INTRODUCTION

The growth experience of developed countries in their earlier phases of economic development has led to the belief that there is near inevitability of high rates of urbanisation for rapid industrialisation process. On the basis of inter-country and intra-country analyses of growth experience, economists came to highlight these tendencies which, it was argued, were caused mainly by urban economies of scale, for efficient production is possible as a result of easily available urban markets for goods and services and economies of proximity, lower distribution costs etc. The supplies of professional manpower and unskilled labour are easily available and productivity of production processes in urban and industrial sectors of the economy is higher. The development literature even seemed to regard the growth on the one hand and urbanisation and industrialisation on the other hand as co-terminus. The underdeveloped countries after gaining political independence from the colonial rule, looked forward to the 'received' growth experience of developed countries for imitation and adaptation and

naturally tended to emphasise the urbanisation and industrialisation strategies for economic development. The development experience based on urban-biased heavy industrialisation strategy has, however, led to increasing realisation of its harmful effects on economy. The tendency to identify development with growth of GNP and attempts to maximise it led to serious problems of increasing inequalities in income and wealth distribution and uneven sharing of gains of development among classes, regions and sectors. The emphasis on urbanisation led to neglect of dominant part of economy, viz. rural sector having more than 75% of population and potential labour force and consisting of agricultural sector, which is supplier of most important component of human life requirements. The emphasis on urban-biased industrial growth therefore led to the effect that problems of poverty and unemployment reached serious proportions. The improvements in quality of life of people which ought to have been given greater emphasis remained in the background leading to immiseration of large masses of the society.

The justification accorded to urban-biased heavy industrialisation strategy also led the developing countries to adopt planning systems relying on heavy centralisation on the lines of experience of
socialist countries such as U.S.S.R. The centralized planning networks adopted by developing countries resulted in lack of involvement and participation of people in formulation and implementation of schemes and programmes for their economic upliftment. The decisions regarding programmes and plan allocations at central level with no consideration of wishes and aspirations of people at local level again handicapped the planning process in yielding desirable results. The domination of political interests and bureaucracy in programme formulation and planning had the result that programmes and policies did not percolate their gains to intended beneficiaries.

The models for generating growth in developing nations based on western experience of industrialized countries and planning networks adopted on the lines of centralised socialist systems belied the expectations of their originators. The heavy concentration of economic activities in a few urban centres was expected to create "ripple effects" of growth throughout the nation. It was thought that urban centres will act as centres of modernisation and serve as catalysts of
economic growth leading to automatic correction of spatial imbalances. Thus self-reinforcing centre models asserted that "disequilibrium is built into transitional societies from the start" and that the city acts as a self-reinforcing magnet of progress. Similarly, the unbalanced development models also stressed natural polarization during initial stages of growth. For example, Hirschman argued for massive investments in central locations recognizing that although such a policy would lead to accentuation of centre-periphery differences, after a certain point "trickle-down" or spread effects would take over and through mutually reinforcing sets of backward and forward linkages growth impulses would spread slowly over the periphery, gradually extending benefits to poor groups as the economy matured. The development experience of most developing countries has negated these expectations, mainly because spatial structure of these countries is different leading to dual economies. Thus growth impulses did not trickle down to the periphery, and instead growth and stagnation


polarised leaving the economy unarticulated. Therefore cities in developing countries have become "cancers" instead of "catalysts" of growth process.

The urban-biased development strategy accompanied by centralized planning system has led to the tendency of resource drainage from rural areas to metropolitan towns. The skilled and trained manpowers, natural resources and economic surpluses of rural areas inevitably flow to cities and metropolitan towns leaving rural settlements in a state of poverty, unemployment and dependency. These tendencies demand corrective policies so that growth process attains inter-sectoral and inter-regional balance such that duality of life of people improves in such a manner that even lowest placed person in the economic and social hierarchy is above the stipulated minimum standard.

As a result of adverse consequences experienced by earlier economic policies a process of rethinking has set in motion among economists and social thinkers and alternative approaches and policies are being explored giving greater attention to balanced development across regions, social classes and sectors. The 'growth with

1Brian B.J. Berry, "Policy Implications of an Urban Location Model for the Kanpur Region" in P.B. Desai et.al.(ed.) Regional Perspective of Industrial and Urban Growth : The Case of Kanpur; Bombay; MacMillan, 1969, pp.207.

Redistribution and employment maximisation are now given greater attention in discussions on planning approaches and philosophies. Some new concepts such as integrated rural development and minimum or basic needs approach are pointers in this direction. These ideas have their popularity because of economic exigencies of the situation, although their basic elements can be seen in philosophies and thinking of social and political philosophers and thinkers. In contemporary Indian setting the greatest impact felt in this field is that of Mahatma Gandhi.¹

The idea of integrated rural development with a concept of self-sufficient village economy received fresh impetus from writings of E.F. Schumacher and his Group² (Intermediate Technology Development Group). A brief recapitulation of Gandhian approach would not be out of place here.

According to Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy, attainment of self-sufficiency and satisfaction of basic needs of the masses are to be the two important goals of rural development. The Gandhian approach to rural development includes the provisions of education, clean and protected water supply, drainage, sanitation,

¹Shah, S.M., Rural Development in India: Planning and Reform, South Asia Books, 1977, pp. 41-44.

electricity, communication and public health facilities for each village and dwellings, such as food, shelter and clothing over and above the provisions for the satisfaction of basic needs. Thus, "village upliftment was Gandhi's first freedom."1

Mahatma Gandhi had a better understanding of rural development. He has expressed his views,

"I have believed and repeated times without number that India is to be found not in its few cities, but in its 7,00,000 villages," furthermore. "I would say that if the village perishes, India will perish too."2

The Gandhian approach to "village upliftment" is based on a process of decentralization which should result in reduced concentration of wealth and income. He requested the policy makers not to neglect the backbone of the Indian economy, viz., the villages. He wrote:

"We have until a little ago concentrated on work in cities. We have to revent the process now. The cities are capable of taking care of

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themselves. It is the villages we have to turn to.\textsuperscript{1}

The Gandhian and other similar philosophies, which are/widely accepted regard the development of rural areas as multi-dimensional process. It is generally contended by many experts that the modernisation of agriculture is a sufficient condition for rural development. But this is a partial view because the process of rural development consists of changes in many components relating to various spheres of rural society such as economic, social and cultural. Again, each of these components is multi-dimensional. Actually the rural development means the development of agricultural sector along with the development of all other activities which are directly or otherwise connected with the activities in the rural areas such as development of small scale industries, education, sanitation, public health, transport and communication, leading to awakening of the rural population to cultural and social life. It is also a contention of the world bank\textsuperscript{2} that the rural development is a strategy aiming at improving not only the economic

\textsuperscript{1}Young India. 30 April, 1931.

\textsuperscript{2}World Bank: Op. cit. p.3.
life of poor and weaker sections of rural population
but also the social life of these groups, which needs
adoption of a multi-dimensional approach to development.

Though capital intensive industries are more
productive, they require huge amount of capital, tech­
nical and managerial skills which are in short supply
in India. In the absence of these skills, potential
productivity may be less. There is also possibility
of machines lying idle for long time which also will
affect the productivity. Moreover, capital intensive
industries do not redistribute the income in favour
of poor, and do not satisfy basic needs of poor.
Hence, following Gandhian thinking, Schumacher
advocates for intermediate technology which is improve­
ment on traditional technology, yet at the same
time it takes into account available resource endowments
and thus it is useful for local needs. Hence, it is
very useful for region or area development.

The national commitment to policies and
programmes for rural development is a recent phenomenon
in many countries of the world. Different countries
of the world have realised the truth that rural develop­
ment is a must but only few of these countries have


2Clarence Zuvekas: Economic Development-An Introduction,
prepared an overall plan of rural development, although much discussion on programmes for integrated rural development has taken place. The present study attempts to approach the problem of planning of a rural regional economy from an operational angle.

