

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

CONCEPT

PRACTICE

PERSPECTIVE

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M. ASLAM



Integrated Rural Development (IRD) is often seen as a harbinger as well as an evidence of overall development in the developing countries of Asia. Consequently it has occupied a key position in the development planning of these countries. The primary goal of rural development strategies has been amelioration of underdevelopment and endemic poverty and equitable distribution of benefits among the rural masses. This has led to the adoption of integrated multi-sectoral approach for solving the problems of rural areas.

The concept of IRD and the objectives and strategies adopted by the developing countries of Asia in general and South and South-East Asian countries in particular, form the basis of discussion in this book. A logical progression of this line of thought manifests itself in the comparative analysis of the rationale, content of integration, structure of implementation and monitoring and evaluation of IRD in these countries. A broad overview of the features of IRD in the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea highlights a consistent trend in the approach and direction in the practice of IRD. The book also highlights the growing concern for the effective achievement of developmental objectives and the need for professionalism in the field of rural development.

A statistical profile of South and South-East Asian countries on developmental parameters adds to the utility of the book.



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INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

Concept, Practice and Perspective



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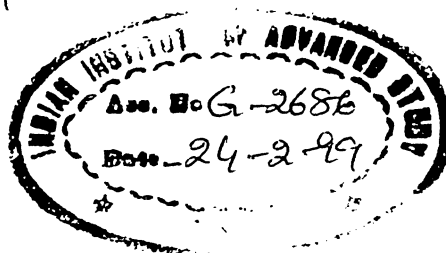
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To the rural poor
in Asia-Pacific region
who served as a source
of constant inspiration in
organising my thoughts.

Preface

In the developing countries of Asia, integrated rural development is perceived as a corner stone of overall development. Consequently, rural development has occupied a key position in the overall developmental planning of these countries. The primary goal of rural development strategies adopted by these countries has remained directed towards tackling underdevelopment and endemic poverty. The consideration for equitable distribution of benefits among the rural masses added a new dimension to rural development, which got manifested through the adoption of integrated, multi-sectoral approach to solving the problems of rural areas. At the same time, people's participation was also acknowledged to be an important feature in planned rural development. Accordingly, the developing countries of Asia in general and South and South-East Asian countries in particular readily adopted Integrated Rural Development (IRD) as an approach for improving the quality of life in rural areas.

The implications associated with the adoption of IRD concept have been causing a great concern to all those who have adopted rural development as a profession. It calls for a serious discussion on the concept of IRD itself and the objectives and strategies adopted by the developing countries of this region. The first chapter on integrated rural development is addressed to these issues in rural development.

Each country seems to have its own version, scope and operational methodology of Rural and Integrated Rural Development. In this diversity, there are striking similarities, providing scope for comparative analysis. The second chapter on "IRD in Practice," provides a comparative analysis of the rationale, content of integration, structure of

implementation, and monitoring and evaluation in selected South and South-East Asian countries.

The People's Republic of China and Republic of Korea are two countries, which have more or less remained consistent in their approach and direction to bring about rural transformation, unlike South and South-East Asian countries which have been too frequently experimenting with various approaches to rural development. These two countries have also demonstrated the importance of structural reforms as a prelude to rural transformation. The third chapter seeks to overview the broad features of IRD in these two countries.

Rural Development has gained prominence at the national as well as the international level. More and more people are getting involved in the implementation of rural development programmes and projects. In this process, rural development is emerging as a separate profession and hopefully will take the shape of a distinct discipline in the near future. The growing concern for effectively achieving developmental objectives is also generating pressure on the education system to provide a body of professionals to serve as specialised manpower in the field of rural development. The fourth chapter on "Rural Development Professionalism" takes a look at these and related issues within the perspective of IRD.

The reliable data on various development indicators are both scattered and characterised by inconsistent patterns. However, an attempt has been made to overcome this difficulty by presenting in Annexure I data pertaining to various development indicators from reliable sources available at this point of time. To make data purposeful each table is accompanied by a brief discussion to make it useful for those interested in rural development research.

The main purpose of this write-up is to present an overall developmental scenario of the developing countries of this region, which are at constant look out for more viable strategies to bring about meaningful and sustainable rural development. It is also aimed at generating a discussion on the concept of IRD and its implications, an area often not given a serious thought particularly due to our anxiety to

ameliorate rural poverty at a much faster pace than that of our capacity to articulate it. I for one, believe that *integrated rural development* provides a much better framework for sustainable development of rural areas than mere *rural development*. Insistence on the later may lead to resurgence of sectoral approach. In order to benefit from past experiences, the integrated rural development in these countries should be studied in terms of both their accomplishments and failures. By understanding the causes for failure, one should avoid making the same mistakes over and over again.

The opportunity of observing the rural development process in a number of South and South-East Asian countries over the last one decade has been mainly responsible for my keen interest in the subject.

I am thankful to all those who exposed me to various aspects of rural development, and in the process helped me in understanding integrated rural development better. I owe a lot to the participants of the various training programmes from Asia-Pacific, whose interaction with me has been a great source of inspiration. My sincere thanks to all those who helped me in finalising the manuscript. My sincere thanks are due to Shri Ajay Jain, Manohar Publications, who took all the pains with utmost sincerity to publish this book. My family, particularly my wife, has been instrumental in providing stimulating atmosphere at home for completing this work.

January 1993

M. ASLAM

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INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The interest in integrated rural development (IRD) is now widely shared throughout the developing world. At the same time there is a lack of consensus on what is involved in the IRD concept. A large number of consultations, conferences, workshops and seminars of experts organised by the United Nations and other international agencies since the early 1970s have not only thrown light on the subject but have provoked scholars to study various implications of the concept of IRD.

A. Conceptual Framework

The World Bank has made an attempt to redefine IRD in its approach to international lending for rural development. Although this has contributed to a great extent to IRD concept building, the World Bank definition does not include the term 'integrated' and defines rural development⁽¹⁾ as a "strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people — the rural poor." It is considered as a "process" through which rural poverty can be alleviated by a sustained increase in the productivity and incomes of low-income rural workers and households. Rural development "is concerned with the modernisation and monetisation of rural society, and with the transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy."⁽²⁾ A rural

¹ *The Assault on World Poverty: Problems of Rural Development, Education and Health* (Baltimore : The John Hopkins University Press, 1975).

² Ibid.

development programme is conceived by the World Bank as having "mixed activities with multi-sectoral approach or a series of sequential projects to raise agricultural output, to improve health and education, housing and expand communication".⁽³⁾ Thus World Bank considers rural development as a strategy for the upliftment of rural poor and as a process for alleviation of rural poverty on a sustained basis.

On the other hand, on the basis of wide-ranging discussions on the subject by the United Nations and international agencies through various forums⁽⁴⁾, IRD can be termed as a normative concept, where value judgements are involved. The analysis also reveals that IRD is multi-disciplinary in approach and multi-sectoral in operation. It contains an extensive framework of strategy and actions for sustained and balanced development, with active participation of the people, and for attaining a high degree of social justice.

The subsequent literature generated on the subject by various agencies/scholars focused attention mostly on strategies, analyses, policy alternatives, administrative mecha-

³ *The Assault on World Poverty*. op. cit.

⁴ - FAO/SIDA, *Symposium on Agricultural Institutions for Integrated Rural Development*, 1972.

- FAO/SIDA, *Joint Reports on Expert Consultations on Policies and Institutions for Integrated Rural Development*, held in Colombo and Jakarta in 1975, vols. I & II.

- FAO/SIDA/DSE, *Report on the Inter-Regional Symposium on Integrated Rural Development*, held in Berlin in 1977 which also sums up the deliberations of the five regional expert consultations on IRD, held in Colombo, Jakarta, Nairobi, Lome and Bogota in 1975-76, in preparation for the background paper for the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development held in Rome in 1979.

- FAO, *Review and Analysis of Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in the Developing countries since the mid-1960s*.

- FAO, *Report of the Second Government Consultation for Asia and the Southwest Pacific on the follow-up of the WCARRD*, 1981.

- UNDP/FAO/CIRDAP, *Seminar on Integrated Rural Development*, CIRDAP, Comilla, Bangladesh, 1982.

- *People's Participation in Rural Development: An overview of South and Southeast Asian Experience*, CIRDAP, March 1984.

- *Monitoring and Evaluation: Arrangements and Techniques in Rural Development*, an overview based on two sub-regional workshops conducted in Islamabad (March 1983) and Manila (April 1983), CIRDAP, Dhaka, 1985.

- *State of Art: Integrated Rural Development*, CIRDAP, Dhaka, 1987.

nisms, estimates of intensity of poverty and so on.⁽⁵⁾ One scarcely finds literature on the IRD concept-building itself. Attempts are made to describe IRD as a set of goals, an approach, an objective, a coherent set of RD programmes, a strategy or as an ideology. Ruttan⁽⁶⁾ describes IRD as an ideology in search of methodology. Hye⁽⁷⁾ regards IRD as having two main facets, namely IRD as an objective and IRD as a method. He also argues that "its ramifications have not yet taken any precise form and its scope and content still lack the desired clarity". Conde and others (1979)⁽⁸⁾ affirm that rural development is the result of quantitative and qualitative transformations that take place in rural populations, the converging effects of which result in raising their living standards changing their way of life. Azad⁽⁹⁾ describes IRD, in the Indian context, as an integrated development of the areas and the people through optimum development and utilisation of local resources. In fact, Azad comes very close to Integrated Area Development, practised in the Philippines as the main strategy for IRD. One may have to attach some importance to these views as both Hye and Azad have been involved in practical implementation of IRD programmes and projects and Conde and others have made an attempt to define the rural development concept in a broader context.⁽¹⁰⁾

- ⁵ See for example *Poverty in Rural Asia*. Edited by A.R. Khan and Eddy Lee, 1984 ARTEP/ILO Bangkok and *Strategies for Alleviating Poverty in Rural Asia*. Edited by Rizwanul Islam, ARTEP/ILO Bangkok, 1985. The latter provides an extensive framework on strategies for poverty alleviation being pursued by various countries and the lessons that emerge.
- ⁶ V.W. Ruttan, "Integrated Rural Development Programmes: A Sceptical Perspective", *International Development Review* Vol. 17, No. 4, 1975.
- ⁷ Hasnat Addul Hye, *Integrated Approaches to Rural Development*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1986.
- ⁸ J. Conde et al., *The Integrated Approach to Rural Development, Health and Population*, Development Centre, OECD, Paris, 1979.
- ⁹ R.N. Azad, "IRD Concept, Objectives and Strategies in Readings in Integrated Rural Development" in *Society of Social Economists*, Tamil Nadu, India, 1987.
- ¹⁰ R.N. Azad served as Joint Secretary in the Rural Development Ministry of Government of India and was later associated with rural development in Commonwealth countries, through the Commonwealth Secretariat, London. Hasnat Abdul Hye has a vast field experience in rural development and is currently Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development in Bangladesh. J. Conde and others of Development Centre OECD, discusses in detail the integration of economic and social goals, which are given priority in almost all the developing countries.

The study of other literature on the subject reveals that the original use of the term "integrated" in connection with rural development emphasised the need to harness the potential of science and technology for the efficient use of the resource base of rural areas. The subsequent interpretation of the term, however, emphasises the need to integrate the rural poor more fully into national development, the desirability of integrating socio-political, economic and technical factors into a systems approach to planning and the compatibility of pursuing growth and equity objectives within a single development strategy.⁽¹¹⁾ The basic necessity appears to be that of a multi-disciplinary approach to planning under multiple development objectives. Thus the word 'integrated' also suggests introduction of planning techniques which will bring about systematic inter-sectoral coordination and assist trade-off decisions between sometimes conflicting objectives.⁽¹²⁾

The *State of Art: Integrated Rural Development*, a first comprehensive attempt in the Asia-Pacific region, also admits that there is lack of uniformity of the concept of IRD and considers it both as a weakness as well as a strength: the former arising from difficulties in concrete operationalisation of the concept in actual rural development activities, and the latter from flexibility of policy makers to encompass a wide variety of programmes and projects.⁽¹³⁾

B. Towards Defining Integrated Rural Development

The above discussion reveals that the term 'IRD' is conceptually wide and philosophically complex and implies a combination of policies, programmes and strategies which aim at the promotion of both economic and social upliftment in rural areas. The core concept of IRD may relate to a

¹¹ D.G.R. Belshaw, "Rural Development Planning, Concepts and Techniques", in *Plan Journal of Agricultural Economics*, vol. XXVIII, 3, 1976, p. 284.

¹² *Guidelines on IRD Plan Formulation, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation*, CIRDAP, Dhaka, 1983.

¹³ *The State of Art on Integrated Rural Development in Asia-Pacific*, CIRDAP, Dhaka, 1987, p.6.

process through which it is possible to generate a sustained increase in productivity and incomes of poor rural workers and households.⁽¹⁴⁾ The essence of the global view reveals that *"integrated rural development is a poverty redressal and distributive justice oriented growth strategy with a multi-disciplinary approach and multi-sectoral operation, aiming at sustained and balanced development with active participation of the rural poor"* (emphasis mine). This comprehensive definition of IRD covers a wide variety of interpretations. In concept and strategy, IRD is a distinct improvement over past approaches. If pursued in its proper perspective, IRD does take cognisance of the need for programme integration, distributive justice and efficiency. One has to admit that the present widespread interest in IRD is, in fact, the consequence of a disenchantment with previous approaches to rural development and of the failure of incoherent and uncoordinated sectoral attempts to bring about faster rural development. It would be both counterproductive and a mistake not to realise the importance of an integrated approach to rural development.⁽¹⁵⁾ Without an integrative character rural development would again become a sectoral approach to development in the developing countries of this region.

C. Importance of Integration in IRD

Integrated rural development has to be conceived both as an 'end' as well as a 'means'. As an 'end' the concept of IRD implies, firstly, the integration of multiple objectives, such as more production, employment generation, mobilisation of local resources and distribution of income. Secondly, IRD should aim at integration of low income segments of rural

¹⁴ World Bank, *Assault on World Poverty*, op. cit.

¹⁵ See for example, J. Conde, M.J. Paraiso, and V.K. Ayassou in *The Integrated Approach to Rural Development, Health and Population*, Development Centre of OECD, Paris. The authors feel that "integration or integrated approach is, therefore, a concept which may seem familiar to some people and only express vague ideas to others. Socio-economic literature has popularised these expressions without unfortunately giving them a precise meaning or a well defined role in development policy with the result that they will most likely degenerate into mere slogans and general propositions."

society — be they small farmers, landless or agricultural labourers - with the rest of the rural community by ensuring their participation in the development programmes and a more equitable sharing in the benefits that flow from development. As a 'means' IRD signifies integration in the operational strategy of rural development. There are a number of rural development programmes and projects, which have a high degree of complementarity and are mutually reinforcing. Their combined impact will be manifested if their spatial layout and time sequences are properly arranged and coordinated.

Even if one conceives the integration process in conventional terms, two types of integration models emerge — vertical and horizontal. Under the vertical integration model, there can be integration of policies, administrative procedures and decision making at various levels. Even inducing effective linkages between the rural - agricultural and urban-industrial sectors falls within vertical integration. Similarly, functional complementarity between various sectoral programmes, connected directly or indirectly with rural development at the same level involves horizontal integration. There are the various sectors, departments, projects and agencies, whose combined action can be made responsible for generating and sustaining development. Coordination of their activities and decision making involves integration of the horizontal type. Apart from these, there exist technical, physical and economic relationships involving integration both of vertical and horizontal nature. This mostly applies to services created through the introduction of various technologies, such as in crop production, where integrated services are required to be provided. From a methodological view point, integration has been viewed as comprising three inseparable aspects - technical, administrative and strategic.⁽¹⁶⁾

¹⁶ See for example, J. Conde et al., *The Integrated Approach to Rural Development, Health and Education* 1979, op. cit. "By technical it is meant to increase the effectiveness and rationality of action programmes regarded either from the sectoral view point or in relation to each other in the general context (constraints) of the sector concerned; administrative
(Continued on next page)

The important thing is that for effective integration there is a need to identify appropriate types of institutions, arrangements and systems, to provide integrated services and monitor the flow of inputs and outputs and their proper functioning, particularly at the intermediate and local levels. This calls for a relatively high degree of decentralisation, besides clearly defining integration mechanisms at the planning level. The basic assumption for forging the integration in the delivery services hinges on the argument that it is an alternative mechanism that would bring about the efficient management of rural development efforts, and of scarce resources, as against the piecemeal and fragmented implementation of rural development projects. We shall come back to the content of integration in the implementation of IRD programmes and projects in South and South-East Asian countries when we discuss monitoring and evaluation in the next chapter.

Integrated rural development places equal emphasis on productivity, distribution and welfare, therefore, it is both a quantitative and a qualitative concept. In order to realise the two major objectives of IRD — accelerated economic growth and equitable distribution of the gains of development — the process of transformation should start evolving from the issues of immediate concern to the people and the Government, through programmes which are adapted to the existing situation, and are realistic in terms of implementation and supported by policy makers. In its qualitative aspects, the IRD concept goes beyond mere redressal of poverty of target groups of rural population and needs a conscious policy to reduce disparity between various income groups and to narrow the gap between urban and rural life. It can be expected, then, that through these policy measures that would support realistic programmes needed for socio-economic transformation, those at the bottom of the ladder with limited opportunity and minimal share in the decision making process, will make substantial gains on both counts

16. *(Continued from last page)* tive i.e. to adapt and reinforce the institutional machinery and the information creation and circulation, decision making and action structures; strategic: to define a range of connected interactions with a view to achieving a given ultimate objective."

on a sustainable basis.¹⁷ This aspect of the IRD concept is very significant, since we are expected to be realistic in the planning of IRD programmes/projects within the existing socio-economic and administrative framework in the developing countries. In so far as the conduciveness for successful implementation of IRD projects is concerned, it calls for more serious efforts to properly prepare and analyse IRD projects so that they are more effective, sustainable, and directed towards achieving IRD goals.

