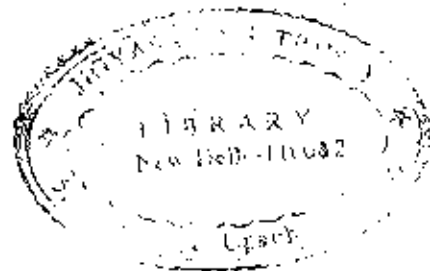


Grass Without Roots

- Rural Development Under Government Auspices



Study of Rural Development Delivery Arrangements at Village, Block and District level by the Institute of Social Studies Trust in collaboration with several institutions and individual researchers. The study was sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the Institutions.

1983

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## Introduction

Reviews of the development scene and development delivery arrangements at the ground level point out that the quality and quantum of development are far from satisfactory - in substance or speed. The national objectives of husbanding natural resources and human development have not progressed anywhere near their potential or an achievable level with reference to the resources applied. There is an impressive array of schemes and projects which have got implemented in the past three decades. But they have not succeeded in generating a development process i.e. activating the local community and local resources in a manner that they could move apace forward with diminishing development intervention from the state.

This study was undertaken in order to examine the structure and suitability of the institutional arrangements that have been made for the delivery of rural development programmes especially to the poor.

The study has attempted to identify the extent to which and the reasons why the rural extension organisation (its structure, functions, powers, personnel, procedures, styles of functioning, contact and relationship with the community) is an impediment in the satisfactory and speedy delivery of the intended development benefits. Another context for the study was the introduction of a number of new programmes which are based on the belief that programme innovations will overcome past weaknesses. The study therefore also looked at selected programmes to observe their performance in relation to their stated objectives.

The hypothesis against which this research was undertaken were:

- 1 the people are not involved in the governance of development plans and measures - even those which affect them intimately. There is no institutional forum for them to express their ideas. This is leading to perpetuation of poverty and suffocation erupting in increasing tension and violence.

(ii)

2. the development burden is almost exclusively on the administration - which by its very nature is hierarchical and has to be directed from above. The more it is directed from above the less it is able to relate itself to the local population and possibilities. Consequently not only is development a sufferer but there is growing loss of respect for the very institution of government.
3. these conditions are preventing the planning process from seeing a host of development possibilities and resources which can be captured only at local levels.

The alienation of the people from the most exciting task of development in the post-Independence India on the one hand and the continuation of the colonial pattern of administration - directed from the top and unaccountable to the local population - on the other, have serious implications for both development and democracy.

To arrest these trends, the study, as was expected, has endeavoured to suggest restructuring of the arrangements for the advancement of the rural development goals.

Sponsored by the ICSSR, and with the collaboration of selected researchers and Institutions whose names appear in the introduction to Chapter III (Field Evidence) - the study took a little more than two years. The field work and the historical review of the Community Development Programme and efforts at reform of District Administration and Decentralised Planning took longer than anticipated.

The Honorary Project Director for this research was L.C. Jain. The Institute is indebted to him for bringing to the Study his experience in this field for over 30 years. ISST is equally indebted to Prof B.V.Krishnamurty for overall intellectual support apart from his participation in the case study of the Nanjungud Block; to Dr K.S.Krishnaswamy for his guidance to the case studies of Udipi, Gulbarga and



(iii)

Chakrata; to Shri P.M. Tripathi for the Dhamdaha case study and his comments on the draft report.

Within ISST we would wish to acknowledge the special contribution of Vinita Bhargave, A. Suchitra, Shobha Jaishanker, Tara Appachu, Shashi Rajagopal and Jayanti Banerjee. For the study of Chakrata Block our thanks are due to Mariam John of the G.B. Pant Agricultural University. The study has also drawn upon the situational analysis of Udipi and Gulberga districts/ taluks by Dr. Gita Sen.

Most important of all our thanks are due to well over a thousand rural households who helped generously with the interviews and provided the substance of this report, as also to numerous functionaries and elected representatives at various levels, and to several State Governments for their ungrudging cooperation and contribution.

If the study is able to help in improving our rural development performance in even a small measure ISST would feel amply rewarded.

New Delhi  
December 1983.

Devaki Jain  
Director  
Institute of Social Studies Trust

## I The C.D. Programme : A Historical Review

### A. Goals and Implementation Arrangements

The Community Development Programme in India started in October 1952 with 55 Community Development Projects under the Indo-US Operational Agreement. Each of the 55 projects was to cover about 3 development blocks or 300 villages and a population of about 3 lakhs.

#### 1. Goals

The objectives of the Community Development (CD) Programme were four-fold: (a) transformation in the outlook of the people, (b) inculcation of the spirit of self-reliance, (c) generation of habit of co-operative action through popular bodies and (d) these three to lead to new enlightenment, strength and hope.

#### 2. Approach

As for its approach, it was characterised as a programme of "aided self help" and "intended to be planned and implemented by villagers themselves, government offering technical and financial assistance"<sup>1</sup> (emphasis added).

### 3. Tasks and Principal Duties

In line with this approach the tasks and principal duties to be pursued were:<sup>2</sup>

#### Tasks

First, Every family should be assisted in its efforts for increased employment and production by the practice of scientific agriculture - including horticulture - animal husbandry, fisheries, etc. and subsidiary occupations - cottage and small scale industries.

Second, These efforts of families should be organised through panchayats and co-operatives at different levels in which they are represented in their own right. In other words self-help and cooperation are the basis of the movement.

Third, The obligations of families that benefit from improvement programmes should be strictly defined and enforced. All families should also devote a portion of their unutilised time and energy for building up assets for the benefit of the community.

Fourth Programmes of production are linked up with programmes of amenities for villagers. In these latter programmes, villagers should contribute their share of labour, etc.

Fifth In all these activities the entire rural community should be associated actively. There should be strong women's and youth movements in villages.

Finally Scientific agriculture is the core of the entire programme - the foundation on which it rests. Social changes can come only through united efforts for increased employment and production and changes in attitudes to work and saving.

#### Principal Duties

Preparation and implementation of village agricultural production plans and plans for basic minimum amenities for the village based on full utilisation of manpower and other resources and also on the obligations of beneficiaries in respect of irrigation and soil conservation, etc.

Preparation and implementation of block development plans;

Preparation and implementation of district development plans;

Assisting in the implementation of land reform programmes, assisting the economically weaker sections of the village community, developing cooperatives and rural industries and developing facilities for education, adult literacy, rural sanitation etc.

#### 4. Tests of Success

To facilitate monitoring of the progress in relation to the aforesaid objectives, approach and tasks, the following "tests of success" were prescribed for the programme:<sup>3</sup>

Has every family in the Community projects area got a plan of improvement for which it puts forth its best efforts and utilises the improved techniques?

Has every family made its own contribution to works of benefit to the community in the form of money and/or labour?

Has every family in the area become "credit-worthy" and is every family represented, on its own qualifications, in at least one co-operative Society?

Have seeds and manures and fertilizers proved to be suitable?

Have all these become part of the permanent life of the village and not a mere temporary phase.