**Approach of Present Study**

The development literature and the programmes initiated by governments and other institutions in developing countries increasingly emphasise changes in development philosophy on above lines. In India too, the evolution of thinking and programmes of government reveal this change of emphasis. Some studies have illustrated the methods and procedures through which area specific plans for comprehensive development can be prepared. The present study is an attempt in this direction. It addresses itself to some planning problems for a small region and to evolve suitable methodology for the same taking the case of Prantij taluka of Sabarkantha District. The choice of taluka (which is sub-district region) for area plan is made because it is a more appropriate level for decentralized planning for reaching the problems of people. Prantij taluka which is the
study area for the present study is chosen for various reasons. It is an average taluka of a backward district and has potentiality of development because of its proximity with industrially developed areas.

With a view to prepare plan for attaining the above mentioned objectives the present study, attempts to undertake the following tasks:

1. To explore into possibilities of preparing a workable plan at taluka level for coordinated development of rural areas in such a way that there is movement towards attainment of income and employment objectives.

2. To develop suitable operationally workable indicators to identify levels of development of sub-regions (group of villages).

3. To attempt at regional mapping of infrastructural and social services of the taluka to identify growth and service centres to optimally provide basic social and economical amenities for the people of the taluka.

4. To analyse current status of economic activities and their inter-sectoral and inter-regional linkages to identify optimal activity mix for the taluka.
5. To derive manpower and resource implications of the optimal activity mix.

The chapter scheme of the study is as under:

Chapter I: Rural Development: Concepts, Approaches and Programs

This chapter deals with the Concepts, Philosophy and Approaches of the rural development and evaluates programme for rural development in the Pre-Independence and Planning era.

Chapter II: Micro-Level Planning in a Multi-Level Planning Framework: Method and Design of the Study

This chapter provides methodological basis for micro-level planning within a multi-level planning framework and outlines the various aspects covered in the present study.

Chapter III: Study-Area - Economic and Administrative Setting

This chapter analyses economic structure of the Prantij taluka (Sabarkantha District) and identifies available resource potential. Besides, the place of this taluka in the economy of Sabarkantha district is
examined with the help of a composite index of economic development. Finally, the administrative and planning machinery and programmes for the development of the taluka are evaluated from the viewpoint of the efficiency in formulating and implementing the plan.

Chapter IV: Regional Mapping of Taluka and Identification of Backward and Developed Regions

A regionalization exercise for taluka on the basis of data on villages is attempted to identify levels of development of various parts of the taluka. An indicator of development level of various parts of the taluka is derived for this purpose and implications of the results for planning are spelled out.

Chapter V: Regional Planning for Infrastructural Facilities

An attempt is made here to undertake a regional mapping of infrastructural facilities in villages of the taluka on the basis of composite index developed for this purpose. With the help of this indicator, a comparison of the villages in the respective regions is made.
Chapter VI: Inter-Industrial and Inter-Regional Linkages of the Industrial Economy of Taluka

An attempt has been made in this chapter to study the industrial units functioning in this taluka with a view to understand the nature of inter-industrial and inter-regional linkages of the industrial economy of taluka through the input-output and demand relationships.

Chapter VII: Planning for Development of Prantij Taluka—Approach and Implications

This chapter deals with the problem of microlevel planning in the context of Prantij taluka. The approach for planning for development of taluka evolved on the basis of the main findings of the preceding analysis. The implications of the approach subsequently follow in the form of suitable network of higher order settlements (service or growth centres) which may be helpful in moving towards optimal and locally relevant activity-mix. The administrative and other institutional requirements are also spelled out. The chapter concludes with a discussion of limitations or constraints of the plan outlined in the study.
I. Concepts of Rural Development

Rural development is today advocated as a basic strategy for socio-economic development in the third world countries. Much has been said and written about rural development in different countries of the third world such as India, China, Pakistan, Japan, Malaysia, Hungary, Singapore, Philippines, Hong Kong, Taiwan etc. A large number of programmes and projects were carried out by the governments, voluntary agencies and business houses in these countries to improve the economic conditions of the rural population.

Before discussing the concept of rural development it is essential to discuss the concept of 'development'. The word 'development' conveys different meanings to different economists and experts in other (allied) fields of study. As a consequence no single

\[1\text{See for details, Mokhzani B. Abdul Rahim : (Ed.) Rural Development in Southeast Asia, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1979.}\]
definition of development is considered entirely satisfactory.¹

It is now commonly held that economic development implies rise in the living standard of people which is revealed in the form of increase in the supply of consumer goods, which may be produced at home or may be obtained by imports against exports.²

Sometimes distinction is made between growth and development. It is said that growth implies a quantitative process involving principally the extension of an already established structure of production, whereas development includes qualitative changes leading to improvements in quality life, e.g., Education, Health & Nutrition, Sanitation etc.³ Thus it leads to the improvements in the standard of living and increase in economic welfare. The process of 'economic development' is also accompanied by changes in sectoral composition accompanying an increase in real national product.

¹ There is a large volume of literature available on this issue. For a review of the controversy, see 


The word 'development' interpreted broadly, means a process of change from the existing level of economic activity to a desired higher level of new economic activity. This means that it involves not only quantitative but qualitative changes also. It requires the help not only of economics but also of other branches of social sciences, thereby making it a function of four variables such as, motivation, knowledge, capital formation, and demand.¹

Economic development, viewed as a process of change affected by economic factors, requires continuously growing savings and capital formation, availability of raw-materials, factor mobility and a technology equalling different factor mix and resultant different product mix. The continuous expansion in effective demand determines the absorptive capacity of an economy. However, non-economic factors, such as sociological, psychological, religious and political, also affect it substantially and sometimes basically. These non-economic factors reveal themselves in many ways.


of which the two, viz., motivation and knowledge, are crucial:

MOTIVATION:

'Motivation' is one of the important sociopsychological factors affecting the process of economic development. It is said that in underdeveloped countries people lack motivation for the process of economic developments. This is because of their present sociopsychological standards or norms that they are averse to any change that is required to expedite the process of economic development. For example, ownership of the factors of production in India is equated with the social status so that even an idea of change in ownership pattern is opposed vigorously by all those having even meagre hold on a single factor of production like land.

KNOWLEDGE:

Knowledge is difficult to define. Broadly it includes acquisition of information and its translation in practice as well as its diffusion to members of the community engaged in various economic activities. Underdeveloped countries receive information pertaining

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to technology and technical knowhow, measures to boost savings and investment, steps to combat with unemployment and poverty etc., from the developed countries. But they probably fail to incorporate these informations in manners well suited to their socio-economic conditions. It delays or sometimes even vitiates the results of the planned development model adopted from the developed nations.

THE CONCEPT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development is concerned with development of rural areas. It aims at bringing about desired changes in the activity-mix in rural areas in a stipulated period of time. It encompasses changes in agricultural and non-agricultural (including industries and services) sectors of the rural economy. This process is the resultant of the following four aspects:

1. Social
2. Economic
3. Technological
4. Natural

These four components are so interwoven that it is difficult to isolate their effects separately. Each

component is cause and consequence of other components. We may discuss some chains of relationships here for illustrative purpose. Depending on the technological changes in agriculture the decisions of farmers to adopt new inputs—hybrid seeds, fertilisers and modern machinery—will increase production in agriculture as well as in sectors dependent upon agriculture. This in turn, will help in increasing the production in industrial sector in urban areas as well as the production in small scale industries. Due to the development of rural areas, weaker sections of the rural masses will also be benefitted from the greater supply of basic amenities of life and increased job opportunities. This will eventually lead to reduction in social inequities in rural areas education being a catalytic agent for a change, its expansion will create environment for technical changes. This, in turn will help in acquiring better control over the natural resources. Due to the environment for technological change created by education, it is possible to control and fight such natural calamities as draught, floods, etc.
Rural development aims to improve the living standards of people, living in rural areas by bringing about desired changes in distribution of income and wealth, by providing sources of secured incomes and employment to the weaker sections. To bring about this the improvement in the facilities of education, health, housing, social welfare etc., is considered inevitable.

Rural development may be defined as

"a development of rural areas in a way that each aspect of rural life is affected in a desired manner so as to bring overall change in the rural life."  

