provision locally?
Public signage	The Kannada Language Comprehensive Development Act, **2022** and its **2024** amendment address Kannada visibility, including the **60%** Kannada requirement for covered name boards.	Is the requirement administered predictably, and can residents still find essential information?

Coastal Karnataka
A Tulu-speaking child may use Tulu at home, Kannada in public institutions and English in higher education. Language identity can be layered. The same learner may value stronger provision in all three settings.

Administrative capacity
Translation quality, Unicode search, bilingual assistance and clear technical vocabulary determine whether official recognition yields real access. Signage is easier to monitor than the quality of a translated service.



Analysis Kannada promotion works best when measured by capability: who can study, seek a service, follow a decision or participate in a public hearing?

Domains of language policy	Barriers to access	Inclusive measures
• **Curriculum.** Schools set language priorities. • **Administration.** Replies must be intelligible. • **Digital access.** Kannada must cover every step.	• **Home language.** Tulu speakers may need a bridge to Kannada. • **Vocabulary.** Technical terms impede access. • **Digital literacy.** Users may need assistance.	• **Bridge teaching.** Build on the home language. • **Plain Kannada.** Simplify forms and notices. • **Bilingual support.** Help users complete claims.

Mains practice Using a multilingual classroom and a public-service counter, assess how Karnataka can promote Kannada while widening access.

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7.4 Inter-State Disputes

Belagavi and the boundary question

- **Linguistic reorganisation** drew boundaries across multilingual towns, mixed villages and economic ties.
- Belagavi became the most visible territorial dispute between Karnataka and Maharashtra.

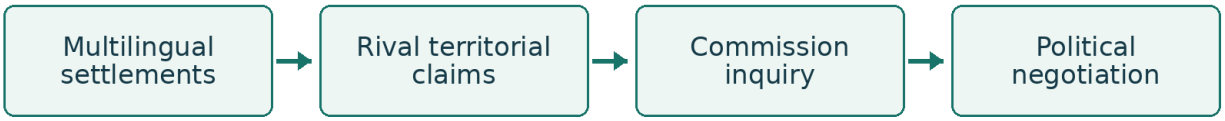
Point of comparison	Maharashtra's position	Karnataka's position
Territorial unit	Supporters of transfer emphasise Marathi-speaking localities and village-level preferences. *(Bombay's 1957 memorandum also sought reciprocal transfers of contiguous Kannada-speaking areas.)*	Defenders of the existing boundary emphasise the settled reorganisation and the viability of integrated districts. *(1956 exception: Chandgad taluk remained outside Mysore.)*
Language evidence	A concentration of Marathi speakers can support a claim of linguistic affinity.	Bilingualism, migration and changes in census reporting complicate any single linguistic test.
Urban hinterland	A town's language profile may differ from surrounding villages.	Trade, transport and public services link the town with a broader hinterland.
Political response	The Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti has kept merger demands visible in border politics. *(Marathi Mahamelav held alongside the winter session.)*	Legislative sessions at Belagavi and the Suvarna Vidhana Soudha express the state's commitment to the region. *(Legislature building ready in 2012.)*

The constitutional route

Article 3 empowers Parliament to alter state boundaries. A bill requires the President's recommendation; the affected state legislature is given an opportunity to express its views. A state resolution alone does not transfer territory.

Everyday federalism

Residents need accessible schools, property records, health care and grievance channels regardless of the larger territorial claim. Cross-border bus links or multilingual help desks can preserve livelihoods during political disagreement.



Analysis A democratic response has two tracks: institutions address the territorial dispute while local authorities protect residents' rights and continuity of services.

Competing territorial criteria	Limits of linguistic demarcation	Resident-centred measures
• **Linguistic majority.** Claimants may count speakers by village or district. • **Contiguity.** A proposed transfer must consider connections to neighbouring areas. • **Administrative viability.** Daily access to services can cross a linguistic boundary.	• **Mixed settlements.** Bilingual families complicate a single-language classification. • **Scale of analysis.** A village majority can become a district minority. • **Economic ties.** Markets and workplaces may lie across the claimed boundary.	• **Schooling.** Protect minority-language access in mixed settlements. • **Public services.** Multilingual help desks can ease routine transactions. • **Cross-border access.** Maintain transport and health referrals during disagreement.