VT Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and doyen of the CD Programme was satisfied that the implementation arrangements, as will be described, matched the tasks. "These tests of success were not too ambitious programmes for three year period...every village level worker has only about 400 to 500 families to look after, and can establish personal contact and the right method of approach that the change in outlook...can be achieved". He added, however, that "There should be a change in our outlook also. We have to adapt ourselves to the new conception of the welfare state. We should approach our task in a new spirit. We should give up the idea that we are here to force our programme and plans on the villagers. It is for the villagers to tell us what they want and for us to assist them. We can advise them. We can organise their efforts".<sup>4</sup>

## 5. Implementation Arrangements

The steps taken by government to acquire operational capacity to organise the efforts of the villagers may be described in some detail since the focus of this study is on "development delivery arrangements".

The implementation machinery was designed to serve two purposes - to carry out command from above and to communicate with the people in the villages on a day to day basis. Accordingly, it followed a hierarchical structure connecting the command line from the Centre to the State, to the district, block and the village. The district and block level formations had advisory bodies attached to them for formal communication with the people. In addition, a village functionary was to maintain day to day contact with the village population in his respective circle of villages.

The design of the implementation arrangements also embodied in it, two wider important objectives. First, bringing into existence "an administrative organisation in which all development activities could be co-ordinated and carried out with unity of aim and purpose". This was significant in the context of independent functioning of rural improvement

departments in the districts during the British rule. Second, transforming the machinery which was at one time devised to look after the function of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order into " a Welfare Administration".<sup>5</sup>

At the central level, it was a measure of its seriousness and sincerity towards the programme that the Government of India appointed the Planning Commission itself headed by the Prime Minister, as the Central Committee for the community projects ( stipulated in the Indo-US Technical Cooperation Agreement) to lay down the broad policies and provide the general supervision under which agreed Community Development Projects were to be executed. To assist the Central Committee, an Advisory Board was constituted consisting of Secretaries of the Ministries of Food & Agriculture, Finance, Natural Resources & Scientific Research etc. Besides, the Government appointed a full time Administrator of Community Projects (S.K. Dey) under the Central Committee. His role as defined by the Central Committee was:<sup>6</sup>

The Administrator will be responsible for planning, directing and coordinating the community projects throughout India under the general supervision of the Central Committee and in consultation with appropriate

authorities in the various States. He will be assisted by a highly qualified executive staff to advise him on administration, finance, personnel (training), community planning, and other matters and operating divisions in the fields of (1) agriculture (2) irrigation (3) health (4) education (5) industries (6) housing and (7) community facilities. These staff will work with the State, District, and project level workers in the interest of carrying out cooperatively the Community Development Programme.

The Community development programme in each state is likely to benefit considerably from experience gained in other parts of the country. The pooling and coordination of such experience with a view to its wider application is one of the principal duties of the Administrator. At an early date therefore, it is proposed that the principal officers concerned with the community development programmes should join together for a few days to consider common problems and review the experience already gained in different States and on particular projects like those at Etawah, Nilokheri, Faridabad and elsewhere.

At the State and District Levels: The Central Committee recommended the following organisational set up for community development:<sup>7</sup>

At the State level there should be a State Development Committee consisting of the Chief Minister and Ministers in charge of the Development, Agriculture, Irrigation and Finance and such other Ministers as the Chief Minister may consider necessary. The Development Commissioner/ Development Secretary of the State should act as the Secretary of this Committee.



The State Development Committee should be assisted by an Advisory Board consisting of the Development Commissioner/Development Secretary and the Secretaries of the principal department concerned with the community development programme.

The Development Commissioner/Development Secretary will be the officer responsible for ensuring coordination at the headquarters of the State Government and for issuing instructions to officers in charge of community projects. As was pointed out in the Draft outline of the Five-year Plan, the success of the entire programme of rural development and agricultural production would depend on the type of person appointed as Development Commissioner and his competence as the leader of a team comprising heads of departments. (Emphasis added)

Heads of departments in States who will be concerned with the implementation of programmes in different fields, should be closely associated with the Advisory Board even though they may not be members of the Board.

As the Development Commissioner/Development Secretary will have a great deal of work to do in relation to the general development programme of the State, the appointment of an officer with a status equivalent to that of a Collector as Deputy Development Commissioner in charge specifically of community projects under the general direction and supervision of the Development Commissioner/Development Secretary may be desirable.

The Central Committee also defined the functions of the Development Commissioner in some detail:

The basic function of the Development Commissioner is to co-ordinate the activities of the development Departments and to see that they work towards the fulfilment of the over-all plan for

the State. It follows from this that the Development Commissioner should not set up an independent Development Department.

To achieve co-ordination at the District, Sub-Divisional and Block (approximately 100 villages) levels, functions similar to those of the Development Commissioner will have to be discharged by the District Officer, Sub-Divisional Officer, and the Block Development Officer respectively. (P.E.S. and Community Project Blocks should be so selected that three or four of them, taken together, coincide with the revenue administrative division).

The multi-purpose village level worker should be regarded as the last link in this administrative chain and should be treated as part of the District Administration, and not of any separate Department. Above the village level technical officers should, wherever possible, belong to the different development Departments, but should be subject to the supervision for purposes of co-ordination of the General Administrative Officer of the appropriate level, viz. Block Development Officer at the block level, S.D.O. at the sub-divisional level, and the District Officer at the district level.

The General Administrative Services which will be in charge of this vital work of co-ordination should be reinforced at different levels by the intake of men of exceptionally good qualifications and ability from outside, including the various technical Departments.

In order to give the necessary reorientation to the general administrative personnel, it will be necessary:

- a) to provide training in development work for new recruits at the beginning of their careers; and
- b) to give a larger orientation course of about six weeks to existing administrative personnel.

At the district level arrangements on the following lines were recommended by the Central Committee:

There should be in each district a District Development Officer with the status of an Additional Collector, specifically in charge of development programme in the district as well as for the successful execution of the community projects.

In the selection of Executive Officers to be placed in charge of individual projects, special regard should be had to experience, general outlook, understanding of the needs and methods of community development and capacity for leadership as well as ability to secure both official and non-official cooperation. For appointment to these posts, therefore, it will be desirable to select the best available persons, whether from official cadres or otherwise, and the district Development departments with the Collector as Chairman and the District Development Officer as Secretary should also be the committee responsible for the coordination of the activities of various departments in the project area.

At the Block and Village Level, the design of the delivery organisation adopted by the Central Committee was as recommended in the Report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee<sup>8</sup>, 1952, namely:

The development block would be coextensive with the taluk, the lowest administrative unit above a village.

Below the block, there would be a group of villages, 5 to 10 in number and below this group, the village;

The head of the block development administration will be called 'Block Development Officer' assisted by technical officers (Extension culture, animal husbandry, co-operation, engineering etc.)

A group of villages mentioned above will be the area of operation of the 'village level worker' (VLW) whose role will be vital in rural development.

The VLW was conceived as a multipurpose functionary servicing all the block level technical officers and other development departments of government. VLW was placed under the administrative control of the BDO who in turn came under the Collector/District Deputy Development Officer. The Extension Officers were under dual control, that of the BDO (administrative) and Departmental (technical) though they were required to work as a team in the field alongwith the BDO.

