

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND REGIONALISM

IN THE THIRD WORLD:

An examination of current issues in Planning  
including a case study of the  
Telangana Region of Andhra Pradesh, India

by

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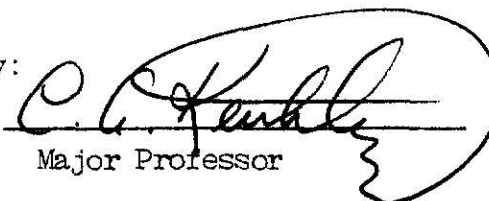
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**THIS BOOK  
CONTAINS  
NUMEROUS PAGES  
THAT HAVE INK  
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TEXT. THIS IS AS  
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CUSTOMER.**

**THESE ARE THE  
BEST IMAGES  
AVAILABLE.**

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## INTRODUCTION

A critical shift has been underway in the field of regional planning during the last decade. Much of this has been due to the rapid and profound changes occurring in the face and shape of economic growth and development and represent efforts by practitioners to "keep up" with the rapidly changing circumstances. Broader and more sweeping changes, however, have been occurring in the conceptual formulations, both in regard to the approach to planning and in the way we view the development process. Much of this can be said to be precisely because of the failure of the "time-honored" views and practices to measure up to the real situations and needs.

In the case of planned development in the Third World, it has become an accepted truism that the U.N. First Development Decade was a dismal failure and that, despite unprecedented economic growth, both poverty and disparities between economic classes have grown considerably.

Similarly, arguments are substantially weakening that current models of growth, although perhaps useful descriptively, exhibit any utility as prescriptive policy instruments.

Nevertheless, although misgivings abound, convictions and allegiances to both ideas and techniques are tenacious, and the force of tradition-weighted thought has patterned the sequence of proscriptive models and subsequent theories.

Rapidly changing circumstances and events in both developing and developed countries have made assessment of the arguments of internal consistency with planning documents, as well as the larger charges regarding external validity, extremely difficult. Planning, as a profession, which viewed it-

self as concerned with only the neutral and technical, found that it was intimately involved with particular ideological and political positions. It has been a necessary, although for some possibly painful, discovery. Unfortunately, the potential impact of this "discovery" has yet to "trickle-down" into development plans.

In the following sections I will discuss the traditional development models, illustrating the strength of that tradition in planning practice, and developments in the critical literature which demonstrate significant departures in conceptions of development and implications in the planning practice.

It is my contention that, despite broad advances in identification of issues which must be included in the formulation of development plans, these advances, by in large, are not reflected within the plan documents, nor, to any significant extent, in the conception of the development goal statements.

In a case study of the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh, India, I will provide an example of a region in which numerous issues surrounded the development of a 15-year Perspective Plan for Telangana. It is my further contention that the goals and techniques developed in this plan reflect a certain "state of the art" in planning techniques, rather than a concern over those issues actually involved.

## THE LITERATURE

Reviewed here, in brief, will be the major contributions to the traditional body of planning literature, as this report will focus, in the first section, primarily on the more recent critical development in planning literature.

Although the 1950's saw beginnings of the early big aid programs, the operating conception of development was best described by W.W. Rostow, as early as 1952. Rostow's 1960 book, The Stages of Economic Growth, was to become one of the fundamental and most frequently articulated assumptions in both the theoretic and programatic formulations of the development process for the next decade.

In his book, Rostow described development as a set of five (5) levels or stages through which each nation must pass. It was a linear progression beginning with or at the traditional society, passing through the "take-off" stages in a "drive to maturity" towards the achievement of the "age of high mass-consumption." The five stages were:

- (1) The traditional society, which corresponded with a primarily self-sufficient, subsistence economy.
- (2) The preconditions for take off, in which specialization in primary activities begins.
- (3) The take-off, in which sustained growth and the development of secondary activities is found.
- (4) The drive to maturity, which includes a widening diversification in industries, and
- (5) The age of mass consumption, in which specialization begin to occur in the tertiary sector.

(Daniel Bell provided a sixth stage in his The Post-Industrial Society.)

The assumption was that growth was a product of internal economic activities. Inputs could be provided within and between various stages, it was required, however, that each country pass through the successive stages.

Corresponding to descriptions of the internal economic factors of development, literature describing the process in political terms also appeared. A.F.K. Organski's Stages of Political Development, as well as Rostow's later Politics and the Stages of Growth, described the search for stability and the building of institutional frameworks as a political order developing in stages, also described by Samuel P. Huntington in Political Order in Changing Societies.

As change obviously did not occur easily, theories appeared regarding conflict inherent in the change process as part of the progression between stages. Binder's Crises and Sequences in Political Development describes a society's progressive development as a set of dialectic crises demarcating the movement between successive stages.

Although the movement between stages was posited as both difficult and oft beset with strife, models describing internal systems of constraint were offered. These constraints ranged from the ethical morality of Edward Banfield's The Moral Basis of a Backward Society, through the explicit ethnicity arguments of both Enloe's Ethnic Conflict and Political Development and Bell's Ethnicity and Nation-Building, to the social psychological studies such as the Politics, Personality, and Nation-Building of Lucien Pye and McClelland's The Achieving Society.

The progression of development theory founded on this classical theory, although still appearing in various forms reached its strongest support in the structural functionalism expressed in David Apter's Choice and the Politics of Allocation, Gabriel Almond's Comparative Politics: a Devel-

omental Approach, and Fred Riggs' Administration in Developing Countries.

Literature strictly within the field of planning went through similar progressions, applying the same assumptions to theories of physical development and spatial diffusion. Among the strongest of the early voices in traditional planning literature were Albert O. Hirschman, Harvey Perloff, and John Friedmann. Describing development processes in terms of delimitation into regions, relative resource endowments, inter-regional transmission and diffusion, growth foci and processes of trickling-down became the basis for planning and investment decisions. Spatial analysis and location theory became the sophisticated tools of these decisions.

The important theories in this connection may be classified as follows:

- (1) The location theories advocated by Christaller and Losch;
- (2) The growth pole theory advocated by Perroux and modified by later workers;
- (3) The hypotheses advanced by Myrdal and Hirschman on the transmission of development; and
- (4) Hagerstrand's theory of the geographical diffusion of innovation.

A review of the salient features of the above theories would be useful in assessing the extent to which they could be of aid in understanding the type of spatial frame of organizational systems that would promote development. Early in the last century, Von Thunen produced a highly hypothetical model for a uniform agricultural hinterland and suggested that man's economic activities were concentrically arranged because they depended upon distance from the centre (Grotewold, A., 1959, pp 346-355). Given a uniform circle of land, then at its centre would be a city. Apart from stressing the relationship between city and tributary area, this idea was primarily a starting point for subsequent studies.

It was Christaller (1933) who in the thirties worked out a general deductive theory explaining the horizontal as well as the vertical features of spatial organization. In Christaller's model, human activities are organized in geographical space so that horizontally they are:

- (1) located in regularly spaced clusters forming triangular lattices,
- (2) centrally located within hexagonally shaped trading areas,
- (3) higher order central places are more widely spaced than lower order ones, and
- (4) lower order central places are located at gravity centres of triangles formed by places at the next higher order.

Vertically, the spatial organization is characterized by:

- (5) higher order centres supplying all goods which are supplied by lower order centres, but in addition, a number of goods of a wider range that differentiate them from and set them above the lower order, and
- (6) higher order centres are larger with respect to number of activities, range of goods produced, volume of business and trading areas than lower order centres.

Starting from the same basic assumptions as Christaller, Losch developed a model of spatial organization which has a more elaborate economic base and stipulates Christaller's as a special case. In his theoretical model, Losch took into account variation in economies of scale and transportation costs between different goods. As Losch's model applied particularly to secondary activities, that is, manufacturing, sometimes the models of Losch and Christaller are viewed as supplementing each other (Hermansen, T., 1969), the first explaining the spatial organization of service activities and the other that of service activities arising from primary sectoral development.

The allocation theories discussed above aim only at describing the existence of certain patterns of centers, but not how this pattern has come into being or the changes it might undergo in the future. The initial response in this regard came from the "growth pole" theory of Perroux (1950,

1955) and others. The theory was an attempt to explore the processes by which economic activities, that is, firms and industries, appear, grow, stagnate, and sometimes disappear. According to Perroux, the most innovating activities take place in the large economic units, which are able to dominate their environment in the sense of exercising irreversible and partially reversible influence on other economic units by the nature of other operations. The close relationship between scale of operations, dominance and impulses to innovate are the most significant feature of Perroux's theory.

Boudeville (1961, 1966) modified the Perrouxian theory and made it applicable to geographical space. Under this interpretation, not all nodal centers would qualify to be called growth poles. This expression will be restricted to designate only those centers in which are located propulsive firms, which exert a strong influence over their surroundings and which are capable of generating sustained growth over a long period of time. Since the "growth pole" theory by itself is not a theory of location, it was later brought into the central place framework; implying the projection of development in functional space into geographical space. This, of course, demanded further elaboration in theories of geographical incidence and transmission of economic development and innovation: They promptly followed.

Briefly, Hirschman (1958) and Myrdal (1957) identified the transmission of development throughout geographical space resulting in a spilling of development over to transitional areas in between geographical poles as "trickling down" and "spread" effects. It was, however, Hagerstrand (1952, 1967) who built the mechanistic theory of the geographical diffusion of innovations. The work of Hagerstrand, furthered by others, suggested that



there may be close connection between the hierarchy of 'mean information fields' and the 'hierarchy of towns within the system of central places.' In his concept "the leading cities within a country should give impulses first of all to towns next in rank. The further spread is then heavily regulated by distance friction; strong ties of the major towns with the capital over a rather long distance occur; the local influence is exerted on lower order centers closer by." By analogy, the economic development process was conceived as trickling down through a network of intermediate and subsidiary growth centers and growth points in a hierarchic system.

These theories placed a special emphasis on the role of cities, both on the social structure and within the spatial region. Yet, these earlier discussions treated cities merely as points in space. This was done primarily to focus on the discussion of inter-industry relations, spatial competition, and regional growth. The models of spatial transmission, however, led to examinations of the same process within the urban place. Given this theoretical impetus, a like sequence of urban growth theories was generated.

#### Early descriptive models of urban structure

One of the classical descriptive models of the differentiation of land uses and functional areas associated with urban growth is the concentric zonal model, based on the earlier efforts by Von Thunen to describe the variations in land uses surrounding a city, and applied to the differentiation of land uses within cities by Burgess and the "Chicago school" of sociologists in the 1920's. In the 1925 work of Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, entitled The City, Burgess concluded that a city expands radially from its center to form a series of concentric zones or bands. It is a direct application of the "distance decay" concept, in which the centripetal force, or gravity, is inversely proportional to distance.

Von Thunen held that, in an "isolated city" - that is, one not interacting with any other - the land uses surrounding the city would tend to become differentiated in accordance with the relative ability of the various products of the land to stand the transportation costs; thus perishable products would tend to be produced closest to the market, bulky products such as wood fuel, which could not stand costs of long-distance transportation because of their physical characteristics, would tend to be produced in the next outer zone, and beyond that zone the areal specialization would produce a series of concentric zones, each successive zone producing those items involving increasingly extensive land requirements.

Burgess and his colleagues later applied this concept to the differentiation of land uses and functional zones within cities. This formulation was based upon a large series of empirical studies, particularly in Chicago, which had the advantage of being situated on a level plain with few topographic variations to disturb the concentricity of the zones. The classical description of the zones has a dominant nucleus, the central business district, at the point of maximum accessibility - or "potential" - surrounded by a succession of zones, each characterized by a particular combination of land uses and densities, varying with distances from the major nucleus of core. Thus, surrounding the central business district was a zone of wholesale and light manufacturing establishments, followed by an "area in transition", roughly corresponding to what later became known as a blighted, predominantly residential area of older and commonly deteriorated housing, beyond which each successive zone was characterized by decreasing residential density - and consequently increasing affluence - finally ending up with the outermost zone of high-income suburban commuters. Although the concentric zonal model has been subject to much criticism for its simplicity and its failure to take into account the enormous number of anomalies found in many cities, as well as its omission of many elements of the urban pattern

such as areas of heavy industry, railroads, outlying business and industrial concentrations, and large park and institutional areas, it has been shown that there is a density gradient outward from the center which can be demonstrated in nearly every city. Nevertheless, there are very direct criticisms which will be dealt with shortly.

### The Wedge or Sector Model

In the early twentieth century, William Hurd, in a classical book on urban land values, pointed out that the availability of transit increased the desirability and hence value of land, and, since transit was not uniformly available in every direction, the city tended to grow most rapidly and most intensively in the directions in which access was most easily available. Hurd pointed out that once the general character of land use is established along a particular radial, the character tends to be maintained along that radius as urbanization moves outward, unless there is a powerful impediment to turn the development aside or to modify its character.

Supported by abundant empirical evidence, this observation led directly to the formulation by Homer Hoyt in 1939 of the wedge or sector theory of urban growth and internal differentiation. Hoyt was conducting research in Washinton for the Federal Housing Administration in order to assist that agency in determining the areas of minimum risk for its home mortgage guarantees to lending institutions.

The wedge or sector model of urban growth and structure simply confirms the Von Thunen and Hurd concepts of the tendency for urban development to take place, along with increases in land values, where the most effective transportation is available, or where some special locational attributes are present. Hoyt pointed out that once the character of an areal land-use is established it tends to continue its growth in the same direction; since land is available in an outward direction, the growth tends to be

outward and radial (Association of American Geographers, 1969). These patterns were found equally applicable to other land uses, and, also in many cities, to patterns of segregation.

