CHAPTER II

APPROACHES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT
Rural Development or alleviation of rural poverty is not the problem of India alone. It is the problem of the Third World Countries in general and Asian Countries in particular. The last four decades have seen massive experimentation in rural development. Strategies adopted for remedying the situation have differed from country to country. Efforts have been made by scholars to classify these approaches from different points of view. This chapter presents a summary of such classifications, as presented by some scholars to illustrate such approaches and also describes some of the programmes undertaken in India.

Aminuzzaman's Classification

Aminuzzaman, in a recent article, presented an overview of "Strategies for Rural Development in Countries of Asia-Pacific Region." He defines rural development as "a set of goals, operation processes, terminal objectives and structural arrangements designed to bring about change and development in the lives of the rural people." Based on
programme components, assessment of implementation problems, strategies for optimum programme management, he attempted a summary of the classifications of rural development strategies, made by different authors and agencies. An effort has been made in the following paragraphs to present a brief summary in view of their relevance and usefulness for a proper understanding of the theme.

Based on the objectives, performance, priorities, ideology used to mobilise support and action, dominant form of land tenure institution, patterns of property rights and the ways of distribution of the benefits of the economic system and growth process, Griffin classified rural development strategies as technocratic, reformist and radical. Rath’s three-fold classification - (i) radical-structural strategies, (ii) incremental-structural strategies and (iii) radical functional approaches are more or less similar to Griffin’s. Examining the rural development strategies from the level of resource consumption and use of technology, Gable and Springer refer to (1) technology-based and (2) resource-based strategies. An almost similar classification of rural development strategies has


2. Ibid., pp.66-67.
been formulated by the Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre. As rural development strategies are also viewed as 'strategic intervention', Inayatullah, classifies these strategies in terms of the level of intervention with respective broad policy goals where productivity, solidarity and equality are considered as broad indicators, he calls them (1) Low intervention productivity model, (2) Medium intervention solidarity model, and (3) High intervention equality model.

Of late, several international aid-giving agencies, with their own models and approaches to rural development have institutionally and financially supported several projects in Third World Countries. Most important of these agencies and the strategies they adopted can be broadly listed as: (1) World Bank - Functional Coordination, (2) United Nations - Rural Modernisation, (3) USAID - The Integrated Development and (4) Asian Development - Rural investment.

Theoretical Approaches to Rural Development

Some tend to approach rural development, from the point of view of their ideology. S. Venkata Ramana, in his doctoral dissertation on "Banking for Rural Development - A Case Study
of Bank of Baroda, Warangal has attempted a classification of theoretical approaches to Rural Development. They are described in the following paragraphs.

To begin with, there is what is known as conventional approach which assumes a plan of rapid industrial development where agricultural surplus as well as agricultural labour are transferred to Urban Areas. The process of urbanisation which was experienced in the period of industrial revolution in England is the conventional approach to development.

Gunnar Myrdal provided a logical, consistent and well documented critique of this "Conventional Approach" of economic development and opted for an "Institutional Approach" to problems of development and under development. The plea of Gunnar Myrdal for an institutional approach towards problems of development in South Asia, is based on his perception relating to fundamental differences on one hand between the rich Western countries in which the models of development originated and South Asian countries on the other. In the former group, social matrix is permissive of economic development, or when not, becomes readily re-adjusted so as not to place much in the way of obstacles in its path.

Under South Asian conditions, social and institutional structure is not only different, but more important. The problem of development in South Asia is one calling for induced changes in its social and economic structure.¹

The social system consists of a great number of conditions that are casually inter-related, in that a change in one will cause change in the other. Myrdal classifies these conditions as (1) output and incomes, (2) conditions of production, (3) levels of living, (4) attitudes towards life and work, (5) institutions and (6) policies. Myrdal emphasises the inter-relationship between attitudes and institutions on one side and the economic factors implied in the first three conditions on the other. To him attitudes and institutions represent heavy elements of social inertia that hamper and slow down the circular causation within the social system among the conditions in those categories.² He is quite critical of the blind application of the concepts of saving and investment conditions of South Asian countries. He proceeds: "By itself industrialisation can do little to raise labour utilisation in the more traditional sectors of the economy especially in rural areas. These problems must be attacked in their own right by specific policies designed to promote reform."³


3. Ibid.,
The Gandhian approach on the other hand starts with a total rejection of the basic assumptions of conventional economic theory of man and society. The major assumptions of this theory are quite in contrast to those of the conventional economic theory. Gandhian theory has the following goals of development: (1) Satisfaction of basic needs and not greed since the earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not for every man's greed. (2) Full employment, since work is not a dis-utility, but is a part of the living process. (3) Modes of employment which satisfy man's urge for fulfilment of personality through work. (4) Decentralisation in government, and (5) A technology which serves social needs. Gandhian theory, thus comes closest to what is implied in the concept of integrated rural development and has a remarkable logical consistency. But the missing links in the theory pertain to those elements which are required for translation of this theory into practice. The present society which is now based on greed will have to be destroyed before new structures are created. It is in relation to this, that the, theory is found wanting.

2. Ibid., p.31.
4. Ibid.,
The model of the Latin American School considered that the 'neo-colonial dependence' of the under-development in the third world as a consequence of capitalist development through imperialist expansion. Thomas E., Weinaskoff, described capitalism in poor countries as a dependent form of capitalism embedded with the world capitalist system as a whole.¹ Growth of capitalism is also likely to preclude the two major means of relief to the poorest in the under-developed countries viz., (1) a more equitable distribution of claims to the scarce factors of the economy and (2) an increase in the share of national income representing the returns to the most equally distributed factor: unskilled labour. The respect for private property that is fundamental to capitalism precludes any large dispossession of the rich in favour of the poor. Bias against unskilled labour in the composition of goods and services, choices of techniques biased towards capital-intensive techniques, interests of capitalist class in creating a labour aristocracy whose interests will be tied to the ruling elites rather than to the masses - all these prevent a rise in the wage rate as well as a reduction in unemployment and thus prevent any improvement of the incomes of the labour class in the share of national income. In the long run, the fundamental problems of under-development, inadequate growth, increasing inequalities and increasing subordination are unlikely to be soluble.

without a complete break with capitalist institutions both domestically and internationally. Only radical changes in the structure of power within the poor countries are likely to result in significant changes in the pattern of economic and social development.¹

The Neo-Marxian approach suggests that capitalism is at the root of development and it is the peculiar nature of capitalism in under-developed countries that led to sea of stagnation with a few islands of affluence. This needs to be reversed, and the strategy of integrated rural development could well be an answer. But the new strategy could provide the answer, only when the old institutions are replaced and new structure favouring the poor are created. The challenging questions relate to the possibilities of this transformation through gradualist process within the existing set up. The answer to this question, is that - conflicts generated within the society create revolutionary forces destroying the old structures and create new structures favouring changes in society. They reject gradualism while in mixed economics, the strategy of integrated rural development implies a belief in gradualist approach and use of state power to build up power of the weakest sections of the society as a supporting force for this strategy. It is the gradualist approach in mixed economy, which poses

several challenges in devising an appropriate strategy formulation of programme and in implementation of programmes.1

Major Approaches to Rural Development in India

S.K. Sharma and S.C. Malhotra in their work on "Integrated Rural Development: Approach, Strategy and Perspectives" attempt a delineation of the major approaches to rural development in India. The major approaches identified by them are: (1) Multi-purpose approach, (2) Area development approach, (3) Target group approach, (4) Target sector approach, (5) Multi level district planning approach, (6) Spatial planning approach and (7) Integrated rural development approach. An attempt is made in the following sections to spell out these approaches and indicate the programmes undertaken in each of these approaches.

1. Multipurpose Approach

The Community Development Programmes, started in 1951, aimed at developing the human and material resources of an area through the multipurpose approach with active co-operative efforts of the people and full support and help of the state. It was essentially an educational and organisational process, because it concerned itself with the changing attitudes and practices for social and economic

improvements¹ in rural areas. Rural life is an organic whole and no improvement in any sector is possible unless an attack is made on all the sectors simultaneously. The activities of the programme included agriculture, and animal husbandry, irrigation, co-operation, village and small scale industries, health and sanitation, education, communication and housing etc. The aim was to raise the standard of living, promoting social welfare, social justice, a co-operative way of life, community cohesion, and building up the democratic organisations and institutions of the people. The programme was intended to tackle the rural problems, through multipurpose approach. The ultimate destination of multipurpose approach or community development programmes is the human development. For such a gigantic programme to succeed, there could be no resource constraint and no arrangement of priorities. As such all the components of the programme were equally important and a particular component could not be placed higher than the other. Therefore, there were practical difficulties in executing this approach. Firstly, the difficulties are due to limited resources to meet the huge requirements of multi level approach was not possible. Secondly, a creation of priority list had to be developed to solve the immediate problems on the food front.

The Committee on Administrative Arrangements for Rural Development succinctly sums up the origin of the CD programme and its results as follows: It was the 'Grow More Food' Enquiry Committee which stressed the need for an integrated organisational structure for rural development and recommended the establishment of a Development Block over 100-120 villages under the charge of a Block Development Officer (BDO), assisted by technical officers in disciplines such as agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and engineering and village level workers at one for 5-10 villages. Recommendations were made by that Committee for an integrated structure at the district level under the Collector and at the State level under a Development Commissioner, to be supervised and advised by a Cabinet Committee headed by the Chief Minister...