The Central Committee directed that the block should, as far as possible, be treated as administrative unit of all development departments so that there is one unified set up without duplication or overlapping of jurisdiction or blurring of responsibilities. "An automatic corollary is that the expenditure under the development block schemes can and should

be co-related with the normal development expenditure in the block. This in turn, implies that the budget of the development departments within the district is split up block-wise and is interrelated with the block budget wherever there are blocks".<sup>9</sup>

Attached to the Block, as per Central guidelines, was an adhoc nominated Project Advisory Committee including MPs, MLAs of the area, representatives of local authorities, voluntary organisations, heads of educational institutions leading cooperators and non-officials, in the area, and block level officers.

#### 6. Community Contribution

The Central Committee laid down the qualifying scales of contribution by the villagers for different type of schemes and made such contribution a condition precedent to development schemes being undertaken by the CD programme in an area, clearly to ensure the "aided self-help" character of the programme that is to confine government assistance to plans which come from the people and not to those thrust from above.<sup>10</sup>

As visualised in the Community Projects the target amenities which at best are of a very modest standard will demand efforts equivalent to many times the finances provided for in the Government budget for the project. The project area will mean about 50,000 employable adult male workers. As things exist today, it will be safe to assume that the 50,000 workers have on an average about half the year as idle time in their hands. If even quarter of this idle time could be harnessed for coluntary effort or self-help in programmes which are their own, and if the wages for an eight-hour day are assumed to be Rs 1/8, it would mean that the people's contribution through their effort alone will amount to more than Rs 70 lakhs during the three year period. To this, can be added voluntary self-help of the 50,000 able bodied women and the surplus earnings of the people both out of the project work as also from the normal sources, which can be invested in self-financing projects by the people themselves. If we assume that the people can contribute a Rs 130 lakhs of their own effort and of surplus earnings, as against the sum of Rs 65 lakhs provided by the Government, the estimate will not be unduly optimistic. This has to be done. This alone will provide the test whether the Community Project is a people's plan or it is a plan foisted on the people. (emphasis added)

The pattern of the project as drawn up includes major items of works normally implemented through Government agencies. This is bound to involve higher expenditure through elaborate administrative staff, middlemen's fees, etc. If the people are to be trained to be the builders of the future, work has to be entrusted even at certain risks, to the people themselves

through their representative agencies, the Governmental organisation furnishing the technical assistance. It is intended that a qualifying scale of voluntary contribution, either in the form of money or of labour should be laid down; this contribution will be a condition precedent to development schemes being undertaken under the Community Development Programme:

Irrigation: The percentage contribution should be fairly large in view of the fact that the bulk of the expenditure on minor irrigation works consists of labour costs;

Drinking water supply and drainage: Twenty five per cent of the expenditure should be contributed by the villagers;

Roads: Kujcha roads should be constructed by the villagers at their own cost. Culverts and pucca roads will be constructed by the project Administration.

Education: Twenty five per cent of the cost of additional buildings should be contributed by the villagers.

Dispensaries: Twenty five per cent of the cost of buildings should be contributed by the villagers.

Community Recreation Centres: Fifty percent of the capital cost should be contributed by the villagers.

Contributions may be in the form either of voluntary labour or of cash. In respect of backward areas and areas predominantly populated by scheduled castes and scheduled

tribes, it may not be possible for the villagers to make any financial contribution. In these areas, the villagers should be asked to contribute by way of labour effort required for executing the works programme under various heads.

#### 7. Training

The Central Committee attached great importance to training and reorientation of New and existing functionaries and non officials in order to ensure that there was adequate perception of the goals of the programme and the respective tasks to be performed by each level and type of functionary. Being a heirarchical organisation training was also expected to minimise if not eliminate discrepancies in perception of superiors and subordinates. The programme provided for a minimum of 30 regionally dispersed training centres. Later a National Academy of Community Development was also set up for senior functionaries such as Development Commissioners, Principals of Training Institutes, and non-officials including MPs, MLAs. Training camps and study tours were also organised for village level non-officials including panchayat members and panchayat officer bearers.



## 8. Reporting

A system of periodic progress reports was introduced from the VLW into the Central Level. Reports to the Central Administrator from the States were on a quarterly basis.

## 9. Evaluation

A programme Evaluation Organisation was set up in the Planning Commission alongside the CD Programme. Its autonomy and professionalism was underscored by the choice of distinguished persons as its Director backed by professional staff. (Professors DG Karve and later V.K.R.V.Rao were its early Directors). Emphasis was placed on current rather than post-facto evaluation to plough the findings rapidly into the Programme for its continuous improvement. The main tasks of the PEO to be performed in respect of the earlier stated four-fold objectives of the Programme were:

Current appraising of progress being made towards accomplishing programme objectives; and in relation to bench mark surveys to be carried out.

Pointing out those extension methods which are proving effective or not.

Helping explain why some practices are adopted while others are rejected by the villagers, and

Furnishing the insight into the impact of the community development programme upon rural economy and culture.

10. Phasing

After initial experience, the programme implementation was spread over in three phases (i) pre-extension (ii) Stage I and (iii) Stage II. There was varying strength of staff and budget for each phase.

11. Ministry for Community Development

In 1956, the Community Projects Administration at the Centre was raised to the status of a Ministry to give the organisation more teeth. Pointing out the significance of this change, the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru said:<sup>11</sup>

The Community Development Schemes, have now entered a new phase of their existence. A new Ministry of the Government of India deals with them and is named after them. Probably this is the only instance where a country has a special Ministry for Community Development. This in itself shows not only the growth of the work of the Community Projects and the National Extension Service but also a recognition of this growth and its vital importance.

B Working of the CD Organisation

The Period of Ascendency:

First and Second Plans (1952-61)

The first five years of the CD Programme coincided with the First Five Year Plan. In the terminal year of the First Plan (1956), the number of blocks covered under the CD Programme increased from 77 in 1952 to 1,075 i.e. to a little more than one fifth of the total number of blocks in the country.

One of the most noticeable features of this Programme, unlike any other programme launched since Independence, is that its achievements and shortcomings were subjected to frequent and detailed review as is evident from the proceedings of the widely attended Annual Conference of Development Commissioners. In addition there were independent evaluation reports by the Programme Evaluation Organisation (PEO) covering both individual items of the programme and its organisational aspects.

Based on a quick survey of a large sample of villages (15 to 20 per cent) in the project areas and on intensive and qualitative observations from a smaller number of villages (3 in each project area) the Fourth Evaluation Report<sup>12</sup> reviewed the achievements and problems of the CD programme upto 1956. This was also the time when the first series of CD Projects were being transformed into the post-intensive pattern (PIP).

