EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

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The "Emerging Trends in Development Research" (ETDR) is a half-yearly interdisciplinary research journal brought into being with an aim to provide a forum for dissemination of the findings of on-going researches and exchange of views between various scientific disciplines, policy-makers and planners concerned with various dimensions of the development process.

The Emerging Trends in Development Research welcomes articles of academic interest representing original and analytical work based on review of existing literature and fresh emprical research studies conducted on various dimensions of development with special reference to the problems of the "Third World" countries.

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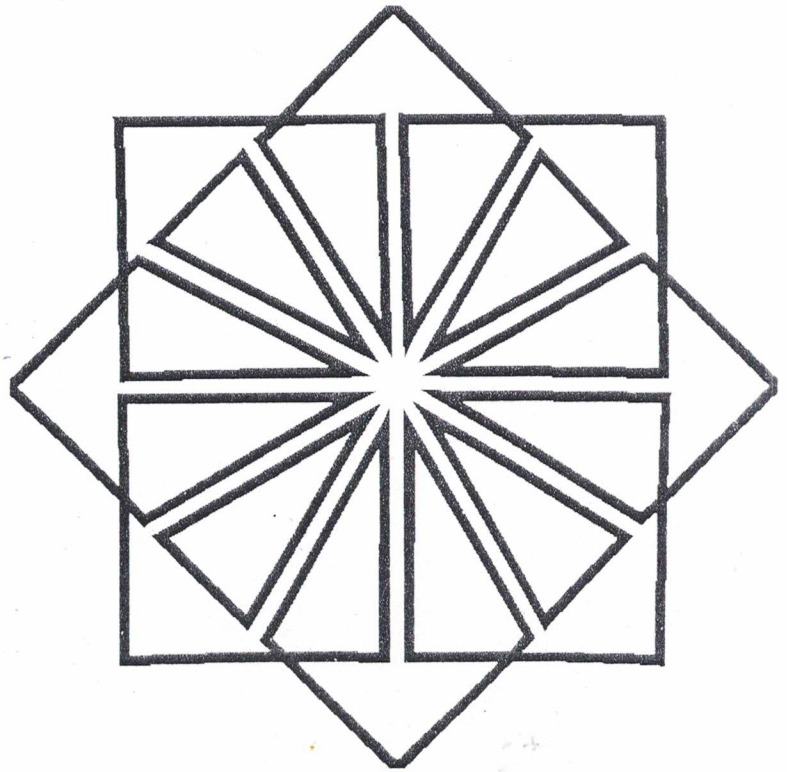
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FROM THE EDITORS' DESK

The objective of bringing out a research journal like 'Emerging Trends in Development Research' (ETDR) is to provide a long needed forum for dissemination of the findings of ongoing researches and exchange of views between various scientific disciplines, policy makers and planners concerned with various dimensions of the development process in the 'Third World' countries.

In the recent past, particularly after the down fall of Russia and East-European communist block a number of doubts were being raised by the theorists and policy makers of developing countries about the socialistic model of development which has attracted the attention of the twentieth century thinker's and rulers the most. In India the social thinkers like Gandhi, Jai Prakash, Vinoba, Ambedkar and Politicians like Nehru and Indira Gandhi had accommodated in one way or the other some elements of this prominent ideology of the nineteenth century propounded by Karl Marx and his followers as an alternative of the capitalist ideology.

These changes not only provided an opportunity to the theorists and politicians of the capitalist nations to attack on the socialistic model of development but also to influence the policies of the developing nations like. India, to leave the socialist path and to adopt the policy of 'Privatization, Liberalisation and Globalization' which emphasises upon the opening of the market of Third World countries for the consumer goods and free trade for Multinational companies of the developed world. On the one hand, the Dunkel proposal and GATT are being considered as new instruments of the developed countries to control over the developing nations by a set of academicians and politicians. On the other, ruling class and the trading class are welcoming these changes and claiming that these policy changes will solve all the problems and a state of high mass consumption level alongwith sustainable economic growth on the line of Rostowian model shall be attained by these societies in coming years.

All these changes at the international Scinario initiated a debate among social scientists, politicians and activists about the impact of these policies on the socio-economic structure of these societies. Is it a begining of another form of colonialism for these countries? or will it enable these countries to attain a state of sustainable development in near future?

Keeping these views in mind the ETDR has decided to focus upon some of these issues in its coming volumes and invites academicians, policy makers and other related persons to send their contributions in the form of articles, short notes etc. We have also decided to start a new column 'Letters to the Editor' from the next issue in order to facilitate the vital

communication among our readers and the ETDR. The task of publishing a research journal is not only challenging from academic point of view, particularly in a developing country like India, but also from financial point of view. We express our gratitude to all those who contributed their articles for the inaugural issue. We are thankful to our advertisers who liberally contributed for an academic cause. We are personally thankful to our colleagues, friends and students who helped us in various ways in brings out the first issue of the ETDR.

Ist July, 1994 **VIRENDRA PAL SINGH**

MANJU SINGH

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DR. AMBEDKAR'S THOUGHTS AND STRATEGY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

The present paper is an attempt to review the strategy of development in India in the light of the thoughts of Dr. B.R. Ambedk

The paper is divided into three sections. First section takes a no Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's thoughts on development from his writings speeches. In the second section the strategy of rural development in I is briefly reviewed. In the last section some suggestions are mad reformulate the strategy of rural development in the light of Dr. Ambedk views.

I

DR. AMBEDKAR'S THOUGHTS ON DEVELOPMENT

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's notion of development can be understoo analysing his views about socio-economic transformation of Indian soc He suggested a number of reforms to initiate the process of transforma in the structure of Indian society. These reforms can be broadly class into two categories: (a) Reforms at the level of religious and custor sanctions behind the evils of caste and untoachability, and (b) at practical level (Bharill 1977: 202).

(a) Reforms at the level of Religious and Customary sanctions behinc Caste System and Untouchability.

Dr. Ambedkar was very critical of Hindu caste system anc advocated for the abolition of castes and sub-castes from Indian s system. In his view, the caste system had been responsible for the un development of a large section of population in Indian society and is the cause of the problems like untouchability and poverty (Ambedkar, 19 He traced back the literature of ancient Vedic period and afterw (Ambedkar, 1946,: 1948) and reached to the conclusion that the econo disabilities of untouchables were originated from the laws of *Manu-S* which restricted equality of opportunity for certain sections of Indian soc and converted Indian social stratification system into a closed syste

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which social, economic and political mobility was highly restricted. Therefore, the first and foremost reform that came to Ambedkar's mind was the abolition of caste. He examined the suggestions already forwarded by others. He refuted the idea of abolition of sub-castes for abolishing castes because instead of abolishing castes it may turn castes into more powerful and mischievous (Ambedkar 1944 : 96). Similar views were also expressed by Ghurye (1969 : 406). He also refuted the strategy of allowing inter-dining for abolition of castes because according to him "there are many castes which allow inter-dining. But, it is a common experience that inter-dining has not succeeded in killing the spirit of caste and the consciousness of caste" (Ambedkar 1944 : 57). But he strongly advocated the idea of inter-marriage to abolish castes. In his view the real remedy lies in inter-mariages. In his opinion only fusion of blood can create a feeling of being kith and kin, and it may vanish the feeling of being aliens created by caste. In his own words, "where society is already well-knit by other ties, marriage is an ordinary incident of life. But where society is cut as under, marriage as a binding force becomes a matter of urgent necessity" (Ambedkar 1944 : 57). Therefore his contention was that the real remedy for the breaking of the caste is intermarriage. Inter dining could only supplement it. But it was very difficult to attain this goal because inter-dining and inter-marriage are repugnant to the beliefs and dogmas which the Hindus regard sacred. Therefore the real problem lies in the religion rather than caste. He emphasized on the need of destroying the religious texts of Hindus, which gave sanction to the evil of caste and untouchability.

Thus, in Ambedkar's view the caste system and religious sanctions of the Hinduism are mainly responsible for the evil of untouchability. In order to eradicate it mere abolition of sub-caste is not sufficient nor inter-dining can remove this phenomenon. Inter-caste marriages is the only solution of this problem but he was aware that religious ideology supports caste system; therefore, he rejected shastras (religious books) and suggested that these must be destroyed.

(b) Reforms at the Practical Level.

Ambedkar's scheme of reforms at the practical level was formulated after analysing in detail the various facts of the problem of untouchability and he had reached to the conclusion that since the high caste Hindus had nothing to gain but much to loose by the abolition of caste and untouchability, his reforms related to caste system would not be supported by these sections of the society. Therefore, after very careful consideration he adopted another strategy towards his goal. He stated that "the depressed classed think that the surest way of their elevation lies in higher employment and better ways of earning a living. Once they become well placed in the scheme of social life, they would become respectable and once they become respectable, the religious outlook of the orthodox is sure to undergo change and if this did not happen it could do no injury to their material interest (Ambedkar 1945 : 110). He suggested a three-fold scheme of reforms whic can be divided under social, political and economic heads.

At the social level, he considered education, organization and agitatic as three main tools for the social upliftment of the depressed classes ar used these three words as a slogan of his movement. His views about the words may now be discussed briefly.

Education: Ambedkar believed that the mental lethargy, the reco ciliation with suppression and satisfaction from the present among th depressed classed could only be shaken off when they were give education. Education would open a window for them as to how the wor was progressing and how backward they were. In his view this state of th depressed classes is because of two reasons, namely, lack of knowledg and lack of power. To procure knowledge education is necessary. He w quite aware about the fact that the education may only serve as a mea of achieving social justice if it is applied to the lower strata of the Indi society. It would raise their spirit of rebellion. They were supporting cas system because of their ignorance. Ambedkar was confident that once the eyes were opened they would be ready to fight the caste system. He pointe out the fault of the then policy that though education was being given a large scale it was not given to the right strata of Indian society. If educatic is given to that strata of Indian society which has a vested interest maintaining the caste system for the advantages it gives them, the cas system will be strengthened. On the other, if education is given to the low strata of Indian society which is interested in blowing up the caste syste the caste system, will be blown up" (Bharill 1977 : 215-16). Therefore, his perspective, education was foremost need of the depressed classe Keeping this idea in mind, he demanded a certain percentage of seats schools, colleges and public offices to be reserved for the untouchable Later on when on 29 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly appointed hi as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee he tried his best to protect th interests of the depressed classes in the Constitution of India.

Organisation: Ambedkar tried to organise the untouchables to agita against the social evils like caste and untouchability. He made some serio efforts in this direction under the banner of *Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha*. Th objectives and aims of the Sabha were declared in a nutshell - "Educat agitate and organise". He also published his weeklies the *"Mook Nayak"* a the *"Bahishkrit Bharat"* in order to popularize the issue of abolition untouchability and to awake public conscience.

Ambedkar also established a political party by the name of Ind pendent Labour Party on 15th August 1936 which was joined by h colleagues and followers.

Agitation: Ambedkar not only made serious efforts to organise the depressed classes but side by side he also continued agitation which included a number of activities ranging from *Satyagraha,* to submitting memoranda, appeals, letters interviews, delegations and the like. He considered *Satyagraha* as most effective form of agitation.

At the political level, Ambedkar also suggested a number of measures for the development of the depressed classes. It includes adequate representation in the government services, their representation in the State Assemblies and Parliament through constitutional provisions. He also emphasized on the need of establishing separate settlements for the scheduled castes.

Ambedkar's scheme of reform in the economic sphere included his ideas about small land holdings, rural industrialization and his conception of state socialism. In fact the loss of economic power created a situation of helplessness for these castes against the twice-born castes of Hindu social system and their exploitation at every level pushed them back to the status of downtrodden class. Therefore, in Ambedkar's view gain of economic power is an essential condition for the progress of the under-privileged classes of the society (Ambedkar 1946 : 45-51). He visualized better prospects for untouchables when they became economically better off with adequate political power in their hands.

Ambedkar considered farming as the most important industry of India. He had written a paper entitled "Small Holdings in India and their Remedies". In this paper, he examined the problem of small land holdings in India and their remedies. The major problem in this regard was that out of the vastness of land under tillage, so little land was cultivated in proportion to India's population. Thus, a large part of agricultural population was idle, superfluous and exerted a great pressure on land. This pressure was the chief cause of the sub-division of land resulting in small holding and the accruing inefficiency of Indian agriculture. Another factor responsible for this feature was the law of inheritance amongst the Hindus and Muslims.

He emphasized on the need of industrialization of India and he considered it as a universal remedy for the economic ill of the depressed classes. In his own words, "If we succeed in spurging off the idle labour in non-agricultural channels of production, we will at one stroke lessen the pressure and destroy the premium that at present weighs heavily on land in India. Besides, this labour when productivity employed will cease to live by predation as it does today, and not only earn its keep but will give us surplus and more surplus is more capital. In short, strange though it may seem, industrialization of India is the soundest remedy for the agricultural problems of India and also, it is evident, of the untouchable landless labourers" (Ambedkar 1918 : 19). His argument for the industrialization of India was perhaps influenced by convergence theory of development which claims that "the process of industrialization produces common and uniform political and social and cultural characteristics in societies which prior to industrialiaztion, may have different historical backgrounds and social structures (Nicholas et al. 1984 : 53).

Ambedkar advocated for the ideal of state socialism in order to achieve the goal of industrialization. His firm belief was that only state socialism rather than private enterprise could ensure rapid industrialization of India. He was not very hopeful about the results of tenancy legislation or consolidation of holdings because most of the untouchables were landless labourers. Therefore, the land reforms would be more beneficial for the upper and middle order of castes while depressed classes (untouchables and Shudras) would remain downtrodden. He had drawn up a complete plan of the type of state sociatism he desired for India and incorporated it in the memorandum he submitted to the Constituent Assembly in 1947 (Ambedkar 1947: 14-16).