World Bank has defined rural development in another way:

"Rural development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people - the rural poor. 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 farmers, tenants and the landless.1

The rural development popularly known as integrated rural development,2 requires high technology, administrative hierarchies and co-ordination at various levels for aiming at a comprehensive development pertaining to all aspects of rural economy.

In the literature on development the rural development has been given certain specific meanings also. Winnick introduced the concepts of 'place prosperity' and 'People prosperity'.3 The latter means, aid to certain people (such as the unemployed, the poor, the underprivileged, the minorities) and the former means, aid to selected places (like rural under-developed areas, old industrial regions, inner-city ghettos). In a sense, the 'place prosperity' approach implies concern for inter-regional or other dimensions of spatial equity which may contribute towards solving the problems arising from the inequitable distribution of personal income and resultant welfare effects.


"If 'place prosperity' is a reasonable substitute for 'people prosperity', it follows that maximising specified policy variables within a geographically defined area becomes almost equivalent to maximising the welfare of the 'target' population within that area."

From this discussion, it can be inferred that rural development, should aim at the development of all those spheres of activities in the rural areas which will aim at the well-being of the rural population. These spheres of activities should include education, improvements in productivity, better health and greater participation of people in Eco-Socio-Political activities. In short, it aims at improving the quality of life of the population in the rural areas. This necessitates viewing the rural development as an integral part of a national strategy of improving the economic and social life of the poor and weaker sections of the society.

Objective of Rural Development

World Bank Policy Paper on "Rural Development" (1975) has remarked: "The objectives of rural development, extend beyond any particular sector. They encompass improved productivity, increased employment

and thus higher incomes for target groups, as well as minimum acceptable levels of food, shelter, education and health. A national programme of rural development should include a mix of activities, including projects to raise agricultural output, create new employment, improve health and education, expand communications and improve housing, such a programme might be made up of single-sector or multi-sectoral projects, with components implemented concurrently or in sequence.¹

From the above mentioned views the following objectives of rural development may be defined as:

(1) The prime objective of rural development is to improve the economic conditions of the poorest of the rural poors.

(2) Achievement of self-reliance and satisfaction of basic needs are the major allied objectives in the task of rural development.

(3) Increased production in agriculture and allied activities in rural areas including promoting rural industries with stress on village and cottage industries.

(4) To remove unemployment and generate maximum possible opportunities especially for the weaker section is one of the principal objectives of the rural development.

¹World Bank: op.cit., p.7.
(5) To adopt programmes of land reforms in rural areas.

(6) To provide certain basic amenities like medical facilities for health care, education, power or electricity, drinking water & housing facilities etc.

II. RURAL DEVELOPMENT COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

Approaches to rural development differs from country to country and from time to time in the same country. In the opinion of World Bank.

"A programme of rural development, must embrace a wide range and mix of activities, including projects to raise agricultural output, to improve health and education, to expand communications and to improve housing. The mix of activities will vary with the requirements of a region and the priorities assigned to components within a programme at particular stages of development. The programme may be based on a series of sequential projects - first health, then education, then agricultural development, or it may attempt a broad based, multi-sectoral approach where by a series of activities are to be undertaken almost simultaneously. In all cases, the constituent elements should be complementary and reinforcing."  

1Ibid., pp.17-18.
Thus, rural development programme should include different types of activities such as to increase agricultural output, improvement of health and education etc. This programme may be adopted on the basis of sequence in which activities are undertaken one by one, or it may be based on the multi-sectoral approach in which activities are undertaken simultaneously. The countries having more resources, may invest more in social overheads as well as in (directly) productive activities. In the condition of economic dualism, the rural development programme, by allocating more services to lower income groups, helps in handling output and income redistribution more effectively.

In the context of rural development we must take note that Japan, Republic of China, Taiwan have done some spade work. Other countries, such as Pakistan, Malaysia, Hungary, Singapore, Philippines, Hongkong etc.,¹ have also made efforts for rural development.

Some pilot projects for rural development have also been launched in various countries of the world for instance, Comilla project in Bangladesh.²


The Comilla project was clearly successful in generating and diffusing technical and institutional change and in improving the welfare of rural villages.\(^1\) In México a similar project named Pueblo is started. In Kenya also community development projects have been adopted. Ethiopia has also followed Bangladesh strategy and adopted Comilla project concept, as a strategy for rural development.\(^2\)

In India Community Development Programme was started in 1952 with a view of multi-purpose development of various sectors of rural economy. Different activities such as agriculture and animal husbandry, education, communication, housing etc., were incorporated in this programme. The purpose behind initiating such programme was to raise the standard of living of rural populace along with promoting social welfare and justice.

\(^1\)For the history of Comilla Project, see


Different countries have accepted the growth centres as instrument of rural development. The growth centre concept envisages the organisation of space around a focal point of interaction which may be a transport node, a market place, a service centre or the head quarter of the development and administrative functionaires. The growth centre concept recognises the integration of the rural and urban settlement into an organic functional mechanism. Purpose of such approach is (i) to increase the productivity in various sectors of the rural areas and (ii) to hold back rural populations on land so that degree of migration from rural areas to urban areas can be minimized.

The concept of growth centres has been adopted by various countries such as France, Yugoslavia, West Germany, Israel, Poland, Bulgaria and some of the countries of East Europe. In Africa, some of the newly independent countries - Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia etc., have also adopted growth centres concept. They have planned, their rural development activities around such growth centres. In India we have also adopted the concept of growth centre as a strategy for rural development.


To develop growth centres decentralisation policy was adopted in the coast Province of Kenya under 1970-74 Physical Development Plan. Its main aim was to reduce the mobility of people towards the towns. In these growth centres, Government has tried to invest more in Government services as well as in infrastructural facilities so as to attract more people.¹

A report was prepared in 1969 by R. Weitz of Israel Institute on the project of UDA Walawe project in Southern Ceylon. The principle of "Compact Villages" was accepted by him. Regarding Regional Planning, a model of Christaller was followed by Israel. The programme was made of three tiers. In first tier 8 to 10 Kibbutz, (small village) were included for the individual settlement in second tier 4 to 6 rural community centres were included and tier third included geographical centre of the region. They were responsible for providing administrative, educational, medical, cultural facilities to the concerned areas.²

Some notable features of rural development experience in some countries are now described.

Sri Lanka :

In Sri Lanka decentralisation principle is adopted and implemented for rural development. According to this

²Ibid, pp.54-55.
principle, each district has been given a special budget, for the use of which it has discriminatory powers, to use on the basis of priorities and local plans. Secondly, for each district a minister is appointed with functional ministers to assist them. These ministers have become a part of central cabinet. To assist a minister a district secretary is also appointed. Shri Lanka also has initiated development projects with the help of aid giving countries and institutions. The major limitation of this scheme is that all decisions are centralised at District Ministers level rather than local level.

Bangladesh:

In Bangladesh a new approach of decentralisation is adopted by establishing "gram sarkar". Head of this scheme is called president. A Gram Sabha is authorised to appoint a Gram Pradhan, who will be the incharge of canal digging, mass literacy and family planning programme. Government has appointed District Development co-ordinators who have powers of the deputy ministers. The programme of Bangladesh resembles the programme of Shri Lanka.
Malaysia :-

In Malaysia, different states are divided into districts, and for each district, District officers are appointed. Government has realised that to fulfill the programme of rural development the co-operation of public and semi public agencies is necessary. At the lower level there are village development committees. In reality the trend of decisions is from top central bodies to bottom village development committee actually has neither capacity nor resources. Most of the programme are set up on the basis of sectoral planning.