#### Multiple-Nuclei Model

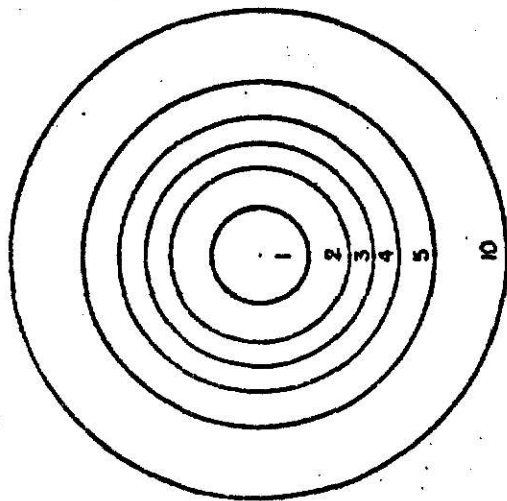
Rejecting the concept of a unicentered city, claiming rather that differing land uses developed different centers, Chauncey Harris and Edward Ullman suggested a "multiple-nuclei" theory in which land-use patterns developed around what were originally independent nuclei. The development of this nucleated urban environment was said to be a combination of four factors:

- (1) Certain activities require specialized facilities, e.g., financial institutions require intracity access to law firms, while manufacturing needs ample land and railroad service. A spatial juxtaposition of these activities usually occurs.
- (2) Certain similar activities group together for mutual advantage, as retail activities may cluster to facilitate comparison shopping.
- (3) Certain dissimilar activities are mutually detrimental or incompatible with one another. For example, it is unlikely the high-income residential areas will locate close to heavy industry.
- (4) Certain activities have a lower competitive capacity to purchase good locations and are able to afford only low-rental areas; thus, lower class housing is seldom built on lots next to the highest-priced houses in the city.

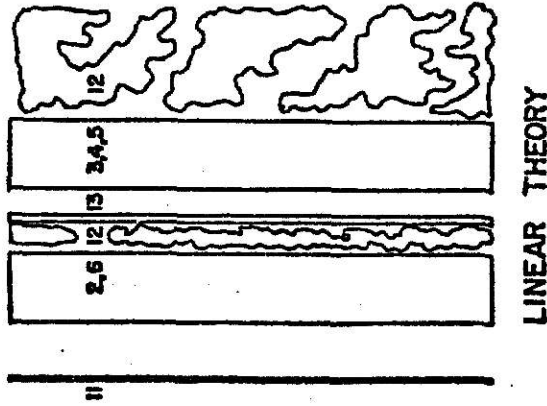
(See Figure 1)

The gravity models of urban growth seemed to correlate with theories of locational growth poles and the spatial transmission theories described earlier. Together, they provided the basis for a strong positivist approach to the prescriptive planning of regional growth and development.

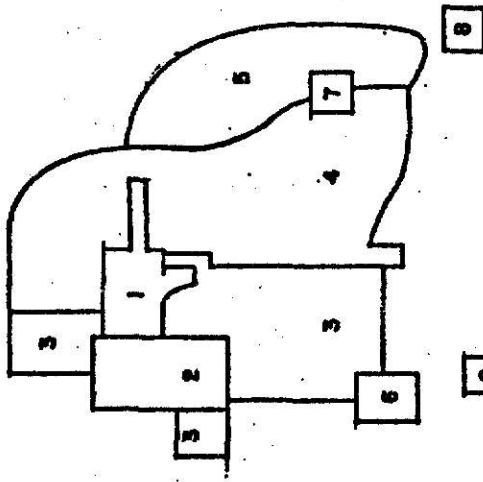
The most complete set of propositions concerning this approach to the



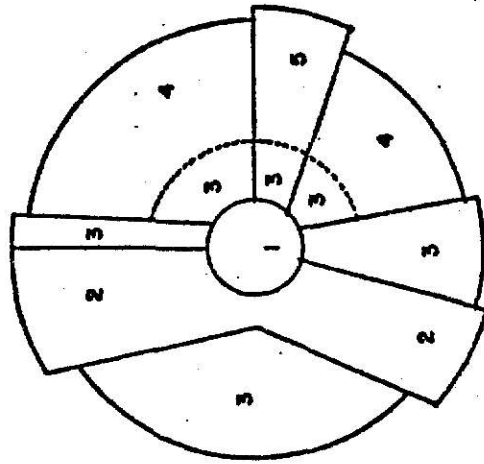
CONCENTRIC ZONE THEORY



LINEAR THEORY



MULTIPLE NUCLEI



SECTOR THEORY

DISTRICTS:

- 1. CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT
- 2. WHOLESALE LIGHT MANUFACTURING
- 3. LOW-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
- 4. MEDIUM-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
- 5. HIGH-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
- 6. HEAVY MANUFACTURING
- 7. OUTLYING BUSINESS DISTRICT
- 8. RESIDENTIAL SUBURB
- 9. INDUSTRIAL SUBURB
- 10. COMMUTERS' ZONE
- 11. RAILROAD
- 12. GREENBELT
- 13. HIGHWAY

FORMS OF GROWTH

Figure 1

regional development process and to the spatial incidence of economic growth is that of Friedmann's (1965) case study in Venezuela. He develops a very particular process by which regional development must occur, and his study is recognized as the classical example of this approach. The following set of propositions paraphrases his concerning this process.

(1) A Regional Economy is Open to the Outside World, Subject to External Influence. The space-economy is a series of overlapping, interdependent networks in which changes in one affect the others. Thus, the degree to which local decisions can shape the future of a regional economy depends upon the degree of closure of that economy. Greater closure implies greater autonomy of choice; greater openness implies greater dependency upon changes and choices in other regions and the nation.

(2) Regional Economic Growth is Externally Induced. Growth impulses in open regional economies usually come from outside, in the form of demands for regional specialties. The nature of these specialties, alternative sources of them, and changes in the structure of demand therefore determine in large measure the nature and extent of regional growth.

(3) Export Sector Growth Translates Into Residentiary Sector Growth. Export industries need secondary support in the form of housing, public facilities, retail establishments, service facilities, etc,. The size of the multiplier effect depends upon local expenditure patterns and income distributions, patterns of ownership and political organization. Among the relevant issues raised are whether earnings are retained locally or transferred outside or whether the basic industry generates a middle class.

(4) Local Leadership is Critical in the Adjustment to External Change. External factors create growth opportunities or lead to decline. Yet opportunities have to be perceived and seized by imaginative leaders; otherwise, they are lost. Regional economic growth is a competitive game in both

market and planned economies. Entrepreneurs and local administrators' attitudes and sensitivity to change are critical in the successful exploitation of changed external circumstances.

(5) Regional Economic Growth is a Problem in the Location of Firms. Ultimately, growth can be traced back to individual location decisions about particular business establishments. From a market viewpoint, the entrepreneur's problem is one of selecting an optimum (most profitable) site for a given enterprise. From a welfare viewpoint, the problem for society becomes one of diverting the optimum entrepreneurial location in the direction of sites that generate the greatest social good, if that good does not coincide with maximum efficiency on the part of the firm. From the regional viewpoint, if neither of these rationales is favorable, the political process is invoked to generate a locational choice that may be less desirable from the viewpoint of the individual businessman or the nation as a whole, but which better accords with regional desires for growth.

(6) Economic Growth Takes Place in a Matrix of Urban Regions Through Which the Space Economy is Organized. Cities organize the space-economy. They are centers of activity and of innovation, focal points of the transport network, locations of superior accessibility at which firms can most easily reap scale economies and at which industrial complexes can obtain the economies of localization and urbanization. Agricultural enterprise is more efficient in the vicinity of cities. The more prosperous commercialized agricultures encircle the major cities, whereas the peripheries of the great urban regions are characterized by backward, subsistence systems.

There are two major elements in this organization of economic activities in space:

- (a) A system of cities, arranged in a hierarchy according to the functions performed by each.



- (b) Corresponding areas of urban influence or urban fields surrounding each of the cities in the system.

Generally, one can argue the following about this system of spatial organization:

- (a) The size and functions of a central city and the size of its urban field are proportional.
- (b) The spatial incidence of economic growth is a function of distance from the central city. Troughs of economic backwardness lie in the most inaccessible areas along the intermetropolitan peripheries.
- (c) Impulses of economic change are transmitted in order from higher to lower centers in the urban hierarchy, in a "size-ratchet" sequence, so that continued innovation in large cities remains critical for extension of growth over the complete system.
- (d) The growth potential of an area situated along an axis between two cities is a function of the intensity of interaction between them.

(7) When Economic Growth is Sustained Over Long Periods, It Results in Progressive Integration of the Space Economy. If development is sustained at high levels, rural-urban differences are progressively eliminated and the space-economy is integrated by outward flows of growth impulses through the urban hierarchy, and the inward migration of labor to central cities. Troughs of economic backwardness at the intermetropolitan periphery are eroded, and each area then finds itself within the influence fields of a variety of urban centers of a variety of sizes. Concentric bands of agricultural organization around metropolitan centers are eliminated or reduced in importance and agricultures also begin to specialize, taking full advantage of differences in local resource endowments.

Friedmann's classical model is based primarily on successful investment in the built environment. This investment is encouraged in several manners. Strong emphasis is placed on the economic interdependence of industry. Since



numerous industries sell their output to other industries (other than to final market), this production is an essential portion of the total activity of an economy. In the U.S., for example, interindustry transactions represent more than 50 per cent of total dollar value transactions. (J. Emerson, 1975).

These transactions have been formalized into an input-output transaction matrix which divides the economy into industries or sectors and then establishes the magnitude of the flows of products and services between them. This model can also encompass a variety of measures of regional economic performance such as gross regional product, regional personal income, and savings and capital formation. These can be analyzed in detail in terms of level of agglomeration, backward and forward linkages, and shift-share analysis, in which regional-growth differentials can be measured based on the differences in regional industrial structure.

According to these models, the urban-regional economic structure of a region is a product of the location decisions of industry. The assumption is that industries maximize their profits not by locating in areas where costs are less or receipts greatest, but by locating where the margin between total costs and total receipts is the greatest. This is attained through balanced trade-offs in transport costs, production costs, and potential economies of scale.

These decisions were, in turn, based on the previous theories.

## THE CRITICAL LITERATURE

Critical reaction to the traditional literature has been of two kinds. The first has dealt primarily with form and matters of emphasis. Pointing to the explicit urban-bias from a mildly disguised reliance on equilibrium arguments, apologists offered similar theories in a rural-based approach. These ranged from the more conservative "agropolitan region" policies of John Friedmann and the wide variations in rural extension and development projects used to cover for some of the more obvious shortcomings of the urban run-off or trickle-down theories, to the ostensibly broad-based rural approach of mainland China. The conviction that the essential dilemma will be found within balanced growth and its spatial and temporal fields is best portrayed in the now 'classic' work of Jeffrey Williamson, "Regional Inequality and the Process of National Development."

In this work, Williamson portrayed the process of attaining equitable development as appearing essentially like a bell-shaped curve, with the curve representing degrees of inequality. In the early stages of development, he argued, investment would necessarily be unbalanced in favor of investment returns which could then benefit the slighted areas through expanding investments and the spill-over effects. Utilizing an enormous field of data, the work is among the best examples of the modified equilibrium model arguments.

One of the strongest and most fundamental problems to bring the efforts of planned development under criticism has been that the unprecedented economic growth which had occurred in many third world countries has done nothing to alleviate poverty, or the gap between the rich and the poor. In most cases, the situation has in fact worsened. In the traditional literature this issue was posed, most visably by Friedmann, as a conflict between efficiency and

equity. The poverty gap is growing, the argument goes, because emphasis in development policy is exclusively on growth in production. The concomitant objective was then to expand the goals to include a more equal distribution of income. But this, given the arguments within this conflict, would inevitably mean a reduction in "hot-house" induced growth rates. Continuing, they assumed that distribution of money to the poor would lead to increased consumption and decreased investment. Further, it will mean a shift from growth-efficient investment in urban-based activities to slow growth activities in the rural areas where the majority of poor people are concentrated.

In much of the traditional literature, these arguments have been accepted as valid over an extended period of time. Many of the prescriptive techniques had these arguments hidden within their implicit design. The refutation of these arguments and assumptions has been slow. Administrators argued that limited resources demanded placing monies where returns were best and quickest. Should a "worst-first" approach be adopted, they argued, those limited resources would be "unnecessarily risked."

In other fields the arguments turned toward issues of technology choice and capital versus labor intensive production techniques.

In either case, the defensive line of reasoning is what Michael Lipton, in Why Poor People Stay Poor, has called the "urban bias" in development planning. Emphasising a need for strong investment in the rural sector, Lipton summarizes:

"A developed mass agriculture is normally needed before you can have widespread successful development in other sectors. In early development, with labor plentiful and ability to save scarce, small farming is especially promising, because it is the part of the economy in which a given amount of scarce investible resources will be supported by the most human effort. Thus it is emphasis upon small farming that can most rapidly boost income per head to the levels at which the major sacrifices of consumption, required for

heavy industrialisation, can be undertaken without intolerable hardship and repression. Except for a country fortunate enough to find gold or oil, poverty is a barrier to rapid and general industrialisation. To attempt it willy-nilly is to attack a brick wall with one's head. Prior mass agricultural development - building a battering ram - is a quicker as well as less painful way to industrialize. The transition point, from mass rural development to industrialisation, will signal itself: as good rural projects are used up, so that urban projects begin to pay best even at fair prices; as mass rural demand for urban products emphasizes their new profitability; and as advancing villagers acquire urban skills and create rural labor shortages (pg 23)."

In other words, the rural poor are poor because of substantial underinvestment in agriculture and, more generally, in rural development. On average, Lipton says, up to one-third of all investment resources should be channeled to rural projects. This is about double the present rate (Ibid.).

Lipton buttresses his argument by conducting a careful, painstaking analysis of capital-output ratios, that is measurements of the economic productivity of investment resources. According to his finding, agricultural investments are, on the average, two to three times more productive than investments in all other economic sectors (Ibid., Chap. 8).

The urban bias referred to in Lipton's analysis takes on numerous aspects. On one hand, it can be very subtle, in that an urban-biased government will prepare rural projects less well than urban projects. Or it may be more obvious, such as in the manipulation of price twists which render rural projects less apparently profitable (and hence less 'bankable') and in cutting down their rural efforts if aid donors step up theirs.

Although Lipton provides a sophisticated analysis of investment, taxation, and pricing policies to demonstrate the structural dualism between urban and rural, a major weakness lies in his division of competing interests into urban and rural classes, while overlooking the complex nature of class interests

within both urban and rural populations. Although his initial analysis is a significant contribution to the literature, this oversight creates a major set of difficulties in his prescriptive policies. In channeling new investments to the rural areas, he overlooks the major problems of power and control that usually place such new investments in the hands of the landed peasantry and the rural wealthy while doing little to aid the plight of the real rural poor.