The CD Programme, followed by the National Extension Scheme ... covered the entire country. The Development Block was created as the basic unit of planning and integrated rural development, comprising agriculture and allied activities, education, health, social welfare, communications, supplementary employment, etc., with special emphasis on self help and public participation. A schematic budget was indicated and a staffing pattern, comprising the BDO, 8 Extension Officers (in agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, panchayats, rural industries, engineering, social education and programmes for women and children), 10 gram sevikas or Village Level Workers (VLWs), 2 gram sevikas (lady VLWs),
programme assistant, a storekeeper-cum-accountant and some support staff on the ministerial side, was prescribed for a standard block .....

The integrated approach to rural development, however, got gradually diluted, mainly, on account of two factors. All the work relating to village industries was handed over to the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) as early as 1953. And more importantly with the growing need for self-reliance in food, the emphasis of rural development shifted almost exclusively to increasing agriculture production. This resulted in the launching of the Intensive Agriculture District Programme (IADP) in 1960 in selected districts - "areas of quick response" - followed by the Intensive Agriculture Areas Programme (IAAP), and the High Yielding Varieties Programme (HYVP) in 1966. This had two simultaneous results: (a) The CD Programme itself lost much of its earlier cohesive force and yielded to what may be called a conscious disintegration which was accompanied by falling budgets and the take over of much of the staff by the respective line agencies; and (b) even though the intensive efforts in agriculture led to the Green Revolution, the benefits of this remained largely confined to the larger farmers and areas which were better placed to receive the
benefits of the HYV technology package.¹

2. Area Development Approach

This approach emphasises on the systematic identification of under-developed regions as well as the promotion of studies of economic trends and rates of growth in the different regions. Area development theory presumes that the growth centres have an even geographical spread effect and benefits of development percolate to the lower levels over a period of time. The whole approach is to have a deep thrust in one or two major spheres instead of scattering development over a wide spectrum.² In this approach, the first step is to identify the backward areas to develop which attempts have to be made. The next step is to formulate integrated development programmes on the basis of the resources, quality and coverage of the existing infrastructural facilities. From the lessons learnt in the past, a new strategy have been adopted for planning development of

1. "Report of the Committee to Review the Existing Administrative Arrangements for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation Programmes" (CAARD), The Committee was set up by the Planning Commission and was given secretarial support by the Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, December 1985, pp.15-1

the Tribal communities, Hill areas, Drought Prone Areas, and the Desert Areas. In this connection, the sub-plan of the region will be prepared within the state plan. The financial resources for sub-plan will be provided from the central sector outlays, special assistance and institutional finance. In each project an integrated area development programme covering the specific problems of the region is formulated. The approach is an advancement from the concept of extension and welfare to the concept of "investment" and development. The success of this approach depends upon the removal of three basic constraints.

(1) Planning at the local level lacks the full participation and involvement of local community exploding the utility of democratic decentralisation.

(2) There has not been any qualitative improvement at the block level in relation to the challenging task arising from the new technology.

(3) We have failed to evolve an effective unified agency with a center of direction and radiating organisations in the various disciplines upto the field level, with interlocking coordinating functions at various levels of operation.¹

Broadly the programmes covered under this approach are: (i) Drought Prone Area Programme, (ii) Tribal Area Development Programme; (iii) Hill Area Development Programme, (iv) Whole Village Development Scheme, (v) Command Area Development and (vi) Desert Development Programme. The brief description of these programmes is given in the following paragraphs.

(i) Drought-prone Area Programme (DPAP)

In Indian agriculture, drought has been a permanent feature. Till the beginning of the seventies, large sums of money were usually provided for immediate relief through rural work to provide employment. Sincere and concerted attention has not been paid in the past to minimize the impact of drought and insulate the areas against drought.¹ The main objectives of the DPAP, chalked out by the Government of India are: (i) promoting a more productive dry land agriculture on the basis of the soil-water-climate resources of the area, (ii) development and productive use of the water-resources of the area, (iii) soil and moisture conservation including promotion of proper land use practices, (iv) afforestation including farm forestry and (v) livestock development including development of pasture and fodder resources.²

From 1982-83, it is in operation in 511 blocks of 70 districts of 13 states. The coverage of the programme has been changed on the basis of the recommendations of a 'Task Force' which was set up by the Government of India. From the beginning of the Seventh Five Year Plan, the total coverage of blocks under the programme would be 615. Funds for the programme are given equally by the Central and State governments. Allocation is made on the basis of the number of blocks covered each block being allocated Rs.15.00 lakhs per year.

The physical achievements from 1980-81 to 1984-85 upto December, 1984 under the programme were as follows: 3.95 lakh hectares have been treated for soil conservation, 3.25 lakh of hectares of irrigation potential has been created and 3.75 lakh hectares has been covered under forests and pasture. Employment for about 159 million Mandays was generated during this period. The major physical achievements under the programme during 1984-85 upto the end of December, 1984 are as follows (see Table II-1):
### TABLE II-1

**Major Physical Achievements Under DPAP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Item of work</th>
<th>Physical Achievements 1984-85 (upto December, 1984) (provisional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Soil and moisture conservation (000 ha)</td>
<td>12.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Irrigation potential created (000 ha)</td>
<td>22.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Afforestation and Pasture Development (000 ha)</td>
<td>31.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Milk Co-operative Societies set-up (Nos.)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sheep Co-operative Societies set-up (Nos.)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Number of families assisted (lakhs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including SC and ST families</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Employment generated (lakh mandays)</td>
<td>108.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(ii) **Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP)**

Tribal Development is yet another important aspect of Indian Planning which has drawn special attention of the Government of India in recent years. The Tribal area has been delimited into about 500 Tribal Development Blocks in which special programmes aiming at total development of the tribals have been taken up. In addition, Eight Pilot Projects in selected Tribal Areas in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa
and Madhya Pradesh are being implemented through the Department of Rural Development. These projects are designed on an area development approach.¹

(iii) **Hill Area Development Programme (HADP)**

The Hill Area Development Programme emphasised the partial utilisation of the resources of the Hill areas through specially designed programmes for the development of horticulture, plantation agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, soil conservation and suitable village industries. Pilot projects for the integrated development based on area approach have been taken up in selected areas in the hill regions of Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Manipur.² The focus is essentially on a package of activities that could be absorbed by the people inhabiting hilly tracts. Special programmes have been devised to prevent shifting (Podu or Thum) cultivation by rehabilitating the tribal population in regular agriculture. The pilot projects are expected to give valuable information and data for formulation of new programmes and the projects for the hill area.

(iv) **Whole Village Development Scheme (WVDS)**

Based on the equitable distribution of the benefits of development a whole village development scheme has been

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² Ibid.
conceived. It is based on the recommendations of the National Commission on Agriculture. The main theme of this scheme is the concentration on the entire multi-faceted development endeavour around the village community as a whole. The programme elements include land reforms and consolidation of holdings, land development including soil and water management, maximizing the irrigation support and cropping programme for the village as a whole, aiming at maximized use of resources. To start with, Five Pilot Projects were taken up in four states. Special feature of the scheme is to entrust the programme to a suitable voluntary agency if there be one in the area.

(v) Command Area Development (CAD)

Irrigation is the bulwark of agriculture. With the spurt in the construction of major and medium irrigation works after independence and the consequent increase in the command area of irrigation projects, the need for realization of faster and optimum utilisation of the irrigation potential was keenly felt. Based on the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission and the National Commission on Agriculture, the whole issue of fuller and better utilisation of irrigation potential was considered by the Government of India and it was decided to establish Command Area Development Authorities (CADA) in 1974 for irrigation projects in conjunction with the detailed and coordinated action in
different disciplines like irrigation, soil conservation, agricultural extension and co-operation. With the active involvement of the weaker sections, the emphasis of the CADA is on the improvement of water conveyance and drainage system besides encouraging various on-farm development activities. Therefore, any of the benefits available to the small and marginal farmers under SFDA/IRD are available to them under this programme also.

(vi) Desert Development Programme (DDP)

The Desert Development Programme was started in 1977-78 with the objectives of controlling desertification and promotion of opportunities to rise the level of production, income and employment in areas covered under the programme. The objectives are sought to be achieved by taking up activities like irrigation, afforestation, soil and water conservation, dryland agriculture, groundwater development, livestock development etc. The programme covers both hot and cold arid areas. The present coverage is 17 districts in the hot desert areas of Gujarat, Haryana and Rajasthan and 4 districts in the cold arid areas of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.


Upto 1978-79, the entire expenditure on the programme was borne by the central government. From 1979-80 onwards, the cost is shared equally between the Central and the State Government concerned. The major physical achievements under the programme during the Sixth Plan are shown in Table II-2.

TABLE II-2
Major Physical Achievements Under DDP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector (Key indicators)</th>
<th>Physical achievements during 1980-81 to 1983-84</th>
<th>Achievements upto December, 1984 (provisional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Afforestation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Plantation including pasture development (hectares)</td>
<td>43122</td>
<td>10075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Shelter belt plantation (R Km)</td>
<td>27180</td>
<td>4909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Sand dune stabilisation (hec.)</td>
<td>10108</td>
<td>786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Irrigation potention created (hec.)</td>
<td>6452</td>
<td>1043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Employment generated (000 mandays)</td>
<td>7597</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3. Target Group Approach

In situations involving massive under utilisation of human resources, a higher, growth rate an increased equality in terms of consumption, identification of a particular group
to be provided with benefits becomes a very complex problem. In this approach a specific group is taken for indepth studies and plan priorities are accordingly modified. For example, even with expanded employment opportunities, the poor will not be able to buy with their earnings all the essential goods and services. Similarly, national minimum needs programme was adopted to lay down norms for elementary education, drinking water, health and nutrition, houses for poor, roads and electricity, slum improvement, and clearance. Recognising that women and children require special attention, an intensive programme for child development was also operated. Even at international level the ILOs basic needs approach for the development is an example of this type. Long back, Mahatma Gandhi, emphasised that the last man should be the first to benefit i.e., the Philosophy of Antyodaya. This thinking comes very nearer to the target group approach as the end is the same though the means differ.