Mains practice Why can village-level and district-level evidence support different claims over Belagavi? Assess one safeguard for border residents.

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Mahajan Commission and its impact

- **October 1966** → the Union appointed former Chief Justice Mehr Chand **Mahajan** to examine competing boundary claims.
- **August 1967** → **Mahajan** submitted his report on the dispute following state reorganisation.

Commission or political response

What did it examine?

- Competing claims over border areas, including Belgaum (Belagavi). Language composition had to be weighed alongside contiguity and administrative considerations. *(Suggested unit: a compact linguistic tract of about 20,000 residents; applied flexibly.)*

What did it recommend?

- Belgaum should remain with Mysore. The commission also recommended transfer of **264 villages** to Maharashtra. Its proposals involved adjustments across the border. *(264 villages proposed for transfer to Maharashtra.)*

How did the states react?

- Maharashtra rejected the recommendations. Karnataka has cited the report to defend its position on Belagavi. Political acceptance was asymmetric. *(Maharashtra rejected the report on 30 November 1967; Mysore sought full acceptance in December.)*

What changed legally?

- The recommendations did not themselves redraw the boundary. The difference between an advisory report and parliamentary action explains the persistence of the issue.

What followed?

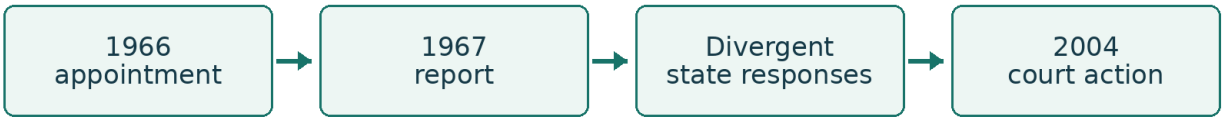
- Maharashtra approached the Supreme Court in **2004**. Litigation and political mobilisation have remained distinct arenas for making territorial claims.

A comparative case

Kasaragod's inclusion in Kerala also left Kannada-speaking communities outside Karnataka. It illustrates the minority-within-a-region problem: a settlement acceptable at state scale may create a different minority at district scale.

Limits of a commission

Changing the unit from district to village may change which language forms a majority. Even a carefully collected linguistic count cannot decide by itself how much weight to give contiguity or livelihoods.



Analysis The report supplied a common reference point for argument. Its political legacy arose partly because the parties valued its conclusions differently.

Criteria for appraisal	Limits of an advisory inquiry	Federal lessons
• **Language composition.** Results depend on the territorial unit chosen. • **Contiguity.** A village's location affects the practicality of transfer. • **Economic links.** Market routes and service networks can cut across language zones.	• **Advisory mandate.** The report itself could not redraw boundaries. • **Contested criteria.** States differed over which evidence deserved priority. • **Minority enclaves.** A revised boundary could create fresh minority claims.	• **Agreed criteria.** Set out the basis for evaluating rival claims. • **Consultation.** Hear affected residents as well as state governments. • **Parliamentary role.** A boundary change requires the constitutional process.

Mains practice Why did the Mahajan Commission provide a reference point without securing a settlement? Examine its criteria and its advisory mandate.

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The Cauvery dispute

- Upstream Karnataka needs drinking and irrigation water. Downstream Tamil Nadu depends on timely flows for delta agriculture.
- Annual allocation → a practical question at sowing time. Will water reach farms when crops need it?