The second form of criticism was a response that formed the basis of a more substantial and far reaching set of criticisms. The best expressions of this early form of response are found in Susanne Bodenheimer's political critique in "Ideology of Developmentalism", Albert O. Hirschmann's "Search for Paradigms as a Hindrance to Understanding", and Andre G. Frank's Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America.

Within each of these works, as throughout the more serious critical literature, a common thread is found in that each reject more than just the dominant thought in development, but also raise serious questions regarding the set of epistemological preconceptions which recur throughout the contemporary literature. The recurring nature of these underlying assumptions is a major barrier to political and social research, but is even more detrimental within the prescriptive planning process where assumptions and preconceptions become frozen into the very techniques of the plans, and reflect changes only in verbiage and new goal statements that reflect the most current interests.

This is to suggest that critical insights into the shortcomings of development theory have, to a large extent, been assimilated into the corpus of development planning, leaving its foundations undisturbed and its primary allegiances unchallenged.

Indeed, as Mannheim (1968, 89-90) points out, the failure to perceive or acknowledge such presuppositions is a major pitfall of empirical research:

"The danger in presuppositions does not lie merely in the fact that they exist or that they are prior to empirical knowledge. It lies rather in the fact that an ontology handed down through tradition obstructs new developments, especially in the basic modes of thinking, and as long as the particularity of the conventional theoretical framework remains unquestioned, we will remain in the toils of a static mode of thought . . . What is needed, therefore, is a continual readiness to recognize that every point of view is particular to a certain definite situation and to find out through analysis of what this particularity consists."

This insight forms the basis of much of the critical literature and it will be found in the arguments of the dominance/dependency theories, the theories of imperialism, the work of the urban Marxists, and in the epistemological critiques of Harvey and Gregory.

#### Inter-System Constraints

In the earlier development literature, problems encountered in the process of development were usually ascribed to details of technical efficiency or, if constraints were perceived, they were seen as problems within the development situation, itself, i.e., intra-system constraints. With the growing critical response to the third world experience and the failure of planned development efforts, however, discussion began to focus on the larger set of relations between the actors in the development process, between the countries involved and the interests actually being served. A growing conviction, initially out of Latin America, but growing quickly beyond, was that the real interests being served in the surge of economic productivity was far different than that being espoused in the statements of Development Goals and that the process by which this was occurring was an integral, albeit implicit, component in the structure and organization of the economic relationships. That is to say that the problems encountered in development were, in fact, a product of the inter-system, rather than the intra-system constraints.



Dubbed "Dependencia" or dependency theory, one of the more outstanding examples of the descriptions of these relations is found in Susanne Bodenheimer's "Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment."

Focusing on the Latin American experience, Bodenheimer begins with a critique of the assumptions that:

- (1) it is possible to treat Latin countries as self-contained units, whose economic, social, or political systems can be analyzed by themselves (see, for example, the work of structural functionalists such as Gabriel Almond, and critique by Daherdorf, 1970), and
- (2) assuming that contact between Latin America and advanced industrial nations has been such as to stimulate development in Latin America.

She points out that the recognition of this distortion in existing theories leads directly to the starting point for her critical analysis of Latin underdevelopment, and notes that "Latin America is today, and has been since the sixteenth century, part of an international system dominated by the now-developed nations, and Latin underdevelopment is the outcome of a particular series of relationships to that international system. (p 330)"

It has been shown in a number of studies that foreign investment by the U.S. and other industrial nations in underdeveloped areas has resulted in a net outflow of capital from the underdeveloped to the developed nations, a decapitalization of the former. In a number of Latin countries and for the region as a whole, the input from foreign private investment has been far exceeded by the outflow of profit remittances abroad. According to U.S. Department of Commerce figures, the outflow from Latin America was \$7.5 billion greater than inflow from 1950 to 1965.

A.G Frank, in "Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology", notes the aggravation of this problem by the clear deterioration of the terms of trade for the Latin nations and of their position in world trade. According to Frank, between 1950 and 1968 Latin America's share of world trade shrank

from 11 percent to 5.1 percent, and notes that in numerous situations foreign aid has become increasingly more tied to conditions imposed by creditor nations to meet their own balance of payments difficulties or to accommodate private business interests.

Building from this background, Bodenheimer develops the dependency model as essentially a "conditioning situation," and translates the definition of the relations described by Theotonio dos Santos as:

"A situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own economy is subjected. . . . an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others, and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies. (Ibid. p 331)"

Dependency means, then that the development alternatives open to the dependent nation are defined and limited by its integration into and functions within the world market.

In this manner, underdevelopment is seen as structurally linked to development in the dominant nations. In particular, "European and American development and Latin underdevelopment are not two isolated phenomena, but rather the two outcomes of the same historical process: the global expansion of capitalism. (p 334)"

The argument is built focusing on the "infrastructure of dependency," those processes and institutions in the physical and industrial base which are necessary to sustain this relation.

### Imperialism

While dependency theory provides the basis for a descriptive analysis of the impact of capitalist expansion and the functioning of the world market system, in this case in Latin America, it falls short in explaining the reasons for the expansion of capitalism or the roots of this international system. In



filling this "gap" left by the dependency model, there are several theories from which to select. However, most are a variation on either the Marxist or non-Marxist theories of imperialism. The Marxist critique of non-Marxist theories of imperialism begin with Lenin's critique of Kautsky, in Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.

Although numerous works exist in the field, one of the finest pieces to bridge the discussion is Johan Galtung's, "Structural Theory of Imperialism." According to the approach developed by Galtung, the world consists of Center and Periphery nations; and each nation, in turn, has its centers and periphery. His central descriptive concern regards the mechanism of the relations between the center in the Center and the periphery in the Periphery. The analytical goal is to counteract one of the major forms of what he calls "structural violence", a concept descriptive of how responsibility for various exploitative relations becomes hidden within the larger format or system of interactions.

Imperialism is conceived of as a dominance relation between collectivities, particularly between nations. It is a sophisticated type of dominance relation which cuts across nations, basing itself on a bridgehead which the center in the Center nation establishes in the center of the Periphery nation, for the joint benefit of both. Briefly stated, "imperialism is a system that splits up collectivities and relates some of the parts to each other in relations of harmony of interest, and other parts in relations of disharmony of interest, or conflict of interest. (Galtung, p 81)"

In describing the relation in terms of harmony and disharmony of interest, Galtung provides the concrete conditions which define imperialism as a relation such that:

- (1) There is harmony of interest between the center in the Center nation and the center in the Periphery nation.
- (2) There is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery

nation than within the Center nations, and

- (3) There is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the Center nation and the periphery in the Periphery nation.

(See Figure 2)

The description becomes useful when it is turned back toward the "traditional" descriptions of regional and national development. For example, the specific process for regional development provided by Friedmann's Case Study in Venezuela, (see earlier) is now easily seen as a description of the particular components necessarily required in the process to develop an economy linked to the larger capitalist world economy.

Noting that a region would be "subject to external influence" and that "export sector growth translates into residentiary sector growth," is only the ideological preparation to the establishment of the primary, raw material extractive industry that begins a region's relation, albeit exploitative, to the larger world economy. The "local leadership is critical in the adjustment" to this relation is another way of describing the harmony of interests that is necessary to develop between the center in the Center and the center in the Periphery nation. Friedmann's locational issues are then seen as little more than gloss over the technical and structural necessities for the efficient exploitation of a region's resources, and of the region.

Obviously not all critical ventures followed the same vein. Serious attempts at taking critical perspectives into consideration with the desire to promote growth within other countries developed. Some of the advanced arguments evolved out of the technology policy concerns beginning with the discussions of appropriate technologies.

Although strong statements regarding the nature of technological development (E.F. Schumacher, J. Ellul, D. Dickson) received wide audiences in the U.S., the American involvement with appropriate technology took on a different form

THE STRUCTURE OF IMPERIALISM

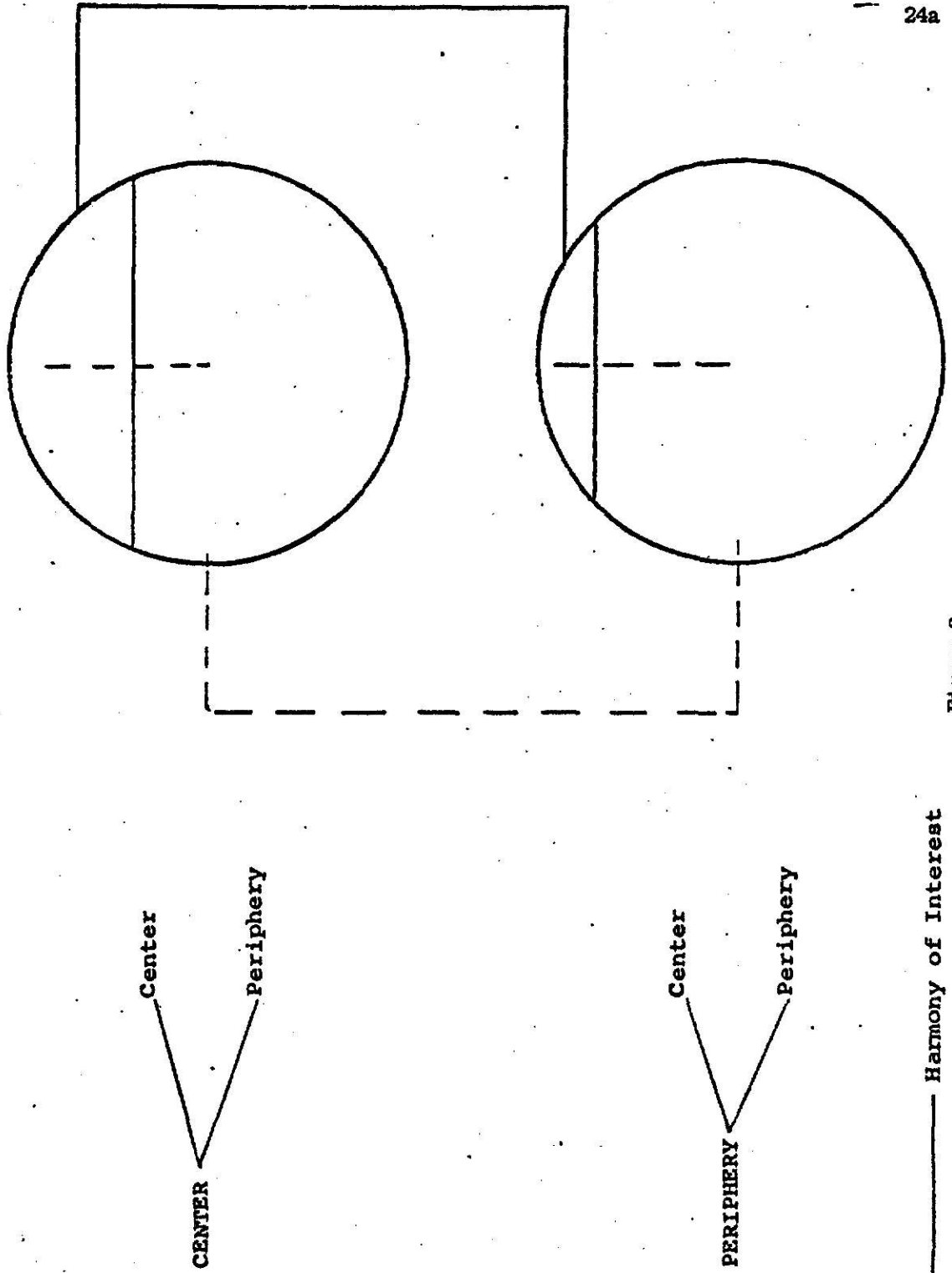


Figure 2

— Harmony of Interest  
- - - Disharmony of Interest

than did discussions in the third world where the concerns contained direct and immediate political ramifications.

The literature involved in this, now rather wide, field of debate evolved from the questions surrounding production technologies, technology change as sources of growth, technology transfer, and assessment. Areas of concern divided off into those of appropriate and/or intermediate technology, technological forecasting and policies for the implementation of technological decisions, and of criteria of technological appropriateness.

Certainly the issues contained within these discussions were of significant relevance in conceptions of desired states of development. However, as with much of the earlier discussions, an arbitrary distinction is established between observations of products and constraints within the development process. As in the view of Latin underdevelopment, the issues are at odds to provide an adequate explanation of current development. The earlier discussions either divorced the issues altogether, as discussions evolving around questions of distribution, be it of income or resources, invariably failed to discuss issues of production, or they have contrasted the issues, as in the efficiency/equity debates. Another view accepted that production is distribution and that efficiency is equity in distribution. Here, too, was recognized that the definition of income (which is equity) is defined by production.

The collapse of these distinctions signals a shift from a traditional - liberal to a socialist - marxist conception of the problem.

Among the most directly critical responses to the traditional models of planning came from within the field of geography. As a majority of these earlier models had contained strong foundations in geographical theory, it seemed a natural source for these criticisms.

Generally speaking, theory in geography experiences much of the same difficulties in time lag as that in planning. Based on primary epistemological constructs that have been adopted from other fields, a distinct lag in theoretical progression is experienced as these original constructs either undergo radical revision or are rejected within their own fields of study just as they are being incorporated into the adopting fields of theory. Hence, geographers wax enthusiastic about "mental mapping" long after cognitive psychology has dismissed it as essentially meaningless.

An additional issue is the ideological support described in the discussion of Fiedmann. Owing to a close link with explicative ideologies of social evolution, theory which has the most direct use in justifying existing orders of social justice is that which is given the strongest recognition of political legitimacy.

To undertake a serious critique of development theory within the gradualist tradition in Geography was not possible based on this approach which has resulted in an involvement of geography in marxism.

This significant issue raised by the marxists revolves around that aforementioned collapse of distinction between observation (fact) and values, arguing that to separate them is to force a distinction on human practice which does not in reality exist. Underlying this view is the shift away from philosophical idealism towards a materialist interpretation of ideas as they arise in particular historical contexts.