In brief, Ambedkar's notion of development may be said two folded. On the one hand he wanted to modernize the illiterate masses through the process of education which may inculcate in them rational scientific values so that their ignorance can be removed. This will also help in removing constraints created by religious ideology and caste system. On the other hand, he was in favour of rapid indusrialization of the country so that surplus labour from agriculture sector may be transferred to industrial and service sectors. In his view land reforms may not be proved much effective untill there is a redistribution of land in favour of the depressed classes. Thus, he emphasized on cultural modernization and industrialization of the Indian society in his strategy of development which has been a dominant theory of development in the social sciences.

II

STRATEGY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

After independence one of the major tasks before the independent national government was to formulate and execute the plans for restructuring the Indian society. The immediate step in this direction came with the abolition of the instruments of exploitation like Zamindari and Rayatwari land tenure systems which had been responsible for the collapse of the Indian economy. In the First Five Year Plan (1952) the laws regarding tenancy right and ceiling of land holdings were implemented. This enabled the tenants to get back their land from the clutches of rentiers. The other major steps for restructuring the rural community were the innovations of Community Development Programme, Panchayati Raj and rural co-operatives. Moreover, social movements like Bhoodan and Gramdan were launched by eminent social reformers like Vinoba and Jai Prakash Narain.

1. Community Development Programme

The community development programme introduced in 1952 was an attempt at a systematic and integrated rural development in the country. The basic objective of the programme was to serve the rural people and to reach as large number of them as possible. The programme put into operation the concept of making a multi-purpose functionary responsible for all rural development programmes at the grass root level so that it can meet the needs of the rural households. Thus, for the first time, the office of the village level worker (VLW) supported at the block level by a team of various subject matter specialist was introduced and the community development block was made a unit of planning and development. For all the rural development programmes at the block level and for the block level functionaries, the Block Development Officer was supposed to act as a co-ordinator. By the end of Second Five Year Plan every village in India was brought under this scheme. the major items included in this programme were related with the following eight categories: (1) Agriculture and related matters, (2) Communications, (3) Education, (4) Health, (5) Training, (6) Social Welfare, (7) Employment, and (8) Housing. The programmes adopted to cover these items may be classified into following four categories: (a) Constructional programmes (include roads, culverts, drains, pavements, school buildings, community centres, dispensary, houses for poor villagers and drinking water sources): (b) Irrigation schemes (wells, pumping sets, tube wells and tanks): (c) Agricultural programmes and (d) Institutional and other programmes (Youth Club, Women's organizations, Community centres, etc.) (Desai, A.R., 1978 : 613).

The impact of the community development programmes has been a subject of analysis and evaluation for a number of social scientists (Dube, 1958; Carl Taylor, 1958 and Oscar Lewis, 1958). They have attempted to assess the nature of the impact of this programme on the life of the rural people. The major weaknesses of the programme as pointed out by Carl Taylor are as follows:

(1) The Government machinery had not assimilated the true spirit underlying the entire programme. The programme was operated more as an executive assignment. The administration of the programme was predominantly based on aid from and reliance on the government. The involvement of the people in the programme was lacking.

(2) The government machinery relied more on propaganda and spectacular results rather than on group work and voluntary creative participation of the village people.

(3) The advantages of the improvement were taken by the large cultivators while the small peasants, artisans and agricultural labourers could not get much from the programme. As a result, the programme widened the gulf between the rich and the poor cultivators. It made artisans

and agricultural labourers relatively more handicapped than the cultivators and therefore created greater inequality in the rural community.

Thus, the community development programme could not bridge the gap between the rich and the poor but conversely it widened the gap between the rich and poor sections of the village community.

2. Panchayati Raj

The rationale of introducing Panchayati Raj was to create elected and organically linked democratic institutions at the village, block and district levels and entrust them with all the planning and development activities. It was intended to make community development programme a people's programme with government's participation. In 1957, the Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, popularly known as the Balvantrai Mehta Committee, was appointed to suggest measures to correct the drawbacks in implementation. The Committee recommended as a wayout the formation of a hierarchic three-tier system of rural local government to be called 'Panchayati Raj'. The three-tiers are the gram panchayat at the village level, panchayat samiti at the intermediate level, and Zila parishad at the district level. At the village level, all States decided to have direct elections to the village panchayat, but at the intermediate and the district level variations have been found in their organization. "The power of these bodies varied from state to state as a consequence of the structural and operational variations in the pattern of panchayati raj institutions" (Maheshwari 1985 : 53).

In three tier system of panchayati raj, the real locus of political power is at the middle tier i.e., with the Samiti President. He is the key figure in the whole set up. He can easily influence the authorities at the block and the district levels. Gray (1978 : 537) observed that "they (samitis) consist almost entirely of members of the dominant land owning castes, whatever the political affiliations of the members conerned. More (high) caste, more land, more money, more education are still the requisites for political success. Thus the Panchayati Raj institution also became the instrument of getting various advantages from the development programmes for the land owning and high caste people of the villages. But one of the positive sides of the Panchayati raj was that it initiated democratic processes at the grass-root level in the form of elections and the villagers come to realise that they have a vote for use and that it is something which has a value because it represents a choice. Thus the aim of decentralising political power at the grass root level was partially achieved but the twin aims of arousing popular enthusiasm for rural development has been less successful. The problem of ensuring people's participation in decision making processes and developmental activities is still a vital issue. The dominance of land owning castes in social and political life has been a major obstacle in the process of rural development.

3. The Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP)

In 1950's agricultural yields were very low and it became apparent that agricultural production was not increasing quickly as was expected. On the other hand, pressure of population was increasing at a much faster rate. The country was thus compelled to feed its population by import of foodgrains. In 1959 India invited a team of American experts to suggest the strategy for an immediate augmentation of agricultural production. The accepted recommendations were packed into what came to be known as the intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) which went into action in 1960. The Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) incorporated the IADP and observed that this programme was to be taken up in one district in each State. Its purpose was to contribute both to a rapid increase in agricultural production in selected areas and to suggest new innovations and combination of practices which could be of value elsewhere (Govt. of India, 1961 : 316). The IADP was designed as a pace setting programme which would demonstrate how to augment production more rapidly and as a path-finding experimental programme which would develop innovations, fresh ideas and procedures for wider adoptations in agricultural development (Maheshwari, 1985 : 73).

In 1964, the concept of IADP was extended to other districts under the nomenclature of the Intensive Agricultural Areas Programme (IAAP). Although, this new programme followed the concept of IADP but its staffing pattern was reduced in intensity. Moreover, certain facilities like soil testing laboratories, workshops and investments were also lacking at the field level. The centrally laid down criteria for the selection of the districts were not met in full, eventhough IADP was launched in some of the best districts in the country. The selection process often was inspired by ascriptive criteria. As the programme entailed heavy public spending, politicians actively lobbied for the inclusion of their constituencies. Politics emerged as a variable of significance in the selection of districts. It was again, primarily under political pressure that the somewhat diluted IAAP was put into operation (Maheshwari 1985 : 75).

Thus, initially IADP and IAAP both had shown little sign of achieving their principal target of augmentation of agricultural production. The food problem in the country became more severe as a result of continuous drought from 1964 to 1967. In 1964, India imported as much as 10 million tonnes of foodgrains from the USA. In such a difficult situation the IADP was linked to the New Agricultural Strategy (NAS). This was a well-synchronised package programme involving action at many levels and sectors of activities. The programme made serious efforts to generate the farmer's own interest in agriculture by means of the promising him an incentive or a remunerative price for his produce. In order to control the market forces, institutions like Food Corporation of India (FCI) and Warehousing Corporation were set up to buy grain at the officially announced price and to storage it respectively. The programme was well supported by the institutions of

Agricultural research centres like Indian Council of Agriculture Research (ICAR), and Indian Agriculture Research Institute (IARI). Agricultural Universities began to set up and they were made responsible for education, training and research in agricultural sciences. In order to meet the problems of developing high yield variety seeds suitable to Indian conditions and to regularise the supply of thes new varieties institutions like National Seed Corporation (NSC) and State Farm Corporation (SFC) were set up in 1966. Simultaneously arrangements were made for the irrigation and supply of the fertilizers. The New Agricultural Strategy was put into operation in 1966 and as a consequence, the IADP got a shot in the arm, as it was equated with the success of the strategy. The 'Green Revolution' was the result of dissemination of the new technology in the field of agriculture.

The organisational set up employed for IADP was of the Community Development Programme. However, there were certain additional organisational and personnel inputs which were made available for the implementation of the programme. The project personnel including the district collector, were made responsible as they were to be appointed for a five year term and their promotion was to be based on the successful handling of their part of the programme. This was one of the features of this programme which may have a number of implications for the success of other rural development programmes in a developing society.

The IADP accompained by the introduction of new Technology in agriculture had disrupted the traditional rural socio-economic structure. The benefits of the programme were received mainly by those farmers having commendable size of the land and other material resources and left small and marginal farmers completely unaffected if not worse off. But India's options at this point of time were extermely limited. This aroused a concern for the marginal man and in the process, the Small Farmers' Development Agency (SFDA) was born.

4. Small Farmers' Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers' and Agricultural labourers Agency (MFAL).

The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) expressed concern for both submarignal farmers and agricultural labourers and emphasized on creating supplementary occupations and other employment opportunities for them as a vast section of the rural society was adversely affected from the Green Revolution. The schemes to improve the condition of small and 'Submarginal' farmers were sanctioned during 1970-71 but in most cases the programmes began to be implemented during 1971-72. In order to administer the programmes two new agencies-the Small Farmers' Development Agency (SFDA) and the Marginal Farmers' Development Agency (MFAL) were set up as corporate and autonomous bodies to work at the district level.

The basic objective of the agencies was to raise the earning capacity of the target groups through various programmes related to the improve-

ment in agriculture, subsidiary occupations etc. The focus of SFDA was directed towards intensive farming which MFAL emphasized on the provision of subsidiary occupations and other employment generating programmes. These schemes were to be prepared in co-ordination with technical departments of the State Government.

The SFDA was an agency whose main function was to serve as a catalyst and to provide subsidies to small and marginal farmers on their institutional borrowings for agricultural activities.

The projects mainly emphasized on crop husbandry (it includes intensive agriculture, multiple cropping, introduction of HYV, horiticulture, development of minor irrigation, soil conservation, land shaping and land development) with an emphasis on the adoption of dry framing practices and water harvesting methods in rain fed areas. Subsidiary occupations like mild production, poultry, piggery, and goat and sheep rearing were also under taken by the agencies.

In June 1974, the distinction between the two agencies was abolisheed and a single agency of SFDA-MFAL came into existence. The agency was set up in selected districts. Its organisational structure consisted of a governing body with a small executive staff headed by the district head. Its members were the heads of sectoral department which were closely concerned with its programmes. The financial institutions like the Land Development Bank, Central Co-operative Bank and Zila Parishad were also represented along with some non-officials. The major functions of the governing board were (a) to prepare the project report, (b) to formulate detailed schemes for the benefit of the target groups and execution of these schemes with the help of sectoral departments and (c) to serve as a platform where the problem faced in the execution of the schemes could be discussed and solutions devised. At the State level, SFDA-MFAL functioned under the overall control and supervision of a State Level Coordination and Review Committee which consisted of senior officers of departments closely connected with the activities and programmes of agency.

But due to bureaucratic bottlenecks and lack of sufficient credit facilities the programme could not do much for the upliftment of the small farmers, marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. Moreover, fallacies in identification of beneficiaries and delays in release of subsidiary and loan facilities have also been major drawbacks of the programme.

5. Integrated Approach to Rural Development

In mid-seventies, a more comprehensive strategy envisaging direct attack on poverty was adopted which was basically different from the earlier approach to rural development - the 'integrated rural development' approach as against the 'sectoral development approach'. The sectoral development approach tends to divide development into departmental activities and

responsibility for development are perceived as administrative responsibilities. But the integrated approach to rural development emphasises on spatial development. In the sense, that it concentrates on the development of a given area not the development of a sector. As its major thrust is the development of a given area, the development programmes are based on development of local resources and based on local needs, local aspirations and local potential. Moreover, it gives more emphasis on micro-level planning rather than centralized macro level planning at the national and the state levels. Thus, the integrated rural development launched in 1979 tended to decentralize the development planning at the district and block levels. Apart from its emphasis on the area development, it also concentrates on certain target groups i.e., poor sections of the society. Thus, integrated rural development has two major components: (a) area development and (b) beneficiary oriented programmes. The Programmes in the first category have mainly focussed on development of infrastructure and local resources. It includes Minimum Needs Programme (MNP), Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Hill Area Development Agency (HADA), Integrated Tribal Area Development Programme (ITDP) and Desert Area Development Programme (DADP). While the programmes of the second category aim at reaching benefits to the poor directly by creating productive assets for them. Presently it includes Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) with its components TRYSEM and DWCRA and Jawahar Rojgar Yojna (JRY) and other state sponsored programmes of similar nature.

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME: IRDP represents a combination of schemes in different sectors of rural economy such as crop production and minor irrigation in agriculture, animal husbandry, development of women and children, social forestry and a number of self employment programmes in secondary and tertiary sectors through Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM) and Development of Women and Children in Rural Area (DWCRA) and developing industry, service and business activities in rural areas. IRDP is essentially an anti-poverty programme aimed at increasing the productivity and income of weaker sections of rural population which constitute the target group of the programme. The major emphasis is on raising employment, output and income of selected individual households. Since the approach under IRDP is to assist the poorest of the poor first, the assistance is given to the rural families of target group having annual income below the cut off line of Rs. 4,800/-. Families with an annual income upto Rs. 3,500 are assisted first. The families in Rs. 3,501-4,800 income bracket in a given gram panchayat have to be assisted only after the coverage of the families having annual income upto Rs. 3,500/-. The target group consists of small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and rural artisans etc. whose annual family income is below the "cut off" line (Govt. of India 1991 : 5-6). The programme has provided special safeguards for SC and ST (at least 50%), women (at least 40%) and physically handicapped (40%).