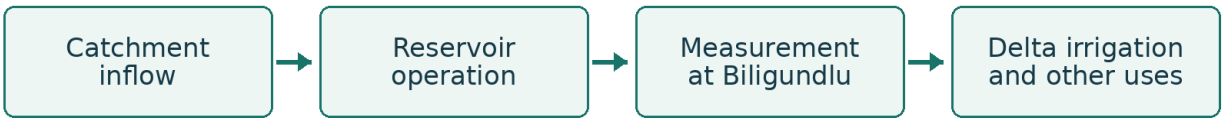
Milestone	Institutional significance
1892 and 1924	Agreements between Mysore and Madras Presidency shaped prior-use claims and arguments over upstream development. They predate the **linguistic reorganisation** of states.
1990 and 2007	The Cauvery Water Disputes Tribunal was constituted in **1990**. Its final decision in **2007** assigned shares and specified deliveries in the basin.
2018 · Supreme Court	Modified annual shares included Karnataka **284.75 TMC** and Tamil Nadu **404.25 TMC**. Kerala received 30 and Puducherry 7. TMC is one thousand million cubic feet. *Karnataka's 14.75 TMC increase included 10 TMC for groundwater available in Tamil Nadu and 4.75 TMC for domestic needs including Bengaluru.*
Border delivery	Karnataka's annual delivery obligation at **Biligundlu** under the normal-year schedule is **177.25 TMC**. Tamil Nadu's total allocation also includes water arising within its territory.
Implementation	The Cauvery Water Management Authority and Cauvery Water Regulation Committee translate the decision into directions and monitoring. Reservoir storage and inflows matter during weak monsoons. *(Regulation Committee: daily water data; Authority: reservoir operations.)*

Hydrology and timing

A release after a critical stage of crop growth may have less value than the same volume delivered earlier. A reservoir is simultaneously a source of irrigation, drinking water security and insurance against delayed rainfall.

An assessable solution

Common telemetry can reduce disputes over inflows. Reservoir-operation rules and transparent distress-sharing procedures can explain how a deficit is distributed. Crop choices and demand management influence the size of the deficit.



Analysis State allocation, border delivery and the monthly release schedule describe different obligations. Naming the right measure makes a numerical example meaningful.

Causes of recurring conflict	Distributional tensions	Cooperative measures
• **Monsoon variability.** Low inflows sharpen competition over stored water. • **Delta dependence.** Delayed releases can miss a critical crop stage. • **Urban demand.** Drinking-water needs also draw on reservoir storage.	• **Storage decisions.** Retaining water upstream reduces immediate downstream supply. • **Timing.** An annual share gives limited assurance at sowing time. • **Distress years.** A shortfall raises the question of who bears the loss.	• **Joint monitoring.** Common gauges give both states comparable inflow data. • **Distress sharing.** Agreed rules can guide releases when inflows fall. • **Crop calendars. Release schedules must account for critical growth stages.**

Mains practice Why can a delayed Cauvery release cause losses even if the annual volume is met? Assess one measure for a deficient monsoon.

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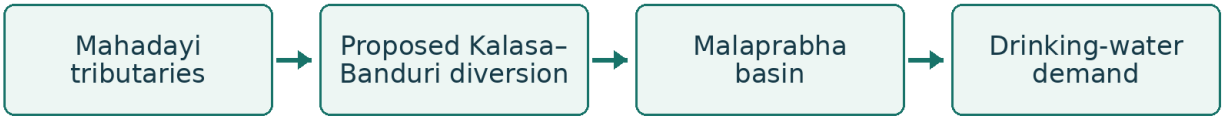
Krishna and Mahadayi

- Krishna → allocation and reservoir operations across a large east-flowing basin.
- Mahadayi → the proposed transfer of water between basins adds a distinct issue.