The greatest impact of this application of Marxian analysis came in the study of urbanization. In focusing on the historical process of urbanization

the question evolved into one of considering urbanism as "a separate structure with its own laws of inner transformation and construction, and as an expression of a set of relationships embedded in some broader structure. (Harvey, 1973, p 304)"

Born of the contradiction between the social relations of production and the forces of production, urbanism initially functioned to sustain a particular pattern in the social relations of production, such as with respect to property rights. With the industrial revolution, however, a new form of urbanism arose in which the reorganization of the forces of production to take advantage of mechanization, technological change, and economies of scale in production was fundamental. Urbanism became "as important to the organization of the forces of production as it had previously been with respect to the social relations of production. (Ibid., p 305)"

This recognition of production relations and control over their organization was turned toward discussions of location and the scale and form of infrastructures required to support production. From this followed the discussions of social organization and the implicit control that was granted to the economic system.

Much of the language in this literature is deeply intangled in both Marxist and geographical terminology. Although potentially confusing, it offers a useful construct.

Castells (1977) describes "the production element of the economic structure (as) the ensemble of spatial realizations derived from the social process of reproducing the means of production and the object of labor. (p 129)"

The analysis of the relation between production and space includes not only industrial installations in the strict sense, but also the industrial and technological environment and the location of offices for organization

and management. Yet, it is at the level of the individual industrial unit that the fundamental determination of this relation may be understood.

Abstracting the ideological role played by location economic theory and spatial analysis as prescriptive tools in the above process, it is claimed that what the ideology has disguised within the industrial unit is the degree of political exploitation and manipulation that has accompanied the industrialization process. David Dickson (1974) has noted that "Industrialization has appeared to necessitate, and has hence legitimated, man's exploitation of both fellow men and the natural environment. The apparent need for authoritarian discipline and hierarchical organization of the factory required to operate complex production-line equipment, for example, is held to justify the accompanying relationships between management and workers. (p 43)"

As in the approach of Castells, the marxist geographers were concerned with the relation between production decisions and the spatial expression of urban growth, just as had been the traditional geographers. The marxist approach, however, demonstrated the explicit value base of the established orthodoxy and challenged its interpretation of the historical process. By doing so, the traditional orthodoxy was demonstrated as a distinctly political tool by which a particular form of economic organization was maintained.

Although the marxian literature can and does become overly strident in its zeal and adherence to its own orthodoxy, it does open the door for a different type of critical response: one in which the very processes which earlier techniques sought to produce are used as descriptions of problem situations. An example will be based on the earlier discussion of Park and Burgess, in their studies of urban growth.

Park and Burgess both appeared to regard the city as a sort of man-produced, ecological complex within which the processes of social adaptation, specialization of function and of life style, competition for living space,



and so on acted to produce a coherent spatial structure, the whole being held together by some culturally derived form of social solidarity which Park (1926) called "the moral order". The main focus of interest was to find out who ended up where and what conditions were like when they got there.

The purely descriptive nature of the study produced the concentric zone theory of growth yet concluded that the explanation of this event was the basis for predicting it. In short, assuming that prediction and explanation are symmetrical, "the deductions ensures the logical certainty of the conclusion. (Harvey, 1969, p 37; see also schematic presentation of the logical model in Gregory, 1978)"

The flaw that this produced in the subsequent theories of urban land-use was in the separation of issues in social economic relations from the descriptive (now factorial) ecology. It is interesting to note that Engels, writing some eighty years before Park and Burgess, noted the phenomenon of concentric zoning in the city, but sought to interpret it in economic class terms. The passage is worth quoting, for it has several insights into the spatial structure of cities.

"Manchester contains, at its heart, a rather extended commercial district, perhaps half a mile long and about as broad, and consisting almost wholly of offices and warehouses. Nearly the whole district is abandoned by the dwellers, and is lonely and deserted at night. . . The district is cut through by certain main thoroughfares upon which the vast traffic concentrates, and in which the ground level is lined with brilliant shops. In these streets the upper floors are occupied, here and there, and there is a good deal of life upon them until late at night. With the exception of this commercial district, all Manchester proper, all Salford and Hulme . . . are all unmixed working people's quarters, stretching like a girdle, averaging a mile and a half in breadth, around the commercial district. Outside, beyond this girdle, lives the upper and middle bourgeoisie, the middle bour-



geoisie in regularly laid out streets in the vicinity of working quarters . . . the upper bourgeoisie in remoter villas with gardens . . . in free, wholesome country air, in fine, comfortable homes, passed every half or quarter hour by omnibuses going into the city. And the finest part of the arrangement is this, that the members of the money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the laboring districts without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and left. For the thoroughfares leading from the Exchange in all directions out of the city are lined, on both sides, with an almost unbroken series of shops, and are so kept in the hands of the middle and lower bourgeoisie . . . (that) they suffice to conceal from the eyes of the wealthy men and women of strong stomachs and weak nerves the misery and grime which form the complement of their wealth . . . I know very well that this hypocritical plan is more or less common to all great cities; I know, too, that the retail dealers are forced by the nature of their business to take possession of the great highways; I know that there are more good buildings than bad ones upon such streets everywhere, and that the value of land is greater near them than in remote districts, but at the same time I have never seen so systematic a shutting out of the working class from the thoroughfares, so tender a concealment of everything which might affront the eye and the nerves of the bourgeoisie, as in Manchester. And yet, in other respects, Manchester is less built according to plan, after official regulations, is more an outgrowth of accident, than any other city; and when I consider in this connection the eager assurances of the middle class, that the working class is doing famously, I cannot help feeling that the liberal manufacturers, the Big Wigs of Manchester, are not so innocent after all, in the matter of this sensitive method of construction."

(Engels, The Condition of the English Working Class in 1844, 46-47)

The approach of Engles in 1844 was and still is far more consistent with hard economic and social realities than was the essentially cultural approach

of Park and Burgess. In fact, with certain obvious modifications, Engels' description could easily be made to fit the contemporary American city with concentric zoning and good transport facilities that shelter affluent commuters who live on the outskirts from seeing the grime and misery which is the complementary product of their wealth. It would seem a pity that contemporary geographers have looked to Park and Burgess rather than to Engels for their inspiration; if we cleaned up the language a bit (by eliminating the references to capitalism, for example), we would have a description worthy of the Kerner Commission Report (1968).

What one does with the theories that have been generated, however, is another question. As was stated earlier, the social theories that have been generated can be used to demonstrate their own weakness. A 1969 study in Chicago (R. Muth, Cities and Housing), for example, was conducted to test the Von Thunen - Burgess theory against the existing structure of residential land use in Chicago. His tests indicated that the theory is broadly correct with certain deviations explicable by such things as racial discrimination in housing. Yet, what the theory shows most clearly is that poor groups must, of necessity, live where they can least afford to live.

This fact is directly demonstrated in the analysis. Construction of the supporting argument on this point is based on L. Lave, "Congestion and Urban Location", on notes from a recent guest lecture by David Harvey in the Dept. of Geography at Kansas State University, and from W. Alonso's work on theory of the urban land-market.

Urban land use, it is argued, is determined through a process of competitive bidding for the use of the land. The competitive bidding proceeds so that land rents are higher nearer the center of activity assuming an intensive demand (in the theory it is usually assumed that all employment is concentrated in one central location). If we now consider the residential

choice open to two groups in the population, one rich and one poor, with respect to that one employment center, we can predict where each must live by examining the structure of their bid rent curves. The bid rent curve is a contrast of locational choice as a function of the rent price of a location and its distance from the economic center of activity. (see also; J. Emerson, 1975) For the poor group the bid rent curve is characteristically steep since the poor have very little money to spend on transportation (see diagram, Figure 3); and therefore their ability to bid for the use of land declines rapidly with distance from the place of employment. The rich group, on the other hand, characteristically has a shallow bid rent curve since its ability to bid is not greatly affected by the amount of money spent on transportation. When put in competition with each other, we find the poor group forced to live in the center of the city, and the rich group living outside (as described by both the concentric zone model and by Engels). This means that the poor are forced to live on high rent land. The adjustment, of course, is to crowd into very small living areas.

It is possible to construct a number of variants to the model, since the shape of the bid rent curve of the rich is really a function of their preference for space relative to transportation cost. Lave (1970) points out that the spatial structure of the city will change if the preferences of the rich group change. In the case of the U.S., an urban homesteading movement by socially mobile couples, i.e., young professionals, in search of large, cheap housing for renovation is displacing portions of the urban poor.

Various city structures can be predicted depending on the preferences of this upper income group. In many parts of the third world it is perfectly feasible to find the rich living in the center of the city and the poor located on the outskirts. The bid rent curve in this situation is reversed, and the poor are forced to adjust by exchanging time for cost distance by walking

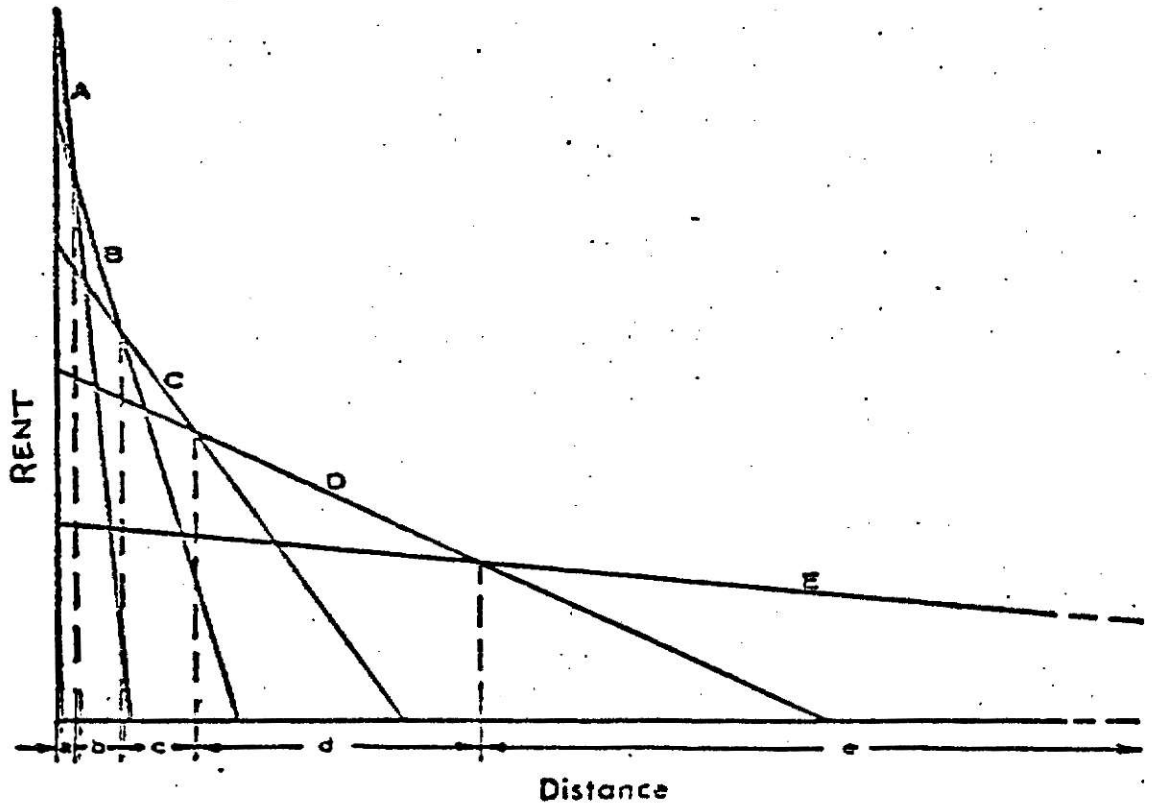


Figure 3

long distances to save on transport costs.

In a recent lecture, Harvey provided the solution in a simple statement:

"Our objective is to eliminate ghettos. Therefore, the only valid policy with respect to this objective is to eliminate the conditions which give rise to the truth of the theory. In other words, we wish the Von Thunen theory of the urban land market to become not true. The simplest approach here is to eliminate those mechanisms which serve to generate the theory. The mechanism in this case is very simple - competitive bidding for the use of the land. If we eliminate this mechanism, we will presumably eliminate the result."

Although this policy alternative may be infeasible politically in many countries ("sounds like socialism to me!"), a study of its application in Cuba can be found in N.P Valdes (1971).

The final implication is that under such an approach, the Von Thunen theory, now recognized as a normative theory, would become empirically irrelevant to our understanding of the spatial structure of residential land use.

In much the same process, it was discovered that, particularly in the third world, rural-urban migration, combined with raw population growth, outstripped any trickling-down of development benefits. It also became obvious that, from the complementary regional models of location analysis, infrastructure which was ostensibly provided to promote economic interaction between and among each of the city/villages in the settlement hierarchy does little more than speed the process of channeling a one-way flow of resources from the rural to urban areas.

As observed, the prelude to the earlier discussion is highly normative and evolves the epistemological discussion. Whether one is discussing technology assessment or applications of the fair administrative procedure, the decision-making process begins with a choice among and definition of certain values. The discussion of "the nature of space" is preceded by acceptance

of certain theories of meaning which rationalize certain lines of action in preference to others. Meaning occurs contextually and in relation. However, the traditional model can not nor does not acknowledge this.

In the traditional literature of development planning the dominant epistemological model has been the positivistic. In his classical essay on "The Morphology of Landscape" (1925), Carl Sauer represented geography as "a science that finds its entire field in the landscape." According to him "the systematic organisation of the content of the landscape proceeds with the repression of a priori theories concerning it", so that geography relies on "a purely evidential system, without prepossession regarding the meaning of its evidence." Geography, he declared, could now be established as a "positive science."

As described by Gregory (1978), he certainly understood this "in a Comtean sense, inasmuch as he upheld Goethe's claim that 'one need not seek for something beyond the phenomena; they themselves are the lore (laws)'. (p 29)"

The search for the ideal model hid numerous normative preferences regarding end state results. Unfortunately, the search for the paradigm as an empirical identification of appropriate model structures has become an acceptable substitute for the actual specification of the mechanisms involved.

Haggett, Cliff, and Frey (1977, p 517) have suggested that "the ability to forecast accurately should represent an ultimate goal of geographical research" precisely because "this ability ought to imply a fairly clear understanding of the processes which produce spatial patterns."