D. Objectives

In the recent past, the integrated approach to rural development has rightly been given primacy in the development plans of most of the developing countries of South and South-East Asia, which are characterised by a preponderance of rural populations and high incidence of rural poverty. The programmes for integration of rural development activities are under implementation with different labels and emphasis in most of the developing countries of South and South-East Asia. In South-Asian countries like Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, these operate under the IRD label. In South-East Asia these are referred to as Integrated Agricultural Development Programme (IADP) in Malaysia, Integrative Approach to Rural Development in Thailand and Integrated Area Development in the Philippines. IRD exists in Vietnam, but its main thrust is on agricultural production. In Indonesia, it is simply referred to as Rural Development Programme, although the elements of integration are present. The analysis of terms of reference of

¹⁷ The policy measures should include a firm commitment of the respective governments to integrated approach, a blue print for integration, indigenous in origin and based on national development priorities. It is necessary to recognize that "a consistent and harmonious set of policies and programmes have a much better chance of delivering better results than costly but isolated programmes. IRD policies and programmes, therefore, should contain "harmony" and "consistency" with economic and social upliftment of the conditions of the poorest as their desired and essential characteristics and one of their primary objectives." State of Art on IRD, op.cit., p.6.

IRD⁽¹⁸⁾ reveal that the objectives set forth for IRD by these countries can be broadly classified into: (a) equity objectives and (b) general objectives.

a) Equity objectives

1. Reduction of unemployment: This implies improvement of income and living conditions of the poor in the rural areas through policies and programmes that can generate opportunities for regular employment for them.

2. Improvement in access to public goods and services: This entails increased availability of public goods and access to services for meeting the basic needs of the rural poor.

3. Alleviation of conditions of poverty: This implies upliftment of the rural majority — small farmers, tenants, share-croppers, landless artisans, craftsmen, women and youth and admitting their claims to productive resources and social services.

4. Mobilisation of local resources: This covers maximum mobilisation and utilisation of each country's internal resources, going down to the micro-level with maximum dependence on local labour, leadership and technology.

¹⁸ Although there is commonality of IRD objectives in most of the developing countries of South and South-East Asia, the emphasis differs from country to country. In Bangladesh, within the broad framework of area development, the emphasis is now on the twin objectives of production and equity. In Bhutan, rural development programmes aim at simultaneous expansion of production, employment, income opportunities and improved conditions of the rural population. India's IRDP aims at providing employment and income to the identified rural poor families through creation of assets and skills so that they can cross the poverty line. The objective is to bring about a directional change through employment generation in rural areas. The rural development programme in Indonesia stresses people's participation and seeks to make the villages self-reliant. In Malaysia, the Integrated Agricultural Development Projects (IADP) encourage the participation of the rural population in non-farm economic activities. The term 'non-farm' also includes rural industries. In Nepal, the central concerns of IRD are the involvement of people in the development process, orientation in project components and planning with reference to intra-regional and inter-personal equity in the midst of inter-regional disparities. In Pakistan, IRDP addresses itself to reduce the burden of underemployment, development of the rural infrastructure and to provide social amenities to target groups through multi-purpose community programmes. The Integrated Area Development (IAD) in the

(Continued on next page)

b) General objectives

The general objectives include (i) growth on increase in production and productivity, (ii) removal of regional disparities which exist among various regions within each country, and (iii) rural-urban balance. This refers to rural-urban differentials that exist in the countries in terms of various socio-economic dimensions.

As a result, the above equity objectives of various kinds are being increasingly recognized as parts of the planner's terms of reference for IRD, in addition to previous concerns with questions of growth, efficiency and stability.

E. Strategies

In the developing countries of South and South-East Asia, we witness 'the spectacle of ever-growing search for meaningful and viable strategies for rural development -- strategies that would help accelerate the rural development process and alleviate rural poverty'. Obviously, the choice of specific strategies for rural development in each country will depend on its social, political and economic conditions. However, common elements among the strategies adopted by various countries provide some ground for discussion. It is not our intention here to point out the shortcomings of any strategy adopted but to provide a factual analysis of approaches adopted to ameliorate rural poverty, which seem to underly the common objective of rural development in these countries.

The emphasis on programmes that can generate oppor-

¹⁸ (Continued from last page) on agricultural development, infrastructure, rural industries, social services and local-level planning. The Integrated Rural Development Programme in Sri Lanka emphasizes direct productive investments, local-level participation, reduction of intra-regional disparities, financial, technical and institutional replicability and labour-intensive, quick-yielding rehabilitation work. The major thrust of the integrative approach to rural development in high poverty concentration areas in Thailand is on basic education, health care, village self-help and specialised programmes intended to remove the basic constraints in increasing the agricultural production. Finally, in Vietnam, the IRDP aims at increasing production in agriculture and allied fields and extending the organisation of cooperatives to the southern part of the country.

tunities for gainful employment has attracted the attention of most of the developing countries of this region. Employment generation, and more importantly generation of non-farm employment, has been one of the major concerns of IRD strategy in countries like Bangladesh, India and Nepal. In the agrarian economy of Bangladesh, agricultural development and its infrastructure received top priority in the Third Five Year Plan (1985-86 to 1989-90), and employment programmes in both farm and non-farm sectors for the rural poor formed an integral part of rural development programmes.⁽¹⁹⁾ India, on the threshold of its Eighth Five Year Plan, has achieved some success in reducing the percentage of population below the poverty line to about 30 per cent by 1990. The focus there is being sharpened on employment creation in the rural areas to generate incomes through wage- and self-employment.⁽²⁰⁾ Although promoting regional balance and integration had received attention earlier also in Nepal, increasing production and productive employment opportunities and meeting basic minimum needs through a number of rural development projects were given special emphasis in the Seventh Plan (1985-90).⁽²¹⁾ On the other hand, in the case of South-East Asian countries such as Malaysia and the Philippines, where resettlement programmes formed major components of IRD/IAD programmes, a distinct shift of employment from farm to non-farm sector has been observed. The significance of this particular development lies in the fact that the land-scarce, over-populated countries of this region must necessarily look for employment in sectors other than agriculture.⁽²²⁾

The second set of strategies adopted to foster rural development related to decentralisation of the system of

¹⁹ M. Zillur Rahman, "IRD and Poverty Alleviation: The Bangladesh Experience", in *Integrated Rural Development in Asia*. Edited by H. Ramachandran and J.P. De Campos Guimares, New Delhi. Concept, 1991.

²⁰ *Annual Report 1991-92*, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India.

²¹ See "Planning and Management of Rural Development Programmes" by D.N. Dhungel and D.I. Field, in *Integrated Rural Development in Asia*, op.cit.

²² *The State of Art on IRD*, op.cit.

administration, decision making, the planning process, and strengthening of local government and local organisations/institutions to ensure people's participation. Although the IRD experience of South and South-East Asian countries has clearly demonstrated the need for decentralised administration in the implementation of IRD projects and the importance of people's participation for achieving sustainable development, in its practical application many issues still remain unresolved. A study entitled "Decentralisation of policies and programmes in Bangladesh, Indonesia and Nepal"⁽²³⁾ points out that 'experience with decentralisation in developing countries has demonstrated that implementation of predetermined policies and programmes cannot be taken for granted as a matter of routine and that a variety of political, social, economic, behavioural and organisational factors influence the degree to which policies can be implemented. The consultation, held to discuss the results of decentralisation of policies and programmes in these countries, identified⁽²⁴⁾ adequate financial, administrative and technical support to local organisations, availability of financial assistance, strong local government institutions with authority vested in elected representatives of the people, positive attitude of bureaucracy and effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms as basic prerequisites for the success of decentralisation of policies and programmes.

One of the most important considerations that led to the adoption of IRDP in Sri Lanka was the move towards a more decentralised administration and budget. The district-based IRD programmes in Sri Lanka provided a greater amount of flexibility in the planning process, allowing district planners to take fully into account the economic, social and political realities of the respective districts.

The third set of strategies relates to integrated area development for accelerating the rural development process. This approach aims at achieving integration and breaking sectoral approaches by directing sectoral interventions in a coordinated fashion, in specific areas, as in the Philippines.

²³ *Decentralisation of Policies and Programmes — Bangladesh, Indonesia and Nepal 1986*, CIRDP, Dhaka.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

The IAD projects in the Philippines, focused on accelerating economic growth in depressed areas in order to correct regional disparities and shift benefits in favour of the marginalised poor, thereby achieving social equity.⁽²⁵⁾ A more or less similar area-based rural development strategy has characterised IRD in Thailand. The rural areas are classified into high and low poverty concentration areas, and IRD projects are specifically designed for high poverty areas so as to make the maximum dent into the poverty problem. In this approach, the sub-district (Tambon) becomes the centre for rural development with villages as implementing areas. In its Sixth Plan (1987-91) the government launched a new strategy for rural development aiming at a) development of people's organisations and (b) creation of more integrative committees at the national, provincial, district and sub-district levels. Again, the village committees are now being more effectively organised through the headmen.

Apart from these major strategies, the countries of this region have been constantly experimenting with various approaches and strategies for promoting sustained development in rural areas.⁽²⁶⁾ These include strengthening of organisations of the poor (cooperatives, farmers organisations, etc), improving delivery mechanisms, integrating efforts of the people and of the governments through trained functionaries, carefully combining the assistance of international and donor agencies with limited resources of each country and promoting local level-planning. It may not be possible to single out a set of viable strategies to achieve sustainable development, but some strategies need to be carefully followed for successful continuation of IRD in these countries. The strategy to promote non-farm employment, particularly in all the land-scarce countries, need to be emphasised as the crucial factor for rural poverty alleviation.

²⁵ M. Nietes Pulcra, "Integrated Rural Development: The Philippines Experience" in *Integrated Rural Development in Asia*, op. cit.

²⁶ Rizwanul Islam op. cit. Rizwanul Islam contends that balance of political power between the poor and the rich becomes crucial even for the adoption of anti-poverty strategies. Organisation (both political and economic) of the poor can play an important role in moving towards the required balance of power.

In a search for new viable strategies, it is necessary to keep in mind that IRD (a) does not become too biased towards infrastructure development, (b) is not dominated by sectoral approach and (c) does not get preoccupied with agriculture-related programmes only.⁽²⁷⁾ Massive allocation of funds is necessary which need to be properly utilised. The strategy designed to bring about the desired rural development through a series of policies, programmes and projects has to be formulated with great care. The understanding of the concept of IRD, particularly the importance of its integrative character, is necessary with regard to various sectoral, organisational and functional aspects. In view of the inter-related nature of the various areas of development and the interdependence of the activities to be performed, the links for mutual support of the programmes and projects should be forged in a planned manner. Keeping in view the scarce resources, the mobilisation of local resources has to be emphasised. It is necessary that the countries of this region pay special attention to the exploitation of local resources including human resources in the best sense of the term. In doing so, one has to ensure that this exploitation of local resources does not involve exploitation of human beings.

²⁷ *State of Art on IRD*, op. cit.

IRD in Practice in Some South and South-East Asian Countries*

A. Introduction

The increasing level of poverty among the rural masses in developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region is a matter of serious concern to all the governments and international development agencies. Integrated rural development in one form or the other, therefore, enjoys a high priority in the national development plans of these countries. The South and South-East Asian countries of this region provide a wide variety of concepts, experiences and procedures for promoting development in rural areas. Each country seems to have its own version, scope and operational methodology of rural or integrated rural development. Among this diversity, there are striking similarities, thus providing scope for comparative analysis.

B. Rationale for Integrated Rural Development

The analysis of the rationale for undertaking integrated rural development (IRD), or IRD type programmes in South and South-East Asian countries reveals that although programme contents and its evolution vary from country to country, the major thrust of all the programmes is the

- * They include Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. The author had the opportunity of observing rural development process in these countries as Professional Staff Member of CIRDAP between 1981-88.

alleviation of rural poverty. In the case of **Thailand**, the target beneficiaries of the integrated rural development programme involves 14.7 million people (Human Development Report 1991) in 12,555 villages (State of Art on IRD 1987) scattered over one third of the provinces in the country which are lagging behind the rest of the country's population. The government insisted that development efforts follow an integrated approach and defined this approach as being one where planning of agencies involved in development work in any particular community be based, as far as possible, on the principle of joint planning involving the personnel, budget, programme direction and the production of development plans. The rationale was that, without such coordination, funds and other resources would be wasted and some programmes could even be mutually conflicting.⁽¹⁾

In **Bangladesh**, the main target group of rural development programmes consists of about 84% of the country's total population residing in rural areas. Integrated rural development programmes in Bangladesh, owes its origin to the "Comilla approach", a systematic conceptualisation and programme development.⁽²⁾ It had a distinctive innovative

¹ See CIRDAP, State of Art Series on Integrated Rural Development, country study Thailand by Dr. Yeevat Verthimedhi. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers-1989. There are five levels of committees from the national to the village levels. The national level committee is headed by the prime minister and all national rural level policies and programmes are undertaken by this committee involving four ministers (Interior, Health, Education and Agriculture). The sixth plan under its new strategy for rural development also aims at the creation of more integrative committees at the national, provincial, district and sub-district levels.

² See Akhtar Hamid Khan "My Development Education", in *Asia-Pacific Journal of Rural Development*, vol. I no.2, December 1991, CIRDAP. Dr Khan, founder of the Comilla approach admits that the purpose of action research or experimental projects in Comilla was to understand different aspects of a problem, to discover viable and efficient solutions and ultimately to present a model which could be duplicated — "As the proof of pudding is in the eating, the worth of a pilot project model is in its duplication." Dr Khan further adds "My dream was that in ten years any *thana* (now *upazilla*), could, following the same well laid-out path become like Comilla *thana*, while in another five or ten years Comilla *thana* itself could reach the level of similar areas in Taiwan." Had Dr Khan stayed on in Bangladesh and been allowed to continue with his experimentation, he would have, perhaps, proved it.

character of its own, as summarised in the CIRDAP State of Art on IRD (1987). "It showed a) how marginal farmers could be organised into effective cooperatives of their own; b) how they could save, out of their low incomes and generate equity capital for institutional loans; c) how they could get extensive knowledge about improved agriculture; d) how local government institutions could be used to provide the needed economic and administrative infrastructure and finally e) how a bottom-up decentralised plan could be evolved out of this integrated approach to development." The report further observes that it was this institutional format developed at Comilla which readily attracted the attention of a number of foreign donor agencies to sponsor a variety of IRD projects with emphasis both on target group and area development. The Government also tried to replicate the Comilla approach extensively and rapidly throughout the country under its own IRDP (now BRDB) setup, along with area-based sponsored rural development projects. One still feels that perhaps, the countrywide replication, of the Comilla approach, without allowing it to have its own spread effect slowly and continuously was a hurried decision. However the Comilla approach, based on sound principles, even now provides inspiration to development planners.⁽³⁾ The Third Five Year Plan (1985-86 to 1989-90) envisaged that rural development projects should have one or a combination of the following three major components: i) development of physical infrastructure, ii) irrigated agriculture and iii) production and employment for the rural poor.

Integrated rural development in the **Philippines** evolved out of the recognition of the failure of traditional approaches to meet both the economic and social equity aspects of development.⁽⁴⁾ Among the various approaches to rural development which emerged at the start of the 1970's, the Philippines adopted Integrated Area Development (IAD), which provided a strong focus on spatial integration and

³ As confirmed by K.B.S. Rashid in "Changing Perspectives of IRD Programmes in Bangladesh", *IRD in Asia*, op. cit. that most of the rural institutional development in Bangladesh since independence in 1971 basically drew inspiration from the Comilla experience.

⁴ CIRDAP, *State of Art on Integrated Rural Development 1987*.

geographic boundaries as determinants of the scale, components and management requirements of IRD projects.⁵ A complex set of indicators such as high tenancy rate, high development potential, low income, low level of economic development and poor access to basic services were used to identify target areas and groups for rural development projects. While the IAD approach to rural development continued, the new administration in 1986 introduced new institutional arrangements to focus on decentralised development. The Medium Term Philippines Development Plan (1987-92) adopted an employment-oriented, rural-based strategy of sustainable growth and development. Further, the adoption of the countrywide Agro-Industrial Development Strategy (CAIDS) in 1990 aimed at redirecting the country's overall economic strategy towards ensuring a decentralised and sustained rural development process. A total of nine sponsored IAD projects, of which some have been completed, were implemented from 1975 to 1988.⁶ In addition, two more IADP programmes introduced during 1988-89 include the Aurora IAD project (AIAD) and the Sorsogan IAD project (SIAD). AIAD was initiated in 1988 and includes a) agricultural support services, b) development of irrigation facilities, c) construction of feeder roads, d) delivery of social services, e) technical assistance through extension and, f) strengthening of rural institutions. SIAD was initiated in late 1989 with the objective of reducing poverty in the project area (*Rural Development Outlook in Asia - 1991*).

In the case of **Indonesia**, the rationale for adopting an IRD-type approach is the result of a "mixture of circumstances which are partly common to both South Asian and South-East Asian countries. These relate to the heavy pressure of population in Java, raising the dilemma and the

⁵ Nietes M. Pulera, "Integrated Rural Development: The Philippines Experience," in *Integrated Rural Development in Asia* 1991, op. cit.

⁶ The nine IAD projects include The Mindoro IRD project, Bicol River Basin Development programme, Cagayan IAD project, Samar IRD project, Palawan IAD project, Zamboanga del sur development project, Agusan, Bukidnon Capiz land settlement project, Philippine rural infrastructure project and Bohol IAD project.

problems that go with land-scarcity, and the tremendous potential for developing land through area development schemes."⁽⁷⁾

The welfare of peasantry in general and Javanese peasantry in particular (who form 62 per cent of country's total population), was a major challenge for the country's development. The integrated rural development strategy was considered as one of the most suitable means to achieve the goal.⁽⁸⁾ The operational methodology included the mechanisms of UDKP (Unit for Coordinating Development Activities) and PDP (Provincial Area Development Programmes). Under UDKP, the 60645 villages of the country have been classified, based on their levels of development, into three categories: *Desa Swadaya* or traditional village, *Desa Swakarya* or transitional village and *Desa Swasembada* or modern village.⁽⁹⁾ The targets set in the Five Year Plans were to bring all traditional villages through the transitional to the modern level. Therefore, the UDKP system became instrumental in developing villages within the respective sub-districts (*kecamatan*) in an integrated and comprehensive manner, under the coordination of the *camat* (sub-district head).⁽¹⁰⁾ On the other hand, PDP has two major objectives: a) to increase the incomes and enhance the welfare of low income villagers living in critical areas and b) to increase the administrative capabilities of the PDP-related field officers of

⁷ CIRDAP, *State of Art on Integrated Rural Development*, op.cit, p.10.