The major programmes broadly covered under this approach are:

(i) Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA/MPAL)

The small farmers development agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL) are corporate and

autonomous agencies registered under the Societies Registration Act (1860), based on the recommendations of the All India Rural Credit Review Committee (1969). These two schemes, spread over selected areas in the country were mostly sanctioned during 1970-71, but the actual implementation of the programmes in the field, however, started in the majority of cases only during 1971-72.

The main emphasis in these projects was on crop husbandry which includes intensive agriculture, multiple cropping, introduction of High-Yielding Varieties, horticulture, development of minor irrigation, soil conservation, land shaping etc., with emphasis on adoption of dry farming practices and water harvesting measures in rainfed areas. The subsidiary occupations of milk production, poultry, piggery and sheep production are funded separately under centrally sponsored/central sector scheme but are coordinated at the agency level. These programmes, however, did help in putting up more than 20,000 minor irrigation units, more than 10,000 dairy units and a number of other units at subsidiary occupations. The introduction of subsidy from government attracting institutional credit for the balance of the project requirements was a special innovation with these programmes. The agency was mainly supposed to act as

an instrument for ensuring that the existing institutions such as the extension service, the input supply agencies and the institutional credit agencies make their facilities available to small and marginal farmers in the required quantity and at the right time. Since credit was identified as the priority need for the small farmers, this agency was to provide incentives to credit institutions so that they were persuaded to shed their reluctance to extend credit to small holders.¹ Nevertheless, the programme has certain weak points. For example, identification of wrong farmers, not actually small ones, results in leakage of benefits to the undeserving persons. The Reserve Bank of India has asked the Banks to concentrate on Agricultural advances and attain the target of 15 percent of total advances by March 1985 and 16 percent by March 1987. It is laudable to note that the Government of India proposes to reorganise credit system for small and marginal farmers and also to increase credit facilities to Land Development Banks dealing with short-term and long-term loans to farmers from Rs.5.50 crores in 1984-85 to Rs.1,000 crores in 1989-90.²


² V. Krishna Bhaskar Rao, "Integrated Rural Development Programme: To Alleviate Rural Poverty", Kurukshetra, August, 1985, p.36.
(ii) **Minimum Needs Programme (MNP)**

This programme, introduced during Fifth Five Year Plan, was a major scheme to eradicate the poverty of the rural masses. The major objective of this programme is to substantially raise the per capita consumption of the lowest 30 percent of the rural population and it was emphasised in the 20 point economic programme. In the Sixth Five Year Plan, the concept of minimum needs programme emerged and crystallised out of the experience of previous plans. Sixth Plan pointed out, "The programme is essentially an investment in human resources development. The provision of free or subsidised services through public agencies is expected to improve the consumption levels of those living below the poverty line and thereby improve the productivity efficiency of both rural and urban workers."\(^1\) Further, it stressed integration of social consumption with economic development programmes which is necessary to accelerate growth and to ensure the achievement of plan objectives.

It was an attempt on a large scale to provide public investment for private consumption. It meets some of the basic needs of the rural population.\(^2\) The MNP lays down the urgency for providing social services according to

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nationally accepted norms within a time-bound programme. The programme was introduced in the Fifth Five Year Plan. Its components are as follows: (1) Elementary Education, (2) Rural Health, (3) Rural Water Supply, (4) Rural Roads, (5) Rural Electrification, (6) Houses for Rural Landless Labourers, (7) Environmental Improvements of Urban Slums and (8) Nutrition.

The MNP is essentially an investment in human resources development. The Sixth Plan document states: "Given the difficulty of raising incomes of the lowest income classes adequately to ensure minimum consumption standards, it is necessary to supplement the outlay on general economic development through sectoral programme of direct transfer of basic services to target population groups." Under this programme, the current plan aims at significant expansion and reallocation of expenditure on drinking water supply, electrification, road construction, health, education, nutrition, urban slum, gradation and housing assistance in favour of rural areas and the urban poor.

A total provision of Rs.5,807 crores was made in the Sixth Plan as against Rs.2,607 crores during the Fifth Five Year Plan. It is expected that this programme coupled with

various other programmes of rural development would enhance opportunities of employment and standard of living of the rural poor. The Sixth Five Year Plan pointed out that "the physical constraints of the programme would be kept under constant review to achieve the stated objectives and efforts will be made to overcome them." ¹

(iii) Development of Woman and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA)

The scheme of DWCRA was formally launched by the Ministry of Rural Development during the year 1982-83. It is considered a sub-scheme of IRDP. From the inception of IRDP, an effort was made to set apart the resources for giving benefit to women below poverty line. Subsequently, in order to give more emphasis on women development, the scheme of DWCRA was formulated with the objective of elevation of the economic status of rural women who belong to the group below the poverty line. The scheme has been designed to operate through group formations at village level and each group will consist of 15-20 members. At the initial stage 50 districts have been selected on the criteria of low literacy rate and high child mortality rate of the district. In each district, 10-12 blocks are expected to be covered.²

¹ Government of India, Planning Commission, Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85, New Delhi, p.223.
The Sixth Plan outlay for the scheme was Rs.15.60 crores, which was to be shared equally by the Government of India, and the State Governments. In addition, UNICEF assistance was to be made available to the extent of Rs.5,402 crores. In Andhra Pradesh an amount of Rs.40.02 lakhs was released during 1983-84 and Rs.258.43 lakhs during 1984-85 towards Central and UNICEF share. Besides the State Government was expected to release an amount of Rs.24.99 lakhs during 1983-84 and Rs.139.70 lakhs during 1984-85. Another sum of Rs.50.00 lakhe was released to Peoples Action For Development of India to finance the project of voluntary organisations. So far 3783 groups have been formed benefiting 47,359 women. The scheme is continuing during the Seventh Five Year Plan. A budget allocation of Rs.5.05 crores has been approved tentatively. About 5,000 groups are proposed to be formed during the first year of the Seventh Plan. 

4. Target Sector Approach

It is a limited purpose approach which takes a particular segment at a time and tackles it indepth. Agriculture development became the main end, which later gave rise to

the minimum package approach of inputs on a selected area basis. The practice of defining targets in terms of related 
physical quantities, and a similar presentation of the total 
plan, became firmly established. Critics point out that 
this approach had only a limited utility because it helped 
only the richer classes. The Green Revolution did not bring 
any greenery to the rural poor, who continued to remain 
'pale'. This is also the pattern that obtains all over the 
world in every developing country. The development programmes 
in these regions have, as a result of such maldistribution 
of inputs, led to dis-integration of communities and to 
frustrations, violence and mini wars. In India, the years 
of freedom have seen the rise and consolidation of 75 fami-
lies in the whole country. The process of development might 
have also benefited in a proportional way, certain families 
in every district, block and village and given rise to a 
class of new kulaks in rural India.\footnote{Sharma and Malhotra, Oo.cit., p.22.} This approach was 
adopted with the hope that the fruits of development that 
would initially be concentrated in certain class - caste 
strata of rural society will gradually percolate down. 
Several supportive measures like progressive taxation, 
subsidies, rationalization etc., were also adopted, but, 
the theory did not work. Slow progress specially in insti-
tutional reforms relating to land reforms appears to be the
reason for the reinforcement of the traditional social structure centering around the land owning class.¹

Three programmes are covered under this approach, they are described below:

(1) National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)

The Food for Work Programme launched in 1977 with the objective of creating employment opportunities in the rural areas by utilising the surplus stocks of food grains and creating durable community assets,² was reviewed in 1980. Taking note of its shortcomings the programme was restructured, and renamed as National Rural Employment Programme. It became part of the Sixth Five Year Plan from 1-4-1981 and is being implemented as a centrally sponsored scheme on 50:50 sharing basis between Centre and State. It aims at generating 300 to 400 million Mandays of employment in the rural areas every year, simultaneously creating durable community assets for strengthening the rural infrastructure.

NREP is being implemented through the DRDA which have been set up in all the districts of the country. The DRDA which acts as coordinating agency at the district level is

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required to prepare a shelf of projects taking into account, the felt need of rural people. The PRIs are involved in execution of the works as far as possible so as to ensure involvement of local people with the implementation of the programme meant for their own benefit. More and more involvement of PRIs, both in execution of projects as well as their subsequent maintenance is, therefore, envisaged under the guidelines. The overall supervision of the implementation of the programme is by the block agency and the DRDA.¹

The Sixth Five Year Plan stated that PRIs are involved in implementing and execution of works under NREP in all states to the extent possible.² For implementing the NREP, a total outlay of Rs.1620 crores was proposed in both the Central and State sectors during the Sixth Plan. The cash funds made available and their actual utilisation may be seen in the Table II-3.

