Chapter Three

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter deals with the review of studies conducted in the tribal and rural areas in India in general and Gujarat state in particular. With the intention to have an overview about the research work already done in the field as well as to incorporate improvements in the methodology of the present empirical investigation so as to eliminate the limitations to the maximum possible extent.

The present chapter has been divided into three sections: The studies conducted on the non-governmental organisations and their impact on the tribal and rural development in Gujarat and elsewhere has been reviewed in section 3.1. Where as section 3.2 deals with studies conducted on levels of living and inequalities in the tribal and rural areas. Section 3.3 covers the studies about economic development with special reference to Gujarat.
3.1 STUDIES ON NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

In this section the empirical studies conducted on the different aspects of the non-governmental organisations working in the tribal and rural areas in Gujarat and other parts of the country have been reviewed.

Heredia¹ (1988) conducted a study on Voluntary Action and Development – A Praxis for Non-Government Agencies with Reference to the Probodhan Seva Mandal Working in Nashik – Maharashtra State. He evaluated the impact of the organisation at the grassroots level over the years from 1964-1980 and concluded that massive bureaucratisation and centralisation destroys the non-formal organisational base of small groups in a society and consequently alienates people especially those at the grassroots. Voluntary action is essentially a non-institutionalised response to this. It represents an alternative principle of social organisation outside the established structures and has demonstrated its effectiveness in overcoming the helpless isolation of individuals in a variety of contexts and circumstances. If they are involved in an ongoing praxis which time tames and deepens their involvement and understanding to the point where they develop into a viable social movement for a new society. For if individuals crossing over the poverty line do not necessarily change the unjust structures
of the society, neither will upwardly mobile groups automatically do so. They must be seized by a creative vision which will spell itself out in constructive action for a new social order for a fellowship and freedom, equality and justice, participation and peace. It is precisely here that a voluntary agency can indeed make the future visible in the present creating now on a small-scale what will be feasible on a large-scale later. But it must do this for its own constituents first, involving them in this vision of the future already now, a future which will not happen on its own, but one we create together.

Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development\(^2\) – AVARD (1977) conducted a study on the Nehru Seva Sangh amongst the tribals of Banpur block, district Puri in Orissa and concluded that an efficient, well conceived plan, for the economic development of tribals a physically and socially compact cluster of 33 villages are taken in the block. Eleven of these revenue villages are uninhabited, but even the remaining twenty-two are really hamlets separated by sometimes long distance. They recommended the shifting of population in and from seven villages so that even essential facilities of portable drinking water, primary education and health can be provided to the population. This is the minimum to give the
economy and initial push. The plan takes note of the capabilities of the local implementing agency, which in any case cannot take up any large scale irrigation, technical training and land shaping projects for the upliftment of the tribal areas.

Chaturvedi and Mitra³ (1982) conducted an empirical study on the Surat district of Gujarat and Dhenkanal, district of Orissa to examine the nature and extent of people’s participation in the process of development in the different regions of India. They studied 9 villages in 3 blocks each of Surat District and Dhenkanal district. The study brings out that majority of people recognise the impact of development that has taken place since Independence. But the widely shared view is that the benefits have not been equitably distributed. It is also revealed that development by itself does not yield satisfaction. People’s satisfaction with development is related to their level of participation. Development which offers greater scope for participation yields greater satisfaction to people. But the existing institutional structure of development offers little scope for people’s participation. People’s participation, although, advocated and emphasised by Indian leadership since independence, still remains to be integrated and incorporated in the institutional structure of development.

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Mehta (1994) conducted a study of three voluntary organisations i.e. (1) Seva Mandir; (2) Rajasthan Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad; and (3) Rajasthan Mahila Parishad working in Udaipur district of the State of Rajasthan. He concluded that:

1) The main resources of the voluntary organisation’s were grants-in-aid (77%) from foreign and Indigenous agencies like government/semi-government and donations from individuals (12%). The voluntary organisation have no regular source of their income.

2) Out of selected as beneficiaries 60 (66.67%) were male and 30 (33.33%) were female so the female participation is low and must be increased.

3) Most families are having 3 bigha holdings, only 33.11% respondent families are having more than 5 bigha holding. It indicates that voluntary organisations mostly benefited the small farmers.

4) The income of 93% respondents were less than Rs.5000/- per annum. It is therefore clear that voluntary organisation’s benefited the poor tribals mainly.

5) 47.78% beneficiaries have been economically benefited. The benefit ranges upto Rs.5000 per annum. The voluntary organisation’s should try to uplift the economic status of the service area people.
6) Lifestyle of 96.67% respondents have been affected through the programmes and services launched by the voluntary organisation. The effects of change have been observed on clothes, quality of food, staff and diet.

7) Two third respondents have been directly affected by the programmes of voluntary organisation and their income had increased. They invested their increased income in purchasing agriculture land, construction of houses, purchase of livestock and invested their income in purchasing domestic goods/articles.

8) 98.89% respondents have been benefited by educational services, 22.44% by getting food, 38.89% by sports. 70% by entertainment and 66.67% have been benefited by medical services.

9) 47.78% beneficiaries income has been increased. While 46.67% workers have also observed an increase in income of the beneficiaries. Cent per cent workers of Sewa Mandir observed increase in the income, while 40% workers of Mahila Parishad also observed increase in income. No effect on income of Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad beneficiaries has been observed.

10) 56.67% beneficiaries have an increase in their assets. 40% workers of the selected voluntary organisation’s have observed a little increase in the asset of the tribals.