⁸ The majority of Javanese people live in rural areas, while the resource-rich outer islands, such as Sumatra and Kalimantan, which together occupy 52 per cent of the total area have only 23 per cent of the total population of Indonesia (CIRDAP, *State of Art on IRD*, 1987).

⁹ The classification is based on seven criteria of which a village gets one, two or three points according to its situation. These comprise of 1) source of income (primary, secondary, and tertiary), 2) village output or yield, i.e. total products and services of a village within a year, 3) degree of adherence to customs or tradition, 4) village institutions, 5) levels of education, 6) mutual help and 7) village infrastructure. Villages having a score of 7-10 are classified as traditional, 12-16 as transitional and 17-21 as modern.

¹⁰ During my visits to Indonesia, I found that UDKP had developed a healthy competition among the villagers to move up on the ladder. Even casual disclosure of the village classification based on the criteria of points seemed to act as a spur to such upward mobility.

the central government, and local bureaucrats. In particular, it seeks to promote the capabilities of provincial Planning Agencies (Bappeda Tingkat-I) and District Planning Agencies (Bappeda Tingkat-II) in planning, implementation, project management, evaluation and reporting. While the UDKP operates under the Directorate General of Rural Development, the PDP comes under the Directorate General of Regional Development. Although both these Directorates come under the Ministry of Home Affairs, the UDKP and PDP present two different variations of integrated rural development. The former aims at accelerating the process of transformation of villages, while the latter aims at alleviating rural poverty through enhancing institutional capability of local bureaucrats and the beneficiaries.

The rationale for undertaking IRD programmes in **India** is the provision of employment and the generation of income to the identified rural poor families, through creation of assets and skills so that they can cross the poverty line. India has a long experience, among the countries of South and South-East Asia, of experimenting with various approaches to rural development. The Community Development Programme (CDP) of the early fifties was designed to be a comprehensive programme for rural development, but lagging agricultural production necessitated a shift in emphasis from comprehensive rural development to enhanced agricultural production in the early sixties. Although the objective of increasing agricultural production was met, the unequal distribution of benefits of development posed a difficult problem, shifting the emphasis of development to special target group-oriented anti-poverty programmes in the seventies. A large number of target group-oriented programmes were initiated to improve the socio-economic conditions of various disadvantaged groups and areas.⁽¹¹⁾ While these programmes had many characteristics of an 'integrated' development package, integrated rural develop-

¹¹ These included: Small and Marginal Farmers Development Programme (1970-71); Minimum Needs Programme (1974-75); Food for Work Programme (1977) Desert Development Programme (1977-78); Drought-Prone Area Programme (1980-81); National Rural Employment Programme (1980); and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (1983).

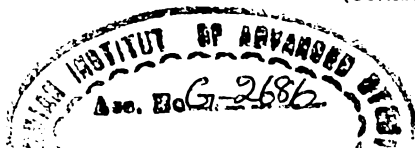
ment as a separate entity was launched in 1978 and attained nationwide coverage in 1980. The major objective has been the alleviation of poverty in rural areas, where 77% of country's population live. The success of the integrated attack on rural poverty through poverty alleviation programmes in recent times, is evidenced by the fact that the population below the poverty line has come down significantly from over 57% in 1961 to about 30% by 1990.⁽¹²⁾ The country's focus is getting sharpened to bring about a directional change.

The economic development of **Malaysia** prior to 1971 was based on accelerating the growth of the economy through investment in infrastructure. The strategy improved the economy considerably, but it did not deal adequately with the main social and economic imbalances characterizing Malaysian society. There was a high incidence of poverty, which provided the rationale for integrated rural development and prompted the Government to introduce the New Economic Policy (NEP) during the Second Malaysian Plan (1971-75). This laid special emphasis on eradicating poverty and restructuring society. The IRD programme in Malaysia starting from the early seventies had two main directions: a) an integrated and concentrated effort at rapid rural and agricultural development in areas ready for takeoff and b) preparing other areas for rural and agricultural development. In the new strategy, agricultural development forms the core of rural development programmes with a transition from the narrow focus on agriculture to a wider focus on rural development. This involves the non-agricultural sector and most significantly postulates improvements in the quality of life. The outline Perspective Plan (1970-1990) which covers programmes up to the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1985-1990) aims at reducing poverty to about 21.6 per cent and the Bumiputera's share in equity participation to at least 30 per cent.⁽¹³⁾

¹² *Annual Report 1991-92*, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India.

¹³ CIRDAP, *State of Art on IRD*, op. cit. Although it is the only country among those under review which falls under middle income economies, the social

(Continued on next page)



In **Sri Lanka**, where literacy rate is the highest among the South-Asian countries, the rationale for adopting an integrated approach to rural development is the result of a different set of considerations evolved out of changing circumstances. One of the main considerations include the government's desire for accelerated development in districts that did not benefit from large-scale capital-intensive development projects. This led to more decentralised administration and budget⁽¹⁴⁾. The integrated rural development programme is considered as a public sector investment strategy for rural areas, consisting of small-scale, low cost and quickly maturing projects, to achieve a spatial balance and to complement lead projects like the Mahaweli Accelerated Development Project and the National Housing Development Project. The implementation of rural development programmes on a district basis has become a major rural development strategy in Sri Lanka since 1978. While IRD is operationalised through various donor sponsored projects, it is viewed as a supplementary programme designed to accelerate rural development, in addition to various ongoing efforts of all other agencies operating in rural areas. IRD donor-sponsored projects have so far covered 15 out of 24 administrative districts in Sri Lanka. Since all these projects

¹³ (Continued from last page) and economic imbalances characterising Malaysian society began to receive attention only during the seventies with the adoption of the New Economic Policy. The poverty groups identified are small rubber holders, estate workers, residents of new villages, agricultural labourers and Orang Asli. The Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA), Rubber Industry Small Holder's Development Authority (RISDA), Muda Agricultural Development Authority (MADA) are among the initiators of the IRD - type projects in Malaysia.

¹⁴ The Government of Sri Lanka has strengthened the decentralised development programme by institutionalising the District Secretariat headed by the District Minister whose Secretary is the Government Agent. The District Minister is the people's representative, while the Government Agent represents district administration. The funds allocated to the districts have a close relationship with the number of electorates or the number of elected representatives, representing the district. The district coordination committee has representatives from all line agencies and is chaired by the District Minister. At the national level, the Ministry of Plan Implementation is responsible for monitoring IRD projects.

are donor-sponsored, the donor preferences have been reflected in the diversity of planning approaches adopted by these projects, which are broadly classified into two main types:⁽¹⁵⁾

- a) the 'blueprint' or 'programme' approach adopted in the projects sponsored by multilateral agencies such as IBRD/IDA or IFAD, and
- b) the 'annual planning', 'rolling' or 'process' approach adopted in the projects financed by bilateral agencies like SIDA, NORAD and the Netherlands programme of International cooperation.

It was the realization by national policy makers and donors that the fruits of development were not equitably distributed over all the regions of the country, which provided the rationale for adopting the integrated approach to rural development in **Nepal**. The earlier focus of development activities from the mid-fifties to mid-seventies was on infrastructure development, which was considered as a prerequisite for other development activities. This resulted in a) sectoral conflict due to the isolated approach to sector development, b) growing deprivations because of emphasis on infrastructure development alone, and c) increasing donor interest in the integrated approach to rural development.⁽¹⁶⁾ As a result, the Fifth Plan of Nepal (1975-80) for the first time gave agriculture and social sectors first and second priority in investment allocation.⁽¹⁷⁾ The Fifth Plan envisaged the undertaking of five IRD projects and three more IRD projects were added during the Sixth Plan (1980-85).⁽¹⁸⁾

¹⁵ Jayamanne Manel "The IRDP of Ratnapura in Sri Lanka: Lessons from Experience," in *Integrated Rural Development in Asia*, op. cit.

¹⁶ J.R. Baral and K. Koirala, *State of Art Series on IRD*, (Nepal: Sterling Publishers, 1989).

¹⁷ B.B. Pradhan "Integrated Rural Development Projects in Nepal: A Review," ICIMOD, Occasional Papers, no. 2, Kathmandu.

¹⁸ The eight IRD projects included: i) Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRD Project (RN/IRD), ii) Sagarmatha IRD Project (S/IRD), iii) Koshi Hill Area Rural Development Project, (KHARDEP), iv) Mahakali Hill Area Rural Development Projects, (MH/IRD), v) Integrated Hill Development Project (IHDP), vi) Rapli Integrated Rural Development Project (R/IRD), vii) Karnali-Bheri IRD Project (K-BIRD) and viii) Dhading District Development Project (DDDP).

Increasing production and productive employment opportunities and meeting the basic minimum needs of the people were the major objectives emphasized by the Sixth Plan and reiterated during the Seventh Plan (1985-90). To achieve these objectives, new Integrated Rural Development Projects have been initiated to focus on area development and specific target groups (small farmers and women).⁽¹⁹⁾

The rural development programme in **Pakistan** is conceived not in isolation but as a part of the overall planning endeavours of the country. The IRD programme which started in Pakistan in 1972 placed a major emphasis on the growth of rural areas through providing community level services by organising *markaz* (synonymous to *upazilla* in Bangladesh or block in India) where all line departments and local organisations joined together to provide services to the local community. It continued till 1978 and thereafter different agencies were made responsible for implementing the rural development programmes.

Although there is no separate focus on IRD, the importance of IRD is manifest in overall development efforts and programmes.⁽²⁰⁾ The Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83) emphasized the need to a) meaningfully integrate rural development with the national socio-economic development efforts, b) reduce the burden of unemployment, c) increase the density of services provided to agriculture and other rural activities, d) improve rural infrastructure, e) make a beginning towards providing social amenities to target groups, and f) create institutional framework for ensuring community participation in the implementation of rural development programme. Perhaps this was based on the experience gained through the implementation of earlier rural development programmes undertaken in Pakistan.⁽²¹⁾ The Sixth Five

¹⁹ See Dhangal and Field, in *Integrated Rural Development in Asia 1991*, op. cit.

²⁰ Ibnul Hassan, *State of Art Series on IRD-Pakistan* (Sterling Publishers, 1989).

²¹ Ibid. The major programmes undertaken included the Village Aid Programme (1950s), Rural Works Programme (1960s), People's Works Programme (1970s) and Integrated Rural Development Programme (1972-77).

Year Plan (1983-88) refers to the inclusion of multipurpose community programmes such as schemes for drinking water, sanitation, construction and repairs of rural roads, schools, small dams, etc. and on a self-help basis. Thus the current focus of IRD programmes in Pakistan is on improving the quality of rural life by providing a modicum of basic amenities and a productive socio-economic environment.

Now, turning to centrally planned economies, like Vietnam and Laos, one finds that fostering a collective way of life through agricultural cooperatives, is the main concern of development efforts in these countries. As the rural population constitutes 78% and 82% of the total population in Vietnam and Laos respectively, any attempt at increasing agricultural production has a direct bearing on rural development.

Laos, the smallest country in the region in terms of population (4.1 million in 1989), undertook several measures to introduce socio-economic reforms for the rebuilding of the entire society. The policy is to improve the living standards through a socialist concept. About 85% of the total population are engaged in agriculture. The main objectives of the Second Five Year Plan (1986-90) are to ensure self-sufficiency in food, increase production of raw materials for agro-based industries, increase agricultural production and export of forest commodities, and to setup a food security reserve.⁽²²⁾ In fact, agriculture and forestry are the two major sectors of the rural economy. Agricultural intensification, involving a basic technical transformation in production, is the overriding development objective.⁽²³⁾

Vietnam adopted a concept of an "all-sided rural development," which is akin to the concept of IRD. The IRD programmes in Vietnam are aimed at eliminating exploitation, creating equitable income distribution and removing the rural-urban gap. The strategies have included land reforms, agricultural development, collective agricultural production, and establishing and developing economic activities at district level. The system of contract quota

²² CIRDAP, *State of Art on IRD 1987* op.cit.

²³ A.R. Khan, and Eddy Lee, *Employment and Development in Laos: Some Problems and Policies 1980*, ARTEP/ILO, Bangkok.

introduced in the eighties had a favourable impact in pushing up production and thereby bringing about improvement in the quality of life.⁽²⁴⁾

An analysis of the above review of the rationale for undertaking integrated rural development programmes, reveals that while the aspect of integration stressed and the approach adopted differ to some extent from one country to another, the ultimate concern of all of them is to mitigate poverty in all forms. In the seventies, most of the countries under review turned to this alternative mechanism to bring about efficient management of rural development efforts. Apart from a growing concern about the increasing levels of poverty and inequitable distribution of benefits flowing from growth-oriented strategies, international concern, particularly donors' perceptions, played an important role in the adoption of IRD approach in rural development in many countries. In the early 1970's, ILO was instrumental in replacing growth as the principal objective and yardstick of development with growth which also meets the basic needs of the poor; this then became the central concern for development policy and planning. Similarly, the World Bank's attempt in the early 1970's to redefine IRD in its new approach to international lending was greatly instrumental in stimulating fresh thinking among developing countries in favour of rural development. As Mubyarto⁽²⁵⁾, observes, "internationally, it is World Bank which has blown a strong and fresh wind on the new approach to economic development by emphasizing rural development."

While the internal dynamics of the socio-economic

²⁴ See country study on Vietnam in CIRDP, *State of Art on IRD 1987* op. cit. The principle of the contract quota system is that the cooperative assigns a household or a group of labourers with a certain acreage of land and requires them to contribute a certain output (contract norm). The collective is responsible for the work which cannot be done individually by the peasant household, such as irrigation, drainage, ploughing and harrowing by machines, pest and disease control. The household is responsible for the work of transplanting, husbandry and harvesting and can add more manure, labour, etc. Anything produced over and above the fixed contract quota belongs to the household.

²⁵ Mubyarto et al. *Rural Development: Capitalist and Socialist Paths*. Edited by R.P. Mishra, UNCRD Japan, vol. III, New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1985.

forces in each of the countries was responsible, to a large extent, in shaping IRD as a strategy, the donors' perception played an equally important role, particularly in those countries where rural development is operationalised through donor-sponsored projects. This has also resulted in varying interpretations of IRD in these countries. CIRDAP's "State of Art on IRD" also admits that, "The evolution of IRD as a strategy for rural development has also been considerably influenced by the interactions among various internal socio-economic factors. Since socio-economic and political circumstances varied among countries, there was no unidirectional transition of conventional programmes for rural development into their integrated varieties. And IRD, of course, is subjected to varied interpretations in different countries, although there are certain commonalities of characteristics." As mentioned elsewhere, the basic assumption for forging the integration in the delivery services hinges on the argument that it is an alternative mechanism that would bring about the efficient management of rural development efforts and scarce resources, as compared with the piecemeal and fragmented implementation of rural developments programmes and projects.

C. Content of Integration

The form of integration in South and South-East Asian countries is either unisectoral or multi-sectoral. Malaysia's Integrated Agricultural Development Projects (IADPs) represent the first type, since the numerous activities pursued are primarily agriculture related, although the ultimate goal of the IADP concept is to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty.

The more common form of integration among the countries under review is multi-sectoral, as activities pursued in respective development plans relate to different ministries. A case in point is Thailand, where more than one ministry is involved with various components of IRD.

D. Structure of Implementation⁽²⁶⁾

The organisational machinery for implementation of IRD programmes in the countries of South and South-East Asia follows one or a combination of the following models. The first structural model consists of implementing a programme under the tutelage of a *single agency*. A country that exemplifies this model is Indonesia. Its IRD programme is implemented by the Ministry of Home Affairs, in particular the Directorate Generals of Rural Development and Regional Development, which have representatives at local levels.

A second organisational model is the *lead agency model* such as in Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan and Vietnam. In Vietnam's IRD implementation structure, the primary role is undertaken by the Ministry of Agriculture's Central Commission for the Management of Agriculture cooperatives. It operates in coordination with other agencies. Similarly in Malaysia the leadership is provided by the Ministry of Agriculture which coordinates the efforts of all other entities. The Ministry of Rural Development in India, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan and the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development in Nepal provide the leadership role in shaping IRD activities in their respective countries.

The third model, called the *Coordinated Structure*, is characterized by the consolidation of efforts of officials from various offices who come together to forge the concerns of IRD.

Unlike the second model, no agency is handpicked to perform the role of spearheading the programme. This model is exemplified by Thailand which structures working committees to supervise the implementation of IRD programmes/projects at the different levels of the administrative system.

²⁶ The structure for implementation, and monitoring and evaluation are partly based on the paper presented by Dr M. Aslam as resource person to EDI of the World Bank on *Monitoring and Evaluation in Integrated Rural Development*, at 'PASCOL/EDI, Regional Seminar on Monitoring and Evaluation of Development Projects held at Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASCOL) Lahore in April 1987. The seminar was attended by senior officers from South-Asian countries.

Sri Lanka also, to a great extent, follows the coordinated structure, where apart from the Ministry of Plan Implementation, an inter-ministerial Steering Committee exists. There is also a Ministry of Rural Development but its role is confined to implementing the change agents programme. In fact, in Sri Lanka the applicability of coordinated model becomes more prominent at the district level, where all concerned agencies are involved in working out operational mechanism for IRD projects.