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TABLE II-3

The availability of funds and their utilisation under NREP since 1980-81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cash funds made available (Rs. in crores)</th>
<th>Utilisation (Rs. in crores)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>346.32</td>
<td>219.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>460.37</td>
<td>317.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>540.54</td>
<td>394.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>535.98</td>
<td>392.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>601.46</td>
<td>484.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Under the programme, 1 Kg. of foodgrains per manday is given to the workers as part of the wages. An important objective of the programme is to create additional employment opportunities to the extent of 300-400 million mandays per year for the unemployed/under-employed men and women in the rural areas. Position of availability and utilisation of foodgrains and progress of employment generation as a result of various works under the programme since 1980-81 is shown in Table II-4.¹

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TABLE II-4

Availability and utilisation of foodgrains and progress of employment generation under NREP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity of foodgrains available (metric tonnes)</th>
<th>Quantity of utilised in lakh tonnes</th>
<th>Generation of mandays target</th>
<th>Achievement (in mandays)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>15.62</td>
<td>13.34</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>413.581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>335.73</td>
<td>354.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>353.22</td>
<td>351.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>322.23</td>
<td>302.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>309.13</td>
<td>349.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another important objective of the NREP is the creation of durable community assets for strengthening of rural infrastructure. Progress achieved in this respect during the Sixth Plan upto December 1984 is as follows:

About 4,27,502 hectares of area was brought under afforestation/social forestry work and 4618 lakh trees were planted. 51,667 village tanks were constructed, 3,97,062 drinking water wells/community irrigation wells/group housing and land development for SC/STs, were constructed. Area benefiting through minor irrigation works is about 8,93,660 hectares, while 4,82,787 hectares were benefitted through
soil and water conservation and land reclamation work. 4,29,172 Kms. of rural roads were constructed/improved and 2,01,957 number of school and balwadi buildings, panchayat ghars, community centres, etc. were constructed during the period. Besides, 1,84,723 miscellaneous works were also taken up. 1

(ii) Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)

Several programmes and schemes to provide employment as well as to alleviate poverty have been taken up in rural areas. It was, however, felt for some time that the hard core of rural poverty, particularly pertaining to employment opportunities for the landless during the lean agriculture periods when work is scarce, had to be tackled in a more direct and specific manner. There was thus a need for extending the coverage of rural employment in addition to the existing NREP. Accordingly, a new programme called the "Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme" was formulated and launched during 1983-84.

The basic objectives of the programme are: (1) to improve and expand employment opportunities for rural landless with a view to provide employment for at least one member of every landless labour household upto 100 days in a year and (ii) creation of durable assets for strengthening the rural

infrastructure which will lead to rapid growth. Assistance under this programme is being provided to the State/Union Territory Governments on a 100% basis. During the Sixth Plan, an outlay of Rs.600 crores had been envisaged for the RLEGP which consisted of an outlay of Rs.100 crores for 1983-84 and Rs.500 crores for 1984-85. The employment generation was anticipated at 60 million mandays during 1983-84 and 300 million mandays during 1984-85. This employment generation was in addition to the creation of 300 to 400 million mandays of work each year under the NREP.

The implementation of the RLEGP is entrusted to the State/Union Territory Governments. They are required to prepare specific projects for approval and sanction by the Central Committee. These projects should be relevant to the 20-point programme and the minimum needs programme. Therefore, works such as construction of rural link roads, field irrigation canals, land development, reclamation of waste land, social forestry and soil conservation including minor irrigation works can be taken up under the RLEGP.

During 1983-84, an expenditure of Rs.621.09 lakhs was incurred against a release of Rs.100 crores and a total of 51.96 lakh mandays of employment generated. A quantity of 65823 metric tonnes of foodgrains was also released and out of this 1489.03 metric tonnes was utilised. Since the programme began during the latter half of 1983-84 and the necessary
arrangements for its implementation had to be made, the programme was slow to take off.

During 1984-85, a provision of Rs.400 crores was made in the budget and Rs.393.99 crores was released to the State/Union Territories. In addition, Rs.5.98 crores has been released as advance subsidy for foodgrains. Thus, the total release comes to Rs.399.97 crores. The reported expenditure as on March 1985 (provisional) is Rs.364.40 crores. Similarly, a quantity of 3.20 lakh metric tonnes of foodgrains was released out of which foodgrains to the extent of 0.94 lakh metric tonnes were utilised.¹

(iii) Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM)

The National Scheme of Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM) was initiated in 1979 with the principal objective of removing unemployment among the rural youth. The target is to train about 2,00,000 rural youth every year, at the rate of 40 youth per block. The TRYSEM is an integral part of the IRDP and constitutes that part of it which concerns the equipping of rural youth in the age group of 18-35 with necessary skills, to enable them to become self-employed. The criterion for selection of beneficiaries under the TRYSEM is based on annual income. A rural youth from a family having an income of less than Rs.3,500 per year is eligible for selection. Preference in

selection is given to those who have aptitude for innovative and entrepreneurial activities. Priority is also given to members of the SC and ST and women. The accepted mode of training is through institutions and under master trainers.

More than 9 lakh rural youth have received training under the TRYSEM during the Sixth Plan. About 50 percent of these have taken up self-employment after the completion of training. Details are shown in Table II-5.

TABLE II-5
Progress Under TRYSEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of youth trained</th>
<th>Number of trained youth self-employed</th>
<th>Percent of self-employment to trained youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>1,25,079</td>
<td>45,481</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>2,01,972</td>
<td>99,581</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>2,39,295</td>
<td>1,31,297</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>1,96,149</td>
<td>1,07,395</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>1,54,604</td>
<td>74,800</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provisional upto March, 1985


Having regard to the pace of implementation, it is expected that the Sixth Plan target for the TRYSEM would be exceeded. It was hoped that these trained youth of the rural areas would contribute substantially to the boosting of rural economy.
5. **Multi-level District Planning Approach**

In this approach the unit of planning for development is more fruitfully undertaken at district level. The district is the lowest unit of planning in a multi-level planning system. Plans for each district were prepared and integrated in the state level plans. In the district, the potential growth centres will be identified and district development plans will be formulated. All the departments in the district will actually prepare their development plans. But they will be finalised by an outside body. The advantage with this approach is that, the planning for activities which have strong local base is more fruitfully undertaken at the district level. In the ultimate analysis micro-level planning at the district level has to be improved. Each district would have independent decision-making authority and control over the whole range of rural development programmes within framework of national and state level planning.1

6. **Spatial Planning Approach**

Planning is a device for effectively taking into account the circumstance of time and place. Since planning is a political process, the process of involving the people in the exercise entails that we must take into account the socio-economic processes operating at that level. Integrated

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area development is based on an understanding of functional inter-relationships in space and particular location, so that areas beyond the periphery are not neglected. Inducements for growth are provided in these areas by selective location of infrastructure and overheads leading to decentralization of growth points.¹

Various leading economists have been advocating the adoption of this approach. Esminger pleaded for growth centres to promote viable rural-urban communities. John P. Lewis favoured a town-centred pattern for industrial growth. This scheme was to bring under close study action strategies relevant to the acceleration of integrated area development around potential growth centres, but the scheme was not pursued beyond the pilot stage. Spatial planning in India is at crucial crossroads. The known theories of regional development have not offered any policy frame and the efforts made so far can at best be said to be half-hearted, sporadic and often self-defeating.² For accelerating the pace of rural development persistent and timely efforts are necessary to be undertaken, but it has to be a package deal. Administrative and financial capabilities of rural government are to be enhanced granting them greater opportunities

for local planning and programme implementation, the environmental context of the local political system improved by introducing land reforms and special programmes for the rural poor and last but not the least, "comprehensive approach suitable, to the local has to be adopted which works with minimum of friction and maximum of acceptance." ¹

7. Integrated Rural Development Approach

The programmes beginning with Community Development (1952) were designed in different years by the government for the eradication of rural poverty, had recorded appreciable progress, but suffered from several defects. They did not succeed both in removing poverty and unemployment and in creating productivity assets. None of these programmes covered the whole of the country though a large number of blocks had more than one of these programmes. This has resulted in the overlapping and duplication of different schemes in some areas, while certain other areas were not covered by any programme. Further, most of the programmes started were adhoc in nature. They were time-bound and were viewed as a something of an extra work by the officials who had to operate at the block and village level. This had reduced the effectiveness of the scheme and the need was felt for introduction of a comprehensive scheme which can remedy the defects and gaps that existed and can help in the alleviation of rural poverty.

The range of the volume of discussions over the years has led to the widespread belief in the value of Integrated Rural Development. The concept 'integrated' itself remained surprisingly undefined. Incidentally our thinking about 'integration' has been the most dis-integrated and the term meant different things at different points of time. Its implication for investment policies, for national, state and local priorities and for administrative organization etc., have not received much consideration. In recent years integrated rural development has been used as a view in the very process of planning and implementation of rural development strategy, so that, appropriate priorities are established and a sequential time phasing approach adopted for realizing the broader objectives over time. Thus it, as a synergistic approach, aims at a total development of the area and people by bringing about the necessary institutional and attitudinal changes and by delivering a package of service through extension methods to encompass not only the economic field, like, development of agriculture and rural industries, etc., but also the establishment of the required infrastructure and service in the area of health and nutrition, education and literacy, basic civic amenities, family planning and welfare, with the ultimate objective of improving the quality of life in the rural areas. It is a dynamic concept and changing with respect to the conditions and requirements of the rural economy. Integrated Rural Development has been attracting
the attention of the international agencies for the last few years. The UNO has drawn up the objectives of integrated rural development. Thus for developing countries like India, Integrated Rural Development (IRD) means a strategy to improve the economic and social life of the rural poor and the rural weak in the overall spectrum of development and growth. This approach, while emphasising increasing agricultural productivity and providing infrastructure in rural areas, attempts to be more egalitarian encompassing a total, all embracing, continuous and vigorous national activity, commensurate with the magnitude of the problem itself. To sum up, the integrated rural development is an approach covering the greater socio-economic equity based on community participation in the process of development, minimum state intervention, self-reliance, pooling of local resources and service to the people. The new programme required avoiding certain mistakes and making new commitments.

"..... Never has the world been such, an integrated whole, never has its diversity been so evident."¹ This is the opening sentence of a UNESCO publication "Thinking Ahead" Presenting to the world a medium term plan (1977-82) based on analysis of the major world problems, the paper analysed the problems of Integrated Rural Development on a Global

¹ 'Thinking Ahead' (1977), UNESCO Publication.
Perspective. It was evident from the facts and figures mentioned in the paper that by 1975 world's population was 3,988 million\(^1\) of whom 2,439 million lived in rural areas. Of this rural population 2,070 million (72.5\%) are living in developing countries. The living conditions of rural areas in most of the countries, specially developing ones were generally characterised by the predominance of a vicious circle of poverty, hunger and ignorance. Realising the magnitude of this problem, international bodies have come forward to help the developing countries to overcome this problem.