Harvey (1973, p 176), however, asks "what is it that makes micro-economic theory so successful (relatively speaking) in the modeling of urban land-use patterns, when it is so obviously wide of the mark when it comes to modeling the real processes that produce these patterns?"

The answer, as Ive (1975, p 22) pointed out, is that "it would be surprising if neo-classical theories did appear inadequate in terms of their own criteria of statistical testing since they are mainly designed solely with a "good fit" in mind."

When applied to planning in the Third World, Gunnar Myrdal describes it as "a process which is not intended by anyone is fulfilled while the process of fulfillment is presented as an inevitable sequence of events. (1968 p 851)."



## INDIA

The historical situation in India provides us with a unique situation to examine the interactions between the drive for national integration and a complex background of culturally and historically separate regions. The most notable feature of the Indian situation which must be considered at the onset is the fact that "there exists no one historical golden age cherished in common by all or even most citizens of the Union." (Harrison, 1960, p 13)

India has never been a political unity, but then neither has India experienced fixed borders or division into the distinct regions that now demarcate modern India. Rather, the disunity of India was "a loose affair of shifting dynastic regions." (Ibid, p 16)

Due primarily to the distinct sets of physiographic differences, the broad Deccan table land, dividing Northern India from the South, can be viewed as one of the three historical arenas within which regional, linguistic, and political identities took form. Each of these regions has its own story and epic cultural history. Although I will move quickly into the consideration of one distinct region, the larger issues which this type of situation creates pertain to the strength of regional allegiances which are based on ethnic identities and language loyalties.

Bordered by long lines of mountains, which are high on the west, broken and lower on the east, the Deccan plateau is India's oldest land mass. Although the Krishna and Godavari rivers traverse nearly the entire breadth of the Deccan region, they are not navigable much of the year and the Deccan divides into four largely self-contained and separate, linguistic and political identities.

On the central-western side is the rich, black soil of Maharashtra. A steep-sided set of buttes in the south and to the east separate Maharashtra from Karnataka and Andhra. Andhra, itself, divides into two regions in the flat expanse of the central plateau of Telangana, sloping off into the highly fertile delta region of both the Krishna and Godavari rivers. North of this delta area is coastal Orissa which, because of a buffer area of wide forest waste land, has historically been highly insulated from external aggressors.

Histories of both the linguistic development and the serial dynasties that ruled over the Deccan have been well-documented both in Indian and foreign scholarship and it is not the purpose here to explore these histories. However, they are important as a background understanding for the later tensions of linguistic and regional loyalties that would later embroil the entire country and, in particular, the Deccan.

The question of language and national unity is probably nowhere as complex as that found in India. It must be noted that modern India is the first political entity in the history of Indian civilization to govern the entire territory found in modern India under one rule, and that one of the most serious challenges in doing so are the issues of linguistic and regional chauvinisms.

Consideration of the special concerns of regions has only become a valid issue in very recent years. As previously noted, the primary consideration in the "integration" of a particular region into the larger economy was either the technical possibility or the economic feasibility of doing so. Little attention, beyond museum-piece preservation, was given to special social considerations or to the details of regional needs.

### Culture and Language Considerations

The discussion so far has centered on an identification of a strong and essentially central tradition in the approach to planning and the significant critical objections to its foundations. Yet the most crucial implications in potential alternative approaches to development involve the discussion of issues not directly considered within the dominant planning paradigm. Before documenting the role these issues have played in the particular context of India, it is worthwhile to identify them through a background discussion.

The growing demands on diminishing resources, advancing technology and expanding population has essentially assured the eventual "development" or incorporation of those areas or regions which, until now, have been defined "marginal" only because their comparative advantage merited little or no investment.

Much of the preceding work focuses on difficulties inherent within development strategies; there are, however, two particular dangers that surround the development of marginal areas. First, it must be noted that these areas are not ecologically marginal. In many instances, the ecological stability of more populated areas depends on the stability of marginal areas. The Northern California aquifer depends heavily on the mountains of Wyoming. Inappropriate changes in mountainous headwaters commonly cause catastrophic change in river systems and undermine the support of their inhabitants. Because marginal ecosystems are comparatively fragile, which is frequently a distinguishing characteristic of marginality, severe damage is a distinct possibility.

Secondly, marginal area populations frequently differ radically both in their cultural style preferences and traditional resource systems from

the adjacent areas. Given inappropriate development, the people of marginal areas are subjected to increasing levels of social decay and alienation, resulting in overall conditions worse off than before. The likelihood for increasing poverty, alienation, and cultural disintegration under conditions of erroneous development strategies is real. The anthropological literature contains a wide range of studies to demonstrate these facts. Planning studies, however, for the most part, have ignored this literature.

The implications of these oversights are most important in the developing world where few countries have escaped the imposition of artificial colonial boundaries whereby diverse cultures, languages, religions, and social forms were lumped together under colonially convenient administrations (see; John Kantsky, 1962).

The logic of colonial convenience was obviously unconcerned with the logic of cultural, linguistic, or social congruence of the artificially juxtaposed groups. Yet, many of the new nations are either continuations of these artificially created units or, as will be seen in the case of India, have experienced great difficulties in establishing new units to match national needs and conditions.

As was noted by Jyotirindra Das Gupta, "It is not surprising that many leaders of . . . new nations are found to rely less on natural factors than on the political art of holding diverse units together in a national community." (Fishman, 1968, p 18)

Most new nations are based on a plurality of segmental groups. One of the most fundamental issues involved in development, then, relates to the problem of the opposition between 'original group' loyalty and the civic loyalty to the nation. These 'original group' loyalties refer to the attachment to and identification with communities based on congruities of faith, speech, blood, and/or custom (see; Clifford Geertz, ed., 1963).

In ethnically diverse situations, stronger loyalties may exist to the original group than to the larger nation. This, in itself, is not necessarily problematic. Political cohesion is often described as a result of a relative lack of political division, but it can exist despite divisions and often because of political divisions (see; H. Eckstein, 1966, pp 33-36).

In a certain understanding, and due in part also to the extreme heterogeneity of the social base, this assumption has been an implicit policy in the Indian approach to national integration.

Perhaps the most significant element in the understanding of ethnic versus national group loyalties and in the integration of planned development is language. The central importance of language as a factor in unity and development has been documented in several significant works; in particular, the work of socio-linguists, Joshua Fishman, John Gumpertz, Das Gupta, and J.V. Neustupny (see also; William Richter, Politics of Language in India, Chicago, 1968).

Although the discussion later turns to the policy attempts to "plan" language use, perhaps the more important issues focus on the underlying views, assumptions, commitments, ideological and philosophical values prior to decision-making which move parties in the decision-making process to want certain things or allocate certain functions with regard to language. (notes, Fishman 1977)

An explosion of interest in language and ethnicity has occurred during the past decade and has, in the U.S., led to the Ethnic Heritage Act, the Bilingual Act, as well as a general upsurge in ethnic studies. Nevertheless, the significance of language to identity far pre-dates this current fashionable interest.

Historically, both Greek and Hebraic traditions describe the collective identity as deriving from a common ancestry; that this is a felt link of

people who belong together and who have a language that belongs to them.

Within the Bible, there are clearly indicated references that people groups are language groups. The Book of Prophets, as a warning to the disobedient children of Israel, describes punishment as to be cast out among people who do not know their language and they will suffer the tragedy of losing their own. Within the Book of Esther it was shown that people have languages that are their own and you do not communicate with them in any language other than their own.

A hyphenated concept presented by Prof. Fishman was "He travelled among all peoples and languages". As part of peoples' separateness they are accompanied by their language, and a worldview.

The Greeks, too, attached great importance to language and loyalty. Herodotus spoke of all peoples but warned Greeks to remain loyal. Both Plato and Aristotle were concerned with how to keep government good and realized that ethnicity was a problem in government, i.e.- putting Greekness before other things.

In his Symposium, Plato outlines his compensations for the difficulties raised by ethnic chauvinism by the random drawing of governors from all over Greekdom to live at the Acropolis where all men belong to all women and all women to all men and all children to all parents, thereby avoiding the overt ethnic bond. Ethnicity and Greekness were fine, unifying, but its evils were to be kept out of government; in particular, the allocation of resources.

John Stuart Mill hoped capitalism would triumph quickly to save mankind from local loyalties which, once entrenched, prevail and cannot trans-ethnify.

From the Hebrews and Greeks came a view of ethnicity as a dimension of their society, as part of their reality. They were aware that theirs was

a world of peoples, collectivities, which was not a marginal minority phenomenon. This 'sense of people-ness' came, not as a contrast to others, but was present within themselves. Contrast was seen to heighten, but was not essential to, this 'sense'.

Current theories of ethnicity stress boundaries and contrast. Ethnicity is seen to be strongest at the boundaries, while weakest at the center. There is a low-level of stress placed on the value of language in a matter-of-fact attitude that ignores language appeals, speaking first of selves, then of others. The Hebraic and Greek experience, however, suggests that language, itself, provides a binding force in a people's identity and cohesion.

"What can I do for you?"

"Nothing. I live in the midst of my own people." (Fishman, notes 1977)

The contrasting attitudes toward language have produced very different responses by national governments to the demands of regional and/or minority language groups. Problems of language policy rarely troubled the colonial rulers because of the lack of interest on the part of the authority for creating linkages between the center and the periphery. The creation of national political authority signaled, of necessity, the beginnings of participative regions in the national/official language controversy.

According to Das Gupta,

"Decisions regarding language policy will vary with the system of decision making that undertakes it. When a new state faces the problem of competing languages, one response may be to suppress this competition and to impose one over the others. If the language situation is one where such competition involves minimal political challenges, such a policy may somehow succeed. But in many new states this is not the case. In Indonesia, despite a great diversity of languages, it was possible to impose the language of a small minority as the national language because the



political competition of the regional languages for national status was low. In India and Pakistan, given the high degree of competition among several major languages, a policy of imposition will create more problems than it will solve. The political reconciliation of the language demands, however, has not been found to be impossible in these situations. In fact, whenever such solutions have been attempted, they have resulted in certain additional gains for the political community. This implies that the coordination of language demands may lead to a significant penetration effect involving new linkages between the hitherto unpoliticized people and the political center of the nation. It is this penetration of the center of political authority to the periphery of popular politics which is likely to deepen the supportive base of the national political community and thus contribute to long-range national development." (in Fishman 1968, p 23)

## TELANGANA HISTORY

The idea of the merger of Telangana with Andhra may be traced to the concept of "Linguistic States" first articulated in 1905 when the Indian National Congress lent its indirect support annulling the partition of Bengal and forming it into a single Bengali speaking province. In their own constitution the Congress also supported the formation of a Congress province of Bihar in 1908 and the Congress provinces of Sindh and Andhra in 1917 - all on a linguistic basis (B. Pattabhi Sitaramyya, vol. I, p 147).

At this point, however, Congress opinion had not clearly crystallized in favor of linguistic provinces and at the Congress session of 1917 the principle was strongly opposed by the group led by Dr. Annie Besant. It was not until 1920 that the Congress officially adopted a resolution, at its Nagpur session, accepting the principle of linguistic redistribution of provinces as a political objective. It was one of the political devices of Gandhi, like Khadi (home-spun cloth), which were mainly aimed at rousing the popular feelings against the British colonial establishment. They were merely ideal and emotional issues and did not take into account post-independence realities.

In 1927, following the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission, the Congress adopted a resolution stating that "the time has come for a redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis"; and suggested a beginning of this process by forming Andhra, Utkal, Sindh, and Karnatak.

### All Parties Conference

The Nehru Committee of the All Parties Conference, 1928, giving powerful support to the linguistic idea, stated:

"If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be in two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be grouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of tradition and literature. In a linguistic area, all these factors will help in the general progress of the province." (Report of the Nehru Committee, 1928, p 62)

The Nehru Committee also recommended that in redistributing the provinces on a linguistic basis; "the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned." (p 61) However, the declaration of the Sind National League demanding separation of Sind supported by a majority of the people speaking the distinct language was set aside by the Committee. (pp 66-68)

#### 1928 to 1947

The Congress at its Calcutta session, in October 1937, again recommended the formation of Andhra and Karnatak on a linguistic basis.

In July 1938, in Wardha, the Working Committee of the Congress again promised to form three linguistic provinces - Andhra, Karnatak, and Kerala - immediately after the Congress came into power.

Even in its pre-freedom election manifesto (1945-46) Congress repeated that provinces should be constituted as far as possible on linguistic and cultural bases.

But in 1947, after assumption of power in free India, the emphasis on linguistic provinces became less. Addressing the constituent Assembly, on November 27, 1947, Prime Minister Nehru, while conceding the linguistic principle, stated: "First things must come first and the first thing is the security and stability of India."

### The Dar Commission

Mostly as a result of pressure for a linguistic state of their own by the Andhras, the Government of India appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission on June 17, 1948, popularly known as the Dar Commission, to report on the question of the formation of Andhra, Kerala, Karnatak, and Maharashtra. They did not put all the emphasis on language for forming the provinces but included other considerations such as financial, economic, administrative, and inter-provincial reaction.

In its report of December 10, 1948, the Commission: (1) strongly expressed itself against any reorganization of provinces being undertaken in the then prevailing circumstances; (2) stated that formation of provinces exclusively on linguistic consideration would be inadvisable; and (3) felt and emphasized that the homogeneity of language should enter into consideration only as a matter of "administrative convenience." (Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, December 10, 1948, para. 131)

### Andhra

Finding that their demand for a separate Telugu speaking state of Andhra was not being granted, even after the adoption of the new Constitution, unrest began to mount. During this time, an unknown Andhra student undertook a fast-unto-death in protest of the non-action. The student, Potti Sriramulu, died on December 15, 1952. Immediately, Andhra was torn by civil rioting. The Andhras stopped trains, looted wagons, burnt Government property, clashed in police firings, and finally paralyzed the administration. The extent of the agitation alarmed Nehru significantly and, four days after the death of Sriramulu, Nehru announced that the Andhra State would come into being within about one year.