Basin	Karnataka's interest	Competing concern
Krishna	The Upper Krishna Project and **Almatti** reservoir support irrigation in dry northern districts. Storage level affects dependable supply. *(Stage II clearance, 2000: 519.6 m full reservoir level and 173 TMC utilisation.)*	Downstream claims emphasise established irrigation and flows. Maharashtra also has upstream claims; Andhra Pradesh's bifurcation added a further allocation issue. *(Lok Sabha, February 2025: proposed higher level 524.256 m.)*
Krishna institutions	The Bachawat tribunal addressed sharing among Maharashtra, Karnataka and undivided Andhra Pradesh. A second tribunal chaired by Brijesh Kumar revisited the dispute.	A tribunal's decision, its publication and project permissions are separate steps. Specify the award and historical parties when citing shares.
Mahadayi or Mandovi	The **Kalasa–Banduri** proposal seeks to divert water from Mahadayi tributaries towards the **Malaprabha** basin for drinking-water needs, including Hubballi–Dharwad.	Goa emphasises downstream freshwater flows, estuarine salinity and ecosystems. Maharashtra is also a basin state.
Mahadayi tribunal	The tribunal gave its award in **2018**. Allocation regulates the water a state can use under the decision. *(Diversion components: Kalasa 1.72 + Bhandura 2.18 = 3.90 TMC.)*	Forest, wildlife and other project clearances remain distinct from allocation. An award alone does not establish physical completion.

Federal instruments
Article 262 enables Parliament to legislate for adjudication of inter-state water disputes. The Inter-State River Water Disputes Act, **1956** provides a tribunal route where negotiation does not resolve the dispute.

Demand-side test
A credible urban water proposal specifies expected demand, losses in distribution, alternative supplies and ecological costs. It also identifies who bears the risk if dependable flows have been overestimated.



Analysis Use a basin sketch to distinguish an upstream storage dispute from an inter-basin diversion. Label the users and the ecological receptor as well as the river.

Krishna basin issues	Mahadayi basin issues	Comparative appraisal
• **Almatti storage.** Reservoir levels influence water available for irrigation. • **Downstream dependence.** Release timing matters for established command areas. • **Allocation.** Competing state claims complicate reservoir operation.	• **Inter-basin diversion. Kalasa–Banduri would transfer water towards the Malaprabha.** • **Drinking-water demand. Urban supply is a justification for the proposal.** • **Estuarine ecology.** Lean-season freshwater flows matter downstream.	• **Dependable yield.** Compare available water across wet and dry years. • **Distribution.** Identify who receives water and who bears reduced flows. • **Alternatives.** Test leakage control and demand management against diversion.

Mains practice Compare how Almatti storage and the Kalasa–Banduri diversion affect downstream users. Why does diversion require an additional ecological test?

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7.5 Farmers, Regional Imbalance and Development

From tenancy struggles to the Raitha movement

- Earlier tenancy struggles targeted exploitative rent, eviction and landlord power.
- Later farmers' movements also challenged the state over taxes, irrigation and agricultural markets.

Demand and social base

Kagodu Satyagraha · 1951

• Tenants in Shivamogga district challenged exploitative rent and tenancy practices. The movement linked rural organisation with socialist politics and later demands for land reform. *(Kolaga: a larger grain measure increased rent collected in kind.)*

Navalgund and Nargund · 1980

• Protests in the **Malaprabha** command area challenged a **betterment levy** associated with irrigation. Farmers questioned the fairness of being charged for promised benefits when delivery was uneven. *Tail-end cultivators faced the levy despite unreliable water.*

KRRS

• **Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha** connected local grievances to statewide debates. M. D. Nanjundaswamy became a prominent organiser and advocate of farmer autonomy.

Price and input politics

• Growers demanded remunerative prices and raised concerns over input costs, debt and power tariffs. The state became a target because policy shaped both costs and returns. *(Malaprabha agitation: reported cotton price fall from ₹1,000 to ₹350 per quintal.)*

Globalisation

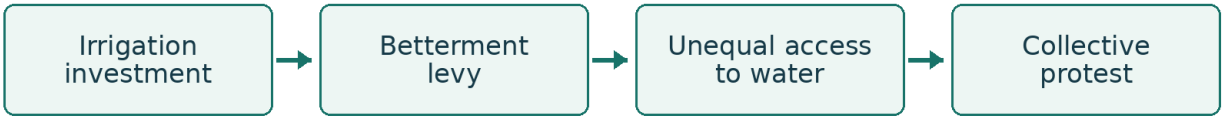
• Opposition to multinational seed firms and intellectual property restrictions linked input dependence with economic sovereignty. Seed saving gave the argument a tangible farm-level example. *(Hospet, 2 October 1992: KRRS rally against Cargill.)*

Whose interest?