11) 80% workers observed an effect on forest development i.e. development of new nurseries.
Bhatt\textsuperscript{5} (1989) conducted a systematic evaluation of the way in which thirty-eight non-governmental organisations working at grassroots level in the rural areas of Gujarat. He examined the manner in which these groups promote the socio-economic development of their members while forsaking the wider struggle for their rights. He discussed their activities in the areas of economic development, social action, social reform and conscientisation. He has addressed certain basic questions concerning the limitations of such micro action groups in the macro context of the effort to establish a more just and egalitarian social order. The result of this study reveals that if these groups are to be viewed as a conventional local development effort, in which many established voluntary organisations are involved, then these mandals are performing well. Their economic activities though are very limited have brought various types of relief to the very poor. It has given them relief from the clutches of landlords, moneylenders and traders who are the traditional exploiters; and sarpanches and leaders of co-operative societies who are the new exploiters. He also observed that though as a starting point their operation is very effective but it cannot continue to remain there. These groups could be a first step in moving from voluntary efforts by outsiders to efforts by insiders themselves to develop themselves. After all, in the
ultimate sense of development of people themselves should look after their own development. For those who profess self-reliance in the development process by developing skills, confidence, and participation of the poor, these Yuvak Mandals provide good model. In a short time of less than four years they have generated considerable involvement and participation of the poor and the dominated people. If development is a question of mainstreaming the peripheral and marginalised people then the work of these groups is bringing them into the social, economic, political, and even cultural mainstream, within the limits of their resources, circumstances and perceptions. Finally Bhatt concludes that all the macro attempts to change the social order in the last forty years, from within the official system (community development and panchayati raj, the micro and bottom up planning, poverty alleviation and other development programme and schemes), outside the system (Bhoodan and JP movements) and against the system (the Naxalite movement) have failed. In that context these micro movements are indeed worth looking at but in the absence of a concrete alternative model, whether these small efforts would eventually lead to a fundamental social transformation is debatable.
Vishwanath⁶ (1991) conducted an empirical study on NGO experience in Karnataka especially with women’s development. She selected mixed NGOs with at least hundred women and their clients. From the evaluation of each programme an assessment of the cumulative impact of NGOs to further economic benefit to women she observed that client perception of economic, potential has much to do with the sustainability of programmes. If clients perceive economic potential of a programme to be low, they will not be committed to it and the programme will suffer. The perception of economic potential varies not only among programme but among individual clients in the same programme. One of the ways to better ensure sustainability of the NGOs efforts and a more uniform commitment among clients is to design programmes in which profits are manifested early and frequently. Even if all programmes are not designed in this way, those that produce quick returns must also be included to maintain the confidence of the clients in the capacity of the NGO to help them. She noticed that the management capabilities required of the clients vary in different small economic programmes. Individual programmes have few components and tasks, hence require little management skill or experience. Collective programmes however demand considerable management of task and responsibilities. She observed that income generating programmes targeting the individual and
her family will not by themselves lead to empowerment of the individual or
the community. Even an adjunct focus on developing leadership qualities
does not necessarily mean that collective leadership capacity will be
enhanced. In order to empower the community, women’s groups must be
strengthened and NGOs should incorporate appropriate mechanisms to
further that objective in their intentions. In order for a group to promote
development it must be more than an agglomeration of individuals. It must
possess a collective spirit, the individuals must be committed to the
collectivity and they must be prepared to sacrifice individual benefit for the
sake of collective gain. If women’s groups are to be effective overall, they
should be able to collaborate with men in the long run. Ultimately the poor
cannot benefit if the whole community men and women, does not work
together. However NGOs may have to employ gender-differentiated
strategies in initial interventions to help women make the transition of this
stage.

Pandey (1991) through extensive field work conducted a study on the
growth, activities and linkages of community action groups in India. He
identified three different types of organisation – service – development and
action and presented seventeen representative case studies which illustrated
the limits and strength of each type, particularly in the context of their goal of promoting alternative development strategies. In analysing the development and organisation of these groups, he focused on what is happening at the micro level in India, away from mass media and political rhetoric. He concluded that:

1) Most Community Action Groups (CAGs) outcross the conventional ideological spectrum of the left and right, that is, they are not solely radical, conservative or democratic but a combine mixture of all.

2) The groups are products of local situation as much of national and international system.

3) There is a dialectical interaction and relationship between CAGs and the government, foreign donor agencies and people's movement.

4) Most CAGs are build around more than national rewards and incentives.

5) The aims, procedures and visions of most CAGs are often rested in people's lives and traditions.

6) Success of CAGs is not measured nearly in terms of tangible economic immediate or quantitative achievements but in the forms of intangible results such as developing leadership, opening up dialogue, democratic participation and creating awareness for qualitative and long range changes.
The idea of justice is reflected in the overwhelming stress by CAGs on neglected areas and poor segments of the society, and their increased awareness of self-reliance, participation, and the distribution aspect of development. Both development and action groups have not opposed growth (development) but have questioned its nature and process by asking: the growth of what? And for whom? Their answers have been that the priority of production should be for community consumption, for basic necessities and for the majority. This has to be achieved by participation, building on local techniques and with a community emphasis. He emphasised that local initiative, local control and local inputs should be stressed rather than unfamiliar and outside strategies and goals, insider strategies and goals be used. People’s historical, cultural and area specific knowledge should not be discarded or ridiculed but should be a basis for rebuilding. He concluded that because of the modernisation and integrative models on one hand and the technology and corporate interests on the other are so dominant that even though a grassroots perspective may be gaining ground in isolated pockets and in some academic spheres. Most people still view CAGs as an idealistic ‘side-show’ grassroots micro movements and local initiatives will probably also take a long time before they translate into movements and concrete
models, and lead to new projects for societies. He is confident that breakthrough in the present impasse facing developing strategies and models could come from the experiences of grassroots workers in creative and horizontal forms of local and global partnerships. The interaction with CAGs should be strengthened in order to help them develop their own alternative approaches to the problems of development and to overcome their international contradictions. The success of their attempts in the future is integrally linked to the realistic understanding of both their strengths and weaknesses. About future of NGOs he hopes that there have been different time in human history when powerful and concerted efforts have been required to rethink the contemporary situation and pave the way for future new directions. Both successful and unsuccessful attempts by community action groups in India are important. They provide a rich background of experience and data on the basis of which more effective critical political action can be built and a more humane, just and participatory future might be actualised.