There are still other countries, such as the Philippines where the organisational machinery for implementation is a *combination of the coordinated model and the lead agency model*. At the national level, the coordinated structure operates through the National Council on Integrated Area Development (NACIAD) in which all concerned ministries and agencies are represented.⁽²⁷⁾ At the project level, the lead agency model is adopted and the project is spearheaded by the agency whose priority component is predominant. A case in point is one of the IRD projects - Bicol River Basin Development Programme (BRBDP) which was under the Ministry of Public Works and Highways since the priority component of BRBDP was infrastructure development.

Some of the implementing organisations at the national level are more concerned with policy making and coordination than implementation. The actual implementation is done by other sectoral ministries at the national level in countries like Nepal and Thailand for non-IADP projects or at the next lower level like province/state in countries like India and Pakistan.⁽²⁸⁾ The exceptions are Sri Lanka and the Philippines. In socialist countries like Vietnam, although there is a highly centralized decision-making system, within

²⁷ From July 1987, NACIAD was placed under the supervision of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) in the Philippines. The new government in its policy move towards decentralized development has now abolished NACIAD and given the IAD planning and implementation responsibility to Regional Development Councils (RDCs) and Local Government Units (LGUs). See *Rural Development Outlook In Asia 1991*.

²⁸ In countries like India and Pakistan, where the provinces are geographically very large, a "lower level" implementation structure is perhaps more realistic than a "national level" operation.

its broad framework one can see some amount of autonomy, and mechanisms are available for coordination with local institutions. The coordination does not pose much of a problem in socialist countries, unlike in other countries where lack of coordination is the main barrier to the integration of efforts among various sectoral departments. The mechanisms for both horizontal and vertical coordination should form a part of terms of reference of the planners for development. In fact, in many countries, planners consider that their work is done once the general guidelines of the national development have been embodied in the Plan.

In countries where rural development is conceived as multi-sectoral, the type of inter-sectoral coordination and the priorities of resource allocation to different sectoral projects and programmes are best determined at the national level. This however, does not solve the problem of balancing sectoral priorities and conflicting objectives of IRD at the field level where policies and priorities come closer to the people. In this context, the solution to the problem of how to plan IRD lies in incorporating its objectives into a multi-level regional planning framework, depending upon the size of the country.⁽²⁹⁾ This is closer to the integrated area development approach in the Philippines and the decentralized development mechanism in Sri Lanka. Perhaps, in such countries, where the population and area are large and which exhibit heterogeneity in geo-physical and socio-economic conditions, regional planning below state/province level is essential to exploit the regional potential and fix priorities in tune with the national planning framework. "It is at this level that regional resource development project strategies could be evolved, forming the apex of the hierarchical order of sub-regional, multi-sectoral, area-based projects of integrated rural development, formulated at district, block and cluster levels".⁽³⁰⁾ This will also help to devise an effective monitoring and evaluation mechanism so important for the success of rural development programmes and projects.

²⁹ CIRDAP, *Guidelines on IRD Plan Formulation, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation* 1983.

³⁰ CIRDAP, *Guidelines*, op.cit. p.4.

E. Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) are critical processes in determining the progress and effects of the rural development programmes and projects. 'Monitoring' usually refers to "the process of routine periodic measurement of project inputs, activities and outputs undertaken during project implementation. It is normally concerned with the procurement, delivery and utilisation of project resources, adherence to work schedule or progress made in the production of outputs." It also seeks to "determine the causal relationship between project inputs/activities and outputs as also influence of external constraint/support factors on project performance and outputs."⁽³¹⁾

The main purpose of monitoring is to indicate as early as possible any shortcomings with regard to delivery of inputs, execution of activities or production of outputs, in order that corrective measures can be undertaken in time. As such, "monitoring is primarily a device for improving programme management. It is restricted to watching and overseeing and does not question the project objectives."⁽³²⁾ This view is also supported by the ACC Task Force of the United Nations⁽³³⁾, which defines monitoring "as the continuous or periodic review and surveillance (overseeing) by management at every level of the hierarchy of the implementation of an activity to ensure that input deliveries, work schedules, targeted outputs and other required actions are proceeding according to plan." It will be seen from the above that monitoring involves both input and output monitoring and is an internal function of project management.

'Evaluation' on the other hand is "a process for determining systematically and objectively, the relevance, effi-

³¹ United Nations, *Systematic Monitoring and Evaluation of Integrated Development Programmes: A source book* (New York: 1978), pp.7-9.

³² CIRDAP, *Monitoring and Evaluation Arrangements and Techniques in Rural Development* 1985.

³³ *Monitoring and Evaluation: Guiding principles*, ACC Task Force of the United Nations 1986, IFAD, Rome. It makes a distinction between 'supervision' and 'monitoring'. Supervision is undertaken by donor agencies through missions whereas monitoring is undertaken by National Project Authority for its own management purposes.

ciency, effectiveness and impact of activities in the light of their objectives. It is an organisational process for improving activities still in progress and for aiding management in future planning, programming and decision making."⁽³⁴⁾ Here the framework of evaluation will be restricted to ongoing, terminal and ex-post evaluation and does not include ex-ante evaluation.⁽³⁵⁾ We see that monitoring is particularly useful in providing the immediate data for managers to constitute corrective action for problems or bottlenecks encountered in the process of implementation. The main concern is with an assessment of inputs in relation to outputs of the programme/project. Evaluation, in turn, is more comprehensive in scope than monitoring as it entails assessment not only of inputs and outputs but of the effects of the outputs on targeted beneficiaries, both immediate and long term.

It is interesting to note that the organisations for monitoring and evaluation of IRD/IAD programmes in most countries under review are the implementing organisations themselves. Thus, provision for monitoring as an internal function at the national level exists in all cases, but to what extent it is functioning as an effective mechanism is debatable. In some cases, even external organisations are involved in monitoring, because the distinction between supervision or mission approach by donor agencies and monitoring as a purely internal function of management, is not made clear. Effective monitoring of nationwide programmes like IRDP in India poses many methodological problems, particularly

³⁴ Ibid, p.14.

³⁵ The ACC Task Force document distinguishes evaluation from "appraisal" Appraisal is ex-ante critical assessment of the relevance, feasibility and potential effectiveness of an activity before a decision is made to undertake that activity. Ongoing evaluation is referred to as the analysis, made taken during the implementation phase, to assist decision makers by providing information about any needed adjustment of objectives, policies, implementation strategies and other elements of the project. Terminal evaluation is referred to as an evaluation undertaken after project completion either as a substitute for ex-post evaluation of projects with short gestation periods or before initiating a follow-up phase of the project. Ex-post evaluation is undertaken at full project development, when full project benefits and impact are expected to have been realised.

due to its vast geographical coverage. The multiplicity of agencies involved is conspicuous in case of the Philippines. Thailand's Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) sub-committee of the Prime Minister's office formulates M&E policies in the areas of rural poverty which are covered by non-IADP projects.

As far as the project organisation below the national level is concerned, there are some special features in some countries. The Project Officer (District Rural Development Agency) in India enjoys substantial autonomy while the Project Director is an elected chairman in Pakistan. In Indonesia, besides the Project Officer, there is an elaborate set-up for inspection as also for rural development work in general. The farmers' organisation in Malaysia is very strong. In Thailand and the Philippines project coordinators or officers function at various levels. The monitoring network in the Philippines is fairly complex.

The structural arrangements for monitoring and evaluation may be one or a combination of models discussed under structural arrangements for implementing IRD, such as single agency (Indonesia), lead agency (India, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan and Vietnam), coordinated models (Thailand and Sri Lanka) and/or a combination of coordinated and lead agency models (the Philippines). It must be emphasized, however, that the structural models for implementation need not be the ones adopted for the conduct of monitoring and evaluation.

Both monitoring and evaluation are regularly undertaken in all the countries under review, which means that these activities are fairly entrenched in the administrative system. In South-East Asian countries, in particular, monitoring and evaluation are highly specialised responsibilities and are the only ones performed by the units assigned with the task.

What are the mechanisms by which monitoring and evaluation results are conveyed to the target clientele? The most common strategy is one where monitoring means the submission of regular reports to the different levels in the hierarchy, the terminal point of which is the central office responsible for the programme or the project. The second

important mechanism is the discussion of M&E results in the meetings and conferences among programme managers or in the meetings with policy makers during the review of the progress of implementation. There is a growing understanding and realisation among the developing countries of the importance of monitoring as an effective tool for successful management of development projects and programmes. This has resulted in a constant search for viable techniques for effective objective-oriented management of development programmes and projects.

In **Bangladesh**, the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) has developed a Management Information System (MIS), to monitor its field level programmes. Donor-supported IRD projects have quite extensive M&E mechanisms including some qualitative indicators.

The Ministry of Rural Development in **India** has recently evolved a comprehensive system of monitoring and concurrent evaluation of major rural development programmes like IRDP, JRY, DPAP/DDP⁽³⁶⁾ and the Rural Drinking Water Supply programme. The emphasis is on a strong data base and subsequent feedback on the implementation of the programmes. To build up an effective management information system for improving the monitoring of the programmes, mini computer cells have been established in the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) based on the experience of a pilot project on Computerised Rural Information System (CRISP). The software developed for CRISP is being used for the purpose. So far, computers have been installed in about 83 per cent of DRDAs.⁽³⁷⁾ In Sri Lanka, monthly progress reports are kept short and include only essential data. This reduces the excessive paper work of the field staff. Further need for output monitoring and ongoing evaluation is being gradually realised by the project management and policy makers. Quarterly reporting at all levels is a common feature of the reporting system in Nepal. There are also

³⁶ IRDP stands for Integrated Rural Development Programme, JRY for Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, DPAP for Drought Prone Area Programme and DDP for Desert Development Programme.

³⁷ *Annual Report 1991-92*, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, New Delhi.

District Supervision Committees consisting of elected representatives and local development officers to ensure timely implementation of district and village level projects.

Malaysia's special monitoring mechanisms include surprise visits of the project management unit (that is the project office headed by the project director) by the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. Also, the critical path method (CPM) is made use of by the Project office to maintain close surveillance on project progress and implementation, ensure adherence to implementation schedules and to prevent delays and increased cost. From 1984, Malaysia has developed an integrated information system called SETIA. Under this system, monitoring information of four central agencies, namely the Economic Development Unit, Federal Treasury, the Accountant General's office and the Implementation Coordination Unit (ICU) of the Prime Minister's Department are integrated and stored in one data base called the SETIA DATA BASE. The information is obtained at regular intervals from the projects right from their inception up to their completion, on a standard format covering key indicators. This information first goes to the respective ministries, who in turn feed this information into their computer terminals which are linked with the main frame computer in the ICU of the Prime Minister's Department. In the Philippines, there used to be an annual hearing of each project conducted by NACIAD. Although the emphasis used to be on the financial aspect, the occasion was used to review performance.

Thailand uses key indicators for implementation monitoring as also for monitoring the progress of beneficiaries. These are different at national and local levels. The logical framework of the project is carefully prepared, giving details of project inputs and outputs, implementation target, underlying assumptions and objectively verifiable indicators. In Vietnam, since all the farmers are members of the production brigades or cooperatives, there is active participation at the sit-ins conducted at regular intervals. Charts are prepared to facilitate comparisons over time and among the cooperatives.

A critical issue that deserves serious attention is to what extent these mechanisms are relied upon for corrective

action by policy makers and programme managers. Are the reports made available at the appropriate time to programme managers to immediately respond to problems or bottlenecks in implementation? If one hides the truth the problem is not going to be solved, as was rightly pointed out by an expert in M&E;⁽³⁸⁾ "if truth becomes a casualty, monitoring becomes a mockery." Perhaps, this can form an important area of future study, to focus exclusively on operation of monitoring procedures. Despite considerable efforts made by the developing countries of this region, in the introduction and operation of monitoring procedures, the following aspects need to be given more attention for improvement of the system in future. These apply mostly to direct beneficiary oriented, non-agricultural projects:⁽³⁹⁾

- i) Synchronisation of quantified project objectives with "Effects",
- ii) Formulation and quantification of intermediate objectives,
- iii) Appropriate indicators for input monitoring with reference to requirement, availability, supply and utilisation (RASU),
- iv) Indicators for measurement of output synchronising with achievement of intermediate objectives, and
- v) Methods of output monitoring.

In case of evaluation, the mechanism for transmitting reports, on the clientele's reaction on the programme, or achievement of project objectives are by submission of study reports either conducted by the project officials/departments and/or by an outside agency, to the policy makers or donor agency as the case may be. The analysis of country situations reveal that concurrent evaluation is not clearly distinguished from monitoring by most of the countries in terms of input/output/ effect chain linkage. The countries under review have, on the whole been involving a number of

³⁸ This was revealed by Dr S. Balakrishna, Director (Stat), NIRD, Hyderabad, with whom I was recently discussing this issue. Dr Balakrishna is deeply involved in M&E of IRD programmes and has gained vast national and international experience.

³⁹ CIRDP, M&E, *Arrangements and Techniques*, op.cit.

institutions and organisations in carrying out evaluation studies.

In **Bangladesh**, evaluation studies are undertaken by the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) as and when necessary. Other organisations involved in the conduct of evaluation studies include Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, (BARD) and Academy for Rural Development, Bogra. In the Grameen Bank Project in Bangladesh, the interaction between the Bank staff and the beneficiaries through weekly meeting serve as a feedback mechanism, besides discussing progress and problems.

Evaluation in **India** is generally done by organisations other than the implementing agencies. There are various types of institutions involved in the task both at central and state levels. At the central level, these include the Programme Evaluation Organisation (PEO) of the Planning Commission, the Indian Institute of Management (IIM), the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD), and the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA). Similar arrangements exist at the state levels. The Ministry of Rural Development in India has also paid special attention to concurrent evaluation by commissioning studies in respect of major programmes with the help of reputed research institutions. The findings of these studies are expected to be used to streamline the pace of implementation of the programmes.⁽⁴⁰⁾

In **Sri Lanka**, independent institutions such as Agrarian Research and Training Institute (ARTI) are commissioned to undertake evaluation studies. In *Nepal*, ex-post evaluation is carried out as a normal practice for every IRD project and is entrusted to professional organisations, both semi-government and private. Baseline studies are invariably carried out in recent years for new projects. In the small farmers development programme (SFDP) of Nepal,

⁴⁰ As reported, three rounds of concurrent evaluation of IRDP have already been completed during September 1985-October 1986, January 1987-December 1987 and January 1989-December 1989. A similar survey for the concurrent evaluation of Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) is being undertaken during the year 1991-92, to cover the entire country (*Annual Report 1991-92*, Ministry of Rural Development, op. cit.)

beneficiaries are included in the annual evaluation meeting, which is called "Participatory Evaluation Method". Ongoing evaluation in Nepal is conducted by the implementing organisation on the basis of the quarterly monitoring information as also by the National Planning Commission and line ministries. In *Pakistan*, evaluation is entrusted to the institutes like the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), and the Pakistan Academy for Rural Development (PARC). Universities or foreign teams collaborate in case of foreign- assisted projects.

The Rural Development Department in **Indonesia**, conducts evaluation of rural development programmes. This is done successively at various levels — village, sub-district and provincial. The Directorate General of Rural Development prepares the final report for the entire country. The distinction between monitoring and evaluation seems to be very tenuous in the Indonesian context. In addition, the Directorate General of Regional Development bears the responsibility for reviewing and evaluating all PDP programmes submitted by the provincial governments before they are submitted to the National Planning Agency. The National Planning Agency plays a significant role in ex-ante programme evaluation.

In **Malaysia**, the Agricultural Economic Division in the Ministry of Agriculture conducts socio-economic studies in the IADP areas mainly to provide benchmark data. Sound sampling procedures are followed for this purpose. Other organisations and institutions are also involved from time to time. In the Philippines, ongoing evaluation and completion studies of rural development projects used to be carried out by NACIAD.⁽⁴¹⁾ The former was usually done jointly with the donor agency and the concerned line agencies. The World Bank conducts independent evaluation of its sponsored projects through supervision missions.

In **Thailand**, project-wise evaluation is done by the

⁴¹ The National Council on Integrated Area Development (NACIAD) was temporarily attached to the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA); NACIAD stands now abolished. The responsibility for implementing IAD projects has been given to Regional Development Councils (RDCs).

ministries and departments concerned. At the national level, the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) is responsible for impact evaluation. The Universities and the Bureau of Budget are required to conduct cost-effectiveness studies in the rural areas. The Thammasat University also collects socio-economic data which facilitates realistic planning for project evaluation. An integrated information system to serve as database is being developed at the Institute of Information Processing for Education and Development located in Thammasat University. In Vietnam, concurrent evaluation by the normal reporting machinery seems to be the usual practice.

It would appear, on the basis of the available material that evaluation procedures are fairly elaborate in India, Pakistan, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. This is particularly so with regard to impact evaluation. There is need to pay more attention to concurrent evaluation in the technical sense of the term in most of the countries.

The common source of information for monitoring purposes are the existing data such as the accountants' reports on the cooperative brigade in Vietnam and the field technicians' reports on the Bicol River Basin Development Programme in the Philippines.

For evaluation purposes, sample surveys (of structured questionnaire interviews) involving target beneficiaries are used as primary source of information. Assessment reports or in-depth studies submitted by other agencies have also sometimes relied upon secondary sources of baseline information about the target beneficiaries. The basic methodological design adopted in most countries in the conduct of evaluation research is the simplest approach which is non-experimental in nature and usually involves a "one group design" (such as the programme / project beneficiaries). Generally, the countries have not relied too much on the quasi-experimental methodology which usually involves two groups: the programme affected or the experimental group and the non-affected or the control group. In assessing the impact of a programme or project this seems to be a more refined methodology as extraneous sources of variation can be controlled. Perhaps, since in most countries,

identification of non-affected areas to serve as control groups poses some problems and involves the use of sophisticated methodology, non-experimental methodology is preferred over the quasi-experimental kind.