JAWAHAR ROJGAR YOJNA (JRY): In the year 1989-90 an intensive wage employment scheme named as Jawahar Rojgar Yojna (JRY) was introduced which later also merged the earlier schemes of wage employment namely National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). The expenditure under this programme is shared between the centre and the state on 80:20 basis in contrast to 50:50 basis of NREP and 100 per cent central assistance of RLEGP. The programme expects to provide fuller employment opportunities to at least one member of each family living below the poverty line. The primary objective of the programme is to generate additional gainful employment for the unemployed and under employed persons both men and women in the rural areas. The secondary objectives of the programme are the creation of productive community assets for direct and continuing benefits to the poverty groups and to improve the quality of life in the rural area. The target group of the Yojna are the people below the poverty line. But the preference would be given to SC, ST and women. The works can be taken up for execution under this Yojna during any part of the year whenever the need for generating employment is felt.

The most ambitious programme IRDP has been the subject of criticism among the social scientists on a number of grounds. Rath (1985) criticised IRDP on the basis of the following grounds: (1) IRDP is not an integrated programme in the real sense of the term as it does not integrate resources based on sectoral planning with household based planning. It is merely a household based plan whose main focus is on identification of the rural poor and preparing a plan for these individual beneficiaries; (2) The Antyodaya approach of IRDP which aims at giving self-employment to the poorest households of rural society is not a realistic approach as these households are the least capable of taking up self-employment. Most of these households are of the aged and the handicapped or of the poor who have little enterprise or risk-bearing capacity. Studies of IRDP have shown that these households have faced the worst in various schemes; (3) The subsidy element of IRDP has encouraged corruption in rural areas and has raised indebtedness of the poor in many cases; (4) Gains of IRDP have not percolated to the lowest levels as a very low percentage of beneficiaries (hardly 18.7 per mcent) have crossed the poverty line; (5) Our economy does not have enough assets for distribution to the poor under IRDP. Consequently many times assets with very low productivity were given to the poor under the programme. This not only does not help the poor, but it positively harms them.

On the above grounds Rath (1985) concludes that "the strategy of IRDP is largely misconceived. In fact, it is capable to help only a very small number of people. Putting more burden on this approach will discredit the line of attack, generate wastage corruption and ultimately cynicism. In a multipronged attack on poverty this approach surely has a legitimate place,

but it can not be the mainstay of such a programme" (Rath 1985 : 245). Therefore, he emphasized on concentratioin massively on wage employment generation rather than self employment programme. Hirway (1985) agreed with Rath on most of his grounds and distinguished between two categories of the poor (1) those who have at least some asset or have some skill, education or enterprise to take up self-employment, and (2) those who neither possess any asset nor have any skill or enterprise, education, etc. to take up any activity independently. She is of the view that the former category should be given assets for self-employment while the latter should be offered wage-employment. These categories should be treated separately by suitable policy measure. But unfortunately, IRDP clubs both the catetgories in one and expects even the second category (in fact gives them top priority by using Antyodaya approach) to take up self-employment. IRDP in her view, over-emphasised self-employment as a measure for poverty-alleviation but on the other hand, Rath under-emphasised the need of the self-employment. She warned that over-emphasis on wage-employment may also produce similar results. Because the problems of non-percolation and corruption are originated from our socio-economic structure. These problems can not be checked without bringing desired structural changes. Thus, the strategy, of rural development should be such which can generate gradual structural changes in socio-economic fabric of our society.

In fact, the interference of polotical leaders at micro level planning of the programme is not fruitful but most harmful (Hirway, 1978). The major weakness of our rural development strategy has been the adhocism which prevails in the micro level planning of the programmes (Maithani and Singh 1987 ; Singh 1992; Singh 1993). The problems of political pressure and corruption can be minimised by strengthening the planning component of our programme. In fact district level and block level agencies are not well equipped with the personnels who have been trained in rural development planning. No effort is made to develop a cadre service in rural development administration. Most of the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) areleft in tne hands of the officers deputed from the sectoral departments., Because of their affiliation to the parent department they are not interested in learning the basics of rural development planning because they think that after 2-3 years they will be called back in their parent department and this training would not be useful there. Moreover they also bring with them the culture of their parent departments which does not suit with the spirit of the rural development programmes.

III

The review of the strategy of rural development in post independence India suggests the major weakneses of our rural development programmes have been lack of political will on the part of our political leaders to initiate measures for structural changes in the social and economic fabric of the

society. The strategy of rural development has been based on improvement approach rather than transformation approach which put emphasis on the redistribution of land in favour of depressed classes and a socialistic form of agriculture with rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of the rural society. Another weakness of rural development in India has been the problem of rampant corruption in the bureacratic set up which has been institutionalised in our society. In the state of weak planning component the chances of political interferences and corrupt practices in rural development planning implementation increases. Moreever, there is lack of trained personnels at District and block levels who can undertake the difficult task of rural development.

In the light of Dr. Ambedkar's views on development, it can be said that in post-independence period our strategy of rural development has been suffered with a kind of adhocism. We have not made any serious attempt to modernize our rural population particularly weaker section through massive programme of education which could had been the first and foremost task after independence. Even after more than four decades our half of the population is illiterate. Naturally, most of the illiterate [Organisationpersons would be from the depressed classes. Without rational and scientific education the cultural backwardness and vicious circle of caste system can not be brokendown. Secondly, our rural development plans hardly made efforts for rapid industrialization of the rural areas. We have been giving more emphasis on the development of agriculture and allied activities rather than agro-based rural industries. The programmes like IRDP not only fell through to eradicate the poverty from rural areas but also led towards corruption and cynicism.

The strategy of rural development in India may be reformulated in the light of following suggestions: (1) There must be serious effort to educate the rural population of the country at war level. There is a need to reformulate National Education Policy for this purpose. The education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be on the top priority; (2) As an immediate step to tackle the problem of rural poverty more emphasis must be given on wage employment programme rather than self-employment programme; (3) A service cadre in rural development administration must be developed in due course of time; (4) The planning component must be strengthened in rural development programme. The personnels engaged in the task of rual development should be well-trained; (5) The non-government agencies of high reputation should be involved in the planning and implementation of the rural development programmes at different levels; (6) The process of industrialization (at small scale) in rural areas should be initiated at a faster pace so that the pressure on land can be decreased and more and more population can be shifted to industrial and service sectors.

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PEASANTRY AS A CLASS: SOME QUESTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

ARVIND CHAUHAN

The peasant question has been attempted from a variety of angles in various disciplines. In a sense it could be said that now the status of research on peasant is multidisciplinary in nature. The richness of literature on peasant question on the one hand makes it a more lively question for discussion and research, on the other hand makes the question pretty harder to answer. Broadly speaking the literature on peasant studies originates from three broader areas. Firstly, the peasant question had its roots in the anthropologcal studies in U.S.A. and elsewere in the early 1950s. Anthropologists-manily cultural anthropologists who were trying to study "other cultures" when noticed that their subject matter alongwith the concept of "little community" is disapperaring fast-both in form as well as in content, they shifted their attention towards the study of "peasant society". This shift could be easily located in the work of Robert Redfield (1956). For cultural anthropologists this was a new area which they had discovered for their studies. Robert Redfield defined peasantry as having three characteristics like: (1) it is a part-society with part-culture, (2) peasantry is related to the outside world through elites and (3) peasants take agriculture as a way of life. Here the emphasis on the "cultural" component of peasantry could be seen. The main question which they discussed was that the cultural whole which was clearly visible in "little community" is now replaced by "part culture" - the other half being located outside peasant society. A number of village studies on this pattern appeared in India too at the same time i.e. at the beginning of 1950 and this trend later continued for at least two decades more. Some of the important studies were: M.N. Srinivas' (1952) study of village Rampura in Mysore, S.C. Dube's earlier study (1955) of village shamirpet in Andhra Pradesh, his latter study (Dube 1958) of some villages concerned with Community Development Projects (C.D.P.), B.R. Chauhan's study of Ranawaton Ki Sadri in Rajasthan (Chauhan 1967). The trend of a single village study continued although with some different questions and emphasis in Andre Beteille's study of Sripuram village in Tamil

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Nadu. In between these studies two edited works on single village studies also appeared in which several scholars mainly anthropologists contributed on a village each. The first of these was a collection of village studies edited by McKim Marriot (1955) and the second was edited by M.N. Srinivas (1960). M.N. Srinivas in that collection of village studies maintained that villages should be studied throughout the country, and this should be done before these villages undergo a change. The pace of change was expected to be much more faster after India got national independence. In short, these and some other studies of villages from anthropological perspective were sufficiently rich in material and their contents could be used as data for many more years to come.

Another important breakthrough in peasant studies came from yet another related discipline sociology, although in India the academic developments in anthropology and sociology went hand in hand. The emergence of rural sociology as a discipline in the U.S.A. and later in the Western Europe also contributed a discussion on the peasant question. Alongwith these studies the writings of Marx and Engels also generated favourable conditions for the study of peasant question[1]. The question of peasantry within Marixist framework was begun to be studied from the perspective of class. This generated a debate over whether peasantry could be treated as a class or not. Similarly the establishment of socialist societies in the U.S.S.R. and China led scholars like Barrington Moore Jr. (1966) to examine what was really wrong with Marxist scheme as such because socities referred above reached socialism without entering into the capitalist phase. Barrington Moore Jr. started with the assumption that industrialization was not the cause of upsurge and revolutions in U.S.S.R. and China. Alongwith it one argument came from all quarters which was based upon demographic reasons. It was argued in almost every writing that peasants constituted a numerical majority and that must be represented in studies on peasants. There were attempts by scholars like Daniel Thorner who tried to study peasantry from the perspective of economic-history. In this way the peasant question has been attempted broadly from three different angles or say three different approaches namely (1) Anthropology and Sociology (2) Marxist studies and (3) Economic History. The task before the scholar of today is to arrive at a meaningful synthesis. A careful study of the three approaches however, suggests that this has not been done so far. For example if one reads Danial Thorner it becomes evident that he has not referred to any single village study conducted by anthropologists and sociologists. There is however a strong need to bring these very approaches nearer to each other and arrive at a meaningful synthesis and after that some effort has to be done to see the interaction between this theoretical construct and empirical findings. The present paper discusses the nature of peasantry as a class and raises some basic questions and seek their clarifications in the light of the recent sociological literature.

At the current status of research on peasantry it would be difficult to say in affirmative or in negation about peasantry being a class or not. But this question could be examined in a more meaningful way by attempting to understand the true nature and content as well as its potential for being a class. For this the concept of peasant or peasantry has to be defined clearly, and its potentialities as a class be examined. As a matter of fact this could be done simultaneously i.e. while defining the contents of peasantry its class-potentialities may also be assessed alongwith it. For academic reasons the original question may be modified as: If peasantry is a class, then to what extent where and under what circumstances does it look like one? Then there is a need to select appropriate methodology to discuss this question. At the moment it seems that the historical-comparative approach would provide the starting point and the contributions made in all relevant disciplines, chiefly anthropology - sociology combine, Marxist studies and economic history could be examined.

Nikolai I. Bukharin (1965) has made an important distinction between peasantry and other social categories which may exist alongwith it in society. From conceptual and analytical view this distinction is important. S.M. Lipset (1983) has made an attempt to put the class-analysis made by Bukharin in a tabular form. In this table it is shown how peasantry is different from other social categories like proletariat and lumpenproletariat and to what extent each one of these could be called a class. In other words the presence or absence of class elements as shown in the table No. 1 given below could become an important criterion in class identification.

Table 1: Bukharin's analysis of class conditions[2]

	Class properties	Peasantry	Lumpen-Proletariat	Proloetariat
1.	Economic exploitation	+	-	+
2.	Political Oppression	+	+	+
3.	Poverty	+	+	+
4.	Productivity	+	-	+
5.	Freedom from Private Property	-	+	+
6.	Condition of Union in production and common labour	-	-	+

A systematic interpretation of the above table could help in understanding the structural location of peasantry vis-a-vis other social categories, of course, at a given time period of a society. It is necessary to interpret this meaningfully for yet another reason. Bukharin's analysis of peasantry vis-a-vis other social categories is supposed to be an improvisiation over

Marx's treatment of peasantry as a class. S.M. Lipset (1983:299) agreeing with it writes, "His (Bukharin's) analysis based on the events of the early decades of the twentieth century was elaborated beyond that of Marx". Another reason for meaningful interpretation of this table is that the data used by Bukharin might serve as a historical background on which further work is possible. Apart from this, Bukharin's data on Russian peasantry, might also serve as a basis on which it could later be attempted to seek the answer to the question, whether peasantry is a universalistic or particularistic category[3].

Bukharin's analysis of class-conditions includes three social categories namely peasantry, lumpenproletariat and proletariat and employ six criteria on the basis of which classes are to be identified. One significant departure in Bukharin's analysis might be noted here. Here an attempt has been made to make a distinction within what we may call the lower strata of society. From this analysis it appears at first that the lower strata of society does not operate as a single identifiable entity. Bukharin identifies proletariat as a class and for him the other two categories namely peasantry and lumpenproletariat do not form classes. A careful look at the table suggests that all the six properties of class are present in proletariat thus qualifying it to make itself a class. Peasantry lacks two characteristics of class i.e. (1) freedom from private property-which means that peasants have private property, and (2) condition of union in production and common labour, which means that neither peasants assemble at a common place of work nor they do collective labour in the process of production. Marx has frequently emphasized on the material conditions of factory where industrial proletariat is in an advantageous position vis-a-vis other exploited categories. Marx puts his position clearly like this: "With the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number, it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows and it feels that strength more" (Marx 1848: 192). Here Marx's idea almost seem to one like what Durkheim calls it 'moral density'.

Bhukharin seems to be in agreement with Marx who saw low potentiality in peasantry to become a class. According to Marx (1852) peasantry constitutes a class in itself as, "in so far millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they from a class". But peasantry is not capable enough to free itself from its oppressors and therefore according to Marx peasantry is not a class for itself. Describing it Marx (1952) writes. "In so far there is merely a local interconnexion among these small holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond, and no political organization among them, they do not form a class".