Shah and Chaturvedi (1983)\(^8\) made an attempt to evaluate the working of the Vedchhi Intensive Area Scheme (VIAS) in Valod taluka of Surat district, Gujarat. Their study was to examine the management of a voluntary
organisation in the context of its stated objectives viz. building a non-exploitative, non-violent, Sarvodaya Samaj based on Gandhian model. They conducted a survey of 20 villages (covering 50 per cent of the total number of villages in the taluka). All the households of the selected villages were systematically survey and informations from 3194 households were collected. They argued that delivery organisations are working essentially with a top down perspective. Such organisations have inherent limitations and hence will not effect a socio-political transformation.

B. Pramod and N. Murali Ballal⁹ (1991) evaluated the Shri Shetra Dharmashala Rural Development project for the emancipation of the rural poor. The project is situated in Belthangadi taluka of Dakshina Kannada district in Karnataka state in south India. The project adopted innovative method of making its initial contact with the Target group families. Since the families were quite poor and lacked some of the basic household articles of daily use, the project made a gift of such articles to the families as taken of concern for their well-being and development. In the first two years the project was implemented based on a tentative Annual Project Level Plan. As far as the individual target group families were concerned, assistance was provided to them by the project based on the specific requests made by
them. The planning process was streamlined during 1984 with the introduction of systematic Annual Development Plans for each family. Great care has been taken by the project not only to have practicable plans for each family but also to have the plans implemented successfully.

The impact of implementation of the project was on the basis of the comparison of pre-development and post-development incomes. Characteristically, participation in the project has brought about all round change in the lines of the families. They now have greater confidence in their capacity to help themselves and have acquired a new will to work with enthusiasm for self-development. Their income have increased substantially on account of cultivation of commercial crops and most of them are assured of perennial income soon after the completion of the gestation period of the horticultural plantations, especially coconut, arecanut, cashew and rubber. Most of them who earlier used to work as wage labourers find full employment on their own farms while those who have very small pieces of land have maximised their income from such land to supplement the income from other sources. The project has promoted economic versatility at the level of the poor families. Almost invariably the productive capacity of the land holdings has been enhanced. In a society where land ownership is an index
of economic status, with the enhancement in the value of developed land the socio-economic status of the families have housing, nutritional status, clothing, education and sanitation. The general level of awareness of the families about the socio-economic changes that are taking place in their immediate context and about the ameliorative policies and programme of the government greatly improved. These changes have brought about greater political awareness and power within the poorest strata. The families which were in the thrall virtual of serfdom until a few years back are on the way to true citizenship of a democracy.

The project has promoted sustainable development by rehabilitating the poor in their natural environment. In no case any individual has been uprooted from the soil. The thrust of the development programmes has been environmentally beneficial. The large-scale horticulture plantings and social forestry are bound to increase the tree cover. Much of the demanded land which has been planted to horticultural crops is saved from further degradation. The stress on organic farming methods is combination with judicious use of chemical fertilisers is also a redeeming feature.

Swapan Garwin (1998) conducted a study as part of his doctoral work to explore the dynamics of non-governmental organisations behaviour...
and effectiveness, the operationalised characteristics from a psychological perspectives. His key findings could be put in the following statements:

a) high level of job characteristics was reported by the female programme staff, by those who belonged to low income group families and by those who had received short training in the field of education or organisational work.

b) low level of job characteristics was associated with male staff, with those from high income families, with those receiving higher general education and with the staff from the field of science and social science.

c) job characteristics were not significantly dependent on age, marital status, place of upbringing birth or parents occupations.

d) No significant association of job characteristic with childhood experiences, political affiliation and voluntary involvement was noticed.

e) High level of job characteristics was reported by those primarily engaged in project planning or co-ordination work those involved in the field of education or organisational work and by those operating from the project area.

Shivani Dharmarajan\textsuperscript{11} (1998) in her study NGO Development Initiative and Public Policy attempts to bring together a broad spectrum
profile of the means, measures and motivations of the most vital segment of the development machinery. The study includes several significant aspects of participatory development and voluntary action and initiative, such as; NGOs in villages and grassroots development, training needs of NGOs – a case study of Delhi; the unorganised sector as target group; family health perspectives and NGO action and public policy in relation to public initiative which comprises case studies in community health, school education and day-case centres in urban areas. The study definitely helps as a focussed effort to define the parameters of NGO initiative in India.

H.K. Kapoor and Dharamvir Singh¹² (1997) in their study on rural development through NGO has made an effort to encapsulate the story of NGO movement in Himachal Pradesh. Starting from its inception till its present state. They concluded that the strength of voluntary agencies lies in their:

1) capacity to understand local needs, problems, resources, conditions in a holistic view towards health and life;

2) in their capability to involve local people and secure their cooperation and participation;
in their desire to experiment with new programmes, strategies and approaches without incurring large expenditures. They have an inherent capacity to organise the weaker sections, defend their just rights and counter exploitation, ensure improve delivery services and enlarge local efforts. Human touch, dedication and commitments are their real assets.

They realised that voluntary organisation with their capacity of identifying needs of the people in the villages can help policy makes and planners to have access to new ideas, changing needs and conditions identifying bottlenecks and gaps, helping to develop strategies, policies, training and developing avenues and potentials of social workers etc. Thus voluntary organisation can play an advocacy role in the field of development. The state could thus draw useful lessons from the rich experience of some reputed voluntary agencies in the rural field.