Thailand :-

In Thailand instead of decentralisation, centralisation principle is adopted. Instead of requirements, resources are allocated on the basis of sectoral planning. For the backward regions, regional development committees were formed, after the Prime minister realised the negligence of his own area.¹

Japan :-

In Japan more labour is absorbed by using modern labour intensive technology in the agricultural field. Machine tools are used in such a way that they are helping to absorb more labour in agriculture rather than to drive

¹Mokhzani B. Abdul Rahim : op.cit., p.30.
them from rural areas to urban areas. Japanese are using higher quality of seeds, fertilizer, biological and chemical substances and hand operated machines. Big industries are established in Japan to support small and household industries. These large scale industries purchase parts of the goods and assemble these parts. In this way they help to reduce the problem of unemployment all over the economy & specially in rural areas.

TAIWAN

Taiwan was mainly an agricultural country and was also backward in agriculture. Productivity in agriculture was very low and 2/3 of the land under cultivation was taken by farmers on lease. Owners exploited farmers by taking away 50 to 70% share of production. The fields were small, divided in parts having no irrigation facilities. Several measures relating to land improvement were taken by Taiwan's Government. In doing this it adopted the principle of "land to the tiller". At the same time it was careful to see that its measures do not affect the land owners adversely. In 1949, land reforms were implemented by enacting laws in three stages by reducing land revenue from lease, giving equal share in production to the farmers, abolishing free labour and introducing written lease agreement. The above steps affected adversely the desire of landlords to keep the land.
Second stage was introduced in 1950. To implement the principle of "land to the tiller", the Government started selling its land to the landless farmers and also gave them the loan to improve it. Third stage was started from 1951-52. In this stage cards were prepared showing nature of right and the amount of land. Government placed a ceiling on land ownership and started buying extra land. These steps minimized the exploitation of labourers. For the lease holders the conditions of lease were settled on very liberal basis. The consolidation of land was made to support the land reforms. A committee was also formed to look after the process of consolidation.

These steps reduced the cost of production in agricultural sector. In Urban area ceiling was also fixed, which checked the speculation in urban land price and monopoly. At provincial, district and sub-district levels organisations of farmers were formed, which served as a multiple co-operative society. The functions of these organisation were to help rural agricultural development, to encourage saving, to raise the living standard of the farmers etc. These boards introduced a special scheme to increase the efficiency of farmers, in which each
worker had to give marks to himself everyday, which was judged by the sub-officers and higher officers. In the case of mistake committed by the sub-officers, the marks of workers are deducted and sub-officers are also punished. On the basis of these marks promotion or increment is given.

Taiwan's experience has proved that for higher level of production it makes no difference if the operations are done by tractor or animals. Taiwanese experiences show that output per acre is higher through labour intensive devices than on large scale mechanisation.

China:

Though China faces a serious problem of very rapid growth in population and unemployment, it was able to solve this problem in better way compared to India. In China production of consumer as well as basic goods is encouraged in small and medium size industries. These industries are established in rural areas to solve the labour problems, to fulfil the consumer goods demand as well as capital goods demand to make rural area self-sufficient. The Chinese approach to economic development is derived from its leader Mao Tse Tung's philosophy which emphasised removal of duality

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In human life, of which such dualities as rural-urban, consumer-producer are some illustrations. The Chinese policy has deliberately prevented migration to cities on massive scale and emphasised rural development through consumers. One interesting aspect of China's economy is that instead of migration of rural population to urban population there is tendency of Labour force migrating to rural areas. On the other hand, capital intensive industries are established in urban areas.

III, PROGRAMMES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

In India, rural economy has developed largely through the development of its constituent villages. A view is sometimes stated that villages have existed with no observable changes from ancient times. The recent studies into Indian economic history and society have shown that villages have developed in past endogenously with arrangement of mutual interaction through trade and other relations via urban centres. The alien rule has destroyed to considerable extent the traditional village economy in various ways. Therefore, from time to time various programmes were suggested and undertaken by enlightened social reformers and scholars to develop

\footnote{See for details Keith Griffin and Ashwani Seith: Growth and Equality in Rural China, Asian Employment Programme, ILO Publications, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.}
rural areas. We may consider these programmes in two parts, one relating to the pre-planning period and another to the planning era.

Pre-Planning era

To bring overall rural development several programmes were undertaken in the past. The well-known among these are as follows:

1. **SRINIKETAN EXPERIMENT (1921-22)**  
   (East Bengal)

2. **MARTANDAM PROJECT (1921)**  
   (Travancore-cochin)

3. **GURGON EXPERIMENT (1927)**  
   (Punjab)

4. **SEVAGRAM (1931)**  
   (Maharashtra)

5. **BARODA STATE (1933)**  
   (Baroda)

   (U.P.)

7. **FIRKA DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES (1946)**  
   (Madras)

8. **ETAWAH PROJECT (1948)**  
   (U.P.)

The details of all these programmes are as under:

1. **Sriniketan Experiment (1921-22)**

   For rural reconstruction for the first time in 1921, Sriniketan Experiment (East Bengal) was undertaken under the guidance and blessings of Rabindra Nath Tagore. Only few villages were covered under this
experiment which faced many organizational & financial difficulties for the schemes. As part of this programme co-operative village Health Societies, credit and marketing were introduced. The emphasis was on revival of village crafts and training cum-production centre, and a new kind of schooling was introduced. This experiment demonstrated the need for similar programmes in other parts of the country.

2. Martandam Project (1921)

A project was taken up in 1921 by British Missionary Dr. Spencer Hatch and his wife for 40 villages at Martandam in Travancore-Cochin. The main principles of their project were self help, literacy drive, promotion of agriculture, poultry and bee-keeping. It demonstrated to poor persons that the character of maintaining the membership of co-operative societies was important rather than to keep personal property. Dr. Spencer Hatch and his wife, both of them worked for many years at Martandam. The project succeeded and results attracted the attention of the people in the country and also abroad. In Martandam project several local people contributed their voluntary services mostly as honorary workers. In this project aid was given occasionally by the concerned governments and also by London Mission and the Mission hospital at Neyyoor.
3. **Gurgaon Experiment (1927)**

An Indian civil servant Mr. F.L. Brayne undertook an experiment at Gurgaon district of the Punjab in 1927. In this experiment importance was given to institutional work to be carried out with the help of schools located in rural areas and involving domestic life, health associations, women's institute and village guides. He attempted to solve the problem of rural development from various angles, such as improvement in sanitation, agriculture, education, co-operatives, social reforms, co-ordination and publicity. After setting the promotion as a commissioner of Rural Reconstruction in Punjab, he established the Rural Community Board. For this board, he appointed an independent chairman and delegates from District community councils consisting of officials and interested citizens. Programme did not succeed as the villagers did not taken keen interest. They did this only to please the district officers.

4. **Sevagram (1931)**

Mahatma Gandhi, with a distinct background of concern for poor and downtrodden, initiated a programme for rural development at Sevagram in Maharashtra.

The programme reflected his wellknown views, wherein the technology was, of course, an important factor for rural development. The men, their organization,
basic moral values and their ethics were also important factors.

Sevagram's approach for rural development was on the basis of self-sufficiency, promotion of cottage and small scale industries in the rural areas, rural sanitation and removal of untouchability.

5. **Baroda State** (1933)

In 1933 Shri V.T. Krishnamachari started a programme. Main aim of this programme was to integrate rural and urban development. Major attention was given to land works, amenities and development of agriculture. The finances for the programme mainly came from donors. For debt reconciliation law was also passed.


During the brief period (1937-39) of Congress regime State Uttar Pradesh Government initiated the scheme for rural reconstruction. The objective of this scheme was to do some spade work in the direction of rural development, such as to provide certain basic amenities, to adopt different programmes for improving the economic conditions of the poorest of the rural poors. Achievement of self-reliance and satisfaction of basic needs were major allied objectives in the scheme. Due to short-term tenure of the congress government
regime this scheme did not make a significant dent in the task of rural reconstruction.

7. **Firka Development in Madras (1946)**

   In 1946 Madras Govt. started this scheme. Firka is a small administrative unit consisting of a few villages. Village industries, communications, water supply, Panchayats, co-operatives, agriculture irrigation, animal husbandry were included in this scheme. The collector was appointed as the officer in charge of this scheme. Depty Tahsildar of each firka were appointed to assist the collector and to assist these tahsildars 5 to 10 village level workers were appointed. Later it was merged with the Community Development and NES Schemes.