Among the developing countries, India is the biggest democratic State with a population of 684 million.\(^2\) Even today 80\% of its population lives in villages, 70\% of whom depends on agriculture and 40\% is still considered to be below the poverty line.\(^3\) Economic development can take place only when there is an overall development of the rural sector. Since independence, India has been experimenting with different programmes to tackle the problems of poverty and rural development. But the problem was tried to be

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solved only from the particular angle, with the result, there could not be a balanced development. It was of late, that the government realised the seriousness of the rural problems and decided to have an integrated approach. Thus came the idea of Rural Integrated Programme.

India, being a developing country, has to evolve a strategy to ameliorate the social and economic conditions of rural people who live below the poverty line. All these years, no serious effort was made to study the rural social structure as a separate and distinct entity. Many schemes have been evolved to ameliorate the working and living conditions in the country side. Rural Development is accorded top most priority in the economic development and the planning schemes under Janata Government in India (1977-79). Rural Development is an extremely complicated subject to handle because of its very wide range of content and the variety of socio, economic and ecological dimensions which it has to take note of. \(^1\)

Strictly speaking, the idea of Integrated Rural Development Programme is to tackle the rural problems from all sides - educational, social and economical, regarding its range or scope. These different aspects are so integrated with each other that any attempt to isolate one from the

other and tackle them separately will only result in lop-sided development.. Poverty, ignorance, unemployment, underemployment, lack of proper communications, literacy, mounting population, ill-health, social backwardness, all are interlinked. The problem which the country is facing is a gigantic one and there seems to be no easy method to solve it. "Rural Development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people - the rural people. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas. The group includes small scale farmer, tenants and landless.1

Rural Development Programmes should include a wide range of activities for the betterment of the people in rural areas. Many half backed theories have been formulated in the past and 35 years of planning has not brought any marked change in the rural scene inspite of huge investment made by the government on planning. In the past, rural development is mainly identified with agriculture development and this programme was given priority in the form of "Grow More Food" followed by package programme or IADP (Incentive Agricultural District Programme).2 The idea is that agricultural production will help socio-economic

development of rural areas, but the result was not so. The High Yielding Variety Programme (HYVP) aimed at intensive agriculture has helped only the better off farmers and the small and the marginal farmers remained as they were. In light of such experience, the concept of rural development has undergone substantial modifications.

IRD Programme has become a national slogan and the principle tools sought for its implementation are science and technology. IRD is one form of response in which development is the objective, integration is the method and rural, the focus. The whole approach is poor-oriented, which has not been spelt out in any concrete terms, nebulous in form but ambitious in content.¹

It is not only important to raise the agricultural productivity and rate of overall economic growth in the rural areas, but also to ensure that, the poor and weaker sections share the benefits. It may be mentioned that without 'people's participation' it will be impossible to accelerate rural development.² IRD is the planning of diverse aspects of development not in isolation through a project approach or even a programme approach, but is integrated to take account of their mutual integration and their linkages, backward, forward, temporal, spatial, friendly or hostile with

a view to achieve the total result which is universification of welfare and enrichment of quality of life.\(^1\) For a developing country like India, IRD means a strategy to improve economic and social life of the rural poor and the rural weak in the overall spectrum of development and growth. Poverty at grass-root level is to be eradicated. Otherwise the superstructure will collapse however mighty may be its structure.

IRD, a synergistic approach, aims at total development of the area and the people by bringing about the necessary institutional and attitudinal changes. It aims not only at the economic aspects like agricultural development and establishment of rural industries but also at the establishment of required special infrastructure.

IRDP is an important village reconstruction scheme to transform the Indian rural economic sense. According to Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, "It is the optimum utilisation of natural and human resources of a given rural area for the enrichment of quality of life of its population."\(^2\) The Government of India has launched this programme in the country in April, 1978 to alleviate rural poverty with some specific objectives & methodology

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* It is being considered essentially as an anti-poverty programme and has come to stay as one of the major planks of our development process and effort. The programme in its present form initiated in 1978-79 in 2,300 development blocks in area covered by some special programme has been extended from 2nd October 1980, to all the blocks in the country, and is a part of nation wide 20-point programme.
Objectives of IRDP

1. The IRDP is the strategy of Sixth Five Year Plan, for the development of rural areas. Its main objective is to increase production and productivity in agriculture and allied sectors based on better use of land, water and sunlight. It aims at (a) the development of resources and income of vulnerable sections of the population in all the blocks of the country, (b) creation of new productive assets for improving the lot of the rural people, (c) improvement of the productivity of land by providing access to inputs like, water, improved seeds and fertilisers, to those categories of the rural poor who have some land assets, (d) diversification of agriculture through animal husbandry, dairying, forests, sericulture etc. It will benefit both the landless and the landholders and this would form an important plank of the programme and (e) developing, processing and manufacturing activities based on local resources.  

Implementing Machinery of IRDP

The programme is being implemented through District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) and Development Blocks. At the state level, a coordinating committee headed by the Chief Secretary or other senior officer monitors and oversees

all aspects of implementation of this programme. The District Collector, as the ex-officio chairman of the DRDA, plays a key role in providing coordination in the implementation of the programme at the district level. Consultative machinery with representatives of banking institutions for ensuring regular credit support for the programme has also been created and activated at the state, district and block level. Representatives of the people, viz., members of parliament, members of State Legislative Assemblies, ZPs, PSSs etc., are included in the governing body of the DRDA of this programme. In the selection of the beneficiaries, the 'Gram Sabhas' are also involved.\(^1\) The guidelines provided for the close involvement of the PRIs in the implementation of IRDP. The initial task of these government agencies is to identify the beneficiaries and to select activities for them. A list of such identified beneficiaries to the tune of 600 families per block per year is sent to the commercial and co-operative banks for giving loans. Once the loans are sanctioned, subsidies are distributed by the government agencies. Subsequent follow-up and supervision of these various activities financed are the joint responsibility of the government agencies and financial institutions.

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Achievements Under IRDP

As a major poverty alleviation programme in the Sixth Plan, the objective of this programme is to provide assistance to families below the poverty line to enable them to attain an income level well above the poverty line. This is achieved by providing productive assets and inputs to identified families below the poverty line. The Sixth Plan allocation for the programme is Rs.1500 crores, shared on a 50:50 basis by the centre and the states. The programme aims at providing assistance to 15 million families during the plan period. This is sought to be achieved by providing assistance to at least 600 families on an average in a block in a year. The outlay for a block is Rs.35 lakhs during the Sixth Plan. The capital cost of the asset is subsidised to the extent of 25% for small farmers and 33½% for marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans and others. An individual family may receive up to Rs.3000 by way of subsidy. In the DPAP areas the limit is Rs.4000. Tribal beneficiaries may receive up to Rs.5000 by way of subsidy and they are also entitled to subsidy to the extent of 50% of the capital cost of the scheme. The programme is financed by a combination of subsidies provided by the Government and loans advanced by the Banking Institutions.

1. IRDP - Achievements during the Sixth Plan, Kurukshetra, August, 1985, p.2.

Table II-6 shows the achievements under the programme during the first four years of the Sixth Five Year Plan and during the year 1984-85 upto March 1985 is as follows:

### TABLE II-6

Achievements Under IRDP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Physical targets (million families)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Coverage of SC/ST (Million)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Central release (Rupees in crores)</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>581.43</td>
<td>206.96</td>
<td>788.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Funds utilised (Rupees in crores)</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1188.97</td>
<td>461.30</td>
<td>1650.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Term credit mobilised (Rupees in crores)</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>2244.13</td>
<td>836.28</td>
<td>3080.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total investment (Rupees in crores)</td>
<td>4500</td>
<td>3433.10</td>
<td>1297.58</td>
<td>4730.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the approach paper to the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) approved by the National Development Council (NDC) the package of poverty alleviation programmes will continue on an accelerated pace in the Seventh Plan. The performance of IRDP in Sixth Five Year Plan is shown in Table II-7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Total allocation (Rs. crores)</td>
<td>1500.00</td>
<td>300.66</td>
<td>250.55</td>
<td>400.88</td>
<td>407.36</td>
<td>407.36</td>
<td>1766.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Central allocation (Rs. crores)</td>
<td>750.00</td>
<td>127.80</td>
<td>153.36</td>
<td>204.48</td>
<td>207.72</td>
<td>207.72</td>
<td>901.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Central release (Rs. crores)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>82.58</td>
<td>128.45</td>
<td>176.17</td>
<td>194.23</td>
<td>206.96</td>
<td>788.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Total expenditure (Rs. crores)</td>
<td>1500.00</td>
<td>158.64</td>
<td>264.65</td>
<td>359.59</td>
<td>406.09</td>
<td>472.20</td>
<td>1661.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total term credit mobilised (Rs. crores)</td>
<td>3000.00</td>
<td>289.05</td>
<td>467.59</td>
<td>713.98</td>
<td>773.51</td>
<td>857.48</td>
<td>3101.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Total investment mobilised (Rs. crores)</td>
<td>4500.00</td>
<td>447.69</td>
<td>732.24</td>
<td>1073.57</td>
<td>1179.60</td>
<td>1329.60</td>
<td>4762.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Total No. of beneficiaries covered (lakhs)</td>
<td>150.00</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>27.13</td>
<td>34.55</td>
<td>36.85</td>
<td>39.82</td>
<td>165.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. No. of SC/ST beneficiaries covered (lakhs)</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>7.81</td>
<td>10.01</td>
<td>14.06</td>
<td>15.37</td>
<td>17.38</td>
<td>64.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Per capita subsidy (Rs.)</td>
<td>1000.00</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>1041</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Per capita credit (Rs.)</td>
<td>2000.00</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>1723</td>
<td>2066</td>
<td>2099</td>
<td>2153</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Per capita investment (Rs.)</td>
<td>3000.00</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td>2698</td>
<td>3107</td>
<td>3201</td>
<td>3339</td>
<td>2876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Subsidy Credit Ratio</td>
<td>1:2</td>
<td>1:1.82</td>
<td>1:1.77</td>
<td>1:1.98</td>
<td>1:1.90</td>
<td>1:1.82</td>
<td>1:1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Sectorwise coverage (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Primary sector</td>
<td>93.56</td>
<td>83.02</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>58.9</td>
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<td>(b) Secondary sector</td>
<td>2.32</td>
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<td>15.7</td>
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<td>(c) Territory sector</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>12.06</td>
<td>15.6</td>
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PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES:
SCOPE, FORMS AND MECHANISM