Anirudh Prasad\textsuperscript{13} (1998) made an empirical study to explore the role of Gram Bharti for economic, social, cultural and ecological reconstruction and development in Bihar. The study is intended not only to though light on various programmes of the Gram Bharti for social transformation of beneficiaries in its operational areas but also to explore the extent to which these programmes have succeeded a new social order based on collective
spirit and people’s power. He concluded that the Gram Bharti, by and large has been working in the project villages (698 villages) for the betterment of poor section of the population. This is done by strengthening the Gram Sabha, Prakhand Sabhas, and Mahila Mandals. The study reveals that a considerable number of Gram Sabhas have a good rapport with the people in the project area as they were able to promote many activities like imparting knowledge and skills, providing credit facilities, distribution of land etc. But the organisational structure of gram sabha is loose.

He further noticed that one of the important results of the working of Gram Bharti for the Harijans, Adivasis and minorities has been the emergence of small but influential elite. While this elite group is prepared to take up leadership roles. Its contribution to the social transformation to their own community is small. In fact the gap between the elite and the mass is wide. The elite is more anxious to be co-opted with the middle class of the dominant population of the region.

M.L. Dantwala, Harsh Sethi and Pravin Visaria has stated in the book Social Change through Voluntary Action (1998), that over the past far decades there has been a glaring deterioration in India’s social and political ethos. The repercussions of this process on public behaviour are evident in
all walks of life which are characterised by apathy, cynicism and a general
gloom. Bucking this general trend editors of the book maintains that there is
reason to believe that voluntary action can be a potent instrument in bringing
about social transformation for eliminating poverty and for building an
egalitarian and humane society.

The six case studies of successful voluntary efforts taken from both urban and rural efforts at regenerations. These case studies serve to highlight the viability of voluntarism as a social impulse suffered with the values of service and sacrifice however they also alert to the fact that NGOs tend to view themselves largely as a separate ‘sector’ and not only a instruments of social service. Therefore there is a need to evolve mechanisms to ensure transparency and accountability if their ‘sector’ is not to become discredited in the eyes of people.

Martin Macwan of Navsarjan Trust, an NGO working for the development of Dalit conducted a survey of Vadodara, Kheda, Mehsana and Ahmedabad districts in Gujarat about economic situation of Dalit. The study shows that there are 17.3% households having monthly income of Rs.0-1000, 32% households are having Rs.1000-2000 and only 33.5% households are having above Rs.2000 per month. 52% household work as labourers.
(46.8% Vadodara, 63.7% in Kheda, 58% in Mehsana and 36% in Ahmedabad). Taking the assets value into consideration in Vadodara district 45% Dalit families are having land and the average landholding 1.64 acre, where as in Kheda, Mehsana and Ahmedabad, 31.1%, 26.28%, 32% are having land with the average landholding of 1.7 acre, 5.48 acre and 3.9 acre respectively.

Sudarshan Iyengar\textsuperscript{16} (2000) in his comprehensive paper on ‘Role of Non-governmental Organisation in Development of Gujarat’ argues that it is fairly well recognised that the state cannot succeed completely in alleviating the status of disadvantaged groups. In fact, even when the state assumed almost total control over the commanding heights of the economy during the planning era, it could not effectively deal a blow to poverty and unemployment problems. The state and the bureaucracy by their very nature are not able to design and deliver for the disadvantaged sections of the population. Hence, the state should give recognition and encouragement to NGO initiatives. Fortunately Gujarat has a relatively better environment for the purpose.
3.2 STUDIES ON THE LEVELS OF LIVING AND INEQUALITIES

In this section the empirical studies conducted on the different aspects of the levels of living viz., distribution of assets and income, pattern of consumption and inequalities in the tribal and rural areas have been reviewed.

Rao\textsuperscript{17} (1981) conducted an empirical investigation in Tumkur district of Karnataka and concluded that the share of the Scheduled Tribes in the total land available for cultivation was about 10 per cent. Even though they formed majority in population size in the area under study. He further concluded that the ownership of other assets, viz. livestock, agriculture implements, farm assets, such as irrigation wells, drought animals was lower among households belonging to Scheduled groups. Further the ownership of milch animals was also lower among the Scheduled Tribes as compared to the dominant peasant groups but in terms of the ownership of sheep and goats they were better placed.

Bose\textsuperscript{18} (1985) conducted an empirical investigation of 10 developed as well as backward tribal villages, scattered over five districts of West Bengal with a view to analyse the classes and class relations. The average
size of household for the sample as a whole had been worked out 9.4 per cent. He concluded that in the sample as a whole about 34.2 per cent households were landless, 27.9 per cent owned land less than 1.00 acre and 25.2 per cent owned land less than 3.00 acres. About 87.3 per cent of the household were either part-time or full time agricultural labourers. The average land holdings of different classes differ from village to village due to the availability and non-availability of irrigation facilities. The rich peasants who were only 1.10 per cent of the total sample household owned 46.3 per cent of land. Out of the total uncultivable land about 85 per cent land was with the poor peasants. He concluded that extent of land inequality was higher in those villages, where there were rich peasants. The rich classes were better placed in terms of ownership of livestock. These were many poor households without a pair of bullocks and as a result of it, they had to depend on other better-off households for bullocks and even for implements such as ploughs, levellers and thinners etc.

Rayappa and Mutharayappa (1986) conducted a study in 10 district of Karnataka with a view to analyse the sources of household income among the Scheduled groups. They stated that the Scheduled groups in the social structure are placed at the bottom and about 90 per cent of the households
belonging to Scheduled Tribes earned less than Rs.50 per month. This happened mainly due to the lower wages received by them for wage work as well as due to the inadequate and inferior assets owned by them. The main sources of household income were wage work including agriculture and allied activities. There were regional variations in wages paid for casual labour or attached labour. The average daily earnings of male agriculture wage labourers were found to be higher than the wage earners among the small cultivators. The households with small-holdings were better-off than the landless agricultural labourers.