Bukharin and Marx seem to agree on one point and i.e. that peasantry is not capable enough to organize itself into a class. It also implies that if peasants try to bring about a revolution it is likely to be defeated. Frederick Engels (1956) has made an analysis of peasant revolutions that failed to materialize. Another important characteristic of peasantry, "freedom from private property" is absent from it. This means that however limited it might be but peasantry owns some land. According to Bukharin's analysis peasantry is tied up with land in such a way that it structurally separates peasants from one another, thus it is not possible for them to unite for their common cause whether it is their economic and political oppression, poverty or exploitation of their productive labour.

In Bukharin's analysis of class conditions a reference to lumpen-proletariat has also been made. Of course they have freedom from private property (which means that they do not have private property) but they lack certain other characteristics of class like economic exploitation, productivity and condition of union in production and common labour and thus lumpen proletariats do not constjtute a class. Bukharin's class-analysis scheme provides a break-through in the analysis of preasantry vis-a-vis other social categories. It seems relevant to refer to Marx's notion of "false consciousness" here. In Marx's analysis the lower strata of society, proletariat in particular, might fall in the trap of what he calls it "false consciousness". Likewise, with the tide of economic development the peasantry might also fall in the same trap. The question of false consciousness still requires an examination in the case of peasantry especially in the wake of the introduction of new technology, fertilizers, irrigation facilities, provision of loan and subsidies and the like. Here its mere reference would serve the purpose, but the question of false consciousness could be dealt with a little later.

Marx has referred to yet another aspect of peasantry being a class. Marx's distinction between peasantry as a class in itself and not class for itself might have certain other repercussions. While analysing the historical evolution of bourgeoisie from as a class in itself to class for itself, Marx (1847) said the former period was of a longer duration in comparison to that of the latter period. For bourgeoisie it required a lot of effort for a considerably longer period to establish and struggle when it was class in itself (German ansich) than the period when it became class-conscious and capable of political action to throw away the feudal and monarchic orders. Similarly it could be argued that the struggle of the exploited class might be of a longer duration till it becomes politically class-consicous.

Theeoretically speaking till it becomes class for itself (German fursich) peasantry might have to struggle for a considerably longer time in its historical evolution.

Marx while accepting the incapability of peasantry becoming a class and carrying out its own struggle, stated that it could get leadership (class leadership) of their urban industrial counterpart-the proletariat. Speaking on

leadership question, Lenin opined that the leadership might come from certain sections other than the proletariat itself. Lenin (1902) sought the leadership to be drawn from elite sections of society or from what he called it the vanguard. Max Weber too opined that it was not possible even for industrial proletariat to reach a stage of consciousness through trade union efforts directed against their employers for minimum wages and against working conditions. From this, it could be safely deduced here that when it was not possible for even urban-industrial proletariat to develop that level of class-consciousness without outside leadership, then peasantry-still a weaker force in itself could not expect any sort of a revolution without outside support and leadership. In other words it means that peasantry has to be led from outside.

In Bukharin's class analysis of peasantry, economic exploitation, political oppression and poverty in general as important characteristics of peasantry could be clubbed together. Teoder Shanin's definition of peasantry includes its 'underdog' position (Shanin 1971 : 14-16). Apart from this, Shanin's definition of peasantry includes three other characteristics namely peasant family farm as the basic unit of social organization, land-husbandry as the main source of livelihood and specific traditional culture (Shanin 1971: 14-16). What Bukharin calls the "productivity" of the peasantry, Shanin acknowledges it in the form of family farm being the main productive unit of social organization. But Bukharin and Shanin seem to differ on one significant count i.e. about chances of peasantry taking a revolutionary turn. Bukharin (1965: 299) negates "condition of union in production and common labour among the peasants"; where as Shanin (1971 : 15) looks at peasantry as "in some conditions they may turn into the revolutionary proletariat of our times". Both Bukharin as well as Shanin agree on yet another point, for the former peasants are put to "political oppression" and for the latter peasants are structurally located in what he calls it, "the under-dog position-the domination of peasantry by outsiders".

Teodar Shanin in yet another article tries to define peasantry alongwith its characteristics. According to Shanin "The peasantry consists of small agricultural producers who with the help of simple equipment and the labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfillment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power" (Shanin 1971: 240). According to Shanin there are five characteristics associated with peasantry and they have been discussed alongwith proper references. These characteristics as described by Shanin (1971: 240-45) could be identified as essential components of the definition of peasantry and also its treatment as a class. These characteristics of peasantry are (i) its relationship to land, (ii) the family farm, (iii) its occupation as determinant of social status, (iv) village-structure (and its place in it) (v) peasantry as pre-industrial social entity.

Shanin argues that peasants' relationship to land is important in the sense that it provides the necessary minimum for the peasant and his family to sustain and this saves peasants from other producers (where he could have worked as agricultural labour otherwise) and market forces. This gives rise to some sort of stability to peasant family vis-a-vis his other counterparts working on land. Shanin quotes one Polish scholar Galeski who states that land is "a necessary and generally sufficient condition to enter the occupation" (Shanin 1971 : 240). Shanin has clarified this relationship (between peasantry and land) further: "In actual fact the legal ownership of peasant land, as seen by a townsman, may lie with the peasant himself, the commune, the landlord or the state; the land being correspondingly a private plot, commune property or a customary lease holding" (Shanin 1971: 240). This way of explaining the relationship between peasant and land of course offers a much wider consideration, peasantry under almost every mode of production may have this sort of a relationship with land. This also brings out a point clearly and i.e. that the peasantry is a transnational as well as a universal-phenomenon. It reminds the statement of Redfield, "Peasant society and culture has something generic about it. It is a kind of arrangement of humanity with some similarities all over the world" (Redfield 1956: 25). but Redfield immediately reminds, "Landlords are not needed to establish the fact of a peasantry" (Redfield 1956: 28). Peasants' relationship with land is although essential but before making any class-analysis of peasantry it would be appropriate to examine: (a) the mode of production or social formation (b) the system by which land has been acquired and (c) the existence of other classes vis-a-vis peasantry.

Teodar Shanin quotes Galeski on the question of family farm also. By acquiring/owning land the peasant along with his family establishes himself in a relatively stable social structure. According to Galeski, the identification of interest of family and farm - holding seems to be a typical characteristic of the traditional peasant family. Teodar Shanin (1971: 243-44) then talks about the occupation of the peasant. Instead of discussing the specific occupation of the peasant, Shanin rather preferes to discuss the entire cluster of occupations. Shanin maintains that the technology that is employed by peasant comes generally from the village itself. Therefore, there seems to be an existence of the rural populace i.e. engaged in non-farming work. Shanin seems to have relied on those interconnections between the two, the peasant and the non-farming populace, both residing in rural areas[4]. Another point regarding the occupation of the peasant and its allies in rural areas has been outlined. Shanin observes that both of these oppose high level mechanization and industrialization, as this part of economic operating from outside the village might lead towards their destruction. At this particular moment of analysis, it appears that Shanin again returns to his earlier position which puts the peasantry in opposition to its urban-industrial counterparts.

This discussion on the peasnt economy once again highlights the rural vs. urban question. In the entire approach it seems that not only people working on land are taken as one single category but entire rural populace is being treated as the oppressed entity. The relationship between the peasant and its rural counterpart seems to be "functional" in the analysis of Shanin. The possible follow up may lead to the rural-urban divide type of questions. This again may block our way to make the class analysis of peasantry. Shanin's approach has this weakness as it seems that with that kind of analysis it is not easy to work out internal contradictions and to make a class analysis of peasantry.

Teodar Shanin makes one more characteristic clear and i.e. the village structure and its association with the peasantry. Again the village seems to have been taken as a single entity, neglecting the possibility of internal contradiction. Describing village-structure, Teodar Shanin (1971: 244) writes, "In the setting of village community or peasant commune, the peasant reaches level of nearly total self-sufficiency:. This sort of a neglect of internal heterogeneity might lead towards a serious shortcoming while making a class-analysis of peasantry. One last point made by Teodar Shanin about the definition of peasantry being the pre-industrial social entity needs reconsideration. Shanin (1971: 244-45) criticises Marx and Engels for their treatment of peasantry as "relics of the way of production which already belongs to the past". Shanin also disagrees with the notion of "delayed development" of peasantry. Shanin (1971: 244-45) in addition to all this wants to focus on the need to examine the question from the perspective of what he calls "specific features of development (of the peasantry)". Shanin on the other hand seems to have been quite aware of the difficulties that crop up in constructing a concept (here peasanty) and its empirical referrents. Shanin (1971: 245) clarifies, "No, concept of a social stratum can be made exactly to coincide with any empirically defined group. Yet the importance and validity of attempting a conceptual definition of peasantry for research seems to us beyond question".

Shanin's approach to conceptualise peasantry has led towards the rural-urban divide type of questions in his final analysis. Not only this, Shanin has also referred to certain "parallel patterns" in urban areas vis-a-vis rural areas. This requires a brief discussion as Shanin puts this divide between rural and urban along three points, in which both areas are treated as contradicting each other. An analysis of this is as the following.

(1) According to Shanin (1971: 249) what he calls it, large-scale, capital intensive and mechanized agriculture, " gradually destroys the small farms". Shanin further states, "Agriculture fully taken over by industrial methods of production becomes merely a branch of industry" (Shanin 1971: 249). Shanin quotes Lenin here to support this argument. Shanin's emphasis on rural urban divide is clear, althouth in this analysis there are indications that industrial forces might destory the peasant economy. The nature of

contradictions in the analysis of Shanin now seems to be between urban industrialised agriculture and rural peasantry. Shanin's analysis has so far not tried to examine the question of the division of peasantry from within and the possible use of the new technology by the upper stratum of the peasantry. An important point for discussion may be that, to examine the relationship between the urban industrial-agricultural forces and rural based section to which peasantry belongs. This question needs further researches in both the areas at theoretical as well as at empirical level. According to Shanin's formulation the relationship between the two seems to be that of contradictions, as it goes along the argument of rural-urban divide.

(2) Teodar Shanin has given yet another count in the definition of peasantry from class perspective. Continuing with the earlier urban vs, rural debate, Shanin argues that town-centred society creates conditions in favour of what he calls "professional stratum of farmers". It is further argued, "the poorer villagers are increasingly sucked in from the countryside by the expanding urban areas. The same happens to peasant entrepreneurs-and to part of the economic surplus in agriculture" (Shanin 1971: 249) Besides, it has been argued that the middle peasants' support rests on two grounds (a) family production unit and (b) an increasing co-operative movement, (to) fight successfully for a place in market society[5]. Another category has been that of worker-peasant which supplements its income by hiring out its labour[6]. From analytical point of view it seems that Teodar Shanin divides peasants into three categories: (a) professional stratum of farmers, (b) middle-peasants and (c) Worker-peasant.

(3) Teodar Shanin (1971: 250) quotes Gunnar Myrdal for the analysis of peasantry in the third world. The basic feature of these societies is the cumulative pauperization of the peasantry. This is followed by certain other typical characteristics like population explosion, deveoping market relations and industrial competition with traditional peasant handicrafts, underemployment, agrarian over-population etc. Shanin has also discussed at length about the possibilities of peasantry becoming a class and argued, "how far a peasantry may be regarded as a class is not a clear-cut problem, but should be seen rather as a question of degree and historical period" (Shanin 1971: 253). A reference to peasantry's political capabilities has also made a distinction between independent class action and guided political action has also been made[7]. The discussion by Shanin (1971: 258-60) includes the following points about peasantry (a) being capable of fully spontaneous, amorphous political action-local riots and peasant passivity, (b) a modern conscript army being a nationwide organizations in which peasantry actively participates. Another sort of a peasant action namely guerrilla warfare has also been made.

It seems possible at this moment to argue about the general nature of peasantry as being a class. (i) The first important point is that the mode of production puts peasants in such a structural lock-up that it does not seem

possible for the peasants to unite and take on a class action. The second point follows from the first and i.e. about peasant passivity. (ii) Peasants are not capable enough to lead a movement-a class movement, without the support of the outside forces. In other words the leadership of the peasantry comes from those areas that are not necessarily their own and leader may not be the one who comes from their own people. (iii) Apart from internal contradictions, outside forces also keep on operating and they attempt to destroy the basic fabric of the peasantry. This inside vs. outside dilemma of contraditions and change may also be viewed along agriculture v. industry or better along rural v. urban contradictions. (iv) The peasantry could be divided into three main types, namely (a) professional stratum of farmers, (b) middle peasant and (c) worker-peasant. (v) The strength of the middle peasant lies on two grounds, (a) family production unit and (b) to build up a co-operative movement to seek a place in market economy. (vi) Peasants are structurally located in such a situation that works against their possibilities of becoming a class (for itself). However, barring a few exceptions peasant wars generally turned out to be a few separate isolated outbursts.

However, there is a need to examine and make an analysis of six major wars that were successfully fought mainly with the peasant-support[8]. These six peasant rebellions were (a) the Mexican revolution of 1910, (b) the Russian revolutions of 1905-1917, (c) Chinese revolutions since 1921 onwards and upto 1949, (d) Vietnamese revolution which had its roots in the World War II (e) the Algerian rebellion of 1954 and (f) the Cuban revolution of 1958. There is a need to make an analysis of Russian as well as Chinese revolutions-specially to examine the role of peasantry in building up a class movement and, its political outcome, the dictatorship of the left forces[9].