The need for periodical assessment of a programme during its implementation has been recognised for long. This was done through periodic meetings, returns and reports as the normal mechanisms used for this purpose but without much success. Today, there is a growing dissatisfaction with the degeneration of 'monitoring' into routine reporting. With the increasing realisation that 'implementation' is, the villain of the piece and lies at the root of the non-realisation of the objectives, concerted efforts are now being made, both by the countries as well as international agencies, to design workable and project/programme specific 'monitoring and evaluation' (M&E) systems. The task is by no means simple because the objective of improving the quality of life has intangible dimensions which are not easily quantifiable. Further, there is more to monitoring than procedures and techniques. What has to be assessed includes the environment for its survival and growth and the attitudes of the people involved. Whereas it is necessary that monitoring is internalised by the government or project organisation, evaluation needs to be carried out by agencies external to the project or programme in order to have objective assessment or impact. This is easier said than done. Even with regard to procedures and techniques, there is the usual yawning gap between precept and practice.

Problems in Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

Some of the problems concerning monitoring and evaluation in the countries under review can be classified into the following broad categories:

a) Staff and Training

Lack of trained, qualified, and experienced M&E staff is considered a pressing problem in most of the countries under review. The problem is further aggravated by the frequent transfers of experienced staff, a heavy work load

and lack of career development. There is also a lack of appreciation of the importance of familiarising policy makers, planners, project managers and related staff with the concepts of monitoring and evaluation. In order to institutionalize M&E training, it is essential to develop national M&E strategy rather than to develop ad hoc courses from time to time. Keeping in view the limited number of training specialists in the field of M&E, it is necessary to make an assessment of M&E training capabilities of the principal training institutions in each country. Even universities can be involved in some of the more specialised forms of evaluation training. In many countries under review, very little use is made of universities in this area. The training programme for M&E should be a two-pronged effort, one for planners and managers and the other for the M&E staff.

b) Organisational Problems

Some of the problems concerning the internal organisation of IRD monitoring and evaluation activities include: absence of independent monitoring and evaluation units in some countries, non-cooperation of line agencies, multiplicity of agencies, improper distribution of work, and a lack of understanding of the role of monitoring and evaluation. The IRD programme planners and implementors in some cases have failed to appreciate the significance of monitoring and evaluation. The consequence is that a number of reports submitted by M&E staff at different levels of the hierarchy are hardly seriously considered for corrective action. The subjective utilisation of the reports — a common feature — adversely affects monitoring and evaluation of IRD projects. Inadequate powers of project management and non-cooperation of the line agencies are other problems adversely affecting monitoring processes in IRD.

In order to overcome these problems, there is a need to develop monitoring and evaluation systems in each country which will define the functions of M&E units and agencies at the national, sectoral and local levels and ensure effective coordination between all these agencies in the collection, processing, communication and use of M&E information. Efforts must be made to provide financial and professional

incentives to attract good M&E staff and they must be assured of a regular position and promotion opportunities once the project on which they are working is completed.

c) Lack of Systematic Approach to M&E

One of the important factors contributing to the lack of systematic approach to M&E is the influence of donor agencies, particularly in those countries operating donor-supported IRD projects. Each donor agency has its own information requirements which are defined without reference to the information requested by other donor agencies. As a result, there are diverse M&E systems among different donors. It has been observed in some countries that donors sometimes ask governments to conduct evaluation studies which are of more utility to donors for planning projects in other countries than they are to the borrower. In order to avoid such inconsistencies, it becomes even more necessary that a central M&E agency exists in each country so that donors can channel their requests for information through it. This is particularly useful for national development projects.

d) Data Collection and Utilisation

High frequency of returns, poor quality of data and lack of qualitative information on the intangible aspects are the major problems in data collection and utilisation. A wide range of information is required to be collected, particularly by the field staff which results in delays of reporting. In some cases, the central monitoring system rely exclusively on data sent in from the project or local offices which are accepted without any attempt to verify. It is therefore necessary that field visits are made an essential component of a monitoring system, both to check the validity of data and also to ensure that the most appropriate indicators are being used. Both for rural development as well as social sector projects it is highly desirable to combine quantitative and qualitative indicators and to compare information obtained from different indicators as a form of consistency check. The temptation to collect a wide range of information should be resisted and collection kept to a minimum.

e) Other Problems

Other problems include ambiguities in the objectives for IRD which directly affect the formulation of indicators for M&E. In the ultimate analysis, indicators are determined by the nature of objectives, and the intended effects and impact of the project. An unambiguous statement of the objectives makes the task of identification of indicators easier. In addition, a problem common to most countries is the absence of a self-evaluation mechanism to assess how effectively they perform their functions. Similarly, limitation of funds for M&E seems to be a common constraint in the region. The monitoring and evaluation are cornerstones for effective implementation of rural development projects. There is a growing concern both among the countries as well as donor agencies to consider it as an effective tool of development management.

The analysis of the country experiences reveals that integrated rural development or the IRD-type approach emerged as a consequence of a high incidence of poverty and socio-economic imbalances arising from the failure of the growth-oriented model, which merely proved to be a weak attempt to aid the trickle down process. In most of the countries under review, the decade of the Seventies proved a turning point towards the integrated approach to rural development. Rural poverty is closely linked to income distribution, which in turn, is linked to the distribution of productive resources. The programme content and organisation for implementation of IRD vary from country to country, making it difficult to impute a concrete and precise meaning to the concept. While some countries (like the Philippines) view it as an area-based programme, others (like India) view it as a target-group oriented programme. Yet others (like Vietnam) would like to see it in a much broader context of drastic structural reform in the rural economy. Despite these variations, the common focus running through all IRD or IRD-type approach is rural poverty alleviation with, of course, varying emphases on growth with equity.

The structure for implementation of IRD in the countries under review has been determined by the socio-economic and political compulsions in these countries. In the process,

a variety of structural models for implementation have emerged. These models have not helped a great deal in solving the problem of balancing sectoral priorities vis-a-vis conflicting objectives of IRD at the field level. The countries may have to seriously think in terms of planning IRD activities through a multi-level regional planning framework. Such an approach is expected to help exploit regional potential as well as fix priorities within the national framework. Monitoring and evaluation activities seem to be fairly entrenched in the administrative system in most of the countries, but in practice, monitoring seems to be turning into routine reporting. There is an urgent need to develop a national monitoring and evaluation strategy as a part of development planning. Such a strategy should help to overcome any ambiguity among IRD objectives, facilitate the identification and quantification of development indicators and forge integration of economic and social components in a mutually interactive and supportive process.

Rural Transformation in People's Republic of China and Republic of Korea*

In this chapter, an overview is attempted of the broad features of IRD in the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea, the two Asian countries which have demonstrated that rural transformation is possible if preceded by structural reforms, an important factor often not seriously considered by other developing South and South-East Asian countries. These two countries also exemplify how IRD has been able to trace an efficient path of development where resources (physical, human, financial, skills) are optimally allocated and utilised in spite of different ideologies. Another important feature common to both these countries is that they have been more or less consistent in their approach and direction towards rural transformation, unlike other South and South-East Asian countries which have been constantly experimenting with different approaches to bring about the desired rural development.

- * This chapter is based on review of IRD in People's Republic of China and Republic of Korea prepared by the author for 'State of Art on IRD' published by CIRDAP in 1987

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA⁽¹⁾

Introduction

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the government has been attempting to mobilise the rural people through the collectivization of agriculture. The guiding principles of their strategy for rural development have been to increase agricultural productivity, the creation of an egalitarian society and the elimination of disparities in rural areas. There has been a constant assessment of experiences and lessons learnt in the process of development.

The People's Republic of China has a total population of 1,113.7 million (mid-1990)⁽²⁾, of which 44 per cent live in rural areas. The average annual growth of population has been reduced from 2.2 per cent during 1965-80 to 1.4 per cent during 1980-90. China has a total land area of 9.6 million square kilometers, consisting 33 per cent of mountains, 26 per cent plateau, 19 per cent basins, 12 per cent plains and 10 per cent hills.⁽³⁾ The country has a total of 100 million hectares of arable land. For administrative purposes China is divided into 22 provinces, 5 autonomous regions and 3 municipalities directly under the central authorities. China's territory covers frigid, temperate and tropical zones and encompasses a wide variety of natural environment, endowing it with rich natural resources which provide favourable conditions for its modernisation programmes. A brief country profile of the People's Republic of China is given in Table 1.

¹ See Dr M. Aslam, "IRD in China," in *State of Art on IRD 1987*, CIRDAP.

² *World Development Report 1992*, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

³ "The Rural Economic and Social Statistics of China," International Liaison Department of the Research Centre for Rural Development of the State Council of PRC. Information Department of Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries.

TABLE 1

People's Republic of China: A country profile**A. General**

Area	Population	GNP per capita
9.6 million sq.km	1 113.7 million (mid-1990)	US\$ 370 (1990)

B. Growth of Production

Years	Average annual growth rate (per cent)				
	GDP	Agriculture	Industry	Manufacturing	Services
1965-80	6.8	2.8	10.0	8.9	11.9
1980-90	9.5	6.1	12.5	14.4	9.1

C. Demography and Fertility

Year	Rural Population as percentage of total population	Life Expectancy at birth (years)		Crude birth rate	Crude death rate	Total fertility rate (%)
		Male	Female			
per 1000 population						
1965	82	53	57	38	10	6.4
1990	44	69	71	22	7	2.5

D. Health and Nutrition

Year	Population per physician	Population per nursing person	Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)	Daily calorie supply (per capita)
1965	1600	3000	90	1929
1984	1010	1610	29 (1990)	2639 (1989)

E. Education

Year	Percentage of age group enrolled in education					
	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary (total)	Primary pupil- teacher ratio
	Total	Female	Total	Female		
1965	89	-	24	-	0	30
1989	135	128	44	38	2	22

Source: World Development Report 1992

In order to understand the evolution of rural and agricultural development in China, it is necessary to trace its background through different stages of development.

Rural and Agricultural Development in China.

China is one of the earliest countries in the world to have engaged in agriculture. In developing its national economy, China follows the general principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading sector. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Government has consistently been paying great attention to the development of agriculture, which has passed through different stages such as land reform, agricultural cooperatives, establishment of people's communes and so on.

Land Reform

Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Government realised that 70-80 per cent of the land was in the hands of landlords and peasants who accounted for only 10 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 90 per cent of the rural population owned around 20-30 per cent of the land. As a first step towards the development of rural areas, the Government decided to carry out land reforms abolishing the feudal system of land ownership, which had held back the development of agriculture. After three years of vigorous efforts, feudal land

ownership was abolished by the end of 1952 and about 700 million mu (1 hectare= 15 mu) of land held by landlords was recovered for distribution among some 300 million landless or land-poor peasants. Although this reform resulted in increasing agricultural production, overall expansion of production was hindered because each household acted as an individual productive unit. It was therefore felt that some form of socialist collectivization may help to further boost the production. This realisation gave birth to the cooperative movement in China.

From Mutual Aid Teams to Advanced Cooperatives

The cooperative movement in China passed through three stages of development. During the first stage from 1951 to early 1953, the peasants were organised into mutual aid teams, each consisting of up to a dozen peasant households. They pooled their labour, while retaining ownership of individual household plots. The mutual aid teams were turned into elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives of a semi-socialist nature following the December, 1953 Party Central Committee Resolution on the Development of Agricultural Cooperatives. These cooperatives went one step ahead by pooling the land as shares under a unified management.

In October 1955, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee adopted a resolution on the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture. By the end of 1956, over 96 per cent of all peasant households joined agricultural producers' cooperatives of which 87.8 per cent were advanced cooperatives. In these advanced agricultural producers cooperatives, no rent or compensation was given for the land pooled. The draught animals and implements were owned collectively, the original owners were paid in cash and the principle of remuneration according to work was applied. During the First Five Year Plan period starting from 1953, the growth of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry was observed to be proportional with each other and the targets set for individual sectors. In the agricultural sector, gross output value of agriculture in-

creased by 24.4 per cent in five years or 4.5 per cent increase per year on average. The total grain production marked an increase of 6.23 million tons per year on average. The stable development in the agricultural sector helped to increase the output value of light industry by 83.3 per cent and heavy industry marked an increase of 210.7 per cent during the plan period. The national income was raised by 54.2 per cent.⁽⁴⁾

Establishment of People's Communes

This initial success of the agricultural cooperatives made planners anxious for quick results. It was felt that if the growth of production was to be further stimulated a more effective form of organisation was required. It was against this background that in August 1958, the Party Central Committee adopted the resolution on the establishment of people's communes in the rural areas. In December that year, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee adopted the resolution. By the end of 1958 all the agricultural producers cooperatives throughout China had changed over to communes, presently called Rural Townships.⁽⁵⁾

The Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s attempted to achieve higher production targets, but due to natural calamities the reorganisation of communes and production took place only in 1961. The gross agricultural output value showed a downward trend of 4.4 per cent annually and annual grain production dropped by seven million tons. After the reorganisation in 1961, communes became smaller and were subdivided into brigades which were in turn

⁴ "Agriculture Planning System in China and Tentative Ideas for Further Reform", Paper distributed during The Seminar on Responsibility System in Agricultural Production in China, August 31-September 9 1986, organised by ESCAP and the Government of People's Republic of China in Huangxian, Shandong province.

⁵ Communes are large organisations and contain between 15,000 to 50,000 people. Each commune is however divided into a number of brigades, from as few as six to as many as twenty. A great deal of development activity goes on at the brigade level. See *Growth and Equality in Rural China*, ARTEP/ILO, 1981.

organised into production teams consisting of around 10 households per team.. The principles "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" and "more pay for more work" were applied. Development plans were readjusted. As a result between 1963 and 1965 the total agricultural output value increased by 37.2 per cent, i.e., an annual increase of 11.1 per cent. Similarly, light industry product value marked an increase of 78 per cent, heavy industry value increased 51.9 per cent and national income rose by 50.1 per cent.

Cultural Revolution

The cultural revolution that ensued in the 1960s had serious implications for the economy of the country. The principle of "to each according to his work" was violated. The government administration and the economic management were integrated, as a result of which a people's commune became both a basic government organ as well as an economic institution, which led to too much administrative interference in productive activities. The state issued mandatory production plans for agricultural sectors, including animal husbandry and forestry, reducing the local governments' and farmers' basic rights to their own produce. The whole thrust of the state plan was on grain production, to the neglect of the diversified nature of agriculture and irrespective of the suitability of land for grain production. A strict and unified purchasing system was implemented by commercial departments of the state and comparatively lower prices were given for most of the agricultural products.⁽⁶⁾ As a result the economy became stagnant and planning was centrally concentrated. The performance of farm output during the cultural revolution decade remained poor. Moreover, the available fertile land was already under cultivation and the farmers did not have the incentive to produce more.⁽⁷⁾

⁶ Zhou Dezhong, "New Stages of the Rural Economic Reforms in China", paper presented at ESCAP/China seminar, op. cit.

⁷ Report of the Second Government Consultation for Asia and the South-west Pacific on the follow-up of WCARRD, FAO/RAPA Bangkok, June, 1981.

The cultural revolution also failed to bring about greater social class and regional equity through the sharing of the benefits of development. Discriminatory policies easing the burden of agricultural taxation on surplus production, the control of consumption growth and the encouragement to investment growth — all these combined to increase the gross income differentials.⁽⁸⁾

New Policy

It was only towards the end of 1978 that China came out with a new policy for rural economic reforms. A systematic process of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement" decided at the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee in December 1978 was publicly ratified at a meeting of the National People's Congress in June 1979. Consequently, a series of policy measures were adopted aiming at augmenting production, improvement of people's life as well as the mobilisation of the initiatives of the peasants. In 1979, the autonomy of the production teams, brigades and communes was restored and expanded, different systems of responsibility suitable to the demands of the peasants were devised, privately reserved plots were expanded, free trading markets were opened and household sideline production encouraged.⁽⁹⁾

Responsibility System

The contracted responsibility system links income with output produced by the rural households. Under the agricultural production responsibility system a peasant, while still a member of the collective economic organisation, is given a certain area to cultivate and assigned a certain output quota for production on the land which continues to belong to the production teams. The portion within the

⁸ Peter Nolan and Gordon White, "The Distributive Implications of China's New Agricultural Policies," a chapter in *China's New Development Strategy*, Edited by Vack Ghay and Gordon White; (London: Academic Press, 1982).

⁹ Zhou Dezhong, *New Stages of the Rural Economic Reform in China*, op. cit.

production quotas has to be submitted to the production teams for central distribution while the surplus over and above the quota is given to the concerned household. This has provided material incentives to individual households for increased production. Various contracted responsibility systems, linking income with output, have gradually replaced the collective operations by people's communes with production teams as the basic accounting unit. Farmers have become independent commodity producers with operational initiative in their own hands. Since 1979, a fundamental change in the agricultural planning system has been to substitute guiding plans for directive plans. The most striking of these are rural reforms that have introduced price and ownership incentives to farmers.

Diversification of Rural Economy

The state pursued a policy of sparing no efforts in developing grain production while actively promoting a diversified economy. Accordingly, the proportion of the areas devoted to grain and cash crops suited to their local conditions were readjusted. Farmers were encouraged to develop cash crops in a big way and raise the per unit area yield so as to ensure the stable and sustained increase of total grain production. From 1978 to 1984, the area under grain crops dropped from 120 million hectares to 112 million hectares, a 6.4 per cent decrease, representing an average decrease of 133.3 hectares annually, while the area under cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar-crops, fruits and other crops increased. Total grain production, however sustained an increase of up to 407.3 million tons in 1984, from 304.95 million tons in 1978 — a 33.4 per cent increase over 1978, because of the various reform measures.