Basu²⁰ (1987) conducted a study of Chota Nagpur region of South Bihar, with a view to analyse the magnitude of per capita income of the tribals. He stated that south Bihar is the habitat of more than six million tribals, is rich in mineral resources and forests. The average per day per capita income of tribal family in Palamau, Santhal Pagana, Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribag did not exceed one rupee and fifty paise. Facilities for pure drinking water and communicable roads in tribal areas were a far cry even today. The level of living of tribals is very low by any standard, yet a small group of them is emerging as the middle class, which is educated and is in contact with the modern ways of living.
Pathy\textsuperscript{21} (1984) after analysing the impact of development on tribal welfare in Gujarat stated that adequate demand for credit was not forthcoming from tribal farmers. It was felt that an effort on the part of extension agencies was required to pursue the tribal farmers to undertake new agricultural technology thereby, leading to an increase in their demand for credit.

Bose\textsuperscript{22} (1986) studied the tribal development of Kerala and observed that inspite of the preference given and schemes undertaken for the welfare of the tribals, the condition of the tribal people still remained the same. He found that there was a great disparity in the economic, social and educational development among these communities. The most deserving poor sections and backward areas had suffered due to utter neglect by the government officials engaged in the implementation of ‘poverty alleviation programmes’ in the tribal areas.

Hussain\textsuperscript{23} (1987) analysed the socio-economic inequalities caused by the development process among the tribals of Assam and concluded that the present socio-economic structure and the pattern of development that we had adopted after independence had sharpened not only the caste, religion,
linguistic, and ethnic distinctions, but also increased the regional disparities and the feelings of deprivation, negligence and insecurity among various ethnic tribal groups. Liberation of tribal from oppression, exploitation, under-development and dependency depended fundamentally on a radical transformation of the socio-economic structure which at present permitted inequality, exploitation and oppression.

Pathy²⁴ (1984), conducted a study on the tribal peasantry in Gujarat based on primary data collected from 1945 sample households from five selected villages in 1979-80. He concluded that ownership of land was highly unequal. The pattern of land distribution was such that only one third of the total households can live on land and among them a one-third can had surplus over and above their requirements. Further about 40 per cent had to supplement their land income and the rest had to depend largely on sources outside of their farms. Around 4 per cent of the households were landless and the degree of inequalities in land ownership varies from village to village.

About the pattern of income distribution in the tribal areas of Gujarat he worked out the average annual household income Rs.2880 and per capita per month income Rs.36/- for the area under study. This indicated that
majority of the tribals live below the poverty line, and about 12 per cent sample households had annual household income of more than Rs.5000. He concluded that in tribal groups, income distribution among all the communities in the selected villages was quite uneven

3.3 STUDIES RELATED TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARAT

As a part of minor research project, Dr. Dilip Shah had evaluated different studies relating the economic development in Gujarat and elsewhere. He points out that the remarkable efforts are being made to understand the dynamics of rural development at regional level in India and in Gujarat. An early attempt to analyse the impact of development policy on rural poverty and unemployment was done in a limited scale by Raj and others. The comprehensive studies are being attempted only recently. Such as the study of C.T. Kurien for Tamilnadu, Ahuja’s study for Rajasthan and Chadha’s study of Punjab. The studies conducted by the Centre for Development Studies for Kerala and Karnataka do provide a very valuable and provocative account of the rural development dynamics of economic of respective regions. Each one of them is different in its expositions, exploration and explanation giving rise to even quite contrasting findings.
For example Tamilnadu provides a clear illustration of the failure of the percolation process of the growth, while Punjab provides an evidence of the success of such approach. Recent studies of Kerala provides one unique development experience where the quality of life is better than many states even though poverty ratio is higher. Similarly experience of paradox of poverty exhibited by Rajasthan is also equally notable and interesting.

C.T. Kurien conducted a study on ‘Dynamics of Rural Transformation: A Study of Tamilnadu (1950-75).’ It is an analysis of the changes which are basically changing the face of rural economy. On the basis of assumption that the changes in the rural economy are dominated by “agriculture” which provide the mould and structure for the changes of the system. He concluded that New Dynamism which is evident from the substantial increase in output yields, and production techniques and organisation pattern. However the crucial question associated with the study of rural transformation is to examine the socio-economic forces which enables the few to take all the advantage of improving economy. Whereas the weaker sections fails.

Rural Transformation in Developing Economy was a study conducted by Vidyasagar and Kanta Ahuja in Rajasthan. The study has viewed the
rural transformation from the angle of historical situation of land distribution, natural resources endowment and rural urban interactions exhibited by the market of output, input and labourers. On this basis the study claimed better and real explanation to “structural changes” and dynamics of rural transformation. Though the study attempts to explain changing poverty scenario. It does not focus on transformation except it has shown that the macro structure of the economy shows structural stagnation with remarkable stability of relative share of agriculture in SDP as well as workforce employed in agriculture.

‘Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy: A case of Selected Issues with Reference to Kerala’ is in itself is not a study of transformation but deals with the question of impact of the programmes like public works, food aided public distribution and promotion of education and their transforming consequences on the poverty employment and inequality basic components of rural development. It has conclusively shown that by traditional measure Kerala is high poverty ratio related state having paradox of high education and high educated unemployment. In terms of quality of life, it has achieved greater heights due to positive impact of health and education programmes as the part of “Minimum need’ approach followed by
Kerala state which would provide better scope of development perhaps is the real stage of development.

The micro level study comparing two long period through “Longitudinal” study approach which is one of the basic methods of assessing. Socio-economic transformation is most celebrated study about “Survey of Matar Taluka conducted by C.H. Shah, Vimal Shah and Sudarshan Iyengar, “Agriculture growth and equity – A micro level experience” (1991). 27

This longitudinal study based on the in-depths survey in the same villages of Matar taluka of Kheda district in Gujarat state at three points of time, 1929-30, 1965-66 and 1974-75. The last two studies undertaken by the two senior authors have built on the celebrated study of Gandhian economist J.C. Kumarappa.