Class-analysis of peasantry of the Soviet Union needs another look after the contributions of Leszek Kolakowski (1978). He has attempted to locate the contradictions between peasantry and its counterpart the proletariat (Kolakowski 1978: 30-40). The main question was what the state had to offer to the peasants in lieu of their produce. There was another related question as how to tackle that situation if peasants refused to sell their produce as they might not get much out of the economy which was already in the ruined state. Another sharp contradiction between the Bolshevik party and peasants was that the former was not ready to let the economy (and hence power) go in the hands of the latter. Here the significance of the notion of peasant passivity becomes clear even according to the assertions of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. This case of peasant passivity in a socialist society acquires serious dimension in the Marxist theory and praxis of the socialist society. Proletatian dictatorship did not allow the peasantry to share the fruits of the revolvtion. Bukharin's approach of preferential treatment for peasants although supported by Stalin, was theoretically opposed by some scholars including Preobrazhensky

who argued in favour of a strong centrally controlled industrial base. Socialist state, unlike colonial states, had to develop the industrial infra-structure from their own resources and for that they relied on peasants. L. Kolakowski (1978: 30) writes "State's industry, however, cannot of itself create a sufficient basis of accumulation but must draw upon the resources of small producers i.e. in practice of peasantry". Clarifying it further it has been stated that private holdings must be the object of internal colonization. Preobrazhensky admitted frankly "it was a matter of exploiting the peasant, extracting the maximum amount of surplus value from his labour to increase investment in industry" (Kolakowski 1978: 30). In Soviet Union there were numerous problems in the path to be followed towards socialism. Karl Kautsky did not agree with the position taken by Bernstein that in spite of the concentration of capital (in the hands of the state) the number of middle class is not decreasing, meaning thereby a question mark began to appear on Marx's notion of polarization of the middle class along two camps. Karl Kautsky refuted this by arguing that the people belonging to middle class were not petty bourgeois but men thrown out of work by the concentration of capital. Against this background L. Kolakowski (1978: 44) writes about peasants, "He (Karl Kautsky) admitted that in agriculture the disappearance of small holdings was not proceeding so fast as has been predicted, but here too he thought it was bound to come in time". On the basis of this statement of Karl Kautsky it could be argued that it was not an easy job for the state to do away with peasants-everything against their will, and to proceed smoothly towards large scale collectivisation. Here the significance of peasant resistance against state intervention is clearly visible. But at least one point is very clear and i.e. that even socialist society had witnessed the contradiction between the proletariat (the Bolsheviks) and the peasantry, between urban and its rural counterpart, between state capital and the peasantry. L. Kolakowaski at one point has tried to make this contradiction clear when he said, "the contradiction does not lie in the doctrine, but in the interests of the possessing classes" (Kolakowaski 1978: 349).

Class-analysis of peasantry has been a subject of long and lengthy debates in the Marxist polemics. Peasantry, was denied any share in the power by the Bolsheviks and had to suffer from various angles-theoretical point of view being the main issue and the target was peasantry. One such theoretical opposition came from a Marxsit theoretician K. Kelles-Krauz[10] who argued against peasant interests and the argument he gave was that the collective agriculture was more revolutionary in nature rather than the earlier form of agriculture. K. Kelles-Krauz's mention has been precisely in this way: "He (K. Kelles-Krauz) combated the revisionism of Eduard David on the agricultural question, sharing the orthodox view that a colletivised economy was better for land as well as for industry" (P. 213).

Quite a different and perhaps a more realistic stand on peasantry and peasant problems was taken by Lenin. Clarifying Lenin's position on peasant L. Kolakowski (1978: 405) writes, "Unlike the orthodox Marxist he (Lenin)

perceived the huge revolutionary potential that lie in the peasants' unfulfilled demands, and he (Lenin) urged the party to exploit this even though from a traditional point of view, it might seem to involve a reactionary act". Thus any attempt to support small holders was considered to be `reactionary'. Lenin spoke in favour of peasantry perhaps after realising the class potentials of peasantry. Lenin presented his views like the following.

"It is reactionary to support small property because such support is directed against large-scale capitalist economy, and consequently retards social development and obscures and glosses over the class-struggle. In this case, however, we want to support small property not against capitalism but against self-ownership... There are two sides of all things in the world. In the west, the peasant proprietor has already played his part in the democratic movement, and is now defending his position of privilege as compared with the proletariat. In Russia, the peasant proprietor is as yet on the eve of decisive and nation-wide democratic movement with which he cannot but sympathize... In a historic movement like the present, it is our direct duty to support the peasants" (Lenin 1978 : 400).

In this way Lenin had realised the strength of peasantry and also the need to support it. Lenin also reflected on the other side of the coin, but that will be brought into discussion a little bit later. Lenin wanted to support peasant against what he called "self ownership". Examining Lenin's point of view on peasants, L. Kolakowski (1978: 502) writes like this: "At the outset of the revolution Lenin hoped for support not only from the proletariat but from the working peasants as opposed to the Kulaks; but it soon became clear that while the whole of the peasantry supported the revolution against the big landowners they were much less enthusiastic for the next phase". This clarifies that the working peasants were tried to be mobilised in the countryside, on the same ground on which their urban counterpart proletariat made the struggle a revolutionary success. This discussion brings out a point that needs some consideration. Theoretically speaking at least-here agriculture (and classes within it) are taken as a (rural) equivalent to (urban) industry. The common thread that binds working peasants and intustrial proletariat together was perhaps located in the Marxist principle of exploitation, working peasants exploited by the Kulaks and industrial proletariat by bourgeoise.

It was therefore thought that from a point of view of praxis as well as strategy working peasant should be the natural ally of industrial proletariat. The question before us is whether it is correct to equate agriculture (and classes within it) with industry. Any analysis which begins with this point, is likely to identify a similar nature of classes working on the similar nature of underlying principle (e.g. here the underlying principle has been exploitation). And if it is done like this, it would mean that two types of class struggles are going on in a one single society-one in the urban areas and the other in the countryside. It raises two important questions at the theoretical plane. These are the following.

(A) If two class-struggles are going on simultaneously one in urban and the other in rural areas then, would it be appropriate to use the Marxist concept of social formation, especially if there is hardly any alignment between the exploited massess.

(B) If we recall Marx's statement "No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is a room in it have been developed; and new, higher relations of productions never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society" (Marx 1849: 68), certain questions could be raised at theoretical level.

From the passage quoted above it could be deduced that one social order based on a particular mode of production is followed by another and the former never disappears before conditions for its destruction have been created by the latter. Once this transition has taken place, then it seems from Marx's statement that the change is fundamental as well as final, meaning thereby, there is no going back. This has been a theoretical stand taken by Marx, but as far as his views on praxis are concerned he continued, "Therefore, mankind always sets itself only such problems as it can solve; since on closer examination, it will always be found that the problem itself arises only when the mateial conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation". Unfortunately Marx did not talk of mode of production immediately after that. But Marx seems to be certain on one point at least and i.e. that after the next higher social order has been achieved there is no possibility of going back to the society based upon the preceding mode of production. At this state of argument this standpoint could be equated with the stand taken by Thoman S. Kuhn (1970) on paradigm analysis although Kuhn has been skeptical about paradigm-analysis being applied in social sciences as he treats them to be in a pre-paradigm stage. But once there is a break in the paradigm and it has been replaced by another, the change is complete. The difference does not seem to be in approaches to the problem but perhaps in the vocabulary. Kuhn calls it "anomalies", Marx calls it "dialectical materialism" and Engels call it "negation".

It seems proper at the movement to return back to the discussion made prior to raising these two points-about theoretical possibilities of the Marxist concept of "social formation" and about the change of society from one represented by one mode of production to the other and the problems of structural and fundamental nature of change of society. To continue the previous argument, the question before us was the nature of peasantry-exhibiting internal contradictions on the one hand and being exploited as a whole on the other. Lenin who wanted to make use of the internal contradictions of peasantry soon became aware of the nature of unity exhibited by the peasantry. Working peasants no longer opposed the Kulaks but worked unitedly with them. L. Kolakowaski-makes this point precise like

this: "The Party (Bolshevik) placed its hopes from the beginning on kindling the class struggle in the countryside, and tried to rouse the poor peasants and farm-labourers against the richer peasants, *inter alia,* by the so-called' Committees of the Poor. The results were meagre, and it was clear that the common interest of the peasants as a class was generally stronger than the conflict between poor peasants and Kulaks" (Kolakowski 1978: 502).

In this way Lenin as well as Shanin seem to have accepted the unity of interest of the peasantry as a whole. From the point of view of strategy and praxis Lenin thought of "neutralising" peasantry as a whole. At the Tenth party Conference in May 1921 Lenin announced, "We tell the peasants frankly and honestly, without any deception: in order to hold the road to socialism, we are making a number of concessions to you, comrade peasants, but only within the stated limits and to the stated extent; and, of course, we ourselves shall be the judge of the limits and the extent".

This tough posture of Lenin soon made it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat (and that of needy peasants) was an illusion and a part of the propaganda tactics. It is another question however to examine Marx's view at the theoretical level. But Bolshevik party later admitted openly that it stands against peasantry as a whole. Kolakowski (1978: 503) makes this point precisely, "The Party (Bolsheviks) in due course openly admitted that the dictatorship of the proletariat was exercised over the whole peasantry, which thus had no say in deciding the matters that concerned it most, though it was still an obstacle that had to be taken into account. The situation was indeed obvious from the beginning: as the November elections showed, if the peasants had a share in power the country would have been governed by the S.R.s, with the Bolshevik minority in opposition".

This was how Lenin and the Bolshevik party accepted the unity of the interests of the peasantry as a whole. From the point of view of class analysis of peasantry it is an important point to recon with on the basis of the analysis of societies based upon capitalist mode of production made by Shanin and the analysis of a society based upon socialist mode of production made by Lenin, it becomes clear that the peasantry had been a loser in both the cases. But one striking feature has been brought out if we look at both the analysis carefully that there is a unity of interests within the peasantry. It seems that although there are internal contradictions within peasantry but more important and relevant point is that it has been exploited by the outside world.

NOTES:

(1) For a detailed discussion on this point please see Teodar Shanin, "Introduction" in **Pesant and Peasant Societies** (edited), Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, (1971), pp. 11-19.

(2) Nikolai I. Bukharin, (1965). reproduced as original without any alterations in the table from S.M. Lipset (1983).

(3) This question would be taken up as a challenge in the area of comparitive studies on peasantry.

(4) Please see Teodar Shanin, (1971), pp. 243-44 for the following discussion as well as reference.

(5) Teodar Shanin quotes Karl Marx and Otto Bauer here to support his point. These have been seen as the only way for peasantry to develop. Please see pp. 249-251.

(6) Worker peasant sells out his labour and is able to maintain hardly a subsistence level.

(7) This point does not need any eleboration as it is followed by some well known examples like peasant conditions of Russia and China and French Bonapartism alongwith Mao's people's army.

(8) Please see Eric Wolf "On Peasant Rebellions" **International Social Science Journal,** Volume 21, 1969, reproduced in Teodar Shanin, (1971), pp. 264-274.

(9) For a discussion on this point please see the argument put forward by Barrington Moore Jr. In **Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy,** Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966.

(10) For a detailed discussion on the contributions of K. Kelles-Krauz, please see L. Kolakowski, volume 2, (1978), pp. 94 and 213.

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TOURISM : AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF GARHWAL HIMALAYAS

VIJAY KUMAR SISODIA

Today the development of areas in Garhwal Himalayas has become a matter of great concern for social scientists, planners and administrators. The need for developing these areas has been well recognised both at the national and the local level and is being talked about in remote hill villages as well as in the planning commission and the state secretariate. Hill areas form a class by themselves because of their peculiar nature in terms of geographical, economic and ecological conditions. These peculiarities inhibit the process of development of these areas. Any effort aimed towards the development of these areas must take into account the specific problems and characteristics of these areas. Past experiences in the developing of hill areas have shown that all too often plans designed for the country as a whole have been implemented in the hill region too without any regard to their specific requirements. Inevitably the results have fallen short of their goals and the hill areas continue to be in a state of economic backwardness. This slow pace of development and the neglect of the interests and the aspirations of the local people has been causing discontent and a sense of deprivation among them. According to Bahuguna (1985) 'the cold icy mountains have been turning into mountains of warm discontent'. The present paper aims to identify some of the major constraints in the process of development of the hill region of Garhwal and made an attempt to discuss the nature and role of tourism in the socio-economic development of this naturally rich but economically backward region.

Garhwal region forming the north-western corner of the state of Uttar Pradesh consists of five hill districts namely-Dehradun, Pauri Garhwal, Tehri Garhwal, Uttarkashi and Chamoli. It lies between 29° 26' and 31° 28' north latitude and 77° 49' and 86° 06' east longitude with an area of 30090 sq. km. The altitude in the region varies from 1000 feets at the foothills to 25500 feets at Nanda Devi which is the highest peak in the region. The region is composed of vast tracts of bare rocks covered with forests offering very little levelled ground for agricultural purposes.

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The total population of the region accoring to 1991 census is 2934462 (1478507 males and 1455955 famales) with a density of 97.522 persons per sq. km. The whole region is predominantly rural with 83 per cent of the total population inhabiting in 8121 villages. The area is very sparsely populated and the villages are very small and are scattered over various altitudes. Being predominantly a rural area the main axis of economy is agriculture and 76 per cent of the total population depends on it.

Although agriculture is the main axis of economy in the region but unfortunately the situation of agriculture is far from optimistic. The base is very small and relatively less fertile. Though apprently the land men ratio in this region appears to be very favourable due to large areas covered by hills and small population, but if we take into consideration the cultivable land only the density of population is found to be highest in the hills (Bahuguna; 1985). In this region as a whole the net area sown as a percentage to total reported area for land use purposes is only 13.2 percent as compared to 57.9 percent in the state. Not only the quantity but the quality of land is also not up to the mark as most of the land under cultivation is either shallow, poor textured or steep sloped and not really fit for cultivation in terms of land capability criteria (Mathur; 1979).

Most of the farmers in the region are either small or marginal as the land holdings in the area are very small. Average land holding for the whole region is only 1.27 acres per family. This predominance of small land holdings scattered in tiny plots and terraces also inhibits the development of agriculture in the area.

The two major rivers of the country i.e. The Ganga and the Yamuna originate in this region but the irrigation facilities are woefully inadequate and most of the land is cultivated under rainfed conditions. Of the total land under cultivation only 28.6 percent is irrigated as compared to the state figure of 48.5 percent in this respect. Level of technology in agriculture is also very low, for instance the per hectare consumption of chemical fertiliser (NPK) in the region is only 33 Kgs. as against the state average of 47 Kgs. (Singh; 1987). Thus due to the poor quality of land associated with traditional cultivation pattern and lack of irrigation facilities the return from the land does not fully justify the labour invested in the fields. 'Agriculture, in this region, happens to be the main stay of the people not because it is remunerative or developed, but because other sectors of economy are far less developed and cannot absorb the idle manpower which remains normally engaged in the agriculture' (Joshi; 1983).