In terms of extension, it reported that 41 different types of programmes had been introduced and more importantly that there was hardly a village where at least one of these

programmes had not reached:

I Constructional Programmes

1 Kutcha Roads, 2 Pucca Roads, 3 Culverts, 4 Drains, 5 Pavement of Streets, 6 School Buildings, 7 Community Centre Buildings, 8 Dispensary Buildings, 9 Houses for Harijans, 10 Drinking water sources,

II Irrigation Programmes

11 Wells, 12 Pumping sets, 13 Tube wells, 14 Tanks,

III Agricultural Programmes

15 Reclamation, 16 Soil conservation, 17 Consolidation of holdings, 18 Improved Seeds, 19 Manure & Fertilizer, 20 Pesticides, 21 Improved methods of cultivation, 22 Improved implements,

IV Institutional and other Programmes

23 Youth clubs, 24 Women's Organisations, 25 Community centres, 26 Vikas Mandals, 27 Cooperative societies, 28 Distribution stores, 29 Maternity centres, 30 Dispensaries, 31 Veterinary dispensaries, 32 Key village centres, 33 Panchayats, 34 Adult Literacy centres, 35 Primary schools, 36 Dai training centres, 37 Cottage Industries, 38 Production cum-training centres, 39 Demonstration plots, 40 Soakage pits, and 41 Smokeless Chulha.

The study however cautioned that "it is also necessary that greater flexibility and capacity for adjustment to local variations should be provided in the programme, with reference

to local natural conditions in the case of production and construction programme, and with reference to local social and cultural conditions and the felt needs of the people. As regards techniques, far more emphasis should be placed on preparing the people in each block for the planning and operation of development programmes."

Its salient observations on the community aspect of the programme were:

When the programme has been in force for a sufficiently long period, it is expected that Government agency will be minimal in regard to these factors and that they will rest largely either on individual or on cooperative and local community initiative. Advance on the rural front cannot be made merely by the institution of an extension agency.

Every attempt should be made to utilise organised channels of the village community for the planning and implementation of development programmes rather than just stray individuals, however progressive they might be. This means a more and deliberate and definitely greater use of the panchayat and the cooperative than has been done so far.

It is perhaps not entirely a matter of coincidence that the three best projects in the Evaluation Centres happen to be those where the project officers have made the largest use of the panchayat and the co-operative in the implementation of their development programmes. Organised and institutional participation by the public in development programmes is bound to give better, more consistent, and more lasting results. (emphasis added).

While these reviews by the PEO and the Annual Development Commissioners were invaluable they were shortrun and piecemeal. As the Programme completed its first five years, the Committee on Plan Projects (COPP) of the Planning Commission decided that it was time to have a comprehensive overview of the CD Programme, of the entire CD Programme in relation to its basic objectives by a high-powered Study Team headed by Balvantrai Mehta. Such a review was also warranted as at the start of the Second Plan, the Programme was poised for a big expansion. The coverage of blocks was expected to more than triple by the end of the Second Plan.

The Balvantrai Mehta Committee<sup>13</sup> made the first and the most comprehensive review and assessment of the suitability of the organisational structure with reference to the aims of the Programme generally and in particular its success:

In utilising local initiative and creating welfare to ensure continuity in the process of improvement in the economic and social conditions in rural areas;

in stepping up agricultural production;

in bringing about coordination at various levels and among different development agencies; and at the behest of the National Development Council to consider the re-organisation of the district administration.

Briefly stated, the Balvantrai Mehta Committee found that while the Programme and the Organisation had made very useful contribution in several respects, the organisation had been prevented by its governmental nature from allowing the

community to occupy the place of prime importance in planning or implementation as was envisaged in the approach governing the Programme. The organisation had not been able to ensure coordination among the various departments at any level from the Centre to the Block. There was little of agricultural production planning at the Village level let alone involving every family, which was an important element of the scheme. The Study Team found that "one of the least successful aspects of the Community Development and National Extensive Service Programme was its attempt to evoke popular initiative."

The Study Team recommended a profound change in the method of operation of the Programme transferring control from the hands of the government machinery to elected bodies of the people - at the ground level from the village up to the district level. It offered two broad "directional thrusts":<sup>14</sup> first it argued that there should be administrative decentralisation for the effective implementation of the development programme and that the decentralised administrative system should be under the control of elected bodies:

Development cannot progress without responsibility and power. Community development can be real only when the community understands its problems, realises its responsibilities, exercises the necessary powers, through its chosen representatives and maintains a constant and intelligent vigilance on local administration. With this objective we recommend an early establishment of statutory elective local bodies and devolution to them of the necessary resources, power and authority.

This, according to the report, was the meaning of democratic decentralisation in operational terms. Second, the basic unit of democratic decentralisation should be located at the block/samiti level; assigning just an advisory role for the district tier.

A reading of its painstaking report shows that in suggesting its scheme the Study Team was influenced not so much by an ideological preference for 'democratic decentralisation' as by the empirical evidence it gathered on four crucial questions: (a) how much of the 'community participation' was there in the programme (b) what was its success in generating a 'development process' (c) what was the extent of people's contribution and (d) to what extent had the administration become cohesive.

On the community participation aspect, the Study Team's evidence is the most damaging betrays as it does total disregard of both the principles and methods of determining priorities which were to govern the Programme:

A point that one cannot help noticing is the relatively long period that elapses between the date on which the work of the Block begins and the date on which the Block Advisory Committee is formed. It is noticed that in the present sample, the average period since the enunciation of Block activities is 3 years and 2 months. The average period during which Block Advisory Committees have been functioning, is however only 2 years and 2 months. Thus about a year had elapsed before the Block Advisory Committees were formed.



If one of the objectives of Block Advisory Committees is to enlist the cooperation of the people of the area in the planning of the various works of development the formation of BACs after the activities in the Block had already begun is wrong in principle.

It would probably have been much better to form Block Advisory Committees prior to the beginning of Block activities in the given area, since this would have helped the Block staff to get an idea of the priorities given to various projects by the people themselves. (emphasis added)

In the matter of People's Contributions which were a condition precedent to any project being assisted by the CD programme, the Team observed:

Very often the actual expenditure incurred on a particular project is not calculated and the block contribution is handed over to the panchayat or its nominee. When the work has been completed it is assumed that the people have contributed their share. In many cases it was reported that the panchayat or people's nominee had actually completed the work within the amount made available by the block authorities. When this happens the share contributed by the people is a fictitious amount.

Another anomaly associated with people's contribution relates to the item of 'manual labour at reduced rate'. In the context of the difference that exists between governmental and local rate, this contribution in terms of labour at reduced rates is in some cases wholly fictitious.

On the development aspect, the Study Team looked at the most important task set by the Programme for itself, namely assisting the farmers in raising agricultural production. The

state of field arrangements in this matter discovered by the Study Team is best described in its own words:

The assessment of the work of Gram Sewaks and E.O. (Agr.) led on to an examination of arrangements made for the challenging task of increasing agricultural production by 40 per cent assumed by the Community movement. As the successful implementation of the Plan is dependent by and large, upon the target for increase in agriculture and as the community projects are to become universal by the end of the plan, the importance of this work cannot be gainsaid. Accordingly, an inquiry was made with the following objectives in view:

- (i) The targets fixed for increased food production in the Blocks and the mechanics of doing so.
- (ii) The administrative and organisational steps taken to implement the targets fixed.