The central issue of the study is pertained to impact on development of equity of income distribution and on poverty. Dynamics of rural growth are examined in the limited context of the changes in production, inputs, technology, savings, investment and consumption. Major conclusion of the study is that “the total effect is not identical to the social welfare and
common good achievable through “growth” as consumption level of lower section of the community improves comparatively faster than that of others.

Growth could be a great source of transformation of economy and its people. Number of studies have examined the growth experience of Gujarat state during 1960-80. The various scholars like Ravindra Dholakia (1983), S.S. Mehta (1983) and Kiran Wadhava (1983) have arrived at some common findings of growth behaviour and the sources of such significant pattern of growth experienced by Gujarat.

The studies on economic growth in 1990’s done by various scholars such as Iyengar (1996)\textsuperscript{28}, Kirit Parikh (1995)\textsuperscript{29}, S.S. Mehta (1992)\textsuperscript{30}, Indira Hirway (1993)\textsuperscript{31}, and S.J. Patel (1991)\textsuperscript{32} are more interesting and comprehensive in the sense that the studies relate growth with inter states. Inter districts scenario, compare with past growth rates of Gujarat and deal with growth and regional inequality, sustainable development and even employment potential of growth rates.

S.J. Patel has exposed clearly the real nature of economic growth in Gujarat which is industrial development dominating and leading to growing regional inequalities. In his studies Patel describes “Two Gujarat” one
developed industrial belt from Gandhinagar to Vapi and the other is poor agriculture part of the state consisting Saurashtra, Kutch, north-eastern and eastern and southern districts. Patel quoted that in 1971 Hathi Committee identified 56 talukas as very backward, and after 14 years in 1984. I.G. Patel Committee identified 184 districts as backward measured in terms of 25 indicators (56 taluka of Gujarat were most backward). S.J. Patel made an interesting analysis of regional disparities. He developed 17 indicators of (a) general economy; (b) agriculture; (c) industry; (d) education. He showed how sharp regional inequalities prevails between periphery of Gujarat (56% population) and heartland of Gujarat (44% population).

Prof. Alagh\(^3\) (1995) argues that Gujarat has diversified itself since 1960 as there is clear shift of workforce from rural to urban area and one out of every three agricultural workers was in the manufacturing sector.

Finally, Kirit Parikh (1995) in his critical presidential address during Gujarat Economic Conference clearly brought out how Gujarat has achieved relatively lower growth rate of 3% in 1980s which is lower than 7 states in India and has paid the high cost in terms of environmental damages. According to Parikh all the major cities in Gujarat suffer from air pollution,
all the rivers suffer from water pollution and almost 80,000 out of 90,000 industrial units of Gujarat have air and water pollution.

A more recent study of land reforms in Gujarat (1988-91) by land reforms unit (Land Reform Unit, Lal Bahadur Shastry National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, 1994)\textsuperscript{34} evaluated all three major aspects of land reforms i.e., implementation of land ceiling, tenancy reforms and distribution of government land. Major conclusions of this empirical study based on the data made available by the ministry of rural development as well as village level data generated by survey are worth stating. In Gujarat 4 out of 19 districts were covered in this study.

a) Old Land Ceiling Act of 1961 failed because of large number of exception.

b) Surplus land located in the different villages could be captured within ceiling net.

c) A very high per cent of the tenants initially assured surplus were released to the land owners.

d) 47% of land allotted to institutions is clear violation of norms of distribution.
e) A considerable surplus of land reserved for the outseeds of Narmada project and such land considered to be distributed on one year lease for several years. Allottees who get such land are not interested in investing for productive purpose as they would not reap any benefit.

f) Economic impact on allottees has been very meagre as quality of land allotted through the state is very poor.

The quality of life, capability development and development of economy depend upon infrastructural development including the social sector development relating to health and education. There are very few studies in Gujarat providing detailed view or the changing scenario of these developmental inputs and their relevance and contribution in transforming rural economic sector of Gujarat.

A study by B.B. Patel\(^{35}\) has brilliantly analysed major issues in health sector of Gujarat. Patel brought out the health status of Gujarat based on the specific indicators such as general mortality rate, infant mortality rate, natural mortality rate, life expectancy and disease pattern. Based on this scenario Patel has made policy suggestions: some of the outstanding features of health status are as follows:
1) Mortality rates of all kinds are found higher than all India and much higher difference between rural and urban which was exactly different than Kerala.

2) In the dry areas and tribal areas these rates were highest i.e., Banskantha, Dangs etc.

3) Maternal mortality rates were also equally high with similar pattern.

Unsatisfactory health condition in Gujarat is explained in terms of poverty and type of health facility and its utilisation. Records of Gujarat was most unfavourable on every of these counts. Pankaj Bhatt and Kiran Pandya (1998) in their key paper provide latest review of infrastructural development in Gujarat. For example during 1961-71 per 1,00,000 population PSH increased from 0.97% to 3.34%, sub-PHC 8.07% to 26.41% and number of doctors increased by six times. However rural-urban difference has widened.

a) In rural area 0.7% hospitals for 1,00,000 population as against 11.28% hospitals.

b) In rural areas there are 31.54% beds against 393.34% in urban area.

c) In rural areas 9.33% dispensaries against 17.78% in urban area (1991-92). Doctors and nurses are not available in rural areas

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Education is another great source of building capacity of rural people. Role of education in social development, cultural advancement, economic development and human development are well established.