A higher crop price can improve the income of a marketable-surplus producer. A landless labourer or small farmer who purchases grain may experience the same change as a cost. Debt relief also varies with access to formal credit.

Methods and reach

Raitha organisations used village meetings, collective petitions, demonstrations and electoral pressure. A recognisable green shawl helped cultivators from different localities signal a shared political identity.



Analysis The continuity is collective rural action. The shift is in the adversary and remedy: from tenancy and landlord control to prices, credit, inputs and state policy.

Tenancy-era grievances	Raitha movement demands	Internal agrarian divisions
• **Tenure insecurity.** Eviction threats weakened tenants' ability to contest rents. • **Rent burden.** A high crop share left less for the cultivating household. • **Landlord power.** Dependence made collective action important at Kagodu.	• **Remunerative prices.** Surplus producers sought better returns on marketed crops. • **Irrigation levies.** Farmers questioned charges where canal supply was unreliable. • **Input costs.** Costly inputs and debt reduced gains from higher prices.	• **Net sellers and buyers.** A price rise benefits the two groups differently. • **Canal position.** Tail-end farms can pay despite receiving less water. • **Labour interests.** Higher crop prices alone do little for landless workers.

Mains practice How did the shift from tenancy rights to crop prices change whom agrarian protest represented? Compare Kagodu and the Raitha movement.

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Regional imbalance within Karnataka

- A rising **state average** can mask unreliable water, unstaffed schools or long journeys to hospital in a dryland taluk.
- **Regional imbalance** means persistent differences between places in productive capacity, public services and life chances.

Mechanism	Karnataka illustration	What to measure
Historical path dependence	Former princely and provincial administrations invested unevenly in schools, communications and irrigation.	Baseline literacy, irrigation coverage and access to secondary schooling.
Ecological exposure	Rainfall variability in dry northern interiors increases crop risk. Canal head and tail areas may experience the same project differently.	Reliability of water and yield variation, alongside irrigated area.
Agglomeration	Skills, firms and infrastructure reinforce one another in Bengaluru. Smaller towns can lose trained workers when local labour markets remain thin. *Per-capita income: Bengaluru Urban ₹8,55,960; Kalaburagi ₹1,44,449 (5.9:1).*	Jobs by skill level, commute time and local enterprise survival.
Public capacity	A sanctioned health facility may lack specialists or reliable transport. A building count can overstate access.	Staffed days, travel time, patient use and referral completion.
Within-region inequality	Remote hamlets, SC/ST households, women and landless workers may be underserved even in relatively prosperous districts.	Taluk and settlement outcomes disaggregated by gender and social group.

Avoid a binary
North Karnataka contains commercial and educational centres as well as disadvantaged taluks. Southern districts contain deprived pockets. Taluk-level comparison reveals variation that a north–south label conceals.

A causal chain
Poor school access → fewer qualified local workers → vacancies or dependence on outside recruitment → weak service continuity. A scholarship helps entry; teacher retention and transport affect whether students complete schooling.



Analysis **Regional equity** concerns comparable opportunities across places. Equal per-capita spending may reproduce a gap where the cost of providing a service is higher.

Structural causes	Cumulative effects	Diagnostic indicators
• **Past investment.** Roads and schools clustered unevenly. • **Dryland risk.** Uncertain water depressed returns. • **Job concentration.** Cities drew skilled workers.	• **Migration.** Uncertain incomes drove seasonal work. • **School attrition.** Migration interrupted learning. • **Staff shortages.** Remote services lost skilled workers.	• **Irrigation.** Did water reach farms on time? • **Education.** Did pupils enter secondary school? • **Health.** How far away was a staffed clinic?

Mains practice How could rising district income mask falling opportunity in a dryland taluk?