Another source of economic backwardness in the region is the virtual absence of alternative sources of income and employment as non-agricultural productive activities in the region are rare. The contribution of the manufacturing sector to total income and employment in the hill region is only 4.5 and 3.5 percent respectively. Whatever manufacturing activities

are available in the region are concentrated in and around Dehradun with the result that other districts' share in income is extremely low 0.5 to 1.5 percent only (Papola and Joshi : 1985). The physical characteristics of this area which put a limit on agricultural development also pose the most serious bottleneck in the development of this secondary sector of economy.

The existing pattern of economic activities, technology and production in the hill economy hardly seems capable to productively employing any more persons than are already engaged. Although open employment is not very significant, under-employment is found to prevail to the extent of almost 40 to 45 percent particularly among males. This situation forces the out migration of the educated as well as uneducated youth of this region to plains in search of some gainful employment. This problem of manpower migration has assumed alarming proportions. These migrated people send money regularly to their kins in the region through money-orders. This remitted money plays such an important role in the regional economy that sometimes it is called 'money-order economy'. According to some estimates 11 percent of the total income of the region enters through money-orders (Pandey 1983). These people even after retiring from their jobs, prefer to settle down in the plains because after a long spell in the urban areas the hill life becomes too hard to be born by them. Thus the region is again deprived of the vast experiences and knowledge they might have earned during their stay in urban areas.

These inbuilt structural constraints of hill economy have rendered the region economically backward and poor. The low productivity of agriculture and lack of manufacturing sector have put the region among the poorest and most backward regions not only in the state but in the whole country. In other words, the Garhwal region is one of the poorest part of the Uttar Pradesh State of India. Four of its five districts are included in the 37 industrially backward districts of the state.

The difficult geographical terrain, lack of infrastructure, density of population, pressure on cultivable land, lack of alternative sources of income and employment etc. make it a distinct socio-economic region as compared to other areas of the state. Therefore the general planning policy made for the entire state or country has not born full fruits in this region.

A number of economists and local leaders advocate for the industrialization of the area so that secondary sector of economy may be created to provide employment to the people in the region itself. In this direction some new industries have been deliberatly located in the region as a matter of purposive policy. But these units offer very limited direct employment due to the high technology used and their capital intensive nature and very little indirect employment generation due to lack of backward and forward linkages as a result of the insulated nature of activity and lack of infrastructures.

The two industries which are commonly advocated for the development of the region are forest and mineral base industries due to the availability of the raw material in the region itself. But these too have their dangerous ecological consequences. From ecological point of view, it would be dangerous to make any further inroads on the forests, thus rendering the use of the forest resources for industrial purposes locally or elsewhere, undesirable. The implications of forest denundation are very serious indeed both from the long term environmental perspective as well as the short term perspective of meeting the basic needs of the local population.

This ecology v/s economy controversy in the deveopment of areas in Garhwal Himalayas is not amenable to easy solutions. It is not enough to plead for local use of local resources. Nor does opposition to any effort for economic development on the pleas of environmental degradation lead us anywhere. Thus a limited and judicious use of local non-renewable or difficult to renew resources combined with development of material, light and skill (man power) intensive activities with the minimum adverse effect on environment and ecology could alone offer a better living conditions to the local population and prevent damage to ecological balance (Papola and Joshi: 1985). Keeping in view the need of development and the ecological constraints and sensitive nature of environment in the region, the development and promotion of tourism seems to be a viable solution.

Today tourism is the world's largest and fastest growing industry in terms of earnings and the number of people involved. In this industry there are no problems of packaging, transporting and shipment of the product as in case of other manufacturing industries. The customer brings himself to the point of sale at his own cost and expense and in return takes immediate delivery of the services (Bhatia: 1978). It is a 'smokeless industry' in the sense that it earns large revenues without in any way exporting any tangible product from the region. Tourism is a peculiar type of industry which is viewed as being a 'naturally renewable resource industry' with visitors coming only to admire and not to consume to landscape, customs and the monuments of a certain specific area. Therefore geographers name it as a 'landscape industry'. In the present times tourism has grown from the pursuit of a privileged few to a mass movement of people, with the urge to discover the unknown, to explore new and strange places, to seek change and relaxation in the new and peaceful environment and so on.

Tourism is not a single industry but a loose confederation of a number of allied industries. Not being an agriculturally or industrially productive activity it is usually classified as the tertiary sector, which is manily a service sector. Five broad components of tourism industry have been identified; attraction, transportion, accomodation, supporting facilities and the infrastructures. The attraction induces the tourist to visit the area, transportation enables him to do so, the accomodation and supporting facilities (e.g. hotels, shops and restaurants) cater for his well being there and the

infrastructures ensure the successful functioning of all these (Pearce: 1985). Being a labour intensive service industry it provides employment to a large number of people directly as well as indirectly. Tourism has tremendous employment potential both directly in the tourism plant-the accomodation facilities, the transport operation, travel agencies, shopkeepers, guides and so on and also the indirect employment in the handicrafts and other types of industries that are ancillary to the tourism complex. It provides jobs and employment of all kinds and at all levels for every conceivable length of time which may help in the speedy transformation of the economically backward region.

The problem of manpower drainage can be checked to certain extent with the development of tourism in the region which inevitably creates job opportunities for unemployed and under employed population. Thus the manpower in the region can be engaged in the process of socio-economic development of their own region.

The earnings from tourism play an important role in the development of regional economy. The flow of money generated by tourist's spendings multiplies as it passes through various sections of the economy through the operation of the 'multiplier effect'. Tourism spending is subjected to a multiplier effect in which money spent on travel, accomodation, entertainment, shopping etc. spreads throughout the regional economy and creates additional business. This development of tertiary sector of services through tourism is also directly beneficial to the primary and secondary sectors by reason of the demand stimulated by tourism for the goods and products in these sectors.

Tourism influences and gives incentives to local manufacturers of handicrafts and artistic items. This is due to the fact that for the tourists, owning a piece of handicraft purchased from his place of destination itself is a matter of pride and satisfaction. This serves the purpose of a souvenir or momento of his journey to this particular place. Thus tourism is not to be regarded as an area of peripheral investment but as one of primary investment whose benefits includes the creation of employment opportunities and the regeneration of backward economy.

Garhwal the land of rishies, sages and ashrams is redolent with mythology and includes some of the holiest places of Hindu pilgrimage. Garhwal is called as DEV BHUMI-the land of Gods. The four traditional retreats for the pilgrims in Garhwal have been the dhams or holy places of Yamnotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath and Badrinath.

Garhwal lying in the great Himalayas is a traveller's delight and naturalist's paradise. As most of tourism experts believe 'most backward regions offer often enough, the most exotic resource base for pormotion of tourism'. Garhwal region also offers some of the rarest 'tourism products'

of nature. Himalayan mystique is compelling and beauty lies unveiled and uncovered with vast stratches of virgin and wild land, unspoiled by human interaction. They offer rich pastures for the new nomads who having been saturated with affluence, carve for such destination (Singh: 1983). In totality Garhwal is a heaven both for religious pilgrim and the discerning naturalist.

Tourism as a large scale mass movement and as an instrument of economic development may be a new phenomenon but in Garhwal Himalaya it has been an age old phenomenon in the form of pilgrimage or 'tirathyatras'. In older times it was essentially pilgrimage embodying simplicity, morality, ecological purity and self imposed discipline. Due to its pure religious nature it has continued for centuries without any adverse effect on the ecology and environment of the region.

During last few decades tourism has come to be recognised as an instrument of regional development-par excellence. It can break through the inertia and economic morbidity of a backward region like Garhwal (Kaur: 1985). The unparallel natural beauty and religious importance of Garhwal have made it a potential area for tourism development. With the realisation of these realities Uttar Pradesh Government started certain serious efforts in this direction with the formation of Garhwal Mandal Vikas Nigam (G.M.V.N.) in 1976. The G.M.V.N. was established with the main purpose of development of this region along with the promotion and development of basic infrastructures and facilities for tourism promotion. This premier organisation has been engaged in the task of promotion of mass tourism in the region by providing reasonable accomodation, transport facilities and development of new tourist spots within the region. Attempts are also being made to do away with the seasonality of tourism and to make it a round the year phenomenon. Government has also made many efforts to promote folk and local products by establishing centres of woodcraft and shawl making. These efforts on the part of Government need further boost by introducing innovative ideas and demand orientation in their products.

Tourism as it exists today in Garhwal region has its own problems which tend to limit the over all economic benefits of tourism to this region. As the tourism in this region is localised only in few centres especially the traditional pilgrim centres, so the benefits from tourism, though considerable, accrue to only a small number of people in handful of places. These economic benefits hardly percolate to reach the general population especially the rural population out side the main tourist centres and routes. Thus the increasing tourism in Garhwal Himalayas has only helped to create pockets of affluence in otherwise economically backward region.

Tourism is not purely an agent of economic development. It has its own sociology, anthropology, ecology and geography which are to be thoroughly understood for the real development of tourism in the region. Economists are generally positively oriented towards tourism, while sociologists and ecologists have always expressed their reservations about the net socio-economic benefits derived through tourism at the cost of social and ecological disintegration. According to Pizan (1982) in contrast to the economic effects the social and psychological changes as a result of tourism have often been portrayed as unfavourable and negative. But it is difficult to evaluate and quantify the possible negative consequences of tourism in order to include them in economic supra-regional analysis.

The increasing tourist trafic in Garhwal Himalayas has resulted in many adverse effects on the ecology and environment of the region. Environmentalists are concerned about the ecological imbalances and environmental degradation being brought about by the huge number of visitors and their impact on the carrying capacity of this hill region. To facilitate and encourage tourism, new roads have been and are being constructed. This results in loosening and erosion of soil which are considered to be responsible for frequent landslides. With frequent landslides the rate of soil erosion is further speeded up. The erosion not only results in the loss of top soil but also of vegetational cover in the region.

In spite of all its evils and limitations tourism holds the key of socio-economic development of this economically backward hill region. But any policy or plan aimed at developing tourism in this ecologically sensitive region must maintain equilibrium between ecological and economic aspects of tourism and this can be achieved if the environment too is considered from the very begining of such plans. Attempts should be made to disperse the tourist traffic both in terms of time and space. They should be attracted to wider areas and for a longer part of the year by the development of infrastructure and ancillary facilities. This should not prove too difficult a task as the Garhwal region offers a wide choice of places of religious interest, scenic beauty, adventure and recreation etc. Trourism should not be treated as in instrument of socio-economic regeneration in isolation but it should be made an integral part of any plan or strategy oriented towards the development of Garhwal Himalayas.

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EDUCATION POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE-THE CASE OF SINGAPORE

PRAHLAD MISHRA

The first school opened in Singapore was the 'Free-School (1834) after the foundation of Singapore in 1819 (by Sir Stamford Raffle). The school had the English and Malay as a medium of instruction for school going children. It was viewed that these medium of instruction could internalize the western and oriental socio-cultural norms in the personality of the children of the total societal community. The English was recognized as a tool for the education of science, needed for societal development in the 19th century. For the purpose of oriental education and the production of well skilled teachers; the Teacher's Training was Started in 1878, which took the responsibility of moral, religious and linguistic training of the teachers. It was thought that the trained teachers could safeguard the physical, moral and intellectual responsibility of children in society. It was the time when the societal composition of Singapore was' becoming heterogeneous in nature. Christian missionary came in Singapore and established English medium of schools and provided the societal services like medicine and health care for the needed people in Singapore. The societal movement in country was towards the commercialization. This movement required a certain kind of skilled development that rested on the medium of English education. The Singapore was developed as a free trading entrepot in south east Asia. The streamship was under operation and the link of Singapore was widened through the connection of various countries of world. The commercialization demanded the professional skill development that was only possible through the English medium of schools. The upper class of society especially the merchants of Singapore became apathetic towards the education of Malay medium of schools and stopped to donate the money to Malay schools. It resulted into the closing of many Malay Schools in Singapore whereas the Chinese, Tamil medium of schools were not under the sponsership of British authority. Still the Malay, Chinese and Tamil Schools were running in Singapore by the efforts and responsibility of the community leaders.

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The varying nature of occupational demands produced the professional middle stratum who strengthened its position through the specialization in various fields e.g. legal, medicine and technical fields. This was a kind of new group in Singapore who took the responsibility to link the people and government. The members of these groups got the employment opportunity in government and private sectors and developed a new kind of social mobility different from their Asiatic and Western counterparts.

Japanese occupied Singapore in 1942 and introduced a new kind of education system that was nationalistic in nature. They made the primary education compulsory for all school going children. All schools observed the flag raising ceremoney and physical education. The existing schools came into the direct control of government and teachers were instructed to participate in the Common Youth Activities along with the children. It was the first step which facilitated the intermingling and understanding of the societal values, motivation and attitude of different ethnic groups in the country. Educational institutions were forced to participate in the welfare activities and to have the first hand knowledge about the need of people. Technical education was encouraged in school to meet the demand of country. English education was discouraged to sweep the influence of western values from society, but it was not so easy to rideoff. A common language "Nippon go" was introduced to integrate the total society and for the inculcation of strong national feelings in people. Society was well knitted through the governmental and semigovernmental machinery and voluntary services. As a whole the operational programme boosted the nationalistic sentiments in the mind of people and make the people conscious for their moral and social rights in Singaporean society.