We have so far described the different approaches referred to by various scholars and illustrated them with programmes undertaken by the Government. The purpose of an approach or a programme is to aim at (i) development in general terms with the fond hope that the benefits would trickle down to different sections in general in course of time or (ii) specific programmes for the development of specified areas or sections of the people. So the focus ultimately is on the people. In this context, it is necessary that no analysis of strategies/approaches to rural development would be complete without a reference to 'participation', a theme very frequently recurring in the literature on development in various forms such as: general participation, people's participation, citizens' participation, development participation, rural development participation, civic participation, community participation, local participation, social participation, economic participation and management participation and so on. The term 'participation' thus appears to have been used in varied sources. Though the concept of participation was widely referred to in recent times Aristotle, the ancient Greek Scholar


realising the relationship between the extent of participation and achievement of a good status in life, stated that the best state was one where there was broad participation with no single class dominating the others. In this analysis of the Greek city states for planning and arrangements that would contribute to human welfare and happiness, he mentioned that participation of the citizen in the affairs of the state was essential for the development of human personality. His analysis showed some relationship between participation and development which is complex because participation has economic, social and political dimensions. To Cohen and Uphoff, it appears more fruitful to regard participation as involvement of a significant number of persons in situations or actions which enhance their well-being, e.g., their income, security, or self-esteem. It seems more instructive to think in terms of different dimensions of participation in development as the concept of development is now being considered as an integrated process of economic and social development. The Fifth International


Action for Development/FFHC Conference stressed that the development can only be a reality with involvement of the people.\(^1\)

Bjorn Gyllstrom\(^2\) has attempted an analysis of different aspects of participation. A summary of the analysis is presented in the following paragraphs. One definition of participation requires "..... the creation of opportunities that enable all members of a community and the larger society to actively contribute to and influence the development process and share equitably in the fruits of development." (UN, 1981:5). This concept of participation, it must be said, is exclusive. A precise definition would require that it should be related to a specific situation.

Bjorn Gyllstrom, identifies three general aspects of participation\(^3\) as being of particular interest, these relate to scope, source and rules of participation. Scope of participation involves reach, functionality and reflection. Reach simply denotes the extent of coverage by an organisatio

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of the rural population living within its area of operation, for example the relative share of households being members of a co-operative society or linked as contract farmers to an outgrower scheme. Functionality on the other hand, would indicate the degree to which those reached by an organisation actually take part in its activities as economic actors, whether as buyers of inputs, suppliers of produce, borrowers or workers. In the case of service co-operative it seems fairly common that the majority of members in this respect are low-rating. In outgrower schemes commonly composed of so-called progressive small-holders, a more uniform high-level oriented functionality could be expected. On the other hand, their reach is often low, which implies that they may contribute significantly to increasing participation in rural areas.

Participation, comprising only a functional dimension i.e., taking part in activities designed, induced, and possibly also controlled by others is obviously mechanical in character. A more comprehensive interpretation of participation would need to take into consideration also a person's or group's ability to subordinate activities to conscious reflection. Reflection, thus would constitute a motive force being integrated with an individual's or group's action. Subsequently, the concept is meant to include.
"... all acts of mental labour such as thinking, deliberating, inquiring, researching, analysing, choosing, deciding, planning, etc.\textsuperscript{1}

In the third World Countries, very large strata among the rural population seem to be excluded from this kind of participation. In most cases this probably means that people's initiative, creative talents and resources are suppressed and/or steered in directions conducive to the interest of those groups, which have appropriated strategic reflective activities. Such exclusiveness may certainly contribute to maintain maldevelopment and increasing stratification.

The institutional framework and structure of rural organizations may be more or less conducive to reflective participation. Outgrower schemes, for example, are in this respect likely to be low-rating, while a small, locally based self-help group may represent the opposite. The level of reflective participation characterizing people linked to a particular rural organization, may however not be determined to any major extent by the organization, but could be, due to other factors in its economic and socio-political environment.

Participation may also be categorized according to how it has been initiated (source). A distinction can then be made between spontaneous, induced and coerced participation. Spontaneous participation refers to voluntary and autonomous action or organization unaided by government or other bodies. It appears that spontaneous and reflective participation are closely inter-related. Induced participation, i.e., sponsored mandated and officially endorsed, is common, being typical of a variety of community bodies and co-operative organizations. Induced participation is frequently followed by limited reach, i.e., through a pre-defined activity orientation and/or institutionalized norms regarding eligibility, they tend to comprise only specific strata of the rural population. Further among those recognized as members/functional participants support may be biased towards narrow strata (this often applies, for example, to credit and extension services).¹

Coerced participation (compulsory, manipulated and contrived) is characteristic of collective organizations such as communes, producer, co-operatives and related forms of collectively organized agriculture, although elements of compulsion are present also in other types of rural organizations (settlement schemes, outgrower organizations, etc.) Coerced participation is close to total in reach. Nevertheless it may display considerable variations in terms of

functional and reflective participation. The large differences noted in respect of functional participation, both within and among collective organizations, can partly be seen as a reaction to the compulsory element and partly to the way in which costs and benefits are balanced and distributed among those belonging to the organization. This, in turn, is probably to a considerable degree related both to the political and administrative superstructures and their mode of collusion with the economic and socio-political structure at local level.

An additional typology that may be applied to participation concerns formal and non-formal characteristics. Formal participation is at hand when functional and reflective activities bestow identical rights and obligations on members, and require particular elective authority roles as common to all (L. Stettner, 1973). This applies to all modern agrarian institutions created, supported or recognized by the state. Non-formal participation then refers to social norms considering aspects such as age, genealogical position and other culturally specific expressions of power and status inequalities. Such norms may not constitute the dominating form of participation in any type of self-help group or organization, although it appears that they could exert a considerable influence in smaller groups based on spontaneous participation.
Development efforts cannot be sustained without active participation of the people. But the process of participation to a considerable extent is determined among other things by the institutional structures of decision making and implementation as also by orientations of the people. Such institutional structures and orientation's grow and crystallise in a society over a long period of time. The process of participation in development can, therefore, be understood only in a socio-cultural and historical context.\(^1\) People's participation or involvement - directly and not through their representatives can better be understood in three senses that of sharing in (1) decision-making (2) implementation of development programmes and projects and (3) the benefits of development. This emphasis is on direct participation because, given the existing socio-economic political structure of the society in most of the developing countries, the so-called "representatives" of the people are most likely to represent the rich rather than the interest of the poor majority.\(^2\) However, in such a large country like India, direct participation of people is possible only at local levels.

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Providing rural infrastructure for development has been a pressing need and meaning for policy-makers and administrators in developing nations since their political emancipation. However, under the existing social system, equitable participation of the poor in the process of development can be regarded as a gradual process. The process can be accelerated only when the poor become conscious of their rights and privileges and build up faith and confidence in themselves through united strength to achieve justice for themselves in the sharing of benefits of development.

Participation in Decision-making

Community participation in decision making is the touchstone of community development. The degree of community development in a given village or a block is determined by the nature of participation and decision making in the development programme. Decision making is one of the important aspects of political process at all levels - National, State and Local. However, the decision-making process at grass-root level is different from such process at national and state levels. In a sense local political process means the exercising of the decision making influence by the popula

3. Ibid.
representatives regarding issues which are likely to create general obligations for the citizens.

According to Desmond Heap, participation means 'sharing in decision-making'. United Nations Social Development Division (UNSDD) defined participation as a process of activities comprising people's involvement in decision-making, contributing to the development efforts and sharing equitably the benefits there from. What needs to be emphasised is that the involvement should be direct. Further, participation by the poor is effective only when it is direct. When development programmes are formulated in consultation with the political representatives and corresponding budgetary appropriation is approved by legislative bodies at various levels, the interest of the poor people are less likely to be given high priority as the political system represents the elite groups and reflects the needs and interests of minority. Direct participation of the poor in decision-making is possible only at the village level. Discussions regarding community projects such as drinking water, school construction and on incidental matters such as the alignment of modes, the rule and method of


compensation etc., instead of being confined to small caucuses the so called village elites - should be open to all, to enable the poor to have some - say in the decision-making and execution of these schemes. It is unlikely that such decisions would be grossly unfavourable to the interests of the poor. While some matters may be purely technical and may be supposed to be beyond the comprehension of the masses, the impact of the decision on such matters is bound to be felt by the poor as well as rich, and hence the need for enlightening all the sections about the implications of the proposed schemes.