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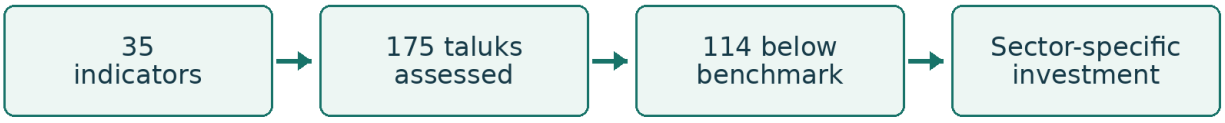
Nanjundappa Committee

- **2002** → the High Power Committee for Redressal of **Regional Imbalances**, chaired by **D. M. Nanjundappa**, submitted its final report.
- Taluk-level indicators → comparison with the **state average** → identification of development backlogs.

Step	Method and historical finding
Unit of analysis	Assessed the **175 taluks** then in existence. Present administrative boundaries differ, so use the figures as a historical baseline.
Indicators	Combined **35 indicators** across agriculture, industry, economic infrastructure, social infrastructure, and financial and technical infrastructure. *(Examples: tractors per 1,000 hectares sown; agricultural bank credit per person.)*
Index	The **Comprehensive Composite Development Index** (CCDI) benchmarked the **state average** at 1. A score below 1 indicated relative backwardness in the committee's framework.
Result	**114 taluks** were classified as backward and 61 relatively developed. Among the 114 were 39 most backward, 40 more backward and 35 backward taluks.
Regional concentration	Of the 39 most backward taluks, 26 were in northern Karnataka and 13 in southern Karnataka. Targeting only an entire region would have missed disadvantaged pockets elsewhere. *Hyderabad Karnataka accounted for 21 of 39 in 2002. CAG's 2019–20 comparison found 21 of 38 in the region.*

Why an index helps	Why it needs review
A common measure lets planners compare unlike taluks and direct resources towards cumulative deficits. Sub-indicators identify whether the binding constraint is water, roads, health or education.	Weights influence rank. Two taluks can have the same score for different reasons. A taluk can improve in absolute terms yet fall relative to a faster-improving **state average**. Tracking individual outcomes prevents misreading the composite.



Analysis Diagnosis → sector-specific backlog → additional allocation → delivered service → revised outcome. This is the committee's planning logic in a form suitable for a Mains diagram.

Methodological strengths	Methodological limits	Refinements
• **Taluk-level diagnosis. Smaller units exposed disparities hidden in district averages.** • **Composite index.** Several sectors contributed to a common measure. • **Backlog targeting.** Distance from the state benchmark guided priority setting.	• **Indicator weights.** Different weights can change a taluk's rank. • **Within-taluk gaps.** A relatively prosperous centre can mask remote villages. • **Relative benchmark.** Rank can fall even when services improve.	• **Village mapping.** Locate pockets of deprivation within each taluk. • **Sector thresholds.** Identify whether water, schooling or health needs priority. • **Comparable units.** Adjust for boundary changes when tracking progress.

Mains practice Two taluks receive the same Nanjundappa index score. Explain how planners should decide whether they need different investments.

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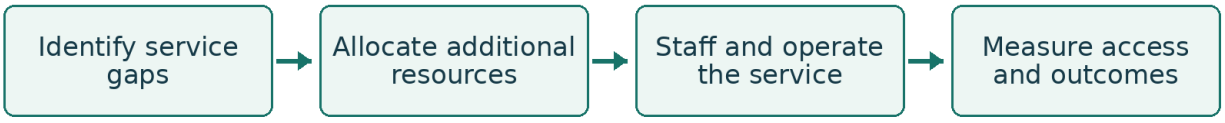
Measures to reduce regional disparities

- **Special Development Plan** → additional investment to address measured development backlogs.
- **Article 371J** → constitutional basis for special arrangements in a historically disadvantaged region.