**Post-Independence era :-**

After attaining independence Govt. seriously considered ways to develop rural areas. As a starting point a pilot project was started at Mahewa in Etawah District of U.P. State. Similarly at Nilokeri an experiment was initiated in 1949.

8. **Ethawah Project (1948)**

   This project was started in October 1948 in the village of Mahewa in the Etawah district of U.P. This was the experiment which he said to have paved the way
for community development programme in the country. Mr. Albert Meyer from U.S.A. was invited to provide expert advice and guidance for this project. Main principles of this project were self-help, development of physical and urban resources, people's participation, locally felt needs, comprehensive and integrated approach, rigorous planning and realistic targets, complete overhaul in attitudes of officials, institutional approach, integration of government and non-governmental efforts and evaluation of a new administrative pattern.

Agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives, rural industries, community works, general and social education were included in this programme.

An Assessment :-

All the programmes discussed earlier have a common feature, viz., enthusiasm of a few persons. This is also the reason for lack of sustained effectiveness of these programmes. It is found that these programmes have failed due to lack of effective integration and co-ordination of different programmes within an experiment or between various experiments. Further, the impetus for these experiments came from outside. It may be noted that these programmes had created environment which led to the promotion of a nation wide programme for rural development viz., community Development Programme (CDP).
India cannot sustain development unless it develops its villages where 80 percent of population lives. In this context, since the inauguration of the first Five Year Plan in India a very large number of rural development programmes have been launched to improve socio-economic status of rural population.

Now we evaluate some notable programmes which were launched in planning era.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The Community Development Programme was started on 2nd October 1952 with the basic objective of bringing about overall improvement in the rural areas. Shri S.K. Dey who took interest in Nilokeri experiment (1949) at Nilokeri (West Bengal) was incharge of this programme as central minister. This movement has included schemes of communication, rural health, hygiene and education. However, the main thrust was on creating physical infrastructure. The operational unit was considered to be a block consisting roughly of an average one hundred villages with a population of 60,000 to 70,000 persons spread over an area of 150 to 170 sq. miles. In this programme, services were coordinated by the Block Development Officer (BDO) and the Village Level Worker (VLW) was the link between the village and the block. 5265 such development 'blocks' were identified in 356 districts throughout the country.
A number of activities were included in the movement. Community development program was the initiator of many changes in the various fields of social, economic and political life of the rural community. C.D.P. attempted to introduce a new ethos of multidimensional local development not necessarily Gandhian nor village-oriented. In this movement expectation was that the movement would bring an overall rural development of the area which is covered by each block. The approach underlying the C.D. ideology for rural development was a comprehensive one aiming at an overall improvement of the life of rural people.

But many evaluation studies have noted that due to lack of effective integration within an area this did not happen. It failed to take into account the potential resources, physical as well as human. The benefit by and large has accrued only to the influential and rich cultivators.¹

¹Number of studies relating to Indian Agriculture have come to similar conclusion. For the list of some representative studies, see Gaikwad, V.R., Small Farmers: State Policy and Programme Implementation, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1971, Ch. 1.
In C.D. Programme village level worker (VLW) was deemed to be a change agent as also a technical consultant on all aspects of life.

The programme suffered from several inherent weaknesses. It stopped after bringing experts from various fields together. There was no guideline for integrating actual development process in an area. No systematic attempt was made to find out the locational relationships which contribute towards an integration of the entire process of development. Because of the ad hoc location of various economic activities, the expected economic development never materialized.¹

The Community Development Programme did not deliver the goods as expected. Each specialist in the team worked in isolation and consequently programmes drawn up by different specialists remained uncoordinated with other programmes in the same area. The success of the programme was measured largely in terms of the proportions of the financial allotments spent on various schemes. There was no effort either to create a sound economic base or increasing the employment opportunities.

Thus, the community development programme was found to be inadequate in promoting the socio-economic development in the rural areas.\(^1\) The strategy of community development programme was essentially global, aiming at a uniform pattern of staffing and planning all over the country. Lack of an attempt to relate the block development plans to local problems and needs remains a basic failure of the community development programme to this date.\(^2\)

**Subsequent Programmes for Rural Development**

After community development programme a number of programmes of rural development were launched in sixties by the Government of India. These programmes are divided into three categories according to their objectives. They are as under:

(A) Production oriented Programmes/Projects
(B) Target Group Oriented Programmes
(C) Area based Programmes.

**A. PRODUCTION ORIENTED PROJECTS: AGRICULTURAL/FOOD CROPS**

The details of these programmes are as under:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Project/Programme</th>
<th>Year of commencement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP)</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. High Yielding Varieties Programme (HYVP)</td>
<td>1963-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Intensive Agricultural Area (IAAP)</td>
<td>1964-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. National Demonstration Programme (NDP)</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Farmers Training &amp; Education Programme (FTEP)</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Multi Cropping Programme (MCP)</td>
<td>1967-68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above mentioned programmes were production oriented.
Details of some notable programmes are as under.

The situation by 1960s was rather critical on the food front. Government of India imported 40.70 million tonnes cereals at a cost of Rs. 17,158 million between 1947 and 1960. Because of such situation various production oriented programmes were launched by the government.

1. **THE INTENSIVE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT PROGRAMME (IADP)**

   This programme was launched in the last year of the second plan i.e., 1960-61 on a pilot basis in six selected districts. Districts were selected on the basis of irrigation facilities, rainfall and the basic infrastructural facilities. Later on 18 IADP districts in 15 states
were covered by this programme IADP advocated a selective area approach for agricultural development so as to achieve high intensity of cropping.

The objectives of the programme were as under:

(1) To attain rapid uplift in the level of agricultural production through the concentration of all types of resources i.e., financial, technical and administrative.

(2) For the attainment of self-sustained productivity process through effective change in human and physical processes.

(3) To exhibit the most effective ways of increasing production with a view to extend such intensified agricultural production possibilities to other areas.¹

Regarding this programme opinion is that the programme was quite successful and objectives were fulfilled. An expert committee also described the programme as a ‘Pathfinder’.²


2. **HIGH YIELDING VARIETIES PROGRAMME (HYVP)**

As a result of researches in Mexico under the leadership of Thomas Borkar, new seed varieties were discovered and these were introduced in India also.

The HYV (High Yielding Varieties) programme was originally launched in 1963-64 but actual work was started in 1966. Through the introduction of such a programme major breakthrough was achieved in the field of agriculture. Under this programme 37 million hectares land had been covered by 1977-78. The introduction of new high yielding varieties of seeds heralded what is now commonly known as, green revolution. The programmes which followed attempted to reduce the potential generated through H.Y.V.

3. **INTENSIVE AGRICULTURAL AREA PROGRAMME (IAAP)**

IAAP was started in 1965-66. This programme has also adopted the strategy of IADP, but we must take note that it was less intensive than IADP. Under this programme 1596 blocks were covered in 117 districts by 1965-66 and later on this programme was extended upto 150 districts in the various states of the country.

It is true that on account of IADP and IAAP, production was increased in the field of agriculture but simultaneously it is also true that the gain of this increased production had been taken by large and progressive
cultivators, not only that but disparity in income had been also accrued between the large farmers and the small farmers and landless laboures.  

4. NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION PROGRAMME (NDP)

This programme was launched in 1965. With the help of this programme 3,158 field days had been organised and 80,000 farmers had attended and taken benefit by 1977. How to get more production in the field of agriculture was the objective of this programme.

5. FARMERS TRAINING & EDUCATION PROGRAMME (FTEP)

Under this programme hundred (100) farmers training centres were opened in twenty (20) different states of the country.

Four (4) centres were also opened in Union Territories by 1971-72. Farmers have taken benefits of this programme.

6. MULTIPLE CROPPING PROGRAMME (MCP)

Multiple cropping programme was started in the year 1967-68. Fifty five (55) projects were started in 17 states and one union Territory by 1971-72.

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Under this programme 169 million hectare gross cropped area was covered by 1974.