The open assembly is a forum to enable the poor and the majority to participate directly in decision-making at the local level. But it may not be an effective means. Further, there may be a danger of it being manipulated by vested interests to preserve their own power structure. The issues, therefore, that need to be further explored are: Are there other forms where by the participation of the poor in decision-making for development can be made more effective? What is the experience with innovative measures that may have been devised and tried in some of the developing countries?

At the global level too, people's participation in developmental activities has a major element in enhancing the developmental efforts has been stressed in a number of
resolutions of the United Nations. The full utilisation of human resources, in particular the active participation of all elements of society in defining and achieving the common goals of development has been stressed by the General Assembly in its resolution 2542 (XXIV) Article 5. The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP) also emphasised in its resolution 161 (XXXII) the importance of participation of the indigenous population and its most vulnerable groups in development process. 

Participation, in addition to improving the quality of decision etc., from the point of view of the weaker sections has also to take note of the beneficial impact it has on the individuals themselves. So participation is also defined as an individual's mental and emotional involvement in group situations that encourage him to contribute to the group goals and to share responsibility for them. 

It is evident that 'participation' and 'involvement' could be differentiated, the former means 'sharing' and the latter is characterised by 'wrap', oneself with activity. Inspite of this differentiation, these two terms have been often used interchangeably. The review of available

literature indicate that there is a confusion and vagueness in regard to the use of the concept. According to Jagannadham, the term 'involvement' was more appropriate which implied a sense of belongingness than the term 'participation' which meant 'sharing'. It is seen from the literature that there appears to be an overlapping usage of the terms 'participation' and 'involvement'. Hence, an attempt is made here to put together the available definitions and/or descriptions of participation and finally, evolve a suitable meaning to the concept.

Cohen and Uphoff described participation as a people's involvement in decision-making process about what should be done and how, their involvement in implementing programmes and decisions by various resources or cooperate in specific organisations or activity, and/or their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes. Taken together, these four kinds of involvement appear to encompass most of what would generally be referred to as participation in development.


activity. Further, in a recent discussion, they regard participation as "generally denoting the involvement of a significant number of persons in situations or actions which enhance their wellbeing eg., their income security or self-esteem."

According to Yadav, people's participation means involvement of the people in the development process voluntarily and willingly. Such participation cannot be coerced. He further stated that the people's involvement has to be understood in terms of participation in decision-making, implementation of development programmes monitoring and evaluation of such programmes and in sharing benefits of development.

Hunter describes participation as that which "implies that farmers themselves have a major say in the choice of the innovative programme, in deciding on the methods to be used and in organising their own contribution of labour and management." Moulik is of the opinion that "participation


in development process implies stimulating individuals to take initiative and mobilising people to work for overall social development.\(^1\)

Sharma\(^2\) views participation in two aspects: in the broad sense, the concept refers to all actions by which people take part in the process of social change. Participation is not regarded as having been committed to any social goals but as to technique of setting goals, choosing priorities and deciding to generate the resources for the achievement of the goal. In restricted senses participation consists in a specific action by which people participate for achievement of limited goals. In this case, the citizen does not confine himself to expressing an opinion in specific measures but directly participates in the achievement of the objectives.

In his paper on "Psychological Aspects of Community Development", Muthayya\(^3\) points out that the idea of participation emphasizes on a process of social action in which the people of community organise themselves for identifying

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their common needs and problems and plan a course of action with maximum reliance upon community resources and supplement the resources when necessary with service and material from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community. He further states that participation in the real sense, should involve people in any programme based on mutual respect. It involves a capacity to identify oneself with others in the community without being conscious of any socio-economic barriers.

People's participation may be in the shape of donation of a plot of land or cash contribution or free manual labour. If the cost value of this participation is more than 50% of the total cost of the development, the progress of community development may be considered satisfactory. However, inspite of these contributions the programme may not result in propelling the forces of the community for its own development. For example, the villagers may donate a plot of land, give 50% of the contribution in cash and labour for the construction of school building, but after the building is completed, the villagers do not assume the responsibility of co-operating with the school authorities in getting all children of school going age in the village to attend the school, the programme can be said to have missed its basic objectives. This is by no means an isolated

example. Similar examples can be quoted in other fields of activity, namely, Agriculture, Animal husbandry, Public Health, Irrigation and last but not the least social educations.

An analysis of the trends of the various definitions of 'participation' or 'involvement' discussed, shows that there is a need to involve the participants (people) of the programme right from designing stage. Uma Lele¹ is also of the view that people should be involved in planning including the assessment of their local needs. Even if local people do not participate in planning, at the very minimum they should be informed of the plans designed for them and for their area if they are expected to co-operate with programme implementation which would ultimately develop self-reliance necessary among the rural people for accelerated development. The situation as it obtains now is that the people in poor communities were the recipients of 'improvements' which had little connection with their problems as they saw them.

It is evident from the above discussions that most of the descriptions emphasized the importance of either the 'process' in terms of involvement/participation or the

'product', namely the social change and not the 'person' who is the main actor in the entire process of development. Although, earlier attempts to understand participation (Muthayya, 1973), Santhanam et al. (1982) have emphasized the importance of people, viz., the target groups for whom the programmes are planned, the psychology of the group in the process of participation to achieve the 'product' social change is not adequately recognised. It will be of greater importance and use to the planners of the programme to understand people to be involved in any participatory activities, their self needs and problems, and the social environment that would facilitate the involvement. It is the 'Man' who is to be understood since he is to be involved in the process of his own change. The understanding should be in terms of his needs, motivations, perceptions, attitudes and the social milieu which would facilitate the planning to draw out scheme in such a way as to facilitate people to organise themselves in order to achieve the goals.

The importance and need for people's participation in developmental programmes have been stressed in the successive plan documents of the Government of India and the revised Sixth Plan Document (1980-85). 1 placed more emphasis on people's participation in developmental programmes than the previous ones observed:

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"The planning process in a democratic country can acquire fuller meaning and depth if the people not only associate themselves in planning for their development, but also participate consciously in plan implementation. The successive Five Year Plans have emphasised the need for promoting people's organisations to secure this end. The very reason to declare Panchayati Raj was to ensure people's participation in local planning and implementation. Likewise, the emphasis through the plans on building up co-operatives was to strengthen people's involvement in the management of their economic development. Panchayati Raj and co-operative Institutions, though people's organisations, are however, creations of Government through various statues - what is of equal importance is the promotion of purely non-governmental organisations, formal or informal in nature, which could motivate and mobilise people in specific or general developmental tasks. Experiences suggest that the task of educating and mobilising people in this direction is more effectively accomplished when it is institutionalised. Individual action, though important, can only be sporadic in nature, whereas the institutionalised action can be distinctly more effective in mobilising local resources, articulating needs and coordinating the developmental tasks which are undertaken by the people."

One of the essential features of the Community Development Programme (CDP), self-help Programme, introduced in 1952 was people's participation in

developmental programmes. The CD Programme was aimed at organising the rural masses in clusters of 'active communities' through organisations such as Panchayats, Co-operatives and Women and Youth Clubs. It was assumed that institutionalisation would bring about people's participation in the development process. Institutions have to be structurally sound and functionally effective and adoptable to meet, 'environmental imperative' to make one hope for meaningful participation.¹

The essential purpose of the community development was to propel the forces of development through the working of existing people's organisations in implementation of developmental programmes and to enable the local leadership to gradually lead the community to its own welfare. If this is true, the nature of people's participation should be related to the goal of community development. In the form of contribution of free labour, voluntarily or otherwise, the rural poor can normally participate in the implementation of community projects. It is the poor who possess labour as their sole asset, and who are asked to contribute their only asset without any compensation. Though the rich derive the benefits of the community projects, they are not required to make proportionate sacrifices. Hence, this

practice of people's participation through free labour is both inequitable to and exploitative of the poor.\textsuperscript{1}

'Shramadan', initially adopted as a valuable programme in evoking public enthusiasm and support to accelerate the process of development, was found by Dube\textsuperscript{2} to be ineffective since the token participation of the upper strata won praise and acclaim of the project officials while the poor labour class, which contributed their labour (Shramadan) despite their losing bread for the day, was hardly acknowledged. As a result, the progress of the development programmes with an input of people's participation was impeded. An equitable participation in implementation to contribute for community projects is possible only when everybody in the village voluntarily contributes or required by the community to contribute an equitable share either in the form of free labour or cash in proportion to the benefits that each is expected to derive from the projects when completed.

Co-operative movement was yet another attempt to bring about participation of people. In India, the co-operative movement which began as early as 1904 for resolving the problem of rural indebtedness passed through various stages


of metamorphosis until the NDC in 1958, recognising the importance of the movement, decided that being a people's movement, it should be organised at the village level. It stated further, that the initiative and responsibility for social and economic development of the village panchayats and co-operatives, since the realisation of the importance of co-operative movement, 0.316 million co-operative societies of all kinds have been established with a membership of 89.76 million by 1977.¹

Attempts have also been made to organise Mahila Mandals and Youth Clubs in order to provide opportunities to women and youth to discuss the needs and share responsibilities, interests and abilities. By 1982, there were 5,33,000 Mahila Mandals, with a membership of 14,25,000 and 10,05,000 youth clubs with a membership of 21,26,000.²

One of the most important forms of participation in villages through gram sabha intended to ensure direct participation in developmental activities at the grass-root level. A brief description of the system of Panchayati Raj is given in the following sections.