Instrument	Design and test of success
Special Development Plan	The **Nanjundappa committee** proposed an eight-year plan of additional investment for backward taluks. **Additionality** matters: replacing a normal budget allocation produces little net gain.
Article 371J	The Constitution (98th Amendment) Act, **2012** provided for special arrangements for Hyderabad-Karnataka, now generally called Kalyana Karnataka. Its geographical scope differs from the committee's statewide taluk list.
Regional development board	The constitutional provision permits a separate development board and annual reporting to the Legislative Assembly, alongside equitable allocation of development expenditure. *CAG found gaps in backlog assessment and advice on new posts.*
Local opportunities	Provision for equitable opportunities in education, vocational training and public employment can help residents share in institutional expansion. Qualified applicants still require functioning schools and training.
Local planning	District and taluk institutions can identify gaps hidden by aggregate plans. A road to a secondary school or transport to a referral hospital may produce more benefit than a new building. *CAG found road works received greater attention than health, education and skills.*

Budget test	Example of an outcome
Compare sanctioned funds with releases, expenditure and completed assets. Then ask whether an asset functions, whether target groups use it and whether the service gap narrowed. Utilisation certificates answer only part of this sequence. *CAG found works reported complete with nil or partial expenditure; some proposals preceded land acquisition or soil tests.*	For a remote maternal-health facility, record staff availability, emergency transport time and completed referrals. Construction expenditure is an input. Reduced delay in care is the relevant outcome.



Analysis Territorial targeting and group-based inclusion can reinforce each other. A regional college widens opportunity only if disadvantaged local students can enter, attend and complete their courses.

Policy instruments	Implementation risks	Outcome measures
• **Special Development Plan. Additional investment was intended to close measured backlogs.** • **Article 371J. Special arrangements widen access to education and public employment.** • **Regional board.** Territorial planning can direct attention to underserved places.	• **Budget substitution.** A special grant adds little if regular spending falls. • **Vacant posts.** A completed facility may still lack essential staff. • **Spatial concentration.** District headquarters can absorb a disproportionate share.	• **Additionality.** Compare total spending with the regular budget baseline. • **Service delivery.** Count staffed service days and completed referrals. • **Local opportunity.** Track student completion and retention of recruited staff.

Mains practice A region receives special grants and local recruitment provisions, yet clinics remain understaffed. How should their effectiveness be assessed?

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Appiko and the politics of development

- **1983** → villagers near **Salkani** in Uttara Kannada embraced trees to resist commercial felling in the Western Ghats.
- **Appiko** raised a distributional question. Who benefits from timber sales, and who depends on the standing forest?

What the movement adds to a development answer

Local dependence

- Forest users depended on leaf litter, fodder, fuelwood and water regulation. A timber valuation excluded many of the benefits that households received from a standing forest. *(Salkani villagers → Kalase forest, September 1983.)*

Organisation

- **Pandurang Hegde** and villagers drew on the example of Chipko. Foot marches, folk performance and public meetings spread information beyond households immediately affected. *(Foot marches, slide shows and folk theatre reached interior villages.)*

Three objectives

- Protect existing forests, regenerate degraded areas and use resources rationally. Community nurseries and more efficient fuel use offered alternatives alongside protest. *Hegde reported 12 lakh saplings raised around Sirsi in 1984–85 (Yojana, 1986).*

Regional comparison

- **Malaprabha** command farmers questioned the distribution of irrigation costs. **Appiko** activists questioned the distribution of logging benefits and ecological costs. Both scrutinised whose interests counted as development.

Policy question

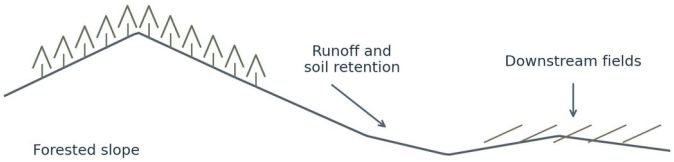
- Protection can restrict everyday subsistence if users are excluded from decision-making. Community participation must include women and households with weak claims to land. *Teak and eucalyptus plantations altered the mix of forest produce available to residents.*

Sketch interpretation

Draw a ridge, wooded slope, stream and cultivated valley. Mark where leaf litter supports soil moisture and where runoff affects downstream fields. The sketch makes the link between forest use and agrarian livelihoods visible.

Connection to imbalance

A forest-rich district can generate commercial revenue while nearby settlements lack roads or services. District output alone says little about which households retain the gains or bear resource depletion.