None of the Blocks studied had yet fixed any targets for agricultural production. The villagers were also ignorant of the fact that an effort, more than usual, was required of them for agricultural production. Nor had they been motivated to this purpose by the block authorities. Indeed all the signs of getting peak performance from them were conspicuous by their absence. No administrative steps had been taken to implement this target other than the usual type of interest that the Block authorities took in processing the various items of built-in programme bearing on agricultural production. In view of the amount of time that the Gram Sewak has been devoting to this work or is, due to his other preoccupations in a position to do so, and the orientation that is given

to the functions of the E.O. (Agr.) as described earlier, the impression, could not be avoided, that unless there was a radical rethinking of the entire policy and mechanics of agricultural programme of the Community movement, it could hardly make more impression than at present on the problem of effecting increased agricultural production.

On the coordination aspects, the Study Team found the whole organisation particularly the man incharge in the field namely the BDO, were all utterly helpless in welding the officers of the technical departments into a unified team despite elaborate guidelines, committees, advisory boards and active involvement of the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers: In relation to the block level it said:

One of the commonest difficulties mentioned by them was the lack of effective coordination between the community projects and the regular development departments of the State Governments. Seven BDOs from five of the six States said that the required degree of cooperation was not forthcoming from the various departments. The ones most often criticised were the departments of Public Works, Cooperation and Revenue.

Another difficulty mentioned by them was the kind of duplicate control under which the various schemes and projects had to be executed. They felt that the division of technical sanction and administrative sanction was unnecessary. Eight BDOs mentioned this difficulty. They said that there was no genuine acceptance of planning and development programmes on the part of the departmental heads.

Another difficulty mentioned related to the fact that the BDOs did not have full administrative control over their specialist staff. Despite all discussions at the various Development Commissioners' conferences, the BDOs complained that the departmental heads often deal directly with their specialists and that the specialists therefore **are not** available for extension work when required.

Frequent transfers of specialists staff and extension officers without concurrence of the BDOs was another difficulty that was mentioned. This defeated all efforts at systematic planning of work.

The lack of coordination, the study Team noted, was not confined to the ground level. It permeated the whole organisation. The problem was as acute at the seat of the Central Government. The Community Projects Administration (CPA) had hard time getting together the various Central Ministries and development agencies. Different wings in CPA's own organisation were no model in coordination. The Team also expressed concern at the lack of coordination at the Centre-State level. It urged a sober review and explained that "it is not constitutional niceties which impel us (to suggest such a review) rather the overlepping, the lack of coordination and the wastage it leads to". At least, in the State sphere, the Team said, the Centre should not concern itself "with details of purely local nature". The Team also questioned the propriety indeed the "right to issue directives" to the States "on minutest detail of Central Schemes". It found little justification for a duplication of technical appraisal by Central Government experts where the technical officers at State level had already appraised

a project or scheme. The Team was equally dismayed at the lack of coordination at the state level amongst various development departments.

The Balvantrai Mehta Committee's report was widely welcomed and influenced significant changes in the organisation set up of the CD programme. Based on its recommendations the National Development Council<sup>15</sup> decided in 1958 to lay down "the following broad considerations in determining the problems of administration and development within the district":

The foundation of any democratic structure must be democracy in the village. The two institutions which make effective village democracy possible are the village panchayat, and the village cooperative. There is also the vital role of the village school.

Democratic institutions at the district, block and village levels are parts of one conception. Together they form a connected structure of administration, the different parts of which cannot be visualised in isolation.

The State Government cannot divest itself of functions related to its overall responsibilities for administration finance and planning. Through legislation, it would transfer the responsibility for local planning and implementation to bodies set up by it.

The States' Five Year Plan as well as annual plan should be broken up into district and block plans, and in relation to these, each village should have its own development plan.

At the block level the programmes of the various departments and under the community development scheme, should be integrated into a single programme.

In 1960 the Seventh Evaluation Report<sup>16</sup> of the PEO (based on current evaluation of eighteen selected blocks) found a mixed bag of achievements and weaknesses in respect of programme content and follow up on democratic decentralisation.

#### Programme Content

On an average, the irrigated area per block went up during the block period by about 5,600 acres or by 37.5 per cent. Soil conservation measures had been adopted in 14 blocks. Improved seeds and fertilisers were distributed in 1958-59 in almost every block for one or more crops. However, improved cultural practices seemed to be spreading very slowly.

The popularity of artificial insemination was on the increase. In 10 to 12 of the blocks studied, no definite programme had been undertaken for the purpose of increasing the acreage under fodder crops. The progress on development of piggery and the improvement of the quality of sheep and goats had been very slow.

Measures had been adopted in all the blocks for improving credit facilities in general to the artisans. Depots and emporia had been opened in seven blocks.

Among the important health problems, inadequacy of suitable drinking water is considered the most important in 10 blocks. Programmes for improving the rural water supply are taken up in all the selected areas during the block period.

In only 6 blocks had some training in the philosophy and working of the CP programme been given to some of the village school teachers.

Nearly 60 per cent of the social education institutions organised up to December, 1959 by the older blocks have become either inactive or defunct. This high rate of mortality is found uniformly among the three types of social education institutions and is a matter of serious concern. The community centres seem to have failed in many blocks to strike roots. In one block all women's organisations are inactive in 7 others 14 per cent to 70 per cent of them are almost defunct.

#### Progress on decentralisation

By 1959 all states had not only passed panchayat Acts, but also set up panchayats over most parts. The states which have implemented or propose to implement the recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta team are agreed on the need for village panchayats but have not in all cases accepted its recommendations for setting up statutory bodies at the district and block level. The reason for the unsatisfactory functioning of the panchayats can be grouped into two broad categories: firstly, there are a number of limitations imposed on the power and authority of the panchayats and the manner of their execution by the terms of the statutes passed in the different states.

Finally the quality of an organisation depends intimately upon its leaders. The position in the panchayats studied by us varies from single uncontested and unchallenged leadership at one end to conflicting leadership at the other but in the majority of the bodies leadership is multiple, but not conflicting there are more than one leader, but they have succeeded in working together.

Evidently in spite of castes and factions a good deal of common life still exists in the village and there are many issues within the purview of the panchayat whose solution rebounds to the benefit of all sections of the community. The fundamental weakness of our rural society and of our panchayats is to be found not so much in the presence of factions or groups, but in the general lack of interest in problems of common welfare of the mass of the villagers.

Since the progress in respect of specific projects has been made conditional on the availability of requisite contribution and since the fulfilment of targets of expenditure has been in many cases a tendency to inflate the extent of people's contribution by the inclusion of undeserved items as well as an excessive valuation of these. In extreme cases the inflation has been sufficient to enable a project to be executed practically within the funds made available by the government.

People's reactions in most of the blocks studied are not yet generally favourable to the growth of self reliance in village communities which is the primary aim of the CD programme. The majority of the villagers do not regard it as their own and seem to rely mainly on the government for effecting the development of the rural areas. The basic philosophy and approach of the CD programme are, therefore, inadequately subscribed to by the people in these areas.