Within agriculture, diversification measures were reflected in the emphasis on non-crop activities like forestry, animal husbandry and fishery. In 1984, the output value of crop farming increased 46 per cent over that of 1978, while the proportion of crop farming within agriculture decreased from 79.4 per cent to 74.6 per cent. The proportion of forestry, animal husbandry and fishery in agriculture went

up from 20.6 per cent to 25.4 per cent.⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1985, the process of adjustments continued and in crop farming the sown area of grain came at 108.6 million hectares, which was four million hectares less than that of 1984, a decrease of 3.5 per cent. On the other hand, cash crops covered an area of 22.2 million hectares, as compared to 18.9 million hectares in 1984, marking an increase of 17 per cent. Thus the ratio of grain and cash crops changed from 85:15 to 83:17 (Zhou Deszhong). Real farm prices increased by 50 per cent and agricultural growth rose from 2.5 per cent in 1965-78 to 7.2 per cent in 1978-88.⁽¹¹⁾ Agricultural output in 1990 grew by 6.9 per cent, the highest annual increase since 1984. These measures coupled with decentralisation in decision making process, if continued at the same pace, may bring about positive changes in the rural economy.

Another positive step initiated in 1985 was the decontrolling of the price of animal and aquatic products, which helped increase production of livestock and aquaculture rapidly. Since the coastal areas are commercially more viable than inland areas owing to their close proximity to international markets like Hong Kong and Macao, the Government in 1985 decided that these areas should give priority to trade, industry and agriculture, in that order. This is indicative of a change from inward-looking to outward-looking policies in developing the economy of the coastal areas. As a result, the manufacture of number of export-based agricultural and related products were set up in the coastal areas.

The development of rural industry plays an important role both in strengthening the national economy as well as in supporting crop production. In 1985 there were 12.2 million rural enterprises employing about 70 million workers or 19 percent of the total rural labour force, Its total output value was over 230 billion Yuan in 1985, an increase of 35 per cent over that of 1984. While it helped increase job opportunities for the surplus labour force and increased

¹⁰ Wang Xiyu, "Agricultural Production Responsibility System in China," paper presented at ESCAP/China seminar op. cit.

¹¹ World Development Report, 1992, Washington, D.C., p. 38.

farmers' income over the years, the mounting pressure of rural under-employment and urban unemployment led to a re-appraisal of the policy towards rural industry in 1990. The supply of credit to these enterprises was expanded in the first half of the year. Rural industry was able to provide much of the impetus for recovery because of its flexibility in taking advantage of opportunities provided by export demand along with a tentative revival of consumer demand.⁽¹²⁾

Other Reforms

There are some other reforms which are being carried out to further promote socio-economic development in the rural areas.

a) Reforming Unified Purchasing System of Agricultural Products by Commercial Departments.

In 1985 it was decided that except for some special commodities, the state will not purchase agricultural products from farmers under the unified arrangement. Instead, the state will conduct contract purchasing and marketing according to demand and supply. This was a shift from the mandatory planning system to a combination of the planned system and the market mechanism. The new policy envisages that the state commercial departments purchase the principal foodgrains according to the contracts, at prices fixed by the state. After the contract is fulfilled, farmers can sell their surplus produce in the free market at floating prices. The state also guarantees prices to protect the farmers' basic interests. When the market prices are too low, the state purchases the entire produce.

The bumper harvest in recent years has put downward pressure on free market prices and in some parts of the country free market paddy prices are reported to have fallen below the government procurement prices. Thus 1990 witnessed, a considerable pressure on the government to procure a higher proportion of the crop than in previous years. The urgent need for major new investment in grain

¹² *Asian Development Outlook 1991*, Asian Development Bank, Manila.

storage and transportation capacity has also become apparent.⁽¹³⁾

b) Reforming Rural Circulation system.

Under the original rural circulation system, the commercial departments of the state used to conduct a unified purchase and supply of commodities. The new reform envisages a multi-channel circulation system with few links, and a network linking rural and urban on the one hand and different regions on the other. At present, the reforms being carried out stipulate: a) the rural supply and marketing cooperatives should be changed from "state-run" to "people-run". The cooperatives should absorb shares from farmers and become collective-owned cooperative commercial organisations, geared to agricultural production, to ensure people's livelihood. This reform is now in progress; b) farmers are encouraged to organise new circulation-allied organisations, in order to conduct the supply, marketing and transportation of the agricultural and side-line products; and c) private pedlars are allowed to conduct trade, at an increasing rate. In recent years the rural markets are increasing rapidly and in some areas there appeared specialised markets.

With these and other measures carried out in China, both the economy and production are showing an upward trend. Even the Asian Development Bank report⁽¹⁴⁾ admits that as a result of reforms initiated in 1978 and after, the economy of China became one of the most dynamic in the world. During the 1980s GNP grew at an average rate of 9.2 per cent, average per capita income doubled, the incidence of rural poverty was reduced to about 13 per cent, and investment and saving were maintained at high levels. The reforms improved incentives and productivity by decentralising economic decision making, giving greater autonomy to enterprises, farmers and localities, according a larger role to markets and opening the domestic economy to the outside world.⁽¹⁵⁾

¹³ *Asian Development outlook 1991*, op. cit.

¹⁴ *Asian Development outlook 1991*, op. cit.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

There are about 5,300 people's communes in China and these constitute the bulk of the rural economy. Though some state farms exist which function more or less like state enterprises, these constitute only 4.5 per cent of the total cultivable area. Furthermore, the multi-level, rural, local government structure at the commune brigade and team levels provide an overall framework for analysing the decentralisation of planning and management in the country.⁽¹⁶⁾ One has to remember that it is not easy to achieve such a progress in a country with 1,113.7 million people unless these measures are well planned, timely and based on local needs. China's advantage lies in the fact that it has most of the ingredients to ensure that reforms will continue to propel its economy. Among others, these include extremely high rates of savings and investment and an increasingly skilled labour force.

China's new development strategy is seeking to combine market mechanism and economic management within a socialist framework. The decentralisation process, giving greater autonomy for decision making to the local level, and ensuring that the rural sector generates a higher surplus to further rural development are commendable measures. At the same time, planners feel that these reforms are in the exploratory stage. This is an important aspect, as new circumstances may require new approaches and strategies. China is openly engaged in its own search for these strategies.

¹⁶ G. Shabbir Cheema, *Organisations for Rural Development: A Case Study of Qi-yi People's Commune in China in Rural Development in Asia* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1985).

REPUBLIC OF KOREA⁽¹⁷⁾**Introduction**

The Republic of Korea (ROK), often referred to as the "Land of Morning Calm," is situated in Northeast Asia with a total population of 42.8 million.⁽¹⁸⁾ Korea has a land area of 98,900 sq.km. After the cease-fire in July 1953, Korea started paying attention to the socio-economic development of the country. The first few years were marked by a slow economic progress. In 1960 south Korea's per capita income was a mere US\$ 60 a year. Today the Republic of Korea is considered to be one of the success stories of the developing world, and its per capita in 1990 touched US\$ 5,400 a year.⁽¹⁹⁾ A brief country profile of the Republic of Korea is given in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Republic of Korea: A country profile

A General

Area	Population	GNP (Per capita)
98,900 Sq kms	42.8 million (mid-1990)	US\$ 5,400 (1990)

B Growth of Production

Years	Average annual growth rate (per cent)				
	GDP*	Agriculture	Industry	Manufacturing	Services
1965-80	9.9	3.0	16.4	18.7	9.6
1980-90	9.7	2.8	12.2	12.7	9.2

* GDP and its components are at purchaser value

¹⁷ See Dr M. Aslam, "IRD in Korea." in *State of Art on IRD 1987*, CIRDAP.

¹⁸ *World Development Report 1992*.

¹⁹ *World Development Report 1992, Asia and Pacific Review 1986, and World of Information*, ABC.

C. Demography and Fertility

Year	Rural population as percentage of total population	Life Expectancy at birth (years)		Crude birth rate	Crude death rate	Total fertility rate (%)
		Male	Female	per 1000 population		
1965	68	55	58	35	11	4.9
1990	28	67	73	16	16	1.8

D. Health and Nutrition

Year	Population per physician	Population per nursing person	Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)	Daily calorie supply (per capita)
1965	2680	2970	62	2187
1984	1160	580	17 (1990)	2852

E. Education

Percentage of age group enrolled in education						
Year	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary (total)	Primary pupil- teacher ratio
	Total	Female	Total	Female		
1965	101	99	35	25	6	62
1989	108	109	86	84	38	36

Source: *World Development Report 1992*.

Process of Economic Development

For the recovery of national economy through increase in agricultural productivity, one of the basic steps taken by ROK was land reform. It was also expected to lay the foundation of a self-sustaining farm and rural economy.

Specifically, the land reform measures aimed at converting the tenant farmers, who were the majority, into owner farmers. In order to achieve this objective of land distribution, government purchased 574,000 hectares of farm land and distributed it among 10,00,000 tenant farmers and those who cultivated less than 3 hectares in 1961. These farmers were required to pay for the land over a period of 5 years.⁽²⁰⁾ The changes which took places in land tenure structure and farm structure by size of holdings can be seen in tables 3&4

TABLE 3
Changes in Land Tenure Structure in Selected Years
(1945-81)

Tenure Group	Percentage in Tenure Group			
	1945	1957	1963	1981
Wholly owned	14.2	88.0	83.0	53.6
Partly owned tenant	35.6	8.0	15.2	41.8
Wholly tenant	50.2	4.0	1.8	4.6
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4
Farm Structure By Size of Holdings, 1953 to 1981

Year	Percentage Having Holdings of			
	Less than 0.5 ha	0.5-2.0 ha	More than 2.0 ha	Total
1953	45.0	50.6	4.4	100
1960	42.9	50.8	6.3	100
1971	36.0	57.7	6.0	100
1981	30.4	63.4	5.3	100

Source: Chan Joon Sohn, "Rural and Agricultural Development in Korea", *Rural Development in Asia and the Pacific*, country paper presented at the ADB regional seminar on Rural Development, Manila, 15-23 October, 1984, ADB vol II.

²⁰ Chan-Joon Sohn, "Rural and Agricultural Development in Korea," *Rural Development in Asia and the Pacific*, country paper presented at the ADB regional seminar on Rural Development, (Manila: 15-23 October, ADB, 1984) vol II.

The successful completion of land reform brought positive structural changes in the agrarian system. However, it did not increase the scale of operations in farming. It soon became apparent that in order to meet shortages in domestic food supplies, and rehabilitate the rural economy, development, and wider dissemination and application of advanced agricultural technology was an imperative for boosting agricultural production. Development of physical infrastructure and improving incentives for the farmers were also considered pre-requisites for sustaining agricultural productivity. The establishment of the Third Republic in 1961 brought some major organisational changes, such as merging of the Office of Rural Development (ORD) and the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (NACF). All the extension programmes concerned with rural and agricultural development were unified in ORD. In order to establish a direct linkage between research and extension and to promote a feedback system, both research and extension were brought under the jurisdiction of the Administrator of ORD. In March 1962 all village development programmes were transferred to the Office of Rural Development, where they were integrated with other agricultural extension services.

In the overall economic development of the country, the agricultural sector made substantial contributions to the economy in 1950s as a supplier of both goods and services to the public sector, which eventually contributed to the economic take-off in the 1960s.⁽²¹⁾ Of course, the high economic growth rates in the late 1960s are attributed also to the Five Year Plans, starting in 1962. These plans aimed at export-oriented industrialization and growth. The average annual growth rate of GDP was 10 per cent during 1965-73.⁽²²⁾ This rapid industrial growth, however, resulted in increasing rural-urban disparity and migration.

In order to overcome this rural-urban imbalance, specially between the urban-industrial and rural-agricultural sectors, the government introduced a new kind of community development programme called "Saemaul Undong".

²¹ Chan-Joon Sohn, op. cit.

²² *World Development Report 1986*.

Saemaul Undong

In April 1970 President Park announced at the provincial governors meeting, the idea of a national movement, "Saemaul Undong", to improve the quality of life in rural villages. "If we can create and cultivate the spirit of self-reliance, independence and hard work, I believe that all rural villages can be turned into beautiful and prosperous places to live in. We may call such a drive the Saemaul Undong."⁽²³⁾ It literally means the new (sae) village (maul) movement (undong). Initially this movement was intended to transform old villages into modern ones, but as it also spread in urban areas, a broader frame of New Community Movement has been officially adopted. Although the Saemaul Undong movement in Korea was initiated without a well-defined theoretical and methodological framework, it went through distinct phases from its initiation to balanced development, each adding new elements in its programmes and expanding its spatial scope.

Initiation and Foundation (1971-73). The year 1971 marked the experimentation year of the movement. The major programme emphasis was on the development of basic infrastructure facilities. During the first year of the movement, each of the 34,665 villages in Korea was given 300 bags of cement and one ton of iron rods, free of cost to improve the physical facilities of their village. Some villages built bridges over their streams, some made water conduits, some dug community wells, yet others created community threshing centres.⁽²⁴⁾ More assistance was promised to those who would do better. This movement marked a new era in the development planning of the country, the beginning of the strategy of "development from below". At the end of the year governmental help amounted to US\$ 8.5 million and the projects completed were worth US\$ 25 million. The implementation of the experimental projects provided valuable lessons for the exponents of the movement. The possibility of increasing rural income combined with spiritual enlight

²³ *Saemaul Undong in Korea*, Ministry of Home Affairs, Republic of Korea, 1983.

²⁴ "Saemaul," in *New Age*, 1983.

enment through this movement was emphasised and the Saemaul spirit was officially defined as "the spirit of diligence, self-help and cooperation."

During the year 1972 the programme was systematically organised. The main emphasis was on further improvement of the living environment, spiritual enlightenment and increase in farm income. A total of 16,600 villages were selected from among those who showed the self-help spirit in 1971. These villages were provided with an additional 500 bags of cement and one ton of steel rods to carry out further projects. Another 6,108 villages which initially did not participate were inspired by the development of these villages and took up Saemaul projects without financial support from the government. The year also marked the establishment of the Saemaul Undong central Consultative Council for overall planning and coordination. Similar organisations were established at provincial, county, township and village levels. Another important development was the establishment of Saemaul Leaders 'Training Institute' in Suwon. The development of Undong during 1972 was promising and the estimated benefit of the projects in terms of induced investment was US\$ 67 million as against the government investment of US\$ 6.8 million. The major projects undertaken included bridges, farm feeders, roads and paddy replotting programmes. In October 1972, the movement got further political support through a special announcement of the President that the Saemaul Undong was the first priority project of the country.⁽²⁵⁾

In 1973, all the 34,665 villages became active participants in the movement and Saemaul Undong became a nationwide programme. There was a gradual shift in the emphasis from improvement of the living environment to income generating activities. All the villages were classified into three categories depending upon their stage of development: a) basic or underdeveloped villages (18,415) for which basic projects like improvement of living environment were initiated b) self-help or developing villages (13,943) where infrastructure-building projects were emphasised and (c)

²⁵ Fu-Chen Lo and Byung-Nak Song, "The Saemaul Undong: The Korean Way of Rural Transformation," UNCRD Working Papers, August, 1979.

self-reliant or developed villages (2,307) where the focus was on income-generating projects. The government assistance amounted to US\$ 54.2 million and the projects accomplished were worth US\$ 200 million. During the year special Saemaul divisions were created in all concerned ministries and Saemaul awards for distinguished leaders were instituted.

Self-Reliant Socio Economic Development (1974-76)

The main focus of the movement during 1974-76 was on the promotion of self-development. During 1974 special emphasis was given to income-generating activities, diffusion of Saemaul training and extension of Saemaul Undong to urban areas. A target to increase rural income to US\$ 3500 per annum per farm household by 1981 was set to be achieved through income generating activities. Saemaul training was expanded to include all sections of the society and Saemaul Undong was included as a subject in examinations for recruiting and promoting government employees. In expanding Saemaul Undong to the urban areas, emphasis was placed on the improvement of slum areas, developing sound and healthy morals and ethics in trade, beautification of city streets and full utilisation of common facilities. In 1975 a deputy chief in charge of Saemaul Undong was appointed in each of the 138 counties in the country. There was an expansion of the central committee for Saemaul Undong from 15 to 22 government offices and organisation of Saemaul Undong committee of private institutions in all provinces and 33 cities.⁽²⁶⁾

In 1976, major stress was laid on promoting urban Saemaul Undong and the development of lagging villages. In all, government financial support during 1974-76 amounted to US\$ 742 million and the completed projects were worth US\$ 1547 million. Thus, Saemaul Undong crossed the three-stage development from self-reliance in 1974 through spiritual enrichment in 1975 to spatial enlargement in 1976.

²⁶ Fu-Chen Lo and Byung-Nak Song, *op cit.*, p. 12.

Self-Reliant Growth (1977-81)

The years 1977-81 or the period of the Fourth Five year Plan was designated as the stage for completing Saemaul Undong. The beginning of 1977 marked a shift in the focus from the mere improvement of village environment to the active improvement of the cultural and welfare facilities of the villages. Urban Saemaul Undong was also extensively implemented and a large number of factories and institutions adopted the Undong strategy to increase productivity and welfare services. In 1972 when the movement was initiated, there were only 7 per cent of 34,665 villages classified as developed villages whereas in 1977, 67 per cent of all the villages were upgraded to developed villages. There was not a single village in the category of underdeveloped village.

In 1978, out of total of 34815 villages, 82 per cent were upgraded to developed (self-reliant) villages, and the remaining 18 percent as developing (self help) villages. Again, there was not a single village in the category of underdeveloped village. In 1978 major emphasis was put on expansion and improvement of rural housing, acceleration in income per farm family, observance of public order, intensive implementation of Saemaul Undong in factories and daily practice of the Saemaul spirit.⁽²⁷⁾

Designating 1980 as the year of the Saemaul Undong, the government decided to promote positively the civil stewardship of the Saemaul Undong. To do so the headquarters of Saemaul Undong was inaugurated to take charge of various civil Saemaul organisations which included the Central Saemaul Leaders Association, the Central Federation of Saemaul Women's Club, the Central Council of Business and Office Saemaul Undong, the Factory Saemaul Undong Headquarters, and the Central Federation of Saemaul Youth Societies. To back up these organisations legally, the law of Fostering of Saemaul Undong Organisations was passed.

In 1981, major emphasis was placed on developing

²⁷ *Saemaul Undong in Korea 1983*, op. cit.