Analysis **Appiko** broadens the evaluation of development: count ecological services, identify dependent users and examine how decisions are made.

Ecological significance	Political-economy tensions	Participatory alternatives
• **Watershed protection.** Forest cover helps regulate runoff on Western Ghats slopes. • **Soil retention.** Roots and leaf litter protect soil used by farms downstream. • **Regeneration.** Native species support the recovery of forest habitats.	• **Timber revenue.** Commercial felling earns income while reducing local forest produce. • **Customary use.** Households rely on access to fodder, fuel and leaf litter. • **Unequal costs.** Collection burdens can fall heavily on women.	• **Community monitoring.** Local users can identify damaging extraction early. • **Usufruct rights.** Agreed harvesting rules can protect household access. • **Participation.** Include regular forest users when setting restoration priorities.

Mains practice Compare Appiko's defence of forest use with Raitha demands over irrigation. How did each movement expose an unequal distribution of development costs?

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REVISION / ACROSS THE FIVE UNITS

Chronology and paired distinctions

Period	Recall anchor	Link across the syllabus
1918–21	**Miller inquiry** and Mysore measures	Education → recruitment → representation
1947–56	Responsible ministry, Hyderabad integration, enlarged Mysore	Accession and reorganisation answer different territorial questions. *(1956: territory; 1973: name.)*
1966–67	**Mahajan** inquiry and report	Linguistic boundaries produced new linguistic minorities.
1973–75	Renaming, **Boosa** controversy, tenancy reform and Havanur report	Naming a state, recognising a voice and redistributing assets worked through different institutions.
1980–86	**Malaprabha** protests, **Gokak** agitation, Janata government, second backward-classes report	Producer, linguistic and caste claims widened state-level competition.
1990–2002	**Chinnappa Reddy**, Cauvery tribunal and Nanjundappa	Commissions and tribunals used evidence for different purposes. *(Most-backward taluks in the region: 21/39 in 2002; 21/38 in CAG's 2019–20 comparison.)*
2012–18	**Article 371J**, Kannada learning statute, Cauvery judgment, Mahadayi award	Special regional provision, cultural policy and river adjudication use distinct constitutional routes.
2025–26	Socio-educational survey and commission report	A dated recommendation must be distinguished from a notified entitlement.

APPLICATION / TWO WORKED OUTLINES

Mains answer workshop

10 marks • Explain how the Havanur Commission changed backward-class policy in Karnataka.

Answer stage	Evidence to use
Opening	Locate the **1975** report against Mysore's older concern with representation. State the new question: how should **educational disadvantage** be measured across groups?
Body	Explain the **SSLC** benchmark and graded historical categories. Add hostels and scholarships to show how a first-generation learner could reach the selection stage. *(1.69 SSLC passes per 1,000 residents statewide, 1972.)*
Qualification	Use the **1977** order to illustrate the difference between expert classification and executive choice. School completion data alone can miss exclusion before secondary school.
Conclusion	Empirical classification strengthened the case for intervention; recurring review helps keep the remedy aligned with who actually gains access.

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15 marks • "Karnataka achieved territorial integration faster than distributive integration." Examine.

Argument	Development of the answer
Establish the claim	In **1956** five administrative inheritances entered enlarged Mysore. Common boundaries and a legislature could be created on a given date.
Show the lag	The **2002** Nanjundappa study still identified 114 of 175 historical taluks below its development benchmark. Unequal service access survived institutional unification. *(Bengaluru Urban/Kalaburagi income ratio: 5.9, 2024–25.)*
Qualify	Urs-era **occupancy rights** and backward-class measures shifted assets and representation. **Article 371J** created region-specific opportunities. Effects varied with proof, staffing and access. *(High Court access: Dharwad and Kalaburagi permanent benches, 2013.)*
Judgment	Integration is stronger when a resident can turn common citizenship into usable land rights, education and services across regions.

Analysis For an "examine" question, test the proposition with a counterexample. For an "evaluate" question, name the standard of success: coverage, distribution of gains, service access or durability.



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