While democratic decentralization was being introduced at one level, there were parallel moves within government initiating a shift away from community or area development concept in favour of a sectoral, professional (no involvement with community) approach. In 1960, the government launched an Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) initiated on the advice of a Ford Foundation sponsored team on "India's Food Crisis" following disappointment with CD's performance in raising agricultural production. That there was some double think developing within government was detected by a group appointed by Government in 1960 under the Chairmanship of Jayaprakash Narain to study "how far and in what manner the Community Development Organisation and/or Panchayati Raj institutions at village, Block and Zila levels can promote the economic development and welfare of the weaker sections of the community".<sup>17</sup>

It referred to contradictory positions in the Third Plan, which on the one hand called upon the community development programme to pay a greater attention to the community aspects specially the less priveleged sections but on the other this emphasis is whittled down by another statement in the Plan that the "principal test to be met by the community development movement must be its practical effectiveness as an agricultural expansion agency". The Group observed "We do not accept this view. The true test in our view is the success of the CD programme in activising and mobilising the community to help itself".

The dichotomy, the Group commented was "to a large extent because the programme was proclaimed as the rural dimension of India's development planning, and was from the beginning, hitched to a block budget in which substantial funds were allotted alike for administrative and development items like minor irrigation, rural electrification, staff expenditure, block head-quarters, staff expenditure for primary health centres, etc. as well as for community participation....the result has been a medley of activities carried out with varying efficiency which made little impact on the core of the problem. A craze for spectacular results and piling up physical achievements and the evils of targetism have unfortunately been to the fore. The introduction of Panchayati Raj institutions by itself will not, we are afraid, correct the position".

The Group made some concrete suggestions to improve implementation arrangements which among others included that block having been accepted as the unit of planning and development and Panchayati Raj as the agency responsible for planning and executing of plans "there is no longer and valid reason for the continuing individual allocations subject-wise even to serve as a guide". While welcoming further delegation of powers to the States, it pointed out that "these have been insufficiently transmitted to district and block levels, the result is that in many states irksome restrictions..... still existing and impede progress and efficiency".

## The Onset of Decline

### Third and Fourth Plans (1962-74)

By 1962, Panchayatraj legislation had been enacted in most states, defining the relations between state organisation and the panchayats at different levels and providing for "administration of the CD programme by Panchayat Samitis".

By the middle of the sixties the programme had reached its zenith. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Community Development for the year 1964-65 enthusiastically recorded an all round progress: "the entire country is now covered by Community Development Blocks" and the Panchayat Raj Institutions in all tiers (village/block/district) have been established in twelve states". It quoted the findings of an independent study that in Panchayatraj bodies "younger and better leadership was being thrown up... there was a fairly high degree of satisfaction among the people with the working of the Panchayat Raj Institutions (and) a high degree of participation in the elections". More importantly, the study had found that "a decrease in caste tension was noticeable" and weaker sections were also getting representation in these bodies "the income of 50 per cent of the Panchayat members was less than Rs 100 and only 5 per cent of the Panchayat members had income exceeding Rs 500 per month".<sup>18</sup>

Quite abruptly at this point, when it though it was at its peak, the Ministry of Community Development was reduced in 1966-67 to the status of a Department. With that it also

lost its independent status, it was appended to the already large and unwieldy Ministry of Food and Agriculture. That this change in status gave rise to serious apprehensions in the mind of the CD Department itself about government policy towards Community Development is evident from its annual report for 1966-67: "At this juncture, redefinition of the future approaches of Community Development and Panchayat Raj appears necessary". Its apprehensions were aggravated by government's decision that year to launch a new scheme of Integrated District Plans in 28 districts in 12 states. The CD Ministry was already at unease with the IADP launched in 1960. Reminded the 1966-67, Annual Report of the CD Department, that the "basic aim of integrated rural development through Community participation must continue".<sup>19</sup>

It is noteworthy that at this point of time the two reflective and appraisal instruments namely the Annual Development Conference and annual evaluation by the PEO were also abandoned by government. This lent support to the view that not only the CD Ministry but the CD Programme itself had been downgraded.

In an effort to gain support at the grassroot level, the CD Department intensified the pursuit of the recommendations of the Balvantrai Mehta Committee. The 1967-68, annual report of the CD Department claimed that "Panchayat Raj was in force in the entire country except a few states".<sup>20</sup>

It is a measure of the interest aroused by Panchayat-raj in the States that the State Governments set up a number of special committees between 1959 and 1965 to study and assess Panchayatiraj and recommend appropriate improvement measure:

Uttar Pradesh, Govind Sahai Committee, 1959

Maharashtra, Naik Committee, 1961

Karnataka, Basappa Committee, 1963

Rajasthan, Mathur Committee, 1963

Andhra Pradesh, Purushotam Fai Committee, 1964

Rajasthan, Sadiq Ali Committee, 1964

Andhra Pradesh, Ramachandra Reddy Committee, 1965

Uttar Pradesh, Ram Murti Committee, 1965

Maharashtra, Bongiwar Committee, 1965

Andhra Pradesh, Narasimhan Committee, 1972

Rajasthan, GL Vyas Committee, 1973.

After 1965, only two committees were set up one each by Andhra and Rajasthan, indicating a decline in interest in Panchayat Raj also - possible reasons for this are discussed elsewhere. Pertinent point to note here is that all these studies and reports uniformly found the "lack of Coordination" among departmental functionaries continuing to haunt and thwart the progress of the Panchayat-raj institutions too as it did the CD Programme: "Introduction of democratic decentralisation could not bring about much improvement in the administration of the block organisation".<sup>21</sup>

An evaluation report (1966) on the second year working of the IADP showed that IADP\* too which was administered by

\* Intensive Agricultural Development Programme.

the bureaucracy without being saddled with the "Community" or the "People" also failed to bring about coordination:<sup>22</sup>

One of the important lessons that one can draw from the implementation of the IADP is that the administrative system is not adequate for the job and has to be geared to the needs of the programmes. In fact, one of the most serious obstacles that the IADP has had to face is the old administrative system that obtains in the country. This system, based essentially on checks and balances evolved, in a different time and for different purposes, has proved woefully inadequate for any operation, the aim of which is not to maintain the status quo, but to change it. The IADP has thus been a square peg in a round hole.

These strictures coming in the face of the 400-page, two weeks, Central Training course for key Personnel of the Programme conducted by the Extension Education Institute at Nilokheri<sup>23</sup> (5th to 15th December 1960) suggest that even intensive training is not enough to reform the development administration.