We have seen that up to 1967-68 a number of programmes were launched by the government to increase production in the agriculture sector. As a result of all these programmes production was increased but simultaneously it was also true that the benefit of such programmes did not accrue in the favour of small and Marginal farmers. Thus the development of the weaker sections of the population emerged as the major concern in the strategy of planning and the approach of government has been changed from sectors (agricultural) to target (Small and Marginal farmers and Agricultural labourers) groups. Special programmes were started for the development of these target groups in the fourth Five-Year Plan.

B. TARGET GROUP ORIENTED PROGRAMMES

Under this category Govt. initiated following programmes:

1. Small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDA) 1970

2. Marginal Farmers And Agricultural Labourers Development Agency (MFAL) 1970

Due to lack of investible funds, fragmentation of holdings, insecurity of tenure, inadequate and untimely supply of inputs and water, lack of credit facilities

and unsatisfactory arrangements for marketing and storage, small & marginal farmers suffered a number of hardship and that is why they could not adopt the new package of inputs.  

Attention was focussed by 1958-69 on the requirements of the small farmers and as a result of this the All India Rural Credit Review Committee(1969) under the chairmanship of Shri Venkatappiah has recommended to establish (1) Small Farmers Development Agency (SEDA) (2) Marginal Farmers And Agricultural Labourers Development Agencies (MFAL) for giving help to small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers.

**Definition of Small farmer:**

To define the small farmer was a tough task and it was faced at every step.

Review committee pointed out that "The definition of this category of farmers raises several problems of methodology and is hence, difficult, though a small farmer can be fairly and easily identified for practical purposes."  

Regarding small farmers, review committee has divided them into three different categories as under:

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1. Medium to large (holding of 7.5 acres and above)
2. Small to medium (holding of 2.5 acres to 7.5 acres)
3. Very small to small (less than 2.5 acres)

Above mentioned classification was not adopted in the scheme, proposed by the Ministry.

The Ministry has suggested that the scheme should cover those small farmers who are potentially viable to become surplus producers with new technology, support of inputs and also irrigation facilities etc.

Without giving any uniform definition in terms of size of holdings it was left to each project agency to determine the class of farmers for eligibility to get the assistance in the project area.

In the fourth Five-Year Plan, a provision of Rs.30 crores was made to set up 46 pilot projects for small farmers and 36 projects for Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL).
State-wise distribution of projects under the small Farmers Development Agency Scheme (SFDA) and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Scheme (MFAL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the State</th>
<th>No. of SFDA Project</th>
<th>No. of MFAL Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gaikwad, V.R.: Small Farmers, State Policy and Programme Implementation, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, March 1971, Appendix 1, p.75.
Marginal Farmers:

The Ministry suggested a separate scheme for marginal farmers with the main objective of assisting the marginal farmers in making more and more productive use of their small holdings by undertaking in various field like horticulture, animal husbandry, fisheries, forestry, dairying etc.

To help the marginal farmer and landless agriculturists provision was made of Rs.47.5 crores in the Fourth Plan. It was proposed in the scheme to establish 40 projects in various parts of the country within four years.

Notable thing was that the projects under this scheme were to be kept distinct from those under the SFDA scheme.

It was mentioned that marginal farmers having a holding of not more than one hectare (irrigated land) would be covered under this scheme.

Objective of SFDA and MFAL:

The objective, as defined by the Govt. of India, Ministry of agriculture, circular - letter dated 19th Nov. 1969, were almost the same for the SFDA and the MFAL projects and can be summarized as under:

1See letter no. II -21/69 Agricultural credit, dated 19-11-69 from the Govt. of India, Ministry of Agri. as quoted in the compleridium of Instructions on SFDA/MFAL Projects, Dec. 1971.
(1) To identify small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers and their problems in their respective areas.

(2) To help them adopting agriculture and allied activities as their means of earning in modern ways through extending assistance of existing institutional frame work.

(3) To provide them modern methods and inputs, in cash and kind, in their endeavour to become self-sufficient.

(4) To review periodically the progress and effectiveness of the projects undertaken.

The SFDA was an innovation not only to remove the disparity in the rural areas but also to specifically concentrate on the weaker sections of the rural population.

By 1978 these agencies had identified about 20 lakh, small farmers and 20 lakh marginal farmers and about 0.5 lakh agricultural labourers.

The SFDA and MFAL projects faced various problems. There was lack of good criteria, shortage of field staff, improper institutional structure and inadequate record. It was not an easy task to identify the beneficiaries and to provide the benefit to the small farmers and marginal farmers.

CRASH SCHEME FOR RURAL EMPLOYMENT (CSRE)

The Govt. programmes were mainly centred around development of farmers in rural areas (SFDA and MFAL). It was observed that unemployment is growing at a fast rate.
Therefore, with a view to reduce growing unemployment in rural areas this scheme was started in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This programme provided employment to about 1,000 persons in each district of the country.

On the whole, due to lack of resources and integration with the needs of operational area the impact of CSRF was negligible in each operational area.\(^1\)

Government had launched various programmes to increase production in agricultural sector. Attention was also given for the target groups, eventhough the Fourth Plan period revealed that a large percentage of the population lived below poverty line in backward rural areas. On account of this the emphasis changed to various programmes for the development of backward areas and as a result of this thinking different area based programmes were undertaken by the government and Non-Government agencies in the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

C. AREA PROGRAMMES : ORIENTED TOWARDS WEAKER SECTIONS DISPARITIES

The following programmes were adopted by the Government.


\(^1\)Minhas B.S. : op.cit., pp.1-11.
Now we discuss some notable area based programmes.

1. **Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP) - 1970**

A special programme for the development of drought prone areas was introduced in 1970-71 with an outlay of Rs. 100 crores for the 4 year period. The objective was to mitigate the severity of the scarcity conditions. The DPAP emerged as a special attention project for an area.

The concept of DPAP lays emphasis on an optimum utilisation of land and water resources of such water-scarce areas. This programme was introduced in various states of the country, such as Rajasthan, Haryana, Gujarat etc. DPAP was implemented in 557 blocks spread over 74 districts in thirteen states. Since 1970-71 (up to March 1980) a total expenditure of Rs. 426 crores has been incurred on this programme. The programme has two explicitly stated objectives, viz., the development of the areas and special emphasis on the weaker sections of the area. The total number of beneficiaries of DPAP under various sectors was 18.3 lakhs. Under this programmes various activities such as development of forestry, community
irrigation works, community pastures, establishment of milk producer's cooperative societies etc., have been undertaken. Small marginal farmers have taken benefits of DPAP activities.

Under DPAP the target was to spend Rs.181 crores in the Fifth Plan but only Rs.155 crores were spent by January 1978.

The review of DPAP during Fifth Plan showed that the major constraints in the implementation was the lack of enthusiasm among the farmers and lack of co-ordination among various departments at the district level. Among other things some difficulties were experienced in setting up institutional finances for soil-conservation programme and inadequate enactments and enforcement of the same.

The price rise also affected adversely the implementation of the programme in regard to supply of improved animals and other required inputs for the farming and allied activities.

2. **Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP) - 1971-72**

In India there are about 38 million tribals out of which 7 percent live in isolated dense forest. In 1971-72, a programme, for selected tribal areas was initiated which was a part of sector programme of the central Govt. In Draft Fifth Plan also a policy was
framed to develop tribal areas which was based on integrated development. The main aims of this policy were:

1. To develop tribal life
2. To co-ordinate the activities and programmes of government and semi-government organizations.
3. To see that funds for tribal development are not diverted to other activities.
4. To introduce a more flexible plan and
5. To check the exploitation of tribals.

Main obstacles, which are responsible for slow tribal development are heavy population pressure on resources, over exploitation of forest resources and heavy indebtedness.

The main defect of this plan is that planners are implementing the plan without involving the local tribal people. The programme should have provide land and long-term credit to tribal farmers. This credit should have been linked with the sale of forest products.