### States Reorganization Commission

After the formation of Andhra on October, 1953, Nehru stated in Parliament

that a Commission would be appointed to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the question of the reorganization of the states of the Indian Union, "so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit as well as the nation as a whole is promoted." (Lok Sabha debate, Dec. 12, 1953)

The States Reorganization Commission worked for 22 months, and, on October 10, 1955, presented its 267 page report to Parliament.

#### Recommendations Regarding Telangana

The States Reorganization Commission attached much importance to the future of Hyderabad for any further reorganization of the States in the South. There had been a general demand with popular support behind it, that the State should be disintegrated on the basis of linguistic and cultural affinity. In particular, the Commission recommended:

" . . . it will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telangana if, for the present, the Telangana area is constituted into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State, with provision for its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961, if by two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad expresses itself in favor of such unification." (para. 386)

Further, in paragraph 388, the Commission recommended that:

"Andhra and Telangana have common interests and we hope these interests will tend to bring the people closer to each other. If, however, our hopes for the development of the environment and conditions congenial to the unification of the areas do not materialize and if public sentiment in Telangana crystallizes itself against the unification of the two States, Telangana will have to continue as a separate unit."

The Commission was faced with a strong and organized demand, partly from Andhra but echoed in powerful sections of the Telangana community, for immediate absorption of the region into Andhra Pradesh. It rejected the argument that Hyderabad should be retained undivided, a "real cultural synthesis and

an intermingling of Indian people" which "should. . . be preserved as a model for other regions to imitate." The backwardness of Telangana, and the other parts of Hyderabad, could only be solved if these areas were attached to "more advanced units." But the Commission was impressed by two factors; while sentiment in Telangana appeared to be in favor of splitting up the Hyderabad State, there was as yet no consensus on the question whether Telangana should remain separate or be incorporated into Andhra Pradesh, and, secondly, in certain quarters there were deep fears that immediate integration would not be to the advantage of Telangana, making it virtually a colony of Andhra. The Commission concluded that "the unification of Telangana with Andhra, though desirable, should be based on a voluntary and willing association of the people and that it is primarily for the people of Telangana to take a decision about their future."

Although not the recommendation of the commission, Prime Minister Nehru and the Central Government decided to merge Telangana with Andhra to form the State of Andhra Pradesh. Although the integrationists had won, numerous factions were not satisfied.

"For over six centuries under the feudal rulers the people of Telangana lived in servitude. For the first time in history they had elected a popular government of their own in 1952 to govern themselves. Hardly did they breathe the air of freedom, for four years later they were again subjected to economic and political colonization by the Andhras, much against their wishes, and the recommendations of an expert Commission." (The Telangana Movement, papers presented at the Telangana University and College Teachers' Convention, Hyderabad, May 20, 1969, p 17)

The recommendations of the SRC were set aside, largely as a result of pressure from the national Congress leadership, particularly Mr. Nehru, and from the Andhra districts. Safeguards on which the merger was to be based

were incorporated in the "Gentlemen's Agreement" signed in Delhi on February 20, 1956, by representatives of Telangana and Andhra. Guarantees were provided for Telangana for utilization within the area of Telangana revenues, the provision of improved educational facilities, recruitment to the state public services, the position of the Urdu language, and the sale of agricultural land to outsiders. It was also decided to constitute a regional council to protect the interests of Telangana. The legal status of this Agreement is not clear - probably it is no more than a statement of good intentions - but it went far to alleviate Telangana's fears of absorption, and on this basis the united State of Andhra Pradesh came into existence on November 1, 1965, thereby uniting all the Telugu areas in one linguistic state.

The all-round backwardness of Telangana as compared with the Delta districts had been a major element in the SRC's caution in recommending a period in which Telangana would be a separate state. The integration of Telangana into Andhra aroused some immediate problems, and gradually public opinion in Telangana became convinced that their subregional interests were not being adequately cared for in the new state. Immediate problems arose in connection with the integration of the services. In general, administrators at all levels in Andhra had been better qualified and less well paid than their equivalents in Hyderabad. The new arrangements meant that Telangana administrators were put on lower salary scales than previously, their prospects of promotion were impaired, and a large proportion of the more important positions in Telangana were filled by outsiders or "non-mulkis". The government claimed that the backwardness of education in Telangana made the filling of posts with well-qualified non-mulkis inevitable, and when steps were taken to expand education it was also inevitable that a large number of non-mulki teachers had to be imported in the initial instance. But discontent over the situation became so rife that in 1959, the central government felt it necessary to establish



the Andhra Pradesh Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Rules, providing that fifteen years continuous residence would be required for appointment to government jobs. The Rules, however, provided loopholes, and false "mulki certificates" were not hard to obtain. Non-mulkis continued to flood into government service in Telangana, and mulki teachers and non-gazetted officers in particular became increasingly restive. This discontent was a major factor in sparking off the 1969 agitation.

The reasons for the linguistic agitations, the forces underlying the successes and the consequences of the reorganization have been intensively studied and, for the most part, are well-documented (see; K. Seshadri, 1971; K.V.N. Rao, 1969; Barry Pavier, 1974; et.al.). There are, however, other factors which determine a regional identity beyond language and one of the resultant consequences of reorganization was to bring together under one administration areas of the country which had little in common beyond the coincidence of language. The the differences may have been a product of their previous separation is acknowledged, yet the significance of these differences must be taken into account and appropriate adjustments made in the creation of these new administrative units.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Telangana agitation, which was later to come to serious proportions of widespread violence, is in fact a typical case of such a region whose claims to separate consideration were rather lost sight of during the movement for linguistic states. The later eruption of this agitation was a direct result of this oversight.

By region, what is referred to is a distinct area within a "State" or "Nation" which for economic, geographical, social and/or historical reasons is aware of possessing a separate identity. Historical and economic factors frequently produce regional problems and encourage the growth of political subcultures which not only do not correspond but conflict with the larger uni-

ties of language, culture, and caste represented by the linguistic state (D. Forrester, 1970, p 6). Insofar as regionalism is the result of economic imbalances within historically defined regions, it may be considered a by-product of a particular form of modernization.

The Andhra Pradesh of today is a state of twenty districts which corresponds fairly accurately to the area in which Telugu language and culture are dominant.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) reported in 1965 that:

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest and the fourth most populous state in the Indian Union, presently exhibiting all the characteristics of an underdeveloped economy. It has a weak agricultural sector and inadequate industrial base, without any appreciable development of the tertiary sector. The State economy is heavily dependent upon its agriculture. . . . The mineral base in the State is weak. Commercial exploitation of forest and fishery resources has not gained momentum so far. The State is backward in industries. Moreover, the existing inadequate industrial sector is dominated by small industries mostly of the cottage and village industry type. The State has, however, a population of 36 millions, which has been increasing at a net growth rate of 1.3 per cent per annum.

Today, the State has a population in excess of 45 million, which is increasing at a net growth rate of more than 2.2 per cent per year. The existing regional geographies of the State emphasize the immediacy of the physical base and the persistence of traditional sub-regions. Andhra Pradesh's location in South-eastern India is such that it stretches across coastal plain (including the Krishna and Godavari deltas), the Eastern Ghats, and interior peneplains developed on a gneissic plateau. These physical zones have, in turn, formed the bases of three disparate economic regions, in keeping with the immediate resource-orientation of the subsistence agricultures:

(1) Coastal Andhra, known also as the Circars

Conventionally, this region is said to comprise the seven districts of Srikakulam, Vasakhapatnam, East and West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur and Nellore. Known as "the granary of the South", it centers upon the fertile deltas of the Godavari, Krishna and Pennar rivers, utilized primarily for paddy. Agricultural development is supplemented by the economic advantages of a chain of coastal ports.

(2) Rayalaseema

This area is dry and infertile and is frequently referred to as "the stalking ground for famines". It consists of four districts of low population density who cling to a precarious and unrewarding livelihood.

(3) Telangana

Telangana comprises the nine Telugu-speaking districts of the former princely State of Hyderabad (Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, and Warangal). NCAER describes the region as follows:

"Except for the city of Hyderabad, the region has been only slightly touched by progress. Centuries of feudal rule left its economy stagnant and undeveloped. The people are poor and illiterate. The land is barren and dry. In recent years a number of major and medium industries have been developed so that it is now more advanced than either of the other two regions. But most of the industry is concentrated in and around the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and several districts are virutally untouched by industry yet. In fact, an adequate idea of Telangana's backwardness cannot be formed unless one peers through the veneer of its metropolitan development."

By the criteria used to define these regions, Andhra Pradesh is one of the most heterogeneous States of India. "There are regional disparities not

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# ANDHRA PRADESH

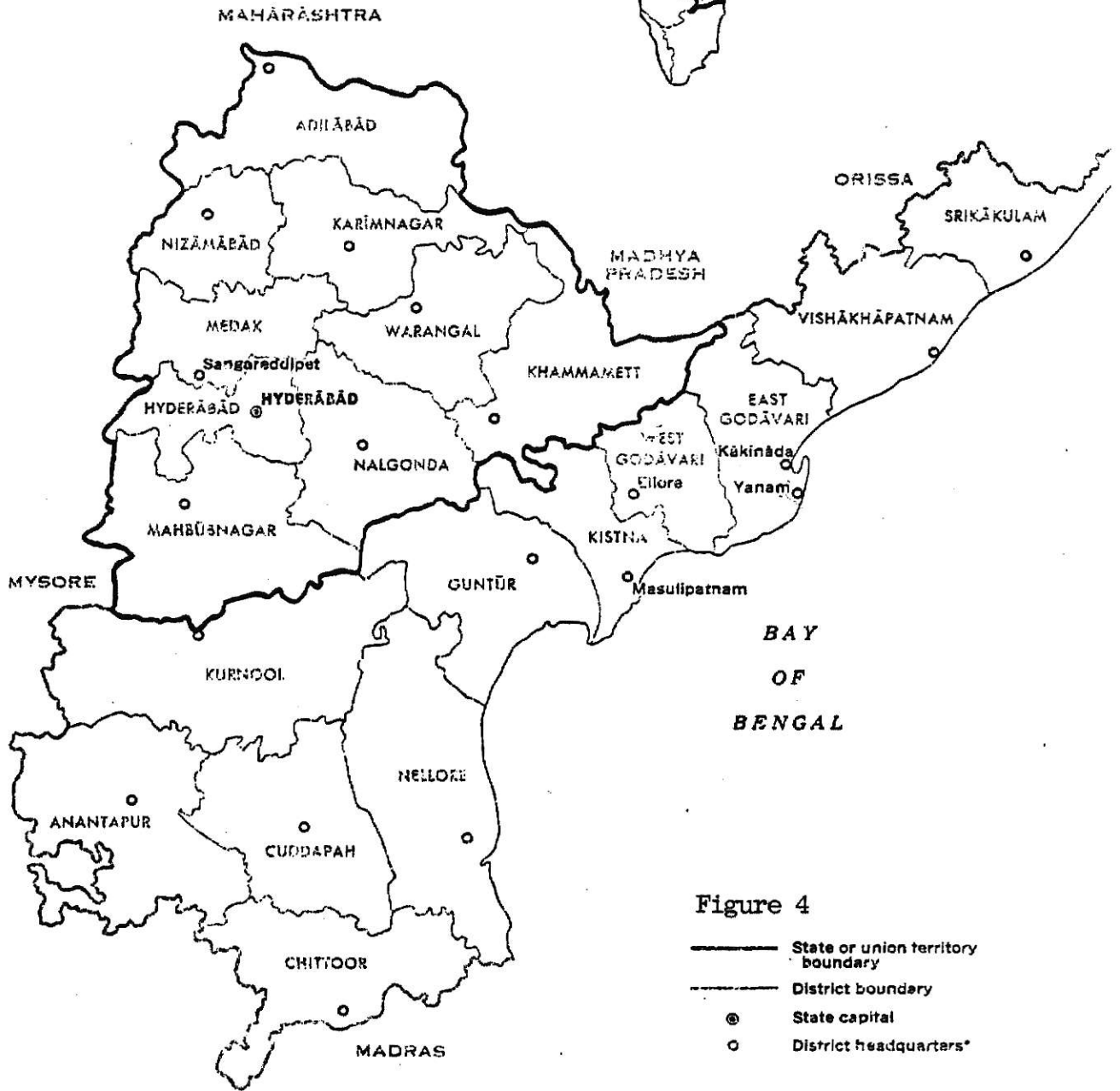
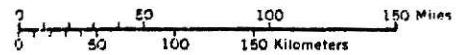


Figure 4

- State or union territory boundary
- - - District boundary
- State capital
- District headquarters\*

SCALE 1:3,050,000



\*When district headquarters are not named they have the same name as the district.

only in the general level and orientation of development, but also in such other economically significant aspects of people's lives as habit patterns and social attitudes. ("United by History, Divided by Passion", unsigned article in Citizen, July 12, 1969)"

Only language today provides any ostensible basis for unity, and that shall also come under critical examination. As Brian J. L. Berry notes, the current State of Andhra Pradesh exemplifies the most traditional theme in Indian geography:

". . . the classic distinction between hillgirt plains or plateaus providing food-grains as the points of nucleation giving rise to regional political identity, and to interdigitating sul-de-sacs in the hills, where traditional cultures survive. The plains and plateaus have clear correlation with patterns of trade and cultural regions. In short, traditional India could be thought of as a set of regional islands. (B.J.L. Berry, 1966)"

In terms of caste there are no fundamental differences between the three regions - the same castes tend to have a horizontal spread throughout the state. Kammas and Reddis are the two dominant agricultural castes, although the Kammas are concentrated in the Delta districts, sometimes known as Kamma Rashtra, while the Reddis are heavily centered in Rayalaseema. In Telangana also the Reddis are predominant, and there is a tendency for traditional Reddi caste ties and factional conflicts to disregard the regional boundaries. The two significant untouchable castes of Malas and Madigas are similarly spread throughout the region, and most Christians in Andhra Pradesh are drawn from these two castes. Muslims and North Indian Marwaris, the trading and money-lending communities, are more numerous in the towns of Telangana, and indeed throughout the old Hyderabad State, than elsewhere in Andhra Pradesh. The Telangana village may be more backward and traditional than the villages in the Delta (S.C. Dube, 1955; also, Luke and Carmen, 1968),



and the caste system less modified by modernizing influences. But it remains true that it is not possible to distinguish Telangana sharply from the rest of Andhra Pradesh in terms of caste. The principal castes in the three regions are the same, although there are certainly minor differences in caste configuration between Telangana, Rayalaseema, and the Delta ("Telangana and Caste", EPW, March 8, 1969).