However, despite this and similar evidence improvement in the implementation machinery and methods received little attention. The view gained ground that answer to raising agricultural production or raising poverty-ridden families above the poverty line lay exclusively in innovation at the programme level, that is, in more of special "Integrated" programmes of the IADP variety. As a result a host of new programmes were launched besides IADP:

Agricultural Development

1	Intensive Agriculture Area Programme	(IAAP)
2	High-Yielding Varieties Programme	(HVP)
3	National Demonstration Programme	(NDP)
4	Farmers Training and Education Programme	(FTEP)
5	Multiple Cooperation Programme	(MCP)
6	Special Programmes for Commercial Crops (tobacco, sugarcane, cotton, jute, oilseeds, fruit crops)	(SPCC)
7	Intensive Cattle Development Programme	(ICDP)

Area Development

8	Drought Prone Areas Programme	(DPAP)
9	Desert Development Programme	(DDP)
10	Hill-Area Development	(HAD)
11	Command Area Development	(CAD)
12	Whole Village Development	(WVD)
13	Integrated Rural Development	(IRD)

Employment

14	Crash Schemes for Rural Employment	(CSRE)
15	Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Project	(PIREP)
16	Training of Rural Youth in Self-Employment	(TRYSEM)
17	National Rural Employment Programme	(NREP)

Special Groups

18	Small Farmers and Marginal Farmers & Agriculture Labour Development Agency	(SFDA & MFAL)
19	Integrated Child Development Services	(ICDS)
20	Development of Women & Children in Rural Areas	(DWCRA)

In one way or another, all these programmes were/are saddled on the shoulders of the block development organisation while the latter has been weakened in strength and status. About one half of the VLWs were withdrawn from the Block Organisation and attached to the Agriculture department under the Training and Visit (T&V) system. A number of sectoral Extension Officers (EOs) were made independent of the BDO thus crippling even his limited capability to coordinate the work of the departmental functioners at the block level. As noted earlier, guidance from above (annual development conference) and outside (PEO evaluation studies) were switched off plunging the block organisation into complete isolation.

The role and relationship of the block organisation in the administration of the new programmes has been reviewed by NIRD:<sup>24</sup>

The administrative machinery for the special programmes as a whole is quite complex. While all the programmes were initiated by the Centre, they are to be executed by the machinery at the state, district, and the block levels. The extent of Centre's involvement, guidance and financial assistance varies from programme to programme. Programmes like SFDA, DPAP and TDA, etc. are fully financed by the Centre. In some cases, the financial burden is shared equally by the Centre and the concerned State (50% each). Programmes like IADP, IAAP and HYVP have since been completely transferred to the States. One aspect of these programmes which deserves special attention is that programmes like SFDA, DPAP, etc. are administered by registered societies headed by the Collector, who is assisted by project officers and their staff.



Operationally, the Block touches the cutting-edge. The implementation of most of the special programme is done through the Block Agency. In a few of the special programmes, the block has to play a direct role, and in most others it has the indirect responsibility in executing the special programmes. The major activities of the DPAP are expected to be carried out by the existing field level organisation. The involvement of Block officials and village-level workers is considered absolutely necessary in DPAP programmes.

Whatever way the block administration is involved in implementing the special programmes, it has been observed, that BDOs and their staff did not pay sufficient attention to the special programmes (SFDA) work. On the other hand block officials' reported reaction is that this was an additional work assigned to them and their staff with various other items of work, they could hardly do full justice to perform even his coordinating functions as a various departments trying to reach the field directly from the district or from the sub-divisional units ignoring the BDO. Consequently, there is no unity of command at the block level in these areas which has seriously affected the quality of supervision and control.

In terms of steady weakening of the field implementation arrangements not only the Block organisation but panchayatraj institutions too have been no exception. Most states have avoided holding elections to the Panchayatraj bodies since 1972. The 1982-83 annual report of the Ministry of Rural Development says that while Panchayat raj "has been established" in most part of the country (with 216,051 Gram Panchayats, 4,521 Panchayat Samitis and 291 Zila Panchayats).

election to these bodies are not being held and have become overdue: Government of India has emphasised the need to conduct timely elections".<sup>25</sup> The panchayatraj bodies it may be recalled took over several CD functions and if they are defunct the state of the delivery system can be imagined.

In 1971, the very title "Community" Development was dropped and replaced by "Rural" Development. This was not just a cosmetic change. It marked the end of both "Community" and "Panchayats" as agents of change and agencies for development. Simultaneously, implementation became bureaucratised more thoroughly than in the CD phase. It also became more centralised with the induction of a host of "Central" and "Centrally-sponsored" schemes and "sectoral" schemes of individual departments. None of them are conceived at the ground level; nor are they accountable to the local community nor even required to relate themselves to it. The current voluminous IRDP guidelines do not even make a reference to 'aided self-help' or similar concepts. The Panchayats have no role to play except that procedurally the selection of poor households for IRD assistance requires invoking the help of the Gram Sabha the primary panchayat body. But this procedural formality is hardly observed.

As a result misdelivery of benefits is reportedly widespread. An evaluation study of the SFDA/MFAL programme in 17 states by the PEO conducted during 1974-75 found that 66 per cent of the persons assisted under these programmes were not eligible. Further, "there was also mis-utilisation of loans in the absence of proper supervision".<sup>26</sup>

These changes have affected the attitude of the block functionaries towards the community. They feel their main job is to protect "government interest" and government funds. The changes have also fostered greater centralisation. BDOS are now required to submit a 'Plan of Action'; for example, for disbursement of IRD subsidy, to the DRDS, a new body set up at the district level with Collector as its Chairman for prior approval. And to cap it all, the latest 100 days-in-the-year Rural Labour Employment Programme for one person only from a landless household (announced by the Central Government in September 1983) totally compounds the centralisation process. Under this scheme even the state governments have no power of sanction and are expected to submit the schemes to the Central Government for prior approval.

Moreover, the "condition precedent" now is not community contribution but government subsidy ranging from 25 per cent to 50 per cent for almost every scheme - a transformation that has put irresistible temptation at the door of the functionaries, - the guardians of 'Government interest'.

In retrospect, the decline of the CD programme and Panchayatraj should not be a cause of surprise. Their decline was not unconnected with marked indifference towards them exhibited in the Fourth Plan (1969-74) document which noted stagnation in these programmes but did not care to spell out any strategy to combat it:

The working of the programme has thrown up a variety of experiences. The operation of the Blocks in five year-stages, with tapering financial provision from stage to stage, was based on the assumption that, by the end of the initial ten-year period, there would be adequate mobilisation of resources by the local institutions and sufficient channelling of

other plan funds to make any separate provision thereafter for the Blocks unnecessary. Community Development, in other words, would then no longer be assisted and schematic but self-reliant and locally rooted. By and large the programme continues to be dependent on Government initiative and even more so on Government funds. Where funds were lacking, activities languished and the staff remained almost supernumerary.

Where, however, administrative and financial support has been forthcoming, the combined contribution of Panchayati Raj and Community Development has been significant in the formulation and implementation of local development plans. There has also been a larger measure of coordination and integration of the field staff. In certain instances, the panchayati raj institutions have, for their part, made attempts to raise increasingly large resources through tax measures. In the majority of cases, however, local finance has continued to play very little part in local development.

### Period of Continued Uncertainty

#### Fifth & Sixth Plan (1974-78)

The Fifth Plan (1974-78) was somewhat better than its predecessor in that at least stipulated reorienting and strengthening the CD and Panchayatraj institutions. But it too failed to follow up, in many concrete manner, on its promise of reorienting and strengthening these institutions:

The basic concept behind establishing panchayati Raj was to create rural local self-government agencies responsible for discharging certain selected functions pertaining to development. However, from the experience

of the functioning of these agencies in various States during the Fourth Plan Period, it could be said that by and large status quo had been maintained with regard to their functioning. In some of the States, namely, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Orissa, Haryana, the powers concerning control over the junior staff of the panchayat samitis, ceiling on expenditure and execution of minor programmes etc. which were given to panchayati raj bodies have been withdrawn. In several States, it is observed that the elections to these institutions are not being regularly held. For instance, elections of Panchayati Raj Institutions in the States of Bihar, Kerala, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh are overdue.