Saemaul organisations as the foundation units for the practice of democracy. Efforts were also made to cultivate the democratic cooperative potential of communities. There were 243 Saemaul nurseries created across the country, which marked a milestone in the history of the country's pre-school education. The Saemaul nurseries are regional schools for both children and villagers contributing to regional development.

Balanced Development (1982 onwards)

Emphasis was placed on fostering the Saemaul spirit, in promoting better cultural and welfare environment through Saemaul projects, and on further consolidating national unity by means of a balanced regional development, thereby contributing to the creation of a democratic and welfare society. The stage of balanced development marked a period of civilian-led bottom-up movement for building a democratic welfare society.

While these changes were in progress over the years, the rural Saemaul Undong also underwent changes in its structure from village unit project stage during 1970-75 to cooperative cluster stage from 1976-82 and multi-cluster stage from 1983 onwards. Initially a strategy for rural development, followed by one for national development, Saemaul Undong has been able to make a significant impact on the national economy in general and the rural economy in particular. In 1970, the average household income in the rural areas was 67.1 per cent of that in the urban areas but in 1976 average income per rural household was ahead of the urban areas by 100.4 per cent.⁽²⁸⁾

The development goal of Korea for the 1980s and strategies for Saemaul Undong has been illustrated by Doyle Jeon⁽²⁹⁾ as follows:

²⁸ Sang-Chul Choe, "A critical review of the Saemaul Movement in ROK with special reference to the concept of Basic Needs," UNCRD Working Paper, October, 1979.

²⁹ Doyle Jeon, "An Approach to Rural Development in Korea," in *Korea Observer*, Autumn 1985.

Economic Welfare = Output/Expectations

While rural development can be expressed as:

Rural development = $f(Li, Si, Mi, Ii)$

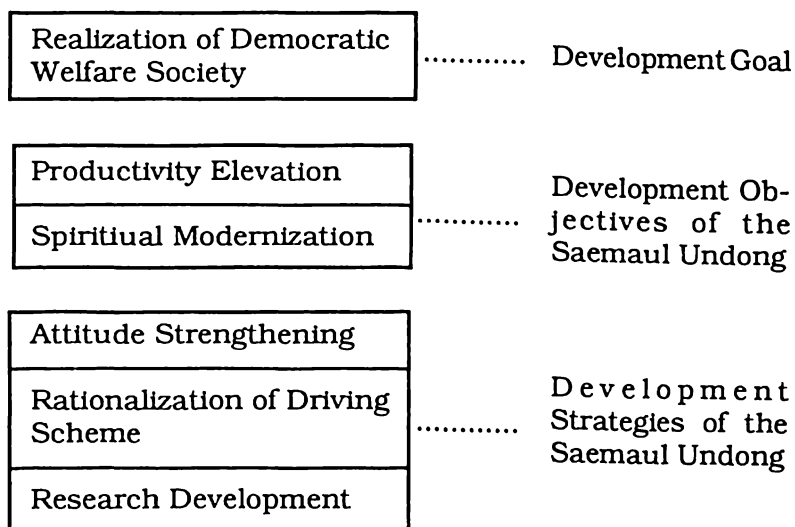
f : an algebraic function

Li : leadership

Si : development strategy

Mi : marketing system

Ii : agricultural infrastructure



Along with rural development, through Sameul Undong, Korea has achieved a rapid economic growth in all sectors. The main force behind this has been the rapid and widespread expansion of primary incomes, through economic growth. Even during the late 80s, per capita GNP had gone from US\$ 2950 in 1987 to US\$ 4400 in 1989.⁽³⁰⁾ There has been an equal emphasis on social development which is evident from the fact that since 1976 the government has extended medical insurance to cover more than half of the population and developed high quality public health and

³⁰ *Asian Development Outlook 1991*, op. cit.

education systems. As a result the life expectancy has gone up from 59 in 1965 to 70 in 1990. At the same time, infant mortality rate has come down from 62 to 17 during the same period. Since 1988, there have been demands for more equitable sharing of the benefits of rapid economic growth. The restructuring of Korea's economy currently under way is expected to dominate its economic outlook over the short to medium term. Agricultural and financial sectors are expected to come under the restructuring process. Some structural adjustments are already taking place partly as a result of migration to urban areas and partly in response to government policies under the comprehensive Rural Development plan.⁽³¹⁾

To conclude, one can say that Saemaul Undong has become a way of life in Korea and one finds today school Saemaul Undong, factory Saemaul Undong and Saemaul Youth. The success of Saemaul Undong of Korea can be attributed to a number of factors. The movement started with its total focus on the micro-level village as a unit of development and then expanded its focus and spatial coverage. The rural people were given a chance to decide about the improvements needed in their respective villages. Physical infrastructure was given prime importance. One of the important factors which contributed to the success of the movement was the strong organising force and active role of the government. Extensive training of both villagers and village leaders also played an important role in motivating the people. The successful green revolution, the compactness of the country and systematized rewarding of successful villagers were other factors which contributed to the success of Saemaul Undong. As observed by Fu-Chen Lo and Byung Nak Song,⁽³²⁾ The "sticks" have not been used, only "carrots" have been extensively provided. Awards to two or three of the most successful villagers are presented personally by the President at the monthly policy meetings of the Economic Planning Board. This is a great incentive to promote rural development.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Fu-Chen Lo and Byung-Nak Song, *op.cit.*

Conclusion

The analysis of the rural development process in China and Korea reveals that both countries have initiated the process of rural transformation through structural agrarian reforms. Implementation of land reforms in letter and spirit not only helped them to eliminate structural rigidities but laid the foundation for broad access to the most productive assets of these countries. In spite of the fact that the strategy of rural development evolved was shaped by the internal dynamics of socio-economic and political forces in these countries, there has been a consistency and pattern in directing the development process. One can clearly see a gradual transition from the narrow agricultural focus to the wider focus of rural development. The integration of centralisation of decision making process with considerable local autonomy implied that there was less friction in coordination between the activities of line ministries and local government agencies, which is so prominent and common in other developing countries of this region. The exploitation of local resources, including human resources, has been another positive feature of these development processes. The human resource, considered a liability in other developing countries, has been turned into a productive asset in these two countries. Does not this provide a lesson for others?

RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROFESSIONALISM : IRD IN PERSPECTIVE

Interest in integrated rural development (IRD) is now widely shared throughout the developing world, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. This is the result of a growing concern in dealing with the problems of rural poverty. More than 1 billion people in the developing world today live in poverty. The World Development Report 1990 concludes that "this number could be reduced by a strategy of both labour-intensive economic growth and efficient social spending."⁽¹⁾

Planned improvement in the conditions of life and work of people living in villages in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region is a must. In many of these countries, the vast majority of the people live in rural areas and suffer from serious disabilities in respect of physical infrastructure, work opportunities, technologies for production and social amenities. National development plans in most of these countries emphasise the importance of increased investments, access to productive inputs, and developing systems of distribution of the benefits of development. But in general, the financial resources of these countries are scarce, their populations increase fast, and cooperation among people and their governments limited.

The time has come when developing countries of this region "must recognize and confront directly the complex-

¹ *The Challenge of Development*, World Development Report 1991, p. 64.

ties and inherent paradox of the rural development process."⁽²⁾ In general, the experience of developing countries with the major development programmes, focused on rural development, has not been very encouraging. India, for example, starting from the community development programme in the fifties to the integrated rural development in the eighties — through the green revolution and a number of programmes and projects, coupled with various approaches, such as the target-group approach — could not bring about the expected results. Over the same period in other third world countries, the initial optimism of the green revolution through the introduction of high-yielding varieties of the major food grains, could not sustain itself. The green revolution, on which many had pinned their hopes, in fact proved, as reported in 1976 in *Strategies of Rural Development in Asia* by the UN Asian Centre for Development Administration, "to be disenchanting and only resulting in accentuating the imbalance between the bigger and the smaller holders." Thus the concern about the persistence and deepening of rural poverty forced the developing countries of this region to look for alternative strategies.

The pursuit of social equity was heralded as a prerequisite for economic growth and received high priority in the developing countries of this region. The broad trend which emerged suggested that with few exceptions rural poverty tended to increase in the developing world. Ironically, every new strategy adopted is justified by the statement that "it is based on lessons learnt from our past experiences," overlooking the fact that we have been learning from past experience for over 40 years now and our past experiences are characterised more by failures than successes. In fact,

² This was the conclusion arrived at by Mr A.Z.M. Obaidullah Khan in his paper "Recent Development in the Fields of Agrarian Reform and Rural Development," presented at the Second Government Consultation for Asia and the South-West Pacific on the follow-up of the WCARRD, organised by FAO and CIRDAP in 1981. He also identified three major thrusts which characterise rural development policy or projects: government commitment, organisation through decentralization and people's participation. The consultation recognized the importance and usefulness of a review of this nature, but felt that its perception may not always be unanimously shared.

whenever there was an apparent success, it failed when replicated on a large scale. As Robert Chambers⁽³⁾, while discussing the dangers of positive optimism in rural development comments: "Replicable models are the exception, not the rule."

The scholars have attributed failures in arresting poverty to various factors. For instance, Michael Lipton⁽⁴⁾ argues that 'urban bias' is the main reason why poor people stay poor in the developing countries. John Harriss⁽⁵⁾ claims that "the conventional agricultural economics tend to focus upon the analysis of the efficiency of the use of resources in production and marketing and treat the social and political factors which are of central importance in the practical activity of 'Rural Development' simply as *"ceteris paribus"* conditions or in other words, they are assumed to be constant". A study published by CIRDAP⁽⁶⁾ identified various shortcomings of IRD responsible for retarding the process. These include, among others, "absence of planning mechanism at the local level, lack of people's participation, poor identification of targets and target groups, lack of baseline data and lack of proper monitoring mechanism."

The absence of an adequate planning mechanism at local level is also reflected in the Indian experience. D. Bandyopadhyay⁽⁷⁾ admits that in India the administrative machinery at the district and sub-district levels was not sufficiently strengthened in terms of expertise as well as manpower. The adequacy of the implementation mechanism largely determines the success or failure of a development strategy. The implications are felt not only in the

³ Robert Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the last first*, (New York: Longman, 1985), p.34

⁴ M. Lipton, *Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban bias in world development*, 1977.

⁵ John Harriss, ed., *Rural Development: Theories of peasant economy and agrarian change*, (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1982). Harriss also feels that rural development has emerged as a distinctive field of policy, practice, and of research, particularly since the inception of new strategy for development planning by the World Bank and UN agencies.

⁶ *State of Art on Integrated Rural Development 1987*, CIRDAP, Dhaka.

⁷ D. Bandyopadhyay, *A Study of Poverty Alleviation in Rural India, Through Special Employment Creation Programmes*, (New Delhi: ARTEP/ILO, 1986)

planning mechanism but also in other related areas.

At present, many of the shortcomings of past programmes and projects for rural development are ascribed to the failure to secure participation of the rural masses at the grassroot level.⁽⁸⁾ People's participation has thus become the latest slogan in the development paradigm. Decentralized administration, local level planning, and bottom-up approaches are considered topics of immediate concern in the present - day development planning.

There are considerable divergences both in theory and practice on the meaning, scope and content of people's participation and a searching analysis is now being made in the Third World countries on its various aspects and implications. It is true that there is a need to involve the people and rely on their initiative and capacity to achieve success. Experiences of the past are also indicative of the fact, that whenever the people did not identify with the programmes or projects meant for their betterment the success has been marginal.

Here one confronts some basic issues involving people's participation:

- (i) Are we talking of people's initiative, and if so, can this initiative come on its own?
- (ii) We want involvement of people in identifying projects. Can people identify the projects? For example, under the concept of local-level planning, the aspirations of the people are to be matched with local resource availability. Are people or grassroots-level workers trained to undertake such an analysis?
- (iii) We emphasise that people should be involved in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of IRD projects. Have we clearly defined and demonstrated this involvement? Have we developed a mechanism for such involvement?
- (iv) Is it enough to justify people's participation, if a few representatives (chosen by the people) are involved in decision making bodies?

⁸ *Peoples Participation in Rural Development: An Overview of South and South-East Asian Experiences 1984*, CIRDAP. Dhaka.

In general, the response to the above questions is not encouraging. The poverty situation in which the rural people find themselves limits their aspiration to participate in efforts towards meeting community needs and problems. The process of motivation, directed to break down structures and conditions that perpetuate internal and external dependency relationships, is a hard task. Investments of this kind are not usually thought of as "profitable".

Lessons drawn from experience suggest that the lack of impact of rural development efforts cannot be attributed only to the absence of political will or commitment or the lack of funds. The problem often stems from the weaknesses of the supporting administrative systems and their incapacity to involve people in the development process. The impact cannot be achieved by simply transferring sizeable inputs and capital resources into the rural economy; real impact is determined by how well development policies and programmes are directed towards rural people on a multi-sectoral basis, in an integrated fashion, for more equitable distribution of the benefits of development.

The task of motivation at the grassroots level is to develop a firm belief in the capacity of people to be the instruments of their own development. This requires a strong commitment to the interest of the people, by the development workers, be they extension workers, managers or supervisors. At present, it is difficult to isolate development workers who are well trained and dedicated to perform such a task. There is a multiplicity of ministries and agencies involved in the delivery of services for rural development. This has created a state of confusion as to who are actually the rural development workers and who are not. For example, rural development needs to be differentiated from agriculture and subjects allied to it. Although "agriculture is the primary occupation in the rural areas, yet the basic strategy of rural development is not only the promotion of agriculture in the technical sense, but its development in such a manner "as to permit the fruits of development to reach the small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers." The strategy is also to divert, as much as possible, the large mass of people away from agriculture to

non-farm occupations (owing to scarcity of land).⁽⁹⁾ Rural development also encompasses activities other than economic activities like education, health and nutrition, training, etc. Who is to perform these tasks — agriculture extension workers, health workers or education extension workers? Or are they to be performed jointly? If so, what is the coordinating mechanism?

Unfortunately, coordination at the grassroots level has turned out to be a futile exercise. We have been talking so much about lack of coordination that one hardly finds a seminar or a workshop report which has not identified "lack of coordination" as one of the burning problems. However, very rarely does one find any concrete solution to overcome this problem. The few suggestions or recommendations that are made involve so much of policy intervention that they remain in the confines of workshops or seminar reports.

The needs of a rural household, to which development efforts are directed, are an integral whole, but we have been approaching them in a segmented manner. For example, the health of a family member is as important to a farmer as the output from his farm. This was the basic idea behind replacing rural development with integrated rural development in development planning in India. Perhaps, merely changing the terminology without giving it a concrete shape at the grassroots level is not sufficient. The comprehensiveness of the IRD concept contains the ideal of a holistic view of the rural family or the community in its totality. The IRD concept is "wedded to the fundamental, humanistic value of development. "Welfare of man is the end of development, which is

⁹ See for example M.S Swaminathan's "Strengthening the linkages between ecological security and livelihood security in rural areas," in *Asia Pacific Journal of Rural Development*; vol 1, no 2 CIRDAP, December 1991. Dr Swaminathan suggests the need for a new methodology of rural development, through the growth of secondary and tertiary sectors. He contends that the population distribution in rural areas is very skewed towards the primary sector, which is just the opposite in industrialized countries, where there are very few people in the primary sector, about 25% in the secondary sector and nearly 65% in the tertiary sector, who are providing vast services, which people can well afford. Keeping in view population pressure in the Asia-Pacific region, he suggests a pattern of industrialized country development to absorb more and more people.

therefore, to be judged by how far it has gone towards an individual's welfare. This involves taking all the needs of a family into consideration at the planning phase: the need for food and nutrition, sanitation and hygiene, child care, family planning, literacy, education and training and optimum utilisation of local resources. This will need a whole series of projects in a coordinated and integrated fashion to enable the rural people to move up to a higher level of well-being in simultaneous resolution of their economic and social problems.

This implies that a piecemeal approach to integrated rural development is neither relevant nor desirable. It needs, as Harriss⁽¹⁰⁾ puts it, "a distinct approach to interventions by the state in the economics of underdeveloped countries... more specific in the sense that it focuses particularly on poverty and inequality." This entails a well thought-out coordinated mechanism to bring about sustained rural development in an integrated manner.

The analysis of the above discussion suggests that the developing countries of this region need to give serious thought to the application of the concept of integrated rural development in general and the participatory approach to development in particular. Rural development has gained prominence both at national as well as international levels. In addition to the growing number of governmental organisations of varying size and complexity, there are a variety of institutions coming up in all sectors.

Rural development as a profession now not only finds place in various sectoral departments but in other related organisations as well such as banks which deal with rural development credit. In the process, rural development is emerging as a specialised profession and will hopefully become a distinct discipline in the near future. It is also bringing pressure on the educational system to provide a body of professionals to serve as specialist manpower in the field of rural development. At present a heterogeneous group from various disciplines are trying to fill this gap. When one

¹⁰ Harriss, John, op.cit. Harriss also argues that the expression 'rural development' may also be used to refer to processes of change in rural societies, not all of which involve action by governments.

is confronted with the study of rural development, a multidisciplinary approach is suggested, precisely because problems involved in rural development cannot be studied through a single discipline. The literature at present generated in the name of rural development, does lack the flavour of interdisciplinary approach, which characterise rural development. There are people who are ideologically committed to rural development, though their numbers are dwindling with time. On the increase today are people who are taking up rural development as a career. The education system has to respond to this challenge without delay.

The present approach, whereby rural development studies are subjected to multidisciplinary approach by a group of professionals, cannot be effectively implemented in the rural development projects.⁽¹¹⁾ A body of professionals with interdisciplinary specialisation is needed to serve as core staff for effective implementation of rural development projects.

Rural development is emerging as a definite discipline. It seems that over a period of time, this emerging discipline will have to develop its code of ethics, its professional association and also a definite social identity. As an integrative discipline it has to bring together the contribution of several related specialised disciplines, such as economics, sociology, public administration, agronomy, animal husbandry, agricultural extension, etc., with special focus on bringing about social justice, initiation of a process of participatory development and promotion of growth in all sectors of rural economy. This is necessary if integrated rural development is accepted as a paradigm replacing the sectoral approach to rural development.