If regional distinctiveness cannot often be traced to caste, cultural, or linguistic factors, it is clear that a history of division goes far to create regional feelings within the broader cultural setting. Andhra has a long history of unity, but in the middle of the eighteenth century it was broken up. The four coastal districts, known as the Northern Circars, developed rapidly under British administration and benefited particularly from the large-scale irrigation works which harnessed the Krishna and Godavari rivers for agriculture. The Circars became the most prosperous part of the Telugu country and the rice-bowl of Andhra, enjoying the benefits of a stable and enlightened administration and developing not only economically but socially and politically at a far faster rate than the Nizam's Dominions.

Telangana, however, was substantially united with the Marathwada and Karnatak areas as Hyderabad under the dynastic authority of the Asaf Jahi lineage for more than six hundred years, from the time of the Bahmani kings. Telangana therefore has a separate political history of some six centuries.

During the time that Telangana was separate from the rest of the Telugu country it was maintained in a rather backward feudal condition by the Nizams of the Asaf Jahi dynasty. The jagirdar or landlord system of landholding seems to have stood in the way of agricultural development. According to the Census of India, 1971, "Though endowed with fairly good rainfall averaging 35.2 inches annually, the poor soil and the rugged country seem to present a handicap to intensive agricultural development. Besides, the agrarian condi-

tions under the Jagirdar system in the olden days did not seem to have provided adequate incentives to the ryot (peasant) to attempt any intensive cultivation."

In the early years of the present century the Nizam's government constructed a major irrigation scheme based on the Nizamsagar dam, thereby making Nizamabad the most prosperous district in Telangana. With better administration, the considerable water resources could have been more fully tapped for irrigation, but local peasants seemed lacking in initiative, and many of the profits were reaped by immigrant farmers from the Circars (Op. cit., Citizen, July 12, 1969). Thus, Telangana backwardness is seen to have essentially political roots.

Telangana is still mainly a dry farming area, like Rayalaseema, but the reason for this in Telangana is long-term failure to harness the potentialities of the area. The rule of the Nizams was autocratic and the official language, both in politics and education, was Urdu, which approximately 11% of the population spoke. The people of Telangana were effectively insulated from the Telugu renaissance and both their language and their culture came under strong Islamic and Urdu influences. Thus, along with awareness of economic and political backwardness vis-a-vis the rest of the Telugu country, Telangana developed a feeling of distinctiveness based on different political and, to some extent, cultural experiences (Anand Rao Thotha, 1969).

The people of Telangana were late in becoming politically mobilized, and neither the masses nor the elite were involved in the movement for the establishment of the first Andhra Pradesh, of which Telangana was not a part.

None of these events seemed to attract or involve the people of Telangana to any great extent, nor was any attempt made to mobilize them politically. They had been only marginally affected by the Telugu renaissance, presumably because their rather Urduized and unliterary Telugu was despised by the

people of the Circars. It would appear that ". . . there is much anthropological wisdom in the Shavian remark about two countries being divided by a common language. (Srinivas, 1962, p 99; also Thotha, op.cit., p 9; Mukerji and Ramaswamy, 1955, p 88; and Narain, no date, p 98)"

In summary, the essential point in examining the case history of Telangana prior to summarizing the Perspective Plan is to note the unique characteristics and individual problems that make up the regional situation in Telangana. It further points out that regional identities and loyalties, as well as individual circumstance and history, produce large variations in issues of regionalism and in the required approach to planning. A regional plan must, therefore, represent an individual statement that reflects the specific and individual set of circumstances which must be addressed in accomplishing any real overall development.

## The Perspective Plan

for Telangana

### Introduction

The situation that led to the violent civil agitation of 1969-1971 was fueled by more than simple economics. Many of the differences between the regions were a product of the previous history of separation. The colonial experience was probably nowhere as strong nor of any deeper significance than it was in India. Centuries of invaders had come and gone across the face of India and, somehow, life and the local culture had continued. Yet with the British came significant changes that reached every village. Much of the administrative organization and machinery of modern India, as just one aspect, is a direct legacy of the British presence.

Because of this dominant presence, both in the past and in residual institutions, one of the central themes in Indian political and academic circles has long been the development of authentic or indigenous solutions to Indian problems. This concern for endogenization has involved every field, and debates regarding the subject are a set part of any professional or academic conference. In recent years the debate has become particularly active in the sciences. In India, the situation occurs that the country has the second largest body of scientifically-trained manpower in the world (A. Ahmad, 1975). As such, the question, "Science in developing countries: Is it different?", is a hotly debated issue. This has become particularly the case as the development of science has been identified as the leading force in all other areas of development.

"The pursuit of science, considered as an organized, continuous and self-correcting process of knowledge generation, plays at present a most significant role in the progress of productive and social activities; to the

extent that it can be considered as the main driving force for growth, particularly in the developing countries (Sagasti, 1978)."

The difficulty in this emphasis is that much of the scientific activity and organization has its origins in the Western industrial world. Hence, there "was no active linkage between the development of activities devoted to the generation of knowledge and the evolution of production techniques, with these two areas remaining completely isolated from each other. (World Development, vol. 4, no. 10-11, 1976)"

The diffusion of Western science to countries with an exogenous scientific-technological base was an irregular process. The conduct of science in these countries, to an even greater extent than in the western countries, was an activity limited to elites who usually lacked organic links with their social environment. In some cases, such as India in the 19th century, the colonial power deliberately excluded potential local scientists from research undertaken by the colonizers, thus preventing the development of indigenous scientific-technological capabilities. (see also: S.N. Sen, "The Introduction of Western Science in India during the 18th and 19th Century", in S. Sinha, Science, Technology and Culture, New Delhi, 1970.) Science was mainly oriented towards the knowledge-generating world centers (intellectual growth poles), and the concern for local scientific activities arose in so far as curiosity and the possibility of contributing to "world knowledge" would motivate scientists to focus their efforts on specific regional problems.

Previously, most of the techniques used in productive activities (in the larger industrial base) were imported, and this meant that the associated technological base was alien to the local environment. When the implanted extractive and manufacturing activities began to acquire greater relative importance in the local economy, the corresponding technological capabilities

acquired a reflex and superficial layer of technical knowledge disconnected from their physical and social reality, and which depended from abroad for its maintenance and renovation. (For a comprehensive review of the literature in India, see; G.S. Aurora, Administration of Science and Technology in India: A Trend Report, Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, 1971.) The outstanding concern of modern India has been to overcome this trend. The issues of science policy and the allocation of R & D resources are quickly becoming the leading consideration in determining Indian development policy, however, the discussions of "Indian answers to Indian problems" has involved the entire range of the societal concerns of Indian development.

The Indian movement for independence generated immense interest in replacing Indian goals, values, and aspirations as the primary guide to India's future. Certainly the driving force behind this movement and the principal exponent of a truly Indian form of development was Mahandas K. Gandhi.

It is difficult to deal briefly with the central role of Gandhi in the modern history of India. His influence essentially brought Independence to the Asian sub-continent and revitalized the commitment of large segments of the population to a form of development uniquely Indian.

Obviously, the influence, as well as the sometimes lack of influence, of Gandhian thinking on development is worth and has been the subject of numerous serious works. Although it is not within the scope of this work to survey these works, Gandhian ideals are today an active part of Indian conversation, and programs of Gandhi's design, as well as those patterned after them, are found throughout the country in Gandhigram Rural Universities, Gandhian Institutes of Study, and the villages based on his principles of non-violence and self-reliance.

Gandhi also spoke to the issues of language and regional cultures and combined the language and nationalism questions in the drive to foster national integration.

"Among Gandhi's political objectives, national integration was fully as important as national independence. . . . Perhaps the most important of Gandhi's integrative objectives was the psychological integration of the Indian personality. India could never be free until Indians could speak and think freely in their own languages. Swaraj (self-rule) was impossible without Swadeshi (self-reliance, and the use of English was a 'sign of slavery' (M.K. Gandhi, Evil Wrought by the English Medium, in W. Richter, 1968, p 55)."

The illustration is given to show the strong concerns that exist within the Indian polity to grant direct attention to the special considerations of development within their own, distinctly Indian, circumstances. The question which remains to be discussed is if the planning response has adequately reflected these particular issues and concerns and if, as such, it is a truly a product of an Indian approach to planning.

The movement in the Telangana region provides the opportunity to examine this planning response, and the Telangana Perspective Plan, prepared in response to the regional dissatisfactions, is briefly summarized. It is to be seen if the Plan is a response to the particular regional situation or to the planning orthodoxy.



The Perspective Plan  
for Telangana  
Summary

The Perspective Plan for Telangana, begun in June 1969, was initiated with the broad objective of preparing an integrated, long-term development plan for the region for a period of 15 years on which more detailed Five Year Plans could be formulated. Broadly, the Perspective Plan was prepared on the basis of an area approach, the areas with common characteristics being demarcated for "an appropriate unified development strategy."

One of the initial assumptions of the Telangana Development Committee was that the lag in development in the Telangana region was basically due to inadequate infrastructural facilities. As such the primary aim of the committee was to provide a plan of infrastructures so the public and private investments could then proceed along the natural resource endowment-based course.

Accordingly, one of the earliest exercises was a study of the "economic regionalisation" of Telangana, that is, "the identification of homogeneous economic planning zones, within the region, with a view to evolving a unified strategy of development for each zone, for accelerating growth based on resource endowment." On the basis of this approach, four "homogeneous" economic zones were identified, i.e.:

- (1) urban industrial
- (2) forest and mineral
- (3) intensive agriculture
- (4) dry farming

These identified zones were taken to indicate the "areal territorial production complexes" that were to be found in the region.

The second major assumption to go into the preparation of the Plan evolved from the traditional assumptions about locational choice; that infrastructure, manufacture and commercial activities are, by nature, growth generating elements which have great impact on the development of their hinterlands and consequently on the overall economic development of a region. Proceeding on this assumption, a study of the settlement hierarchy in the Telangana region was undertaken to identify the "possible locational choices" for the generation and transmission of growth and development "impulses." As a result of this "central place" study, a set of 12 growth centers, 104 market and service centers, and 421 service centers were identified in the region.

As the framework of the Plan was thus identified as based on the areal development zones and the central place hierarchy, the lead sectors would naturally follow the areal demarcations and the natural resource endowments. The plan, however, does not proceed so simply, and complex statements of assurance are made as to not preclude the development of the potential in any other sectors within each zone.

At the onset of the planning process the Telangana Development Committee recognized the certain difficulties faced in preparing a plan for a sub-state region, such as Telangana. The first weakness was in a data base, already weak for the state, but particularly so at the regional level where little or no information is available regarding inter- or intra-regional commodity or income flows, or of backward and forward linkages among regional industries. The other major difficulty encountered was in integrating any regional plan into both State and national plans, and particularly, in estimating the resources which will be made available for a regional plan through Central Assistance, which is determined (under current procedures) taking the entire State as a single unit.

Since the formation of the enlarged state of Andhra Pradesh, the State has so far implemented the Second Plan, the Third Plan, the three Annual Plans 1966-69, and the Fourth Plan. The Fifth Plan has just recently been adopted. With the exception of this last, the total expenditure to date equals some 5235.6 million rupees (approximately \$654.5 million U.S.), including the expenditure on special development schemes, in the region which formed 42.3% of total expenditures in the State. If the outlay on special development schemes is excluded, the total expenditures in the region came to about 4798.4 million rupees (approx. \$599.8 million U.S.), forming 40.2% of the total plan expenditures in the State.

#### Approach

Several approaches perceived as viable routes for attaining the stated goals were identified as alternatives. These ranged from postulating a growth rate far in excess of the national and determining the investment levels necessary to attain it, to estimating investments from projections of available State, Central, and private resources over the Perspective Plan period. Due primarily to difficulties in available data for the above, the Committee selected an approach based on infrastructure.

As recognized in the Perspective Plan (p 30), the infrastructure approach is a special case of the location argument, that is, that existing and anticipated resources in the region justify the location of certain activities. In the case where resource endowments are insufficient in certain areas, it will "inevitably involve some implied subsidy".

#### Strategy

Given this approach, i.e., set of assumptions, the particular strategy was identified. Specifically, the plan was prepared "on the basis of a spatial approach," that is, the over-all plan was drawn up around the four areal development zones, envisioning the central place hierarchy as the

identification of 'nodes' or the foci of these development zones for the location of social facilities and infrastructure.

This strategy is given as the necessary solution to the two perceived problems, i.e., (1) the improvement in the over-all level of development in Telangana vis-a-vis other areas in the national economy, and (2) reduction in disparities in the intra-regional levels of development. This latter problem is viewed specifically as composed of two components; (1) intra-regional inequalities in respect of social facilities and infrastructure and (2) intra-regional inequalities in respect to levels of income. These are each perceived as (1) issues of social development and environmental quality and (2) the "larger issue of economic development and future growth prospects", respectively.

Within this approach and explicit strategy, a general plan would normally be at a severe disadvantage as it would not include an identification of those points of location considered to be advantageous for achieving the stated goals. Hence, the Perspective Plan includes a detailed study of the settlement hierarchy in order to identify the investment locations.

There is, however, a recognition "with regard to the problem of intra-regional income inequalities, the lack of adequate resource endowment in some of the zones is likely to be a constraint on the achievement of the objective of income equalisation. (p 33)"

There is also a recognition of the implicit (if not explicit) pattern of production specialization that will occur in each development zone and that existing or potential inter-linkages between zones are not yet defined.

Because the basic causes of poverty are identified in the Plan as unemployment, under-employment, and low resource bases, the Perspective Plan proposes an emphasis on "employment generating" sectors such as construction activity, road transport, processing industries, and social services. Appro-

priate programs, it is noted, will be required to provide the necessary credit structure.