The cumulative result of education had been observed at the time of second British occupation (1946-1958) of Singapore. People demanded the civil rights in society. They jointly stand in the front of British authority under the banner of different political parties, labour unions and youth organizations. They launched a nationwide demonstration to get their equal human rights in Singapore. Various educational institutions were utilized for this purpose. Mention can be made of Chinese medium of schools where curriculum, teching method and teachers were taken from China and communistic patterns were followed. British authority realized the social situation and adopted the soft policy to take the people in their favour. A ten years programme (1947) was launched and Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English languages were declared as official languages. It was a time when the status of Singapore was promoted as a state. Education system was reorganized for the encouragement of civil loyalty through the scrutinized curriculum, text book and teaching facilities in the state. The Primary education was made compulsory, training colleges were opened and different 'Educational Councils' were formed to study the difficulties of the Chinese, Malay and Tamil medium of schools. A bilingual policy was worked

out for teaching the courses in schools and grant in aid was made available to most of the government sponsored schools. An All Party Committee (1956) was framed for the recommendation of educational objective in Singapore whose findings were implemented later on in the societ,.

Singapore became internally independent in 1959. At that time, there were wide economic gaps among different social groups. Unemployment was acute in state. Educational frame-work was not oriented towards employment opportunity. People were divided under the different sectional loyalities. Singapore government took the educational responsibility in its hand and implemented the bilingual policy in schools. Schools were instructed to teach a second language and each pupil have to learn one more language apart from his mother tongue. Curricula were framed to match the nature of employment opportunity. In this connection vocational and technical institutes were opened. The education was made available according to the aptitude of students. A new experiment had been done in the field of education through the establishment of integrated schools (1959) in Singapore. Integrated schools were established with the view that it would provide the chances of intermingling of various ethnic groups-students at the time of extra-curricular activities. Integrated schools controlled and supervized the two or three types of medium of schools, running in one compound under the headship of one principal. Along the education expansion, the employment opportunity for new generation was worked out through the establishment of industries in public and private sectors in society. The demand of economic development was also met through the merger of Singapore in Malay-Federation (1963-65) by which another dimension of employment was opened. Malaysia needed the skilled people as workers in different socital sector i.e. industrial and non-agricultural fields. Singapore was also in need of workers in the form of non-skilled cheap wage labour in the area of construction work. Along these the educated professional groups were engaged in the various specialized fields e.g. banking, legal, commercial and industrial sectors.

Singapore became sovereign nation state in 1965. After the independence, different innovative schemes which were worked out before the sovereignity, were totally implemented in society. In the field of curricula, method and teaching, a well integrated scheme was launched. The curricula seekout the expertize in education and were made universal for all the school going students belonging to any medium of instruction. The uniformity of contents were maintained in all the official text books, prescribed for the primary level of education. Examinations were controlled by the one centralized institution. Trained teachers and various educational aids were provided in all types of schools. Mention can be made of Educational Television Service (1967) which cover and facilitate the students and teachers in covering the various curriculum subjects, education for living (1974) was introduced in schools which cover the civics, geography and history subjects. At the secondary level of education, differential streams

of education were worked out. The oriented courses were divided into Arts, science and Technical streams and courses were offered, according to the aptitude of students. An Advisory Committee" on curriculum development was set up (1970) which has responsibility to revise and evaluate the performance of courses. The total courses were set up in such a way to meet the future need of the society. The total educational machinary of government was made well connected. The teachers of Singapore are considered as civil servants. They take professional training in the Teachers-Training College (1973). Teachers are considered as a tool for the nation-building who have a special prestige and status in the society. After the appointment their promotion and salaries are increased according to their academic skill and performance. The higher education is also controlled.

Durkhiem (1956: 60-90) reveals that historical analysis is essential to understand the educational system which occured in the relation of total societal system. Through the historical analysis one can understand the system of morality, language, religion and sciences, which are social things and formed the collective nature. The sociological interest is to discover the social facts; in a comparative time span of the varying nature of family pattern, corporation, nation and community. In the same context Parsons T. (1955: 182-214) stressed that education facilitate, specific types of norms in society and is a source of modernity. Education provides the chances of achievement pattern in society and opens the door for provessional to share the power, prestige and wealth opportunity. Education also provide the linguistic uniformity which leads the community beyond the ethnic basis and language policy reduces the communicational barriers along the opportunity of upward mobility of an individual in society. The education is a basic source for the extension of the equality of opporounity and citizenship. It strengthen the associational trends, specially through the encouragement of law, medicine and technology which has effect on the stratification and occupational system. This types of academic compliance is transforming the structure of modern Singapore.

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AQUATIC RESOURCES AND FISHING METHODS IN KAMRUP DISTRICT OF ASSAM

MANJU SINGH

The present paper deals with the vast and varied aquatic resources and methods of fishing used in these resources with special reference to Kamrup district of Assam. The data were collected through empirical observations made in riverine resource-River Brahmaputra and lacustrine resources-Dipar and Dighali beels during January 1987 to December 1987. The Dipar beel represents a live beel which is connected through functional channels (river Bharalu & Khanajan) while Dighali beel was taken as an example of a dead beel. A major part of information about these aquatic resources was gathered from records of "Central Inland Fisheries Research Centre" Gauhati, `Assam Fisheries Development Corporation' Government of Assam. The paper is divided into two sections. Section I introduces the locale of the study with a brief description of vast and varied aquatic resources in Kamrup district of Assam. Section II takes a note of major methods of fishing in these aquatic resources.

I

The locale of study:

Assam, the largest of seven North-Eastern states of the Indian Subcontinent, nestling between the Eastern.Himalayan foot hills and Patkai range. The state consists essentially of the two valleys viz., the Brahmaputra valley on the North and Barak valley in the South. The Kamrup disrict is situated in Brahamputra valley.

The mighty Brahmaputra meanders its course through the district cutting it into two parts North and South. The North Kamrup is about twice the size of the South, while the North is, on the whole plain, the South Kamrup is broken up by hills. Again North Kamrup as subjected to revenges of flood but South is relatively free from floods.

Aquatic Resourcs

The mighty Brahmaputra and its major tributaries, the river Barak, the flood-plain and tectonic lakes locally called beels, the swamps or wetlands

and the tanks and ponds constitute vast and varied fishery resources of the Assam. In this section, we will discuss three typical aquatic resources of Kamrup district of Assam, namely, the River Brahmaputra, the Dipar beel and the Dighali beel on which the present study is concentrated.

The River Brahmaputra

The River Brahmaputra originates from the great glacier lake 'Mansarovar'. After criss-crossing the boundless tracts of the Himalayas the river enters the Assam near Sadiya town and traverses through the valley, before entering Bangladesh. Having an average width of 8 Km. (Verma, 1984), the river rolls down the Assam valley from East to West in oscillating and variable channel. It flows placidly on a gradient of 1 meter per 8.5 Km. (Choudhury, 1978) and lays down during flood the blanket of fine silt that gives the valley its fertility. It receives a heavy rainfall varying 175 cubic meters per second (cms) to 640 cms, the average being of the order or 290 cms (Central Metrological Station, Borjhar, Gauhati).

The river has more than 47 tributaries within the valley, emerging from both North and South banks. Nearly a dozen small and large tributaries meet the River Brahmaputra within the Kamrup district.

The important northern bank tributaries in Kamrup district are the *Puthimari, Pagaldiya, Pohumara, Manas, Beki and Aie* .

The South bank tributaries are few in number and less prone to floods. River *Kollong, Digaru and Kulsi* are the main tributaries of South bank in Kamrup district.

A total of about 31935 Kg. of fish is estimated to have landed at Uzan Bazar fish landing centre on River Brahmaputra during the period January to December 1987 with an average landing of 2661.25 Kg/month.

Beels

There are about 1392 beels in Assam of which 169 are located in the Kamrup district. According to State Government records (1980) the beels contribute about 93 per cent of the total fish prone water area excluding rivers and their tributaries and about 18 per cent of the total lentic area. According to State Government records these beels are capable of giving an annual fish crop of 70,000 tonnes, while the present production is estimated to be about 10,000 tonnes.

Physiographically, the beels can be grouped into two categories. Those retaining their continuity with the original river/tributary through some narrow channel either throughout the year or atleast during rainy season are termed as *live* beels. The *Dipar beel* of Kamrup district comes under this category. Others which are completely cut off and remain as

isolated bodies of water are known as *dead beel*. Such beels receive water mostly from their catchment area. In Kamrup district *Dighali beel* has been identified as a dead bee..

Dipar beel

This beel is situated about 10 km. South West to Gauhati. In flood level it becomes very large while at live stage it comprises an area of 146.28 has with a gross volume of 16, 10, 540 m^3 (Dey, 1981). Technically the beel is an oxbow type riverine lake. It is extended SE-NW axis and is connected to River Brahmaputra by river Bharalu in the North East (acting as provisional inlet) and river Khanajan in the North-West (acting both as inlet and outlet and forms the principal feeding canal) directions. Both the feeding canals are irregularly controlled through sluice gates. In normal conditions the inflow of water to the beel is observed from April through July while outflow starts from August through February. River Khanajan is closed during January and March for fishing.

Dighali beel

This beel lies within Hajo circle of Kamrup district of Assam. It lies about 37 km. West to Gauhati. The beel, now a typical oxbow lake is perhaps the dead course of a mature meandering stream. The catchment area of beel is composed of hills of the Sila-Sundari range (Yadava *et. al.* 1987). The water level shows considerable fluctuations throughout the year due to variation in precipitation. During summers, the beel becomes almost dry leaving the scattered pockets of water. Three pockets of about 15-35 ha namely *Dighali,* Rowmari and Matikola remain prominant throughout the year.

II

The indigenous fishing methods employed in both the lentic and lotic waters of Kamrup district exhibit vividity in their design as well as *modus oprandi.* The perfection encountered in the fishing gears are perhaps the outcome of tradition and possibly the results of long years of trial. Comprehensive account of different gears and methods of fishing in the riverine and lacustrine (beels) waters are very few. The earliest record of traditional fishing gears and their mode of operation in Assam was probably that of (Day, 1877) whose work was based on a survey conducted by F. Buchannan-Hamilton during the period 1807-1813. Subsequently, the fishing gears of inland waters of the state were reported by De (1910), Job and Pantulu (1958), and Joseph and Narayanan (1965). Recently Katal fishing (Yadava *et. al.* 1981) and Banas fishing (Yadava 1986), the two

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important fishing devices have been described besides a description (Bhagowati and Kalita, 1987) outlining the design, mode of operation, seasonal variation and fish catch composition in beels of lower Assam.

The present account embodies a description of the gears in vogue in the river Brahmaputra and two beels Dipar and Dighali-in Kamrup district of Assam.

Fishing gears of River Brahmaputra

A large variety of fishing gear and tackle are operated in different stretches of the river for commercial exploitation of fishery resources. The river however presents certain hydrological differences from other rivers of the country which necessitates deployment of specific gear for fish capture in certain cases.

The entire fleet of gears observed in the river are non-mechanised. Based on design and mode of operation the observed gears have been classified into the following major groups; 1-Drag/Seine nets 2-Gill nets 3-Bag nets 4-Purse/clap nets 5-Dip nets 6-Cast nets 7-Trawl nets beside the seasonal use of long lines and traps.

Detail of these gears is shown in table - 1.

Fishing gears of beels

Fishing in the beels is traditional yet interesting. Reliance is more on traps, snares, and lures rather than seining, Gilling & Dragging. Fishing methods keep on changing from month to month, yet a distinct seasonal categorisation can be done. Starting from monsoon only hooks and lines and to some extent dip nets are used. The cat fishes and smaller varieties are normally caught by this method. Post Monsoon witnesses the use of 'Banas' in exploiting the current flowing back to the river, resulting in the catch of spawn and large fishes migrating back to the river. This method was particularly observed in Dipar beel which has a functional link with the river Brahmaputra. The 'Katal' fishing generally starts in Monsoon when the 'Katals' are installed. The harvesting of 'Katals' is done during December to February. The use of gill nets and drag nets in beels less infested with aquatic vegetation is also seen in winters. Hand operated triangular nets and traps as indigenous as the community operating them are operated mainly during post monsoon and winters.

Principal gears operated in beels of Kamrup district of Assam are shown in Table 2.

Besides the gears mentioned in above table two very popular indigenous methods are also employed in the beels.

TABLE 1 : PRINCIPAL GEARS OPERATED IN BRAHMAPUTRA RIVER SYSTEM IN KAMRUP DISTRICT.

Type of Gear	Local names	Material used	Main Season of Operation
Drag nets	Berjal, Chellajal, Pahjal, Duttasi, Aretona Gullyjal etc.	Cotton	All seasons
Gill nets	Langijal, Phansijal	Cotton/Sunhemp/ Nylon/Assam silk	All seasons
Bag nets	Kona jal	Cotton/Sunhemp	All seasons
Purse nets	Illisha shanglajal, Karal, Shengla jal	Cotton/Sunhemp	April-September
Dip nets	Khora jal, Kahj-jal Pahjal, Berhrijal	Cotton	November-May
Cast nets	Kavalijal, Regha jal Asrajal, Ottaljal, Pashjal	Cotton/Sunhemp	November-May
Trawl nets	Fery jal, Bachrujal	Cotton	November-May
Hook & Lines	Barshi		All seasons

TABLE - 2 PRINCIPAL GEARS OPERATED IN BEELS OF KAMRUP DISTRICT OF ASSAM

Type of Gear	Local names	Material used	Main season of Operation
(A) NETS			
(i) Moving nets			
Drag nets	Mohori jal, Ber Jal, Horhori jal, Moi jal, Panti jal	Cotton	Winters
Dip nets	Jata jal, Dharma jal, Ghoka jal	Cotton	Rainy seasons
Cast nets	Khewali jal	Cotton	Winters
(ii) Stationary nets			
Gill nets	Fansi jal, Puthi, Langi, Kaoilangi Goroilangi	Cotton/Sunhemp/ Nylon/Assam Silk	All seasons
(B) Hooks & lines	Iron & split bamboo hooks	Iron & Bamboo	All seasons
(C) Traps	Polo, Sepa, Dingore, Boldha, Box Sepa, Bhari.	Bamboo	All seasons

(1) Katal fishing: Katal fishing also called jeng fishing in upper Assam. *Katals* are basically lures since the motive behind is to entice fishes in accumulated mass of bushes, weeds and tree stumps for a period of 2-3 months. Katals are set during August to September by dumping tree branches, stumps and bamboo shoors and water hyacinth in the form of a circle. In suitable places with depth varying from 1.5-3 meters the katals are arranged and several katals lie dispersed all over the beel. The fishes make shelters in such katals. During late Novermber to February, the katal is encircled by drag nets and bamboo screens. The vegetation and other objects from inside the circle are thrown and the circumference is slowly reduced by dragging the nets and screen inwards. Cast nets are operated simultaneously within the reduced circle. The foot ropes of nets are finally brought together to form a bag and fishes are caught.