There are two major areas of concern in promoting professionalism in rural development. One of them relates

¹¹ The problem gets further compounded when one experiences frequent transfers of project directors of rural development projects in countries where rural development is implemented through donor - supported projects. If a person working with say the commerce department is brought in to handle a rural development project due to bureaucratic transfer, how is he supposed to know all the technicalities and complexities involved in implementation? Such transfers should have been routed through rural development institutions to at least acquaint them about the concepts and complexities involved for effective supervision.

to the vast manpower, which has already adopted rural development as a profession. There is an urgent need to pay attention to those among them who are involved in the implementation of rural development projects. Although, there is a vast network of training institutions in the developing countries of this region, the studies and surveys reveal that training given by these institutions is inadequate.⁽¹²⁾ Research by the UNDP Asia and Pacific Programme for Development Training and Communication Planning (DTCP)⁽¹³⁾, has shown that much of the money put into training has little or no impact on improving job performance or the overall effectiveness of rural-based development projects. In fact, in some cases it is counterproductive because traditional training often pulls crucial staff off their jobs for long periods of time. This may not be true in all cases, but most of the training institutions fall in this category. It is a common experience in most training institutions that for long duration programmes, the attendance is far from encouraging. Further, since training is not a one-shot exercise, maintaining continuity in the training process becomes difficult. It is often not possible to get the same set of participants for reorientation or upgrading of skills and knowledge, because of frequent transfers. The training institutions at sub-national levels are understaffed. A posting to a training institution is considered a punishment by bureaucrats. Rural development needs missionaries and one forgets the fact that a government machinery cannot fulfil that role. There is a need to attract the best of talents by providing the required incentives so that these institutions of learning turn into institutions of excellence.

At the same time, there is a need to search for alternative arrangements, which can effectively be applied to enhance professionalism in rural development. One such alternative can be the Open Universities, which are coming up in most of the developing countries of this region.⁽¹⁴⁾ For example,

¹² See for example, *A study on training facilities for field functionaries in rural development*, (Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, 1983).

¹³ See John L. Woods, *Making Rural Based Development Projects More Effective*, (Bangkok: UNDP/DTCD, 1983).

¹⁴ The Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi offers
(Continued on next page)

there are well established Open Universities in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Indonesia, and the process has already been initiated to establish one in Bangladesh. Under the continuing education banner, professional programmes for in-service rural development functionaries can go a long way in updating knowledge and skills of the development functionaries without causing any physical dislocation in their workplaces. This will also help to provide them basic knowledge about various concepts and techniques involved in the implementation of rural development programmes and projects. The network of training institutions can then build their short-term orientation programmes on the basic professional knowledge acquired by the functionaries through the Open University system.⁽¹⁵⁾

The second area of concern relates to those who decide to take up rural development as a career or employment option. This can be effectively achieved if rural development is first introduced as a subject at the graduation level and later developed into a full-fledged post-graduate and doctoral programme. There are already a few universities which have departments of rural studies at the postgraduate level. This trend needs to be strengthened. Again, there can be a combined effort of both the Open and conventional universities to address themselves to this discipline. However, there is a need to make such courses of study field and problem-oriented, apart from covering the necessary theo-

¹⁴ (continued from last page)

a study programme in rural development for development functionaries. It has also introduced rural development as one of the courses in its graduate programme. The Open University in Thailand conducts courses in agricultural extension and cooperatives, village administration and the land and property laws. The Open University in Pakistan organises functional education programme in agricultural education, plant protection, soil problems, tractor repairs, poultry farming and vegetable growing.

¹⁵ For example, the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD) India, National Centre for Rural Development (NCRD) Pakistan, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) Bangladesh, and related apex institutions in other countries have to play an important role to promote professionalism in rural development. NIRD in India has already taken the lead by offering a diploma in rural development management for development functionaries from India and abroad.

retical aspects and various concepts involved. "Rural development professionalism has to combine in itself conceptual academic knowledge and insight into practical problems faced by the rural poor. To conclude in the words of Robert Chambers⁽¹⁶⁾ "For the rural poor to lose less and gain more requires reversals: spatial reversals in where professionals live and work, and in decentralization of resources and discretion; reversals in professional values and preferences from a 'first' to last 'list; and reversals in specialisation, enabling the identification and exploitation by and for the poor of gaps -- under-recognised resource, and opportunities often lying between disciplines, professions and departments. Reversals require professionals who are explorers and multidisciplinarians, those who ask again and again, who will benefit and who will lose from their choices and actions. New professionals who put the last first already exist; the hard question is how they can multiply."

¹⁶ Robert Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

Statistical Socio-Economic Profile

South And South-East Asia

Introduction

The South and South East Asian region, although rich in human wealth have a high incidence of poverty. The geographical area ranges from 66 thousands sq km (Sri Lanka) to 3288 thousand sq km (India). The smallest country, in terms of population, is Laos which has only 4.1 million people. The population density varies from nearly 800 per sq km in Bangladesh to less than 60 per sq km in Malaysia and Laos. The GNP per capita varies from US\$ 2320 for Malaysia to US\$ 170 for Nepal. Despite great diversities in terms of geography and socio-political background, all these countries are predominantly rural. Therefore, rural development is the most important challenge these countries face. As discussed in the chapter II of this book, it was considered necessary to provide a brief statistical profile of these countries to facilitate better understanding of the socio-economic dynamics and an overall development scenario. The information on various development indicators is both scattered and characterised by an inconsistent pattern, which makes the drawing of inferences of doubtful value. In order to overcome this problem an attempt has been made, to the extent possible to provide data of similar time series from all available sources. It is hoped that the statistical profile will be of use to those interested in rural development research. The profile has been restricted to eleven countries: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka from South Asia and Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam from South East Asia.

TABLE I

Area and Population Growth

Country	Area thousands sq. km.	Population (millions) mid-1990	Average annual growth of population (per cent)		Rural Population as % of total		
					1965-80	1980-90	1965
South Asia							
Bangladesh	144	106.7	2.6	2.3	94	82	84
India	3,288	849.5	2.3	2.1	81	75	73
Nepal	141	18.9	2.4	2.6	96	93	90
Pakistan	796	112.4	3.1	3.1	76	71	68
Sri Lanka	66	17.00	1.8	1.4	80	79	79
South-East Asia							
Indonesia	1,905	178.2	2.4	1.8	84	75	69
Laos	237	4.1	1.9	2.7	92	85	81
Malaysia	330	17.9	2.5	2.6	74	69	57
Philippines	300	61.5	2.8	2.4	68	61	57
Thailand	513	55.8	2.9	1.8	87	82	77
Vietnam	330	66.3	2.3	2.1	84	80	78

Source: World Development Report 1992, Washington, D.C. and CIRDAP, State of Art on IRD 1987.

Footnote: The eleven countries under reference have a total population of 1488.3 million. Of the eleven countries, eight (Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Vietnam) are classified as low-income economies and the remaining three (Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia) as middle-income economies. The eight low-income economies have a combined population of 1353.1 million which is 44.2 per cent of the total population of all the low-income countries of the world (including China). The three middle-income economies have combined population of 135.2 million, which is 21.5 per cent of all the lower middle economies. Within the region, the five South-Asian countries have a combined population of 1104.5 million as compared to 383.8 million of the six South-East Asian countries.

TABLE 2

Country	Population Below Poverty Line			
	Population below poverty line (%)		Population below poverty line (millions)	
	Total % 1980-88	Rural % 1980-88	Total 1990	Rural 1990
South Asia				
Bangladesh	86	86	99.4	83.1
India	48	51	410.0	320.0
Nepal	60	61	11.6	10.6
Pakistan	30	29	36.8	24.2
Sri Lanka	-	-	-	-
South-East Asia				
Indonesia	39	44	69.5	55.2
Laos	-	-	-	-
Malaysia	27	38	4.7	3.8
Philippines	58	64	36.2	22.9
Thailand	30	34	16.5	14.7
Vietnam	-	-	-	-

Source: Human Development Report 1991, UNDP.

* The poverty line has been estimated as an income level below which a minimum nutritionally adequate diet plus essential non-food requirements are not affordable.

Footnote: The rural areas share the major burden of incidence of poverty in both South and South-East Asia. It is true that there has been a declining trend in the incidence of rural poverty over the years in many countries, but in terms of absolute numbers of the poor, the decline has been much less. In some cases it is attributed to the demographic factor. The countries have been changing yardsticks to define the poverty line. For example, in India, the Planning Commission has very recently revised the poverty upwards for the Eighth Plan (1992-97). Now the poverty line is the per capita monthly expenditure of Rs. 49.09 in rural areas and Rs. 56.64 in urban areas at 1973-74 prices, corresponding to the per capita daily caloric requirements of 2400 in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas.

TABLE 3
Average Annual Growth Rate of GNP and GDP

Country	GNP per capita		GDP	
	US dollar 1990	Average annual growth rate % 1965-90	Average annual growth rate (per cent)	
			1965-80	1980-90
South Asia				
Bangladesh	210	0.7	1.7	4.3
India	350	1.9	3.6	5.3
Nepal	170	0.5	1.9	4.6
Pakistan	380	2.5	5.2	6.3
Sri Lanka	470	2.9	4.0	4.0
South-East Asia				
Indonesia	570	4.5	7.0	5.5
Laos	200	-	-	-
Malaysia	2,320	4.0	7.4	5.2
Philippines	730	1.3	5.7	0.9
Thailand	1420	4.4	7.3	7.6
Vietnam	-	-	-	-

Source: World Development Report 1992.

Footnote: During 1965-90, the average annual growth rate has been higher in South East Asia (Except Philippines) than South Asia. It does to some extent serve as an indicator of economic growth, although perfect cross-country comparability of GNP per capita estimates cannot be achieved, as admitted by World Bank Report. Some countries, over a period of time, have shown very rapid increase in GNP per capita. For example in Indonesia, per capita income has grown rapidly during the last two decades, from US\$ 51 per annum in 1967 to US\$ 570 per annum in 1990. According to the World Development Report 1991, Malaysia and Sri Lanka had similar per capita income in 1960. Malaysia grew at 7.00

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per cent and Sri Lanka at 4.4 per cent during the period (1960-78). Today Malaysia ranks very high in both per capita GNP and GDP. The countries have, over a period of time, followed different development strategies and perhaps other countries remain less open than Malaysia.

TABLE 4

Income distribution and ICP estimates of GDP

ICP Estimates of GDP per capita ^a					Percentage share of household income by percentile group of households				
Country	United States=100 1985	1990	Current International dollars 1990	Year	Lowest 20 percent	Second quintile	Third quintile	Fourth quintile	Highest 20 per cent
South Asia									
Bangladesh	5.0	4.9	1,050	1985-86 ^b	10.0	13.7	17.2	21.9	37.2
India	4.5	5.4	1,150	1983 ^b	8.1	12.3	16.3	22.0	41.4
Nepal	4.5	4.4	950	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pakistan	8.1	8.3	1,770	1984-85 ^c	7.8	11.2	15.0	20.6	45.6
Sri Lanka	11.2	11.1	2,370	1985-86 ^d	4.8	8.5	12.1	18.4	56.1
South-East Asia									
Indonesia	9.9 ^e	11.0	2,350	1987 ^a	8.8	12.4	16.0	21.5	41.3
Laos	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Malaysia	25.0 ^e	27.6	5,900	1987 ^d	4.6	9.3	13.9	21.2	51.2
Philippines	10.9	10.9	2,320	1985 ^c	5.5	9.7	14.8	22.0	48.0
Thailand	15.5	21.6	4,610	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vietnam	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: World Development Report 1992.

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- a: The first three columns of this table contain the results of the UN international comparison programme (ICP).
- b: Data refer to per capita expenditure
- c: Data a refer to household expenditure
- d: Data refers to per capita income
- e: Extrapolated from earlier ICP exercise

Footnote: Data generated for the last few decades show that although per capita gross national product (GNP) and GDP has increased in many countries, the disparity in income between rich and poor has also increased. It is necessary that the economic growth is stimulated but perhaps countries have to ensure that the poor, particularly those at the bottom of the ladder participate in the benefits from the process of growth. The rich poor trends are highlighted in more detail in a set of indicators recently compiled by the Washington-based World Resource Institute in its report for the 1992, suggesting sustainable development as one of the alternatives. The report states that these are no adequate models of sustainable development on a national level and translating the concept into programmes and policies means different things to different countries because of widely varying circumstances.

TABLE 5

Social Investment

Country	Real GDP per capita (PPP\$)*	GNP percapita Total (US\$)	Lowest 40% of household US\$	Public education exp. as percent- age of GNP	Public health' expenditure (as percentage of GNP)
	1988	1988	1987	1986	1986
South Asia					
Bangladesh	720	170	70	1.3	0.6
India	870	340	120	3.4	0.9
Nepal	770	180	-	2.1	0.9
Pakistan	1790	350	-	2.2	0.2
Sri Lanka	2120	420	160	2.4	1.7
South-East Asia					
Indonesia	1820	440	160	2.3	0.7
Laos	1000	180	-	-	-
Malaysia	5070	1940	510	7.9	1.8
Philippines	2170	630	210	2.4	0.7
Thailand	3280	1000	320	3.2	1.0
Vietnam	1000	220	-	-	-

Source: Human Development Report 1991, UNDP, pp. 152-53.

* The United Nations International Comparison programme (ICP) has developed a measure of real GDP on an internationally comparable scale using purchasing power parities (PPP) instead of exchange rates as conversion factors and expressed in international dollars.

Footnote: There are various dimensions of poverty, apart from access to income and food. These include access to health, nutrition and education facilities, predetermined by how much of social investment component there is in public expenditure. The social investment scenario of South and South-East Asia projects a dismal picture in most of the countries. There is a need to decide on an appropriate balance between social and investment expenditure in these countries.

TABLE 6

Demography and Fertility

Country	Life expectancy at birth (years)		Crude birth rate (per 1000 popul.)		Crude death rate (per 1000 popul.)		Total fertility rate			
	Male	Female								
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
South Asia										
Bangladesh	45	52	44	51	47	35	21	14	6.8	4.6
India	46	60	44	58	45	30	20	11	6.2	4.0
Nepal	41	53	40	51	46	40	24	14	6.0	5.7
Pakistan	47	56	45	55	48	42	21	12	7.0	5.8
Sri Lanka	63	69	64	73	33	20	8	6	4.9	2.4
South-East Asia										
Indonesia	43	60	45	64	43	26	20	9	5.5	3.1
Laos	39	48	42	51	45	47	23	16	6.1	6.7
Malaysia	56	68	60	72	40	30	12	5	6.3	3.8
Philippines	54	62	57	66	42	29	12	7	6.8	3.7
Thailand	54	63	58	68	41	22	10	7	6.3	2.5
Vietnam	48	64	51	69	39	31	18	7	6.0	3.8

Source World Development Report 1992.

(1) : 1965

(2) : 1990

TABLE 7

Educational Enrolment

Percentage of age group enrolled in education								
Country	Primary (Total)		Secondary (Total)		Tertiary (Total)		Primary pupil te- acher Ratio	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
South Asia								
Bangladesh	49	70	13	17	1	4	45	60
India	74	98	27	43	5	-	42	61
Nepal	20	86	5	30	1	6	29	37
Pakistan	40	38	12	20	2	5	42	41
Sri Lanka	93	107	35	74	2	4	-	14
South-East Asia								
Indonesia	72	118	12	47	1	-	41	23
Laos	40	111	2	27	0	2	37	28
Malaysia	90	96	28	59	2	7	29	21
Philippines	113	111	41	73	19	28	31	33
Thailand	78	86	14	28	2	16	35	18
Vietnam	—	88*	—	47*	—	—	—	—

Source: World Development Report 1992.

* Since figures of enrolment were not available in the World bank Report, the figures for Vietnam were taken from Human Development Report 1991 and pertain to the period 1986-88.

(1) : 1965

(2) : 1989

TABLE 8

Health and Nutrition

Country	Population per physician		Population per nursing person		Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)		Daily calorie supply per capita	
	1965	1984	1965	1984	1965	1990	1965	1989
South Asia								
Bangladesh	8,100	6390	—	8,530	144	105	1970	2,021
India	4,880	2,520	6,500	1,700	150	92	2,021	2,229
Nepal	46,180	30,220	87,650	4,680	171	121	1,889	2,077
Pakistan	-	2,900	9,910	4,890	149	103	1,773	2,219
Sri Lanka	5,820	5,520	3,220	1,290	63	19	2,171	2,277
South-East Asia								
Indonesia	31,700	9,410	9,490	-	128	61	1,791	2,750
Laos	24,320	1,360	4,880	530	148	103	2,135	2,630
Malaysia	6,200	1,930	1,320	1010	55	16	2,353	2,774
Philippines	-	6,570	1,140	2,680	72	41	1,875	2,375
Thailand	7,160	6,290	4,970	710	88	27	2,138	2,316
Vietnam	—	950	14,250	590	134	42	2,041	2,233

Source: World Development Report 1992.

TABLE 9

**Non-accessibility to health services,
safe water and sanitation (1990)**

(in millions)

Country	Population without access to health services	Population without access to safe water	Population without access to sanitation
South Asia			
Bangladesh	63.6	-	108.1
India	-	370.0	-
Nepal	-	12.2	-
Pakistan	54.6	67.5	97.6
Sri Lanka	1.2	10.1	8.5
South-East Asia			
Indonesia	36.9	99.3	113.1
Laos	1.4	-	3.7
Malaysia	-	8.8	13.4
Philippines	-	-	9.9
Thailand	16.7	18.8	12.4
Vietnam	13.0	36.2	-

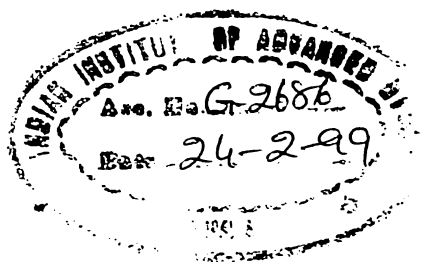
Source: Human Development Report 1991.

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