Out of very few studies available K.R. Shah\(^{37}\) (1983) and Leela Visaria (1983) study on ‘Educating the Poor and Backward’ is very interesting. Shah-Veena had inducted the survey of backward population of 19 districts in Gujarat in 1983. The major conclusions of the study of inter-district scenario is quite revealing:

- Districts appear to be more unequal in dropout rates, analysis of determinants shows the greater role of non-economic factors;
- The gap in the quality of education and literacy rate between districts explains the preponderance of dropout rates. It is that gap ought to be bridged at the earliest.
- Finally, our efforts at the raising the level of education of the poor and backward districts should be more in the direction or raising the quality of education and spreading literacy among adults. These efforts will ultimately strengthen the process of human capital formation promoting growth with distribution.
Finally, there is an instrument of anti-poverty programmes implemented in Gujarat. These programmes are crucial for the economic development of tribal and rural areas through poverty alleviation, employment generation and promoting consumption led inequality. There are quite an interesting studies are available. Hirway contributed different times (Hirway, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1999). These studies have shown that “target group” approach failed to concentrate on ‘targets’ in early periods, however the programmes like IRDP and NRDP were found to be relatively more successful in the 1990. On the basis of the recent studies including latest concurrent evaluation of IRDP by IRMA. 38% of the poor received benefits with Rs.3945 per family, however only 4% of the eligible beneficiaries could cross the poverty line as compared to 7% at all India level (IRMA-1992). The major weakness were that of leakage of 20-30% towards non-poor, week planning, poor infrastructure and administrative and organisational arrangements. Similarly another major programme of employment generation had also very insignificant impact as hardly 2.2% could cover the poor and 100 days of work could be arranged for about 5.9% of the poor. The poor quality of assets created, unmatched between assets created and assets required etc. were the major problems.
Another study of inter-district analysis of IRDP and NRED by Dilip Shah (1987) have noted a wide variation among districts and also the pattern of implementation. For example, Surat district had not done well and its concentration was only on dairy farming while in Sabarkantha district with the same Dairy development facilities IRDP could do very well.

A recent document of National Institute of Rural Development (N.I.R.D.) has done an appreciable efforts to measure rural development and provide the position of states by ranking their performance. Relating to 1991-92 data, NIRD have constructed five measures or indicators of rural development. These indicators are as follows:

1. Percentage of workers (W)
2. Infant Mortality Rate (I)
3. Female Literacy Rate (L)
4. Per capita value of agricultural production at constant price (P)
5. Percentage of consumer’s expenditure on food items (F).

Prof. Dilip Shah (Financial Express, 1997) has provided an interesting analysis based on these indicators. Despite the problems of comparison due to data of the different periods, it does explain the interstate performance in logical.
Out of all 15 states Gujarat stands 11 in rural development and it has achieved 15th rank (8th rank in ‘I’; 14th rank in ‘L’; 14th rank in ‘P’; 13th rank in ‘F’. Thus, Gujarat is more close to Bihar (15th) and Orissa (14th) rather than Kerala (1) and Punjab (2) etc.!

B.M. Desai and others conducted an empirical study about Dharampur taluka of Guajrat about the development programme for the rural poor. They concluded that socio-economic situation of the people of Dharampur tribal area is very poor. People are living in Subhuman condition. Due to limitations in planning and implementation of different schemes the results have not been satisfactory.

B.M. Jani in his study of Gujarat and Rajasthan42 (2001) “experiments and experiences of planning for reduction of poverty”, presents a comparative analyses of Gujarat and Rajasthan in regard to their experiments and experiences of planning for reduction of poverty. He analyses the nature of the incidence of poverty in the two states and examines the efficacy of the different initiatives taken by the governments in reducing poverty levels. He argues that economic reforms and liberalisation have nothing to do with the rural poor both in Rajasthan and Gujarat,
because the rural poor are still under the clutches of money lenders and corrupt Patwari's and talaties. The capital intensive industrialisation process has brought negligible gain for the rural poor and the urban oriented growth process has increased rural poverty level. He also observes that anti-poverty programmes have not been cost-effective in reducing poverty. He advocates that priority attention should be given to the challenges of human resource development and expansion of physical infrastructural facilities. He argues that the non-governmental organisations should be efficiently associated with the poverty reduction schemes of both the central government.

Indira Hirway (2000) in her study 'Dynamics of Economic Development' observes that the enterprising population of Gujarat supported by progressive leadership has brought the state in the forefront of development in the country. The state has not only acquired and maintained its fourth rank in per capita NSDP but it has also taken quantum jump in the post liberalisation period by attracting the highest industrial investment, particularly in large and medium industry, and experienced the highest growth in per capita NSDP during this period. In the process of economy Gujarat has achieved a highly diversified economic structure.
The process of this economic diversification however does not seem to be sustainable as the primary sector, and particularly agriculture has lagged far behind distorting the agriculture-industry linkages. Along with agricultural near stagnation, environment has also experienced severe degradation, both of which have created constraints to the sustainability of economic growth of employment and poverty as well as in human development are closely related to the macro development path. That is these developments are not independent of each other, but are the consequences of the dynamics of development of the state. There are possibilities in Gujarat for broadening the base of development through employment intensive and environment friendly development path. Such a path is conducive to rapid poverty reduction as well as to rapid human development.

It is high time that the political leadership in the state realised that attracting industrial investments to the state at any cost will not serve the longterm interests of the state. It will neither lead to sustainable development nor to a rapid reduction on income and human poverty in the state.

Discussing about the impact of liberalisation on state economy in Gujarat, Ravindra Dholakia\textsuperscript{44} (2000) observes that Gujarat is above the
national average in terms of its per capita income and as a result can be considered relatively better-off. But in terms of the growth, its performance is not very impressive.

After 1990-91, the economic policy reforms and the speeded up liberalisation at the national level had considerable impact on the Gujarat economy. The growth of real income in Gujarat during the nineties, it is considerably higher than the national income (Gujarat 281.5, national – 244.6 – 1997-98). Moreover the experience of the year 1995-96 reveals that the state has also developed capabilities to absorb, the relatively large adverse shock on its primary sector not allowing its aggregate real income to fall. Thus national liberalisation process seems to have stabilising and growth accelerating impact on the Gujarat economy.