HILL AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME - (1972-73)

This development programme is based on Gadgil's Mandi approach. The main objective of this programme is to raise the employment and remove the intra-and inter-regional unbalanced growth.
The major emphasis in this programme is given to the identification of backward hilly regions and to make a separate sub-plan for these areas as they have their own socio-economic problems. Main aim of this project is to develop the agriculture, allied industries and infrastructure facilities.

**WHOLE VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME - 1974-75**

To integrate all the segments of development activities, a whole village plan was suggested by National Commission on agriculture. The main objectives of this programme were

1. The control of water, and moisture in dry areas.
2. To maximize irrigation facilities.
3. Consolidation of holdings.
4. To improve the cropping programme.

This programme was started in 38 villages of 4 states (Bihar, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh) on pilot basis.

**Desert Development Programme (DDP) - 1977-78**

To remove the disadvantages of dry areas this programme was started in 1977-78. It opened in 128 blocks covering dry areas in 20 districts in 5 states (including Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Haryana) and two cold desert areas of Ladakh and Spiti. Thus DDP covers hot as well as cold zones. Since its inception upto March 1980,
an expenditure of Rs. 23.21 crores has been incurred on
different schemes such as water harvesting, rural electrification and animal husbandry etc. This programme
emphasises the groundwater storage, control of moisture and grassland development. One aim of this programme
is also to check the expansion of desert.

Programmes under Fifth & Sixth Plan

Fifth Plan was formulated with the explicit objectives of reducing poverty and bringing more equitable
income distribution. The amelioration of the condition of weaker section of society was principal task of the
Plan. Sixth Plan continued with the same objective but with a sharper focus on the reduction of unemployment
and creating jobs in rural areas. Both Janta Party Government's Sixth Plan (1978-83) as well as congress(I)
government's plan (1980-85) have retained same objectives with minor changes in terminology and details.

We now briefly discuss some of the programmes and strategy developed during this period.

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The concept of an Integrated Rural Development Programme was first proposed by Dr. M.S. Swaminathan,
the then Director of Indian council for Agricultural Research and a pioneer of H.Y.V. Programmes in India.
He presented a plan of action for IRD in 1976-77 and a
beginning was made. Keystone of IRD was involvement of scientists and different agencies in the task of rural development. IRD Programme began with the preparation of resource inventories and action plans for twenty (20) selected districts.

The present Integrated Rural Development Programme is revised version of formal IRD Programme and it is started in 1977-78. Basically, IRD is the strategy which involves overall development of rural areas through integration of different sectors with focus on weakest sections of the community. In this programme sectoral and geographical integration is attempted at micro-level.

There are four aims of integrated rural development programme. In this programme first main objective is to raise the productivity in agricultural sector as well as in allied sector. But the development of agricultural sector alone is not sufficient for the development of the rural area. Due to this reason importance is given to development of the village and cottage industries and handicrafts industries in villages. For development of agriculture and rural industries, skilled labour, skilled persons, efficient transport and communication are required. So the third objective of this programme is to raise the transportation and communication facilities and to supply the skilled workers in different rural activities. The fourth objective of this plan is to mobilize the labour, which includes
also the training programme for labour.

Though these objectives are not new, they are integrated together for the first time under this programme.

In 1978-79 it was decided to cover 2300 blocks under this programme. Out of these 2300 blocks, in 2000 blocks special programme was implemented. From 2nd October 1980 this programme was extended to all over India.

In this programme special attention is also given to creation of a great number of job opportunities to develop the economy and to raise the living standard of rural poor, different inputs, technology and credit are provided to the farmers having economic size, while the farmers not having economic size, are given subsidy to raise their income with the help of subsidiary occupations. For landless labour different approach is adopted under this scheme. An integration is tried between primary, secondary and tertiary activities. This programme is of suggestive type only. State Government has to implement this programme according to the local conditions and priority.
ANITYODAYA (1977)

One important objective of the Integrated Rural Development is to raise the employment opportunities, specially for weaker classes. Individual attention is not given in this programme, while in Anityodaya individual attention is given to the individuals of weaker classes. This programme is implemented only for the weaker classes of villages (rural areas). The Anityodaya programme was first launched in Rajasthan on October 2, 1977. In this programme five poorest families are identified which are given the help on the basis of group or individual. The criteria for identification are absence of earning member in the family, low income level. They are supposed to get help even though the family has an earning member, if they have not much resources to live. Under this programme many programmes were started to help the weaker classes, such as pension to old persons, allotment of land, supply of credit and other inputs for agriculture, help in starting cottage industries etc. About 1.6 lakhs families in Rajasthan were identified for help. Similarly, 1.5 lakhs families in Bihar and 80,000 families in Himachal Pradesh were identified.
Minimum Meeds Programme

The problems of poverty could be solved effectively only by going to the rural areas directly and by dealing with the rural problems there. These problems should have linkage with the objectives. These objectives should be maximized not in terms of money but in terms of food, clothing, shelter, education and health services. In this regard, a Minimum Needs Programme was started during the Fifth Plan to provide certain basic amenities and infrastructure such as Health services, water supply, Elementary Education, Adult Education, Roads, Electrification for the rural poor, etc. Due to various reasons this programme did not catch up with its objectives very much in the Fifth Plan. As a result in the Sixth Plan Revised Minimum Needs Programme is designed to create maximum job opportunities for the weaker sections of the community in the agricultural and allied sectors. During Sixth Plan it is expected that employment will be generated through the expansion of infrastructure like construction of school building, road construction, water supply etc. Thus revised Minimum Needs Programme is a good step in the direction of the rural development.

Food for Work Programme

Food for Work Programme was launched early in January 1977, to provide opportunities of work for the rural poor, with the use of surplus food grains
available in the buffer stock for payment as wages. Programme was supported by Government of India. FWP has provided 2.864 lakh mandays of jobs during the year 1978-79. The main objectives of this programme were as under:

(i) To generate employment for the weaker sections of the community in the rural areas.
(ii) To create infrastructure facilities.
(iii) To create some durable community assets such as irrigation tanks, school buildings, drinking water wells etc.
(iv) To utilise the surplus foodgrains.
(v) To raise wages of agricultural workers.

In the implementation of this programme, number of defects were noticed and objectives were not fulfilled. As a result, Food for Work Programme was suitably modified and restructured. In the Sixth Plan (1980-85) National Rural Employment Programme is formulated. It is a revised version of the Food for work Programme.

In FWP only foodgrains were made available to the State Government through Central Government where, as in NREP, besides foodgrains, provision of cash is also made available through central government.

Objectives of NREP:

Objectives of NREP are as under:
1. Generation of additional gainful employment for the unemployed and under-employed persons, both men and women, in the rural areas.

2. Creation of durable community assets for strengthening the rural infrastructure, which will lead to rapid growth of rural economy and steady rise in the income levels of the rural poor.

3. Improvement of the nutritional status and the living standards of the rural people.

This programme will be implemented through the state government and union Territory according to guidelines of the central Government. National Rural Employment Programme is a part of the Sixth Five Year Plan. During the year of 1980-81, a provision of Rs.340 crores was made for the implementation of Programme.

**BLOCK LEVEL PLANNING (BLP)**

In our earlier discussion we have noted that a number of programmes have been adopted by the Government for the welfare of rural poor but the benefits of all these programmes could not reach to the weaker sections of the society. For the development of the rural areas and also the welfare of the rural poor much importance was given to Multi-level Planning during the Fifth Plan. In the Sixth Plan (1978-83) for the first time systematic

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1 Quoted from "Guidelines on National Rural Employment Programme" Kurukshetra, (New Delhi), Vol. XXIX, No.8, January 16-31, p.4.
efforts have been done to formulate plan at the Block Level. The planning commission under the Janta Government appointed a working group under the chairmanship of Prof. M.L. Dantwala to prepare guidelines for Block Level Planning (BLP). The Report of the working group was published in the middle of 1978 and planning commission finalised the guidelines on its basis and issued to all the states in same year.