The Perspective Plan  
for Telangana  
Critique

Industrialization has, in fact, proceeded in Telangana, but has been highly concentrated around the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and has scarcely touched much of the rest of the area. Telangana has certainly advanced economically since integration; the question is whether the area has advanced fast enough to bring it into a competitive position with the rest of Andhra and whether the development gap between Telangana and the rest of the state is narrowing or growing wider. The advocates of a separate Telangana argue that the gap is widening, and they suggest that the development of the other areas is directly at the expense of Telangana because it has revenue surpluses which, they argue, are being utilized outside. The Gentlemen's Agreement had stipulated that general government expenditure should be divided between Andhra and Telangana in a proportion of two to one. The so-called "Telangana Surpluses" represent the surplus of revenue over expenditure resulting partly from the higher land revenue and partly from the high yield from excise tax in an area which does not enforce prohibition. These surpluses were to be spent exclusively on the development of the Telangana area. The calculation of these surpluses, the difference between what ought to have been spent and what actually was spent on Telangana, has been very much in dispute (T.V.S. Chelapathi Rao, pamphlet n.d.). What is agreed is that the annual Telangana Surplus is a very large sum, and that since integration a considerable amount of this money has been spent outside Telangana. Two commissions were set up in 1969, one by the state government and the other by the Center, to determine the Telangana Surpluses, and the government of Andhra Pradesh and the Telangana Regional Committee

disagreed on how these were to be calculated. The details of this controversy are not so important here; it is enough to note that all are agreed that Telangana has been unfairly treated. Indeed, it would be true to say that "Telangana has been cheated of several crores of rupees each year" (C.H. Hanumantha Rao, EPW, Oct. 18, 1969, pp 1665-76; a crore is ten million rupees or approximately \$1.3 million). Such a position added force to the separatists' contention that Telangana would have progressed faster in isolation from Andhra Pradesh. Imbalance in economic development is surely the greatest single cause for the 1969-71 troubles. The fact that development markedly slowed down in the three years preceding the agitation as a result of the so-called "plan holiday" also added fuel to the flames (see; "Andhra: Will It Remain?" EPW, Feb. 15, 1969, pp345-6).

In the style of Indian journalism, which strikes one as a cross between yellow sensationalism and personality-gossip columns, blow-by-blow accounts of the civil agitation are available (see biblio.). Many of these accounts have centered on the dynamic leadership of the Telangana Separatists by Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, frequently making the case that the movement and subsequent agitation were merely tools to further his own frustrated (at that time) political career. To a degree, it is possible to say that he, in fact, did just so, in that once political vendettas were satisfied, the movement was placated, and in Spring, 1978, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy was elected Chief Minister of the State. (See; K. Seshadri, JCPS, Oct-Dec, 1971; unsigned article in IJPS, Jan-March, 1970; and newspaper Hindu, Aug. 15, 1970.)

There is still, today, a certain amount of suspicion among people in the coastal and Rayalaseema regions about his intentions. This is despite his virtual repudiation of his past on assumption of office as Chief Minister.



"Dr. Reddy is doing everything possible to extend his political base to all regions. He tours the Andhra areas frequently. He talks mostly about long-pending projects in the coastal districts like the Visakhapatnam steel plant and the alumina (sic) plant to exploit the rich bauxite reserves on the east coast. He rarely talks about the projects in Telangana." (The Deccan Chronicle, June 5, 1978)

In attempting to shift attention away from the previous concerns in an overly 'matter-of-fact' approach to development needs, Dr. Reddy may, in fact, assure their eruption again as the major focus of intra- and inter-regional tensions.

Interestingly enough, many of the problems that have been discussed have been recognized within the Plan documents, even at the national level. The most recently proposed National Plan - The Sixth Plan - notes that the major beneficiaries of the supporting structures of development, especially banking, "have been the wealthier part of the population, both in urban and rural areas, and the vast majority have been barely touched," and further notes that "the pattern of industrial development that has emerged obviously reflects the structure of effective demand, which is determined by the distribution of incomes. An unduly large share of resources is thus absorbed in production which is related directly or indirectly to maintaining or improving the living standards of the higher income groups. The demand of this relatively small class . . . sustains a large part of the existing industrial structure." (Proposed Sixth Plan, Government of India, 1978)

This class is too small to sustain this pattern of growth for very long, the plan document says, but in the meantime, "the present investment in industry, and research into future production processes, is taking place in a manner which hardens the pattern and accentuates the inequalities resulting from it." (Deccan Chronicle, March 25, 1978)

Yet, what stands out is the conceptual shortcoming in the problem descriptions which assume the dominant goal, approach and set of policy/planning tools to achieve them. At fault is a choice of technology that has both placed and established the planner in a peculiar 'Galtung-ian' relation between Western intellectual traditions and conditions in the Third World.

Although the final concern in this discussion is the set of planning paradigms and models, shown to be suspect and of dubious utility, which are ultimately "transferred" for direct use in the Third World, the study shows that not only are there serious flaws within the models, themselves, but that the transfer, acceptance, and utilization of these tools and models has been a direct transposition of the colonial role from former external rulers to the present political leaders.

As in the earlier stages of international aid, there remain certain hidden and naive assumptions about the nature of development and underdevelopment. After all, whatever problems exist in the "transfer of development", it remains the general assumption that "there just isn't enough of it".

What this has demonstrated is probably the deepest and most pervasive problem that will continue to plague Third World planning into the future; that is the intellectual dependence and the cultural form of imperialism which so subtly occurs in the transfer of social science "technology".

The intellectual institutional network and the academic training process of scholars and professionals contribute to the production of "human resources", government technocrats and planners. In this respect, the planning tools and techniques applied by governments throughout Third World countries are not only the objective intellectual product of this process but also the result of the scientific expertise of entities such as the World Bank and the United Nations. While these international bodies do not constitute schools of economic thought (at least not overtly), their advisory

activities have often oriented these countries to implement standard and homogeneous planning procedures in conformity with the practice of conventional orthodoxy.

"Without doubt, Western theoretical thought structures in the social sciences have played a vital role in sustaining in the Third World 'correct' and 'acceptable' scientific interpretations of socio-economic reality as well as 'suitable' rationalizations of the political and economic intercourse between rich and poor countries." (M. Chossudovsky, 1977)

The process of this transfer fits remarkably into the very theoretical structure outlined in the opening chapter. Beginning from the 'intellectual growth poles' of, for example, Harvard, MIT, Chicago, and Berkeley, the initial polarization is followed by the "trickling-down" of intellectual technology to the periphery through the return, albeit limited, of well trained Third World social scientists to their home countries. These 'intellectual spread effects' enable the establishment of 'fully-owned and operated subsidiaries' of Western country universities and research institutions. The demonstration effect orients academic research endeavors towards the same criteria of excellence, the same mathematical and quantitative sophistication thereby contributing to the production of the same intellectual output. (see also; Diane Crane, 1977)

In other words, while 'the early stage' of the transfer of intellectual technology was characterized by a 'high import content', the intellectual spread effects contribute in a second stage to 'intellectual import-substitution' where 'subsidiaries' contribute to the production in developing countries (presumably cheaper) of the same homogeneous intellectual product. This has been accomplished through the creation of prototypes of Chicago, Cornell, Michigan, and M.I.T. at the National University of Taiwan, the Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, and the Indian Institute(s) of Technology.

## CONCLUSION

Caiden and Wildavsky (1977), in an extensive and thorough review of national planning and government budgeting in poor countries, state:

"If we were asked to design a mechanism for decision to maximize every known disability and minimize any possible advantage of poor countries, we could hardly do better than comprehensive, multisectoral planning. It calls for unavailable information, nonexistent knowledge, and a political stability in consistent pursuit of aims undreamed of in their experience."

They show, in a succession of interviews that developing country officials regard plans more as obstacles to be hurdled than as guides for decision.

John Mellor (1976), an agricultural economist with extensive experience in India, has argued that national plans have influenced decisions in India, but that this has been a major source of problems in Indian development over the past two decades. Mellor notes that the "highly sophisticated, multi-sectoral, intertemporal planning models grew out of the Indian experience; many of these were designed specifically to meet the increasingly complex needs of Indian planning."

The complexity of these models, however, placed emphasis on the capital intensive industrialization sought by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and, later, by his daughter, Indira Gandhi. Thus, Mellor concludes that "fifteen years later, a changed political emphasis demanded alternatives to the unfortunate employment and income distribution consequences of these sophisticated techniques and their accompanying theory. (p 287)"

Development planning in the Third World, as was seen in the review of the critical literature, has involved models containing an explicit normative nature. From a purely physical and spatial viewpoint, environmental standards,

norms of building and design as well as urban institutions, derived from the historical experience of an industrial state and overlaid with its particular cultural preferences, were transferred to societies with totally different economic and cultural experiences. (United Nations, 1971)

Begun under the overt programs of colonial administration and the desire to maintain those relationships, the planning for social and class advantage was given as a legacy to the westernized elite who took over the planning functions as a neo-colonial form of administration. The issue here is not whether these values or models of planning are "functional" or "disfunctional" in relation to developing countries; these issues have been discussed in the literature review. Rather, it is to show that the transfer of planning models, and hence, the implicit cultural dependence, still persist.

While the end product of planning in the United States may, ultimately, deal with "national development," for the most part, planning concerns revolve around physical development specifications, organization and location of activities, and/or program and project budgeting. The general situation within most Third World countries, however, is significantly different, as are, as have been seen, the concerns. Planning in these countries is inherently tied to both economic and political development, and planning models not dealing directly with these issues provide only an unrealistic picture.

Planning in the Third World is situated at a crucial point. In India, as in other Third World nations, there is an ever-increasing awareness among the populace of the need for appropriate planning responses. The governments, too, have recognized the significant record of failure in past efforts and have pledged to rectify this. The Perspective Plan for Telangana, however, as an example of the planning response, shows little recognition of the peculiarities that led to the very situation requiring that separate plan. Obviously, as the plan was initiated at the time of the civil uprising, and was prepared

by a senior group of highly competent professionals, there is no question that the planners had knowledge of these issues. Nevertheless, while the plan is at great detail to be comprehensive, rather than directly addressing the divisive problem issues, the "comprehensiveness" is one representative of "state of the art" planning orthodoxy, shown earlier to be unconcerned with or related to these issues. Because the plan fails to deal with the issues contributing to and raised by the regional conflict, it is further suggested that no solution has been provided and that the divisive issues have only temporarily been submerged.

Sensational journalism, a popular past-time in India, has offered colorful accounts of the events. My contention, however, has been rather with the conceptual basis of the plan, itself, the issues which it is capable of addressing, and the process by which its applicability has been defined and accepted. The Plan, as have the inherent models, has fallen short on all three counts.

## FINAL NOTE

The significant issues raised in this work have been recognized by the Indian government. The most recent national plan, quoted from earlier, is a structural continuation of the Indian planning tradition. It does, however, contain a remarkable strong set of goal statements. Yet, it has come at a time when "it has become exceedingly difficult for any government in India, whether at the Centre or in the States, to make promises and then to get away with not carrying them out; renewing (sic) on promises is an offense which the electorate has learnt to punish very severely, and the poorer voters have learnt to do it especially well.

"It can therefore, be taken for granted that one of two kinds of upheavals is in the offing and it will not take five years to come. Either the upheaval will come when the promises begin to be implemented. Or it will come when it begins to be clear that they are not going to be implemented. In either event, the upheaval will be a powerful one." ("The Plan Plants A Time Bomb", Deccan Chronicle, March 25, 1978)



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DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND REGIONALISM

IN THE THIRD WORLD

An examination of current issues in Planning  
including a case study of the  
Telangana Region of Andhra Pradesh, India

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

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## ABSTRACT

This report seeks to examine the planning response to ethnic sub-regionalism in Third World development planning and focuses on a particular regional movement in Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, India.

The study begins with a description of the dominant theme in development planning documented from the body of traditional planning literature. This is developed from the classical models of internal economic and political factors of growth and stability, the conflict and change theories, and the intra-systems constraint models. Literature strictly from within the field of planning is used to demonstrate these foundations. The important theories in this connection are: 1.) the location theories advocated by Christaller and Losch, 2.) the growth pole theory advocated by Perroux and modified by later writers, 3.) the hypotheses advanced by Myrdal and Hirschman on the transmission of development, and 4.) Hagerstrand's theory of the geographical diffusion of innovations. The description is further augmented through discussion of the subsequent growth models and prescriptive planning tools devised to accomplish the goals of these models.

A survey of the significant critical literature response examines the major weaknesses within the traditional approach. This literature responds both to overt problems within the traditional models and to the more serious difficulty of static and/or underlying assumptions regarding development and development processes which are inherent in the planning orthodoxy. Included are the early critiques of urban bias, the inter-systems constraint models of dominance/dependence and imperialism, issues

of technological choice in development strategies, and the Marxist critique of development growth models.

In turning to the examination of the Indian context, a brief introduction is given to a set of issues regarding language, nationalism, and regional group loyalties which play a significant role in the promotion of development in the Third World. These issues are, in turn, shown to have played a substantial role in the background of the Telangana region, and, in particular, in relation to both its development and identity vis-a-vis the larger State and the resultant regional demand for political autonomy. Overt regional dissatisfactions, residual from the integration of Telangana into the larger State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, led to a period of violent civil agitation in 1969 that extended to 1971. The demand for autonomy is seen as a combination of cultural issues and the imbalances in economic development between the historically defined regions.

Given the distinctly individual setting of Telangana and of the particular issues involved, the fifteen year Telangana Perspective Plan, devised in response to the regional dissatisfactions, is summarized and illustrated as an orthodox approach based entirely on the traditional planning models described in the initial chapter. It is suggested that this orthodoxy neither deals with the issues involved in the conflict nor is it a product of Third World considerations. As such it is representative of a "transfer of social science technology" that is seen as a form of cultural imperialism.

The conclusion is drawn that the plan, rather than directly addressing the divisive problem issues, is a "comprehensive", multi-sectoral

plan representative of "state of the art" planning orthodoxy, shown earlier to be unconcerned with or unrelated to these issues. Because it fails to deal with the issues contributing to and raised by the regional conflict, it is further suggested that no solution is provided and that the divisive issues have only temporarily been submerged.