Finally one may note that there are almost no studies covering post-liberalisation policy impact at micro-level particularly relating to rural development process. Though some broad studies on impact of economic reform on rural poverty and economy are available (Indira Hirway, 1995; Iyengar and S.S. Mehta, 1996 are some studies available).
Niti Mathur and S.P. Kashyap (2000) in the research paper ‘Agriculture in Gujarat – Problems and Prospects’ provided a statistical profile of pre and post green revolution agriculture in Gujarat. Changes in cropping pattern, land and labour, productivity and input use over 1961-63 are analysed. They concluded that cropping pattern has been shifting in favour of non-traditional, non-food crops. Gujarat needs investment in infrastructure and strategies for sustainable resource use to improve productivity in agriculture. Their analysis indicates that yield growth is the dominant source of output growth in the state and contribution of area to growth has declined in all most all the districts.

R. Parthasarthy (2000) in his article ‘Participatory Irrigation Management Programme in Gujarat – Institutional and Financial issues’ discussed the basic philosophy of participatory irrigation management programmes in Gujarat as in other states has been to transform irrigators from beneficiaries to partners in the planning and development of irrigation. An analysis of the experience of the programme shows that farmers’ involvement in water management has indeed led to a better and smoother resolution of irrigation-related conflicts. However, the other expectation that the programme would reduce self-expenditure has not materialised as yet.
Water user's associations will have to be more efficient in making allocative and investment decisions.

Since June 1995, the Government of Gujarat has been implementing a Participatory Irrigation Management Programme (PIM) with ultimate objective of improving agricultural productivity. In his opinion the new policy has to mature into laws. The other advantage of this progression may be that water rights will also allow transfer of water from lower to higher value use.

Amita Shah\(^4\) (2000) in her article 'Watershed Programme – A Long Way to Go' has tried to analyse the Watershed Development Programme (WDPs). Watershed Development Programme have become a key strategy of sustainable economic development in large parts of Gujarat that are experiencing frequent droughts, dwindling ground water resources, increasing salinity and loss of vegetation. These programmes have also involved successfully a large number of NGO. She suggests that watershed programme had to work as the basic strategy for developing the farming system specially in the dryland region. This would imply livelihood security to a large proportion of people rather than merely conservation of soil water and creating selective impact on regions and households. The participatory
approach, especially adopted by some of the NGOs in the state do indicate possibilities of long term continuity but, still have to demonstrate impact on a sustained basis and on a longer scale. She points out that one should be careful of the fact that approaches and guidelines should not become substitutes for the ultimate goal of ensuing livelihood support to most, if not all, of the households, within a watershed region.

Amitabh Kundu⁴⁸ (2000) in his article, 'Globalising Gujarat: Urbanisation, Employment and Poverty' attempts to analysis the trends and patterns of urbanisation in Gujarat, a rapidly industrialising state, taking account of the changes in labour market and those in the systems of urban governance, land management development practices and the commercialisation of basic services. It is argued, even by the proponents of liberalisation that given the socio-economic reality in India, it is difficult for private sector to bring about the desirable changes in urban land market, land use pattern, investment levels in infrastructure etc. The State of Gujarat has responded quite favourably in the past few years by ushering in the necessary changes in legislation and system of governance. The spatial structure of development would then, be characterised by accentuation of
regional imbalances, high poverty and a low quality of life in urban centres, excepting the few, cities linked to the national and world market.

Gujarat state has responded well to economic reforms and industry has grown, especially manufacturing industry. For long term growth, a greater emphasis on the infrastructure sector’s is needed. Small scale industry can be helped by promoting cluster, advocates Dinesh Shah\(^49\) (2000) in his article, ‘Recent Changes in Gujarat Industry: Issues and Evidence’. He argues that the Government of Gujarat has been offering an impressive array of fiscal and financial incentives to attract industries. Gujarat does not compare favourably with its competing states like Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, or Andhra Pradesh in terms of quality of infrastructure – both social and physical. Unless major investments are made in infrastructure, the state will not be able to retain its dominant position in the investment flows in the time to come. More fiscal incentives will not be able to attract industries to the state.

Dharshini Mahadevia\(^50\) (2000) in the article ‘Health for all in Gujarat’ notes that while Gujarat has registered a significant improvement in key health statistics and health situation in the state shows some paradoxes. A comprehensive analysis of the health status over the years, public health
expenditure, the growth of health facilities, in urban and rural areas and in the private and public sectors indicates that rather than technical inputs, it is the development model adopted that impinges on health status. She argues that while issues related health sector are understood and addressed, it is high time that health is viewed in relation to the overall growth process of Gujarat to make health for all a reality in near future. It would require change in the socio-cultural, economic and political structure and a system that considers prevention as important as cure. Above all, there has to be the political will to pursue a development path that is human centered and not economic growth centre alone.

The small scale sector in Gujarat has formed a fairly steady base of industrial activity. Yet these have been few attempts to study the caste and social background of small entrepreneurs. Takashi Shinoda\(^5\) (2000) in the paper 'Institutional Change and Entrepreneurial Development: SSI Sector' using state compiled data sets analyses entrepreneurial development among different social groups in the states and desires interesting results.

The cross-sectional analysis on the SSI units promoted by the backward classes gives us a clear picture on the basic characteristics of their entrepreneurship. Among the backward classes, SC and ST units show a
concentration pattern in their geographical and industrial distribution. Contrary SEBC units show a pattern of dispersion. SCs have been most conscious about the utilisation of institutional measures among the backward classes in Gujarat. He concludes that for the coming years, the entry of the other segments among SEBCs may also accelerate, and their performance in SSI sector will be essential for strengthening their economic as well as political power.

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