Objectives of BLP:

Various objectives have been mentioned in the guidelines of BLP. To raise or provide the employment opportunity for the weaker sections of the society was the main objective of BLP. Besides this, to provide minimum needs to the poor in terms of physical infrastructure such as road, electricity etc., and also social inputs like drinking water, health, housing, education etc., were also objectives of the BLP. During the Janta Government period several states adopted this policy and they prepared Block Plan.

Gujarat State also prepared Block Level Plans under the guidelines of the Dantwala committee's report. In November 1978 twenty talukas were selected for BLP and work was assigned to seventeen institutes/universities. In November 1979 twenty more talukas were chosen and more or less same agencies prepared plans. Due to shortage
of personnel equipped to prepare the BLP, lack of people's participation, shortage of trained and talented persons, short period of Janta Government and also weakness of the guidelines of working Group¹ this programme could not achieve the desired success.

Banks and Rural Development

The commercial Banks in India had performed very negligible role for the weaker sections of the community. Hence to give emphasis on the welfare of these communities a scheme was launched for social control of scheduled commercial Banks by the Government of India in 1967-68. Subsequently, 14 large scheduled commercial Banks were nationalized in July 1969. Recently in 1980 six more banks were nationalized.

The basic approach of the Government has been for a reorientation of the credit institutions towards the needs of weaker sections of society so that these sections may become self-reliant and their condition improves. In rural areas the need to reduce the dependence of farmers on money-lenders is specially experienced. In villages traditionally credit was mainly channelized through money

lenders. Due to high rate of interest charged by money lenders and bad practices used by money lenders, farmers were in full of debt. The commercial banks (nationalized) and State Bank of India since 1969 have accordingly changed their outlook through programmes of branch expansion in small towns and providing credit to needy weaker sections including small and marginal farmers and small entrepreneurs. The size of rural sector is so large that it was felt that special rural banks would be necessary.

To make farmers free from perennial indebtedness of money lenders a ban was put on execution of decrees against small and marginal farmers by law and to fill this gap, on 2nd October, 1975 as per recommendations of Narasimhan committee (appointed on 1st July 1975) Regional Rural Banks (RRB) were established.

The main objective of these banks was to increase production activities of the rural areas by giving credit facilities specially to small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, artisans and small entrepreneurs.

To examine the effects of Regional Rural Banks a survey was conducted by E. Nagabhushana Rao and B. Krishnamurthy for several rural areas such as Siddipeta, Gudem, Vadullavalasa, Hanumantapuram and Thotada in Srikakulam District. Similarly Charen D, Wadhwa made an intensive

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study of RRBs of Bhiwani District of Haryana State and Jaipur District of Rajasthan State. The problem of overdues was found common in all villages studied. The recovery at some places was found satisfactory because of crop loans. Non farm recovery was not sufficient as agriculture labourers did not use the money and not repaid also.

To stop some bad practices recommendations were made by Talwar committee which are accepted by all states except Andhra Pradesh. Due to this reason in these states recovery of loans is quite satisfactory. The main problem of people is not only credit but inadequacy of income and unemployment. Financial non-viability makes them unfit to get the credit from commercial or co-operative banks. The solution lies with over development of rural area. Considering the need for co-ordinated monitoring and supervision of Bank's involvement in rural development, Govt. of India took decision to establish a new organisation, named N.A.B.A.R.D. (National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development), which replaces ARDC (Agricultural Refinance and Development Corporation). Since July 1982 this new organisation is working for this purpose.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT : Role of Voluntary Agencies

Since the beginning of the present century, a large number of voluntary agencies have come into existence in the

different parts of the country for rural reconstruction. As mentioned earlier, in the field of rural development, various programmes have been launched by different agencies before independence as well as after independence. Among these some of the important programmes initiated by voluntary agencies and discussed earlier in this chapter are, Sriniketan experiment, Gurgaon Experiment, Sevagram, Baroda State etc. Besides, in Post-independence period there has been a rapid sprouting of large number of voluntary agencies, in different parts of the country. A considerable number of them have drawn inspiration from Gandhian thinking and have some links with Gandhian institutions. A number of these agencies are partly motivated by social work and partly by incentives provided by GoCt, in the tax laws. As a result, a number of business houses have come to the field of rural development through the promotion of voluntary agencies.

To day, a number of voluntary agencies are performing in different fields such as Education, communication, Health, Housing, Training, Harijan Welfare, Nutritional etc., in number of areas in the country. Some voluntary organizations are covering a wide territory of operation. For instance, the Social Work Research Centre (SWRCH), Tilonia(Rajasthan) has been invited to take up area development programme in different states such as Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana, SWRC
has covered a wide territory for the development of entire rural population of the villages, whereas some voluntary agencies of operation for example, The Bharatiya Grameena Mahila Sangh is taking interest in providing training in self-reliance and leadership to rural women. The Gram Vikas Vahini is taking interest for the training of rural youth. Harijan Sevak Sangh is doing work for the welfare of Harijan in rural areas. The Bharatiya Agro-Industries Foundation (BAIF), Uruli Kanchan, near Pune in Maharashtra State is taking keen interest in cross-breeding-cum-fooder development. This agency has organised various programmes in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa etc.¹

These agencies and several others are working in the field of rural development for the betterment of rural poor. Since these agencies are working with local people they are able to promote people's involvement and participation for the development of rural areas. If people do not get the feeling that they are participants in the endeavour, they will not give their co-operation and programme will not succeed. Some of the voluntary agencies are working very well in the various field of rural development, while a number of such agencies are facing severe problems leading to premature death. Lack of training and technical competence is mainly responsible for their sub-optimal working.² Given


the facilities these agencies and business houses can play the role significantly.

Although these agencies are doing commendable work, the problems of the rural community are no longer as simple as they were in the context of traditional farming even two decades ago. As a result, solution or remedy of these problems requires a fair degree of technical competence in variety of fields like agriculture, irrigation, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Forestry, sericulture etc. Most of these will require massive investments which only Govt. can undertake and therefore voluntary agencies can play only a complementary role along with Govt. and other institutions such as Banks. The last budget speech (1983-84) mentions Government's decision to establish a fund called "Prime Minister Fund for Rural Development," contributions to which would enjoy exemptions under Income Tax Act and earlier income-tax deduction permitted under 35 c.c. for programme for rural development undertaken by business houses will no longer be allowed to them. It seems that Government acknowledges the limited role which business houses can play in rural development.

An Overall Assessment of Various Programmes and Need for Micro-Level Planning

We have seen that rural development has been a matter of growing urgency on considerations of social justice. Many development plans have been formulated and implemented in pre and post-independence era by the Government and non-government agencies. These programmes could not achieve
the objectives, which were envisaged in the programme. The impact of all these programmes has been less than adequate because these were mostly selective, sporadic, piece-meal of sectoral in nature. Most of the programmes have covered just one or two aspects of rural life and also few sections of rural people in selected areas. Further, these programmes were formulated at a high level of centralisation. Sufficient care to examine the influence of local conditions in specific areas with specific requirements was not taken. These programmes also assumed that administrative machinery will be readily available to implement them in effective manner and the problems of intra-programme and inter-programmes co-ordination will be satisfactorily solved. However, in practice these problems have led to achieve only partial results with varying success from area to area. This experience gives a lesson that the programmes should be formulated at Micro-level by taking into consideration the resource availability and potential in that area. To some extent Block level Planning guidelines emphasised this aspect. However, it turned out that these plans were to be prepared on the basis of small financial allocation and ultimately these turned out to be one more programme in the armoury of several programmes of rural development at district level. The Revised Integrated Rural Development Programme initiated by the Government of India is a step in the right direction since it attempts to take into account
a comprehensive planning of rural areas. However, the extent of success will depend on the extent to which Programmes are conceived, formulated and implemented at micro-level.

The review of experiences in rural development reveals that Micro-level planning is an important pre-requisite for comprehensive development of a rural area. With the help of such planning a concerted effort can be made to develop an area in an integrated manner. This will also lead to efficient utilisation of various resources, to develop different sectors such as agriculture, village industries, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Forestry etc., in a co-ordinated manner. The present study therefore attempts to deal with certain planning problems of a micro-region (at taluka level) in an illustrative manner.