Catch composition of katals comprises of medium and large sized major carps, cat fishes leatherbacks and miscellaneous varieties.

(2) Banas Fishing: Banas fishing is done during post monsoon i.e. September to November in live beels. The Banas are set barriers erected from bank in the channels connecting beel to riverine source. The channel plays a pivotal role during monsoon, when with the current, adults and juveniles of various species enter the beel for breeding, feeding and temporary migration etc. with the waning monsoon, the current starts receding towards the river and many species undertake their back journey and at this stage Banas fishing commences.

Main findings:- The main findings of the study are as follows:

1. The mighty River Brahmaputra with its more than 47 tributaries forms the major riverine resource in Assam of which nearly a dozen small and large tributaries meet the river Brahmaputra in Kamrup district of Assam.

2. It was found that lacustrine resources the beels are of two types- oxbow and lake like we take into consideration the structure of the beels. But on the basis of physiography of the beels both dead and live beels were found in Kamrup district of Assam.

3. The earliest record of traditional fishing gears and their mode of operation in Assam was probably that of Day (1877). Recently *Katal* fishing Yadava *et. al.* 1981) and *Banas* fishing (Yadava and Choudhury 1986) two important devices have been identified.

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UNTOUCHABILITY AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL VARIABLES

VIKRAM SINGH

Indian Society is composed of various religious and caste groups. These castes and religions carries and creates social and cultural diversities. The key to these diversities among the perceptions of people of different regions involves not the level of mental ability, but the culture in which they were brought up. These socio-cultural diversities are directly related with the forces of integration and disintegration of the nation. Therefore, the attitude of untouchability which is directly related to the disintegration, should be discouraged.

In this paper an attempt is made to determine the nature and effectivity of some socio-cultural variables in affecting the attitudes of people towards untouchability and their consequent behaviour. The selected socio-cultural factors under the study refer to (i) Urban-rural strata of culture (ii) Culture determinism of confirmity versus rebellion (iii) High and low levels of economic status and (iv) High caste and scheduled caste.

The variable of 'culture stratum' refers to culture as it exists in various strata due to variation of material possessions and technology and science as means of such productions.

Being cultural to the Indian context refer to actualization of culture through religion which stands for forgiveness, control of passions and ideas, abstinence from property misappropriation, cleanliness of mind, body and spirit, control of senses, cultivation of reasonableness, acquisition of knowledge, truthfulness, mastery over anger and many others like this, whereas the uncultural means non-confirmity of cultural traditions in the name of progress, enlightement and modernity.

Another variable of study is culture determinism which means that culture determines personality either by conforming or rebelling the socio-cultural norms prevailing in the system. It plays a crucial role in the development of personality, especially in influencing the frequency with which certain traits will be found, within the various cultural groups.

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Economic status, as a variable, possesses cherishing of things because of their material value. It procures the person a place in society and stratifies the society according to the amount and source of income which are usually derived from a set of occupational activities, the ownership of the property or both.

The variable of caste exists both as a group and social system. It, as a concept, is based on a segmental division of society, a hierarchy with restrictions on feeding and social intercourse. It has civil and religious disabilities and previleges for different sections of society.

Untouchability

The practice of untouchability in the Indian Caste System, though racial and ritualistic in origin, also derived from economic relations and the conflict of interests of upper and lower castes. However, since untouchability was ideologically sanctioned, its abolition depends not only on prolitarianization of untouchables, but also on the westernization and secularization of the Indian masses. Until the impact of westernization, secularization, urbanization and industrialisation is fully felt, untouchability is likely to persist unofficially in India regardless of legal abolition. (Gandhi 1983). During the last 40 years, scheduled casts people have been given privileges less on humanitarian and more on political grounds. Therefore, caste has emerged as a strong political factor due to its linkage with democratic value (Madan et. al. 1967) and caste prejudices remain stronger than religious prejudices in possession of power (Prakash and Reddy 1967). It has been noted that people of high caste are more advanced economically and politically and have stronger attitude towards untouchability. It has obsrved that high casts people are less ethnocentric than those of scheduled castes but people of scheduled castes try to develop greater prejudices against high castes people (Dubey 1978). It has been noted that education demotes the attitude to untouchability (Jha 1974).

There are not two opinions that untouchability will not be removed even by the force law. It can only be removed when the majority of Hindus will realize that it is a crime against God and men and will ashame of it.

Methodology

The respondents of the study were both male and female literate adults of rural and urban areas of Meerut district. These were selected through a multistage sampling. In the first stage 500 respondents each were purposively selected from urban and rural areas respectively, constituting an equal number of high castes and scheduled castes. These respondents were administered 'culture determinism scale' and 'socio-economic status' scale and based on the scores of these two tests 200 respondents were selected in each category of high and low levels of economic status and culture

conformists and culture rebellions. Thus a final sample of 400 respondents was selected and administered the 'Attitude Scale' to measure untouchability. This scale contains 150 items, in which each dimensions of the attitude viz., Nationalism, Liberalism, Social Revolution, Social Change, Social Distance and Untouchability has 25 statements. It is an equal appearing interval scale resembles with Bogardus Social distance scale. The split half reliability of the test is .83.

Before the data treated by ANOVA, the data tested for homogeneity of variance and the results revealed that the assumption of homogeneity was upheld. The normality of distribution was also measured and found that skewness do not exist in high castes and culture conforming adults. While Kurtosis for the sample was negligible and the sample remained sufficient to provide facts to be generalised for their respective universe. Effect of independent variables upon untouchability was examined with 'F test' and among group differences were measured with the help of DRT statistics. The 2x2x2x2 factorial design was equipped with potentiality to reveal the effectivity and interactions of four highly generalised independent variables.

Results

It was evident from the ANOVA that the main effects of c, $F(1,384) = 24.50$, $p < .01$, trivatrtiate interaction of A X C X D, $F(1, 384) = 11.04$, $p < .01$ and fourvariate interaction of A X B X C X D, $F(1,384) = 4.60$, $p < .05$ were found significant whereas the other combinations were insignificant.

When the fourvariate interaction was broken up into bivariate combinations only the aforesaid four bivariate combinations were again found significant.

Significant main effect indicates that high caste adults have higher degree of untouchability than their counterpart scheduled castes and the finding is supported by the study of Ruth (1960). Significant trivariate interaction analysis shows that caste independent of economic status and culture stratum leads to promote the attitude to untouchability. It means that high caste people maintained the distance with scheduled caste adults and this relationship is least affected by their economic status in both the rural and urban areas. Fourvariate interaction results also support the trivariate interaction results which indicate that culture conformist and culture rebellion adults do not show any specific trend towards the attitude to untouchability.

DRT results shows that among the sixteen sub-groups under study the group of the culture rebelling, urban, high caste adults of high economic status have the greatest amount of this attitude whereas the least affected group is culture rebelling, rural scheduled caste adults of low economic status.

ANOVA SUMMARY (P <.05)

Source	SS	df	MS	F
A	961.00	1	961.00	
B	510.76	1	510.76	
C	16,926.00	1	16,926.00	24.50**
D	2,430.49	1	2,430.49	
AxB	2,332.89	1	2,332.89	
AxC	179.56	1	179.56	
AxD	1,049.76	1	1,049.76	
BxC	129.96	1	129.96	
BxD	1,444.00	1	1,444.00	
CxD	882.09	1	882.09	
AxBxC	118.81	1	118.81	
AxBxD	479.61	1	479.61	
AxCxD	7,603.84	1	7,603.84	11.04**
AxCxD	876.16	1	876.16	
AxBxCxD	3,169.69	1	3,169.69	4.60*
ERRMR	2,64,441.12	12.384	688.57	
TOTAL	3,03,505.75	399		

ABBREVIATIONS USED

A-Culture Stratum
B-Culture Determinism
C-Caste
D-Economic Status
R-Rural
S.C. Scheduled CasteS
ECOH-High Economic Status
ECOL-Low Economic Status

1. R (CxD), $F = 9.92$, $p < .01$
2. S.C (AxD), $F = 10.39$, $p < .01$
3. Eco H (AxC), $F = 3.95$, $p < .05$
4. Eco L (AxC), $F = 7.35$, $p < .05$

Summary

Based on the above discussed findings it can be inferred that untouchability is maintained at a higher rate by the high caste people and this relationship is insignificantly affected by their economic status both in rural and urban areas. Culture determinism does not produce any specific trend towards the attitude to untouchability.

Implications

In the foregoing study, a few critical aspects of the problem were examined and the following points were made.

1. The elements of socio-cultural climate should not be aligned with cultivation of undesirable attitude of untouchability because it not only hampers the growth of healthy social values but also neutralizes the effects of the other positive attitudes.

2. It can also be suggested that a guided economic prosperity with right and effective type of education in culture, values and attitudes to people of high caste and scheduled caste can mobilize them for greater tastes of national reconstruction.

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BOOK REVIEW

DAWSON, JONATHAN AND IAN BARWELL

1993 : **Roads are Not Enough : New Perspective on Rural Transport Planning in Developing Countries,**
London : Intermediate Technology Publication, 79 + Viii

The growth of transportation network is considered as an important means by the development theorists and policy makers in the wider process of social and economic development as it facilitates the geographical and social mobility in the tradional social systems. The construction of all weather roads was put on top priority in the earlier development plans of most of the underdeveloped countries of the 'Third World'. The book under review suggests that the 'highway and car' approach will not be able to meet the totality of important transport demands of the rural communities in the developing world and put forward a new approach to the analysis and understanding of the rural transport patterns. The book is a part of the series commenced by Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) Established to generate awareness about intermediate technology in the developing societies.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter simply introduces the theme of the book and delineates the major objectives of the present work as follows (a) 'to trace the evolution of transport theory and policy and to chart the emergence of the new 'need-led' approach (b) to describe the methodology and findings of a number of recent studies following the line of this new approach and (c) to examine the implications of these works for policy makers and to suggest a number of areas of intervention which could usefully be explored and to complement the development of rural road networks with a view to reducing the scale of the transport burden which currently imposes so heavily on time and energy of the rural poor'. The subsequent chapters deal with these issues in a systematic manner.

In the second chapter the evolution of transport theory and policy in last few decades is traced. The authors argue that the conventional rural transport models adopted by most of the developing countries focussed more or less exclusively on roads and motor vehicles. The limitations of this model are identified by the authors as "the lack of agreement on the role

played by road and motor vehicles or on their impact; the cost of maintenance of the road infrastructure was recognized as being very high; and most seriously of all, large sections of the rural community were seen to be largely untouched by motor vehicles" (p.5). As a result a number of studies conducted by social scientists in third world countries in 1980's adopted a new methodological approach in rural transport analysis. The major emphasis of this approach was to take the household as the unit of analysis.

The third chapter takes a note of community and household studies focussing on transport needs of the rural population in developing countries like Tanzania, Ghana and Philippines. The authors analyse the fingings of these studies in a comparative frame work and take into account the variables like distance to key places, means of transport used, travel patterns, disaggregation of household transport tasks and presented a wider picture before the readers about the transport burden whose existence was recognised by many social scientists in general but no serious attempt was made to quantify them. This gives a clear picture of the problems related to the transport burden of rural population in the developing world.

In the fourth chapter, the authors examine the range of options to address the rural transport problem. They suggest a thorough reappraisal of the role and scope of policy in the field of rural transportation which should involve three key developments in strategy thinking. These are "(a) recognition that the range of initiatives and policies which could be adopted is considerably greater than generally been exploited to date; (b) broadening of the definition of the problem beyond `mobility' to encompass the wider concept of `accessibility' and (c) aknowledgement that policies appropriate to reducing the rural transport burden must be location specific and must respond more closely to specific physical cultural and socio-economic characterstics and needs of the target area. Such an approach calls for a move away from `Project based planning' towards' area based planning'methods and for a more open minded and imaginative response to rural transport which takes local factors into account" (P. 39-40). The authors have discussed at a length three possible ways in which the mobility of rural households can be enhanced in order to fulfil their transport needs namely, greater use of intermediate links of Transport, development of local transport infrastructure and expansion of local rural transport servies. They have also suggested certain measures to remove constraints for the adoption of intermediate means of transports (IMTs) in developing countries like Africa where people are not aware about the existence of a range of IMTs. These constraints may be removed by measures like education and awareness production, supply affordability and import policy. In authors' view, the development of rural transport infrastructure will have a central role in a comprehensive strategy to enhance rural mobility There are three key aspects in the development and sustainablity of appropriate rural transport infrastructure viz. (a) path and track network; (b) low cost road

construction (c)labour basd construction and maintenance methods. The holistic approach entails the rational planning of interventions not only on measures to imporove mobility by making travel faster, cheaper or less burdensome but also incorporates the option of `non-transport' policy measures and interventions to increase accessibility by reducing or obviating the needs for rural people. These interventions may be of two types: the location of infrastructural facilities in rural areas and storage and credit provisions.

In the last chapter the authors conclude their argument as follows. "This holistic approach entails the rational planning of interventions, and the allocation of resources, in response to the real accessibility needs of communities in particular areas. The interventions will include a mix of measures to enhance mobility and to provide facilities which will reduce the need for travel and transport. The balance of the mix will depend on the local conditions prevailing in the area. This area based planning approach can provide an entry point to more comprehensive; rural development planning responsive to local needs." (P.75).

The authors have presented their views and arguments in a lucid manner. The chapters are organised in a systematic way. The book may be proved very useful for the researchers, planners and teachers engaged in development research and planning in the Third World countries.

VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

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