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Panchayati Raj

The Constitution of India, in response to the demand for providing a place in it, for the Gandhian views on 'Gram Swaraj' has incorporated Article 40, as a Directive Principle of the State policy, which reads thus: The State shall take steps to organise GPs and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to make them function, as units of self-government, we would emphasise the use of the phrase as 'units of local self-government' ones to organise and empower GPs to take up different developmental works in addition to the normal civic functions.1 The provincial governments formed after 1946 had already taken steps to enact new laws or modify the existing one. The Government of India too realised the significance of the GPs in rural development. The First Five Year Plan, indicated this realisation. The plan document observed: "We believe that the panchayats will be able to perform its civic functions satisfactorily only if these are associated with an active process of development in which the GP is itself given an effective part."2 About 34,000 panchayats were opened during the First Five Year Plan period. As a result, the number of village panchayats increased from


83,000 to about 1,80,000. Thus the emphasis on the importance of local government in changing the socio-economic and political conditions of the rural people was quite pronounced by the beginning of the second plan.

**Democratic Decentralisation**

In the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, Balwant Ray Mehta, was appointed the leader of a Study Team, by the Committee on Plan Projects itself constituted by the NDC in 1956 to suggest measures for maximum economy and efficiency in implementing various plan projects including Community Projects and National Extension Service. After an exhaustive enquiry, the team made many important recommendations in its report on November 24th 1957. The Committee was of the opinion that emphasis should be given to the more demanding aspects of economic development, such as agriculture, drinking water supply, rural industries, etc. The Committee felt that these programmes needed active participation of people and that CD could be real only when the community understood its problems, realised its responsibilities, exercised the necessary powers through its chosen representative and maintained a constant and intelligent vigilance over local administration. The four major recommendations of the Committee are:
(1) Establishment of an organically linked three-tier structure of elected local bodies at village, block, and district level.

(2) Devolution of necessary powers, responsibilities and resources to the local bodies at the three levels to enable them to plan and execute developmental and municipal programmes in their respective spheres with the help of a suitable official set up for each tier.

(3) The jurisdiction of such a local body should be neither so large as to defeat the very purpose for which it is created nor so small as to militate against economy and efficiency. The block offers an area large enough for functions which the panchayat cannot perform and yet small enough to attract the interest and services of the community.

The Committee felt that PS at the block level, a middle tier in the system should play the key role in the formulation and implementation of development and municipal programmes, while ZP at the district level under the chairmanship of the District Collector should only coordinate the activities of Samithis within the district.

The Committee also recommended direct elections to GPs. The elected Presidents of the Primary and Secondary levels exercise absolute power over the official set up in implementing programmes. Women members are to be coopted together
with a member from the SCs and one from the STs. Samithi should be constituted through indirect election by GPs within the block area.*

The Committee felt that GPs and Samithis were to be entrusted with developmental activities. It found no necessity for assigning any executive duties to the ZP, which was expected to bring about, coordination between samithis. The presidents of samithi members of the State Legislature and of parliament, representing the constituencies within the district, the district level officers of various developmental department were all to be members of ZP with the district collector as its chairman. Samithis and panchayats were to have elected chairman.

**Gram Panchayats - Functions and Duties**

Among the compulsory duties assigned to the GPs by the Mehta Team are: The supply of drinking water, sanitation, maintenance of public streets, drains, tanks, etc., lighting of streets, land management, maintenance of records, relating to cattle, relief, distress, maintenance of roads, bridges, etc., supervision of schools, maintenance of mid-day meals programme, welfare of backward castes and similar works.¹

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* Legislators were not provided any berth in the Panchayat Samithis by the Mehta Committee.

The GPs were to act as agents of samithis in executing special schemes. The team did not record that panchayats should be entrusted with the developmental functions except to a limited extent.

**Panchayat Samithis - Functions and Duties**

The Committee observed that the PS would be the main body responsible for developmental activities, which include the development of agriculture, improvement of cattle, sheep, poultry etc., promotion of local industries, supply of drinking water, maintenance of public health and sanitation, relief of distress due to natural calamities, construction of roads, management of schools, and a host of such works.¹

**Zilla Parishads - Functions and Duties**

The Committee did not propose extensive executive functions to the ZPs. However, several other functions that the ZPs were expected to undertake have been mentioned. Important among them are:² the examination and the approval of budgets of the Samithis, distribution of funds allotted for the district as a whole between the various Samithis, consolidation of the demands for grants for special purposes by the Samithis and forwarding these to the State Government for consolidation and coordination, of the plans of the

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Samithis and certain disciplinary functions in regard to some categories of staff of the Samithis.

**Some Other Recommendations of the Mehta Committee**

The Committee felt that the major causes for the failure of the local bodies in the past had been the inadequacy of finances. Resources at the disposal of the Panchayats were limited. So, the team recommended more resources to these bodies in the form of prescribed shares of land revenue and some other taxes levied by the State Governments, liberal grants from the state governments, and income from taxes levied by the PRIs themselves like taxes on professions, entertainment, pilgrim tax etc.¹

An important feature of the recommendations is the hierarchical nature of these bodies. Samithi budgets should be approved by the ZPs and GPs budgets by the Samithis. The Committee felt that the government should exercise control and supervision over these bodies to the extent that it may supercede them if necessary.²

The Committee considered this process as 'democratic Decentralisation'. The report was accepted by the Government of India ..... Pandit Nehru preferred the phrase Panchayati Raj for 'Democratic Decentralisation'. At the

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Union level a separate ministry was started for Community Development and Panchayati Raj and Co-operation to guide the movement of Panchayati Raj and Co-operation throughout the country.

With the growing realisation of the need for increasing popular participation in the development process, various State Governments decided to adopt the PR system suggested by Balwant Ray Mehta Committee with modifications felt desirable to their respective states. Consequently, the PR system varies from state to state in terms of structure, functions, pattern of devolution of powers and responsibilities. For instance, Kerala does not have the middle and top tiers. The district council in Karnataka does not have any executive functions and its role is limited to advising and coordinating the activities of the Taluk Development Boards within its jurisdiction: Maharashtra and Gujarat are on the other extreme with ZPs stronger than the middle tier (Samithi). The pattern of devolution of powers, resources, responsibility and functions of the local bodies at different levels vary among the states depending upon the pattern of PR system adopted by them.¹

By 1982, the entire country is covered by PR system. There are 2,61,051 GPs, 4,521 PSs and 291 ZPs in the country.

The PRIIs have been established for an effective decentralised system of planning and development and to ensure people's participation. Women have also come forward and taken up positions in the system. There are 1,38,005 women members in Gram Panchayats, 3,100 in Panchayat Samithis and 277 Sarpanchs in the country.  

Important developments in Panchayati Raj vis-a-vis its role in developmental functions, were noted by the Asoka Mehta Committee on PRIIs in 1978 and recently, by the Committee on Administrative Arrangements for Rural Development (1985). The relevant observations of the latter are as follows:

"The launching of some of these programmes" was accompanied by the creation of new programme-oriented programmes.  


There are four categories of programmes: (a) individual beneficiary oriented programme aimed at SFDA/MPAL, later supplemented by the IRDP, (b) Programmes for additional wage employment opportunities - Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE), (Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Programme (PIREP), and the food for work programme, and (c) programmes for development of ecologically disadvantaged areas, where unemployment and poverty are markedly present apart from their low productivity - the DPAP and DDP; and (d) a MNP aimed at raising the level of living of the people in the rural areas through the provision of some basic social consumption inputs and vital components of rural economic infrastructure. Separately, a Training and Visit Programme was started for ensuring increased agriculture production. A reference to these programmes was already made in this chapter.
and often overlapping, structural mechanisms, while others resulted in strengthening the tendency for independent line functioning as opposed to integration. Thus, SFDA's were created in the form of Registered Societies in the Districts covered by the SFDA/MFAL programme. Similar Agencies were also created for the Drought Prone Areas and Desert Development Programmes. In the late seventies, the need to give a greater thrust to the Development of Cottage and Village Industries as well as Small Scale Industries led to the creation of the District Industries Centres (DIC) in each district. While in SFDA/MFAL blocks it was attempted to increase the number of VLWs (which did not happen in all cases), in some States 70-80% of the VLWs and other extension personnel were taken away from the control of the BDO, under the T & V system of extension. With the growing and almost exclusive emphasis on agriculture, the block budgets in respect of other sectoral activities dwindled and were replaced by Special Programme budgets in the concerned blocks. This was accompanied by many of the posts of specialist extension officers being either withdrawn or kept vacant for long periods, and where they continued, they were brought under direct departmental line of control. The CD Programme itself had virtually shrunk into a kind of residuary sector with budgets confined in many cases to meeting the staff expenditure. In the case of some States where there were larger outlays, they comprised a number of activities which were overlapping with normal sectoral activities. Thus, by the late seventies, the block machinery was, by and large, in shambles and at the district level there was a multiplicity of institutions, special and sectoral competing to serve essentially the same target group.
A major step was taken with the amalgamation of the different agencies existing hitherto for different programmes into a single DRDA. New DRDAs were created in areas where no agencies existed earlier. The DRDA has been responsible for the implementation of the IRDP, TRYSEM, SLPP, NREP/RLEGp, DPAP, DDP and the programme of assistance to small and marginal farmers.....

A staffing pattern has been laid down for the DRDAs and upto 10 percent of the IRDP outlays per district can be spent on establishment expenses. Over and above, the 2-3 APOs provided in earlier SFDAs, provision has been made for an Economist/Statistician, Credit Planning Officer and a Rural Industries Officer who are together said to constitute the planning team of the DRDA. All these officers are responsible for planning, project formulation as well as implementation in their respective sectors. Besides, provision has also been made for a monitoring cell under an APO, and additional staff has been provided on the accounts side. ..... 

However, there is no uniformity in the actual staffing pattern at the DRDA level and an overall picture of staff in position under IRDP, NREP or DPAP and the Small and Marginal Farmers Assistance Programme is not available. Provisions have also been made in certain other schemes like DWCRA Scheme for Rural Godowns etc. for strengthening at staff."1