The Community Development Agency and Panchayati Raj Institutions should have adequate credibility and viability, if they are to play their role effectively as instruments of change and raise among the rural people desire for a better living. It is in this context that the Community Development and Panchayati Raj Institutions would be suitably re-oriented and strengthened to become instruments of social and economic changes.

#### Sixth Plan (1978-83 and 1980-85)

With a change of government at the Centre in 1977, there was a revival of interest in Panchayati Raj in the context of the emphasis in the Draft Plan 1978-83 on removal of rural poverty and unemployment within a time bound period of ten years. In so far as Panchayats are concerned, this resulted however in no more than a Report on Panchayatiraj (1978) by the Ashoka Mehta Committee appointed to suggest a scheme for the revival of Panchayatiraj institutions. Its recommendations have not been acted upon.

On their own initiative some states, for example, Kerala enacted a District Development Council Act which received Presidential assent in 1980. But the matter ended there and the Act has not been enforced. Rajasthan gave a call for revival (Punarjanam) of Panchayatraj and held elections to Panchayats in 1980, followed by a massive conference at Bikaner to 'infuse the Panchayatraj bodies with new life'. But there was no follow-up. The bodies remain functionless and in the dark about their future.

Among the major states only in West Bengal is there evidence of a determined effort to involve the Panchayats increasingly in development and reportedly with some good results as brought out by a sample survey of 100 Gram Panchayats:<sup>27</sup>

It showed that of 1942 schemes in hand 911 had been completed; and that "The schemes were small in size...highly labour intensive and economical...a common feature has been that Villagers donated land to see the works go through and thus both time and money have been saved appreciably...if the average for sample Gram Panchayat is stepped up for all Panchayats then the total of schemes undertaken in the State was about 63,000 of which about 30,000 were completed...employment generated was 141 lakh mandays.

The survey also answers how were the Panchayats able to mobilise rural under-employed and unemployed on such a scale in short time as implied in the above results, without the usual contractors and with minimum use of government functionaries? There was substantial popular mobilisation based on information. Of the 100 gram Panchayats in the

sample, 70 held "open village meetings", 24 held "village meetings". Only in 6 people were informed "after formulation of schemes".

But the official machinery which was otherwise spared labour pains by the Panchayats does not appear to have been stirred to do its bit. According to the survey: "Slowness in getting money and wheat dogged the efforts of Panchayats".

With yet another change of Government in 1980, the Draft Sixth Plan 1978-83 was replaced by the Sixth Plan (1980-85) which again talked of strengthening the process of democratic decentralisation and revival of Panchayats:

A potentially viable and useful structure of Panchayati Raj exists in form, but its effectiveness has been limited in practice. There has been considerable erosion in the powers and functions of these institutions in many states. Adequate financial support has generally been denied to these institutions in most States, often even in respect of the 'transferred' schemes, and programmes. These institutions themselves have shown little inclination to raise their own resources locally. Besides, there has been a general apathy at the administrative and political levels towards strengthening these bodies.

All these factors exogenous as well as endogenous have left these potentially dynamic peoples' institutions, in a virtually moribund State in most parts of the country....

....During the Sixth Plan it is proposed to strengthen the process of democratic decentralisation. Irrespective of whatever structural pattern that is existent or that may be devised (based on Ashoka Mehta Committee's recommendations) effort will be to devolve on these institutions

all such functions, appropriate to each level, which are capable of being planned and implemented at that level. These institutions will be particularly involved in the planning and execution of Integrated Rural Development Programme and the National Rural Employment Programme. They will also have prominent role in the District and Block level planning and in the planning of Minimum Needs Programme for their area of operation.

The aim is to devise a compact multidisciplinary apparatus at the block level which will be able to effectively service the needs of diverse rural development activities. (emphasis added)

Following this, the Planning Commission set up an Expert Group to suggest steps for strengthening the implementation of the Programmes for Alleviation of Poverty.<sup>28</sup> The Group headed by M.S. Swaminathan, a member of the Planning Commission, submitted its report in February, 1982. But as far as is known, no decision has yet (October, 1983) been taken on its recommendations. Some of these dealt specifically with ways of improving implementation. For example;

It has been the experience, however, that wherever decentralised area planning has been attempted in the past, the identification of resources, projects and programmes at the local level is not supported by investment funds. This renders the whole planning resources somewhat illusory. The Group considers it very essential that in order to make decentralised planning meaningful, the district level planning body - by whatever name it may be called - should have an allocative function in regard to the available resources for investment. Some



States have sought to achieve this objective by dividing the total State Plan resources into divisible and non-divisible portions and by distributing the divisible part to the various districts according to objective criteria such as population, irrigation etc. The district planning body then decides on the sectoral allocation of this lumpsum fund in accordance with its own order of priorities determined with reference to local resources and needs. The Group would strongly recommend that this pattern of decentralised plan resource allocation should be followed by all the States as early as possible.

The Group would like to stress that the arrangements envisaged above including the role to be played by DRDA are essentially short term measures. In the long run, the local development functions ought approximately be entrusted to the utmost extent possible and increasingly to the elected bodies from village panchayats upto Zila Parishads. The Gaon Sabha/Village Council should not only be entrusted with the identification of eligible beneficiaries but also with the implementation of developmental schemes. The Sixth Plan has emphasised the importance of Panchayati Raj bodies as an effective instrument of participatory development, and urged the state governments to take early steps for their revival and re-vitalisation. The Group recommends that the Central and State Governments may put the Panchayati Raj bodies in position with despatch and endow them with adequate powers and resources commensurate with their responsibilities.

The Sixth Plan has placed considerable emphasis on the crucial role of people's participation in their own development. Voluntary agencies are among the most important means available for enlarging the contribution of the people, mobilizing human resources for constructive tasks, and expanding the total effort for development.

They are also often well suited for undertaking innovative projects, testing new possibilities through pilot projects, and enlisting the cooperation of individuals with special skills and experience who are willing to give their time and energy and experience in the service of the community.

Considering the magnitude of the effort needed for rural development and alleviation of poverty, there is need to give systematic consideration to methods of promoting and stimulating the participation of non-governmental organisations at various levels and promoting a broad-based movement for constructive work throughout the country. The Plan provides extensive resources for all aspects of development. These are currently utilised almost entirely through government departments and their agencies. Only a negligible fraction of these resources becomes available to voluntary agencies. For this reason, many voluntary agencies with long experience of work at the community level are obliged to become dependent, in larger or smaller measure, upon funds provided directly or indirectly by foreign donors. Yet, the resources which could go a long way to sustain and expand voluntary effort for rural development in fact subsist within the existing Central and State Plans. One of the main reasons why they do not become available to any extent even to well-established voluntary agencies is that the schemes in different areas of development are designed for implementation entirely or almost entirely by government organisations and personnel. It should be emphasised that, in the very nature of rural development, in each field, there are activities of which some aspects or components could be assigned with advantage for implementation through competent voluntary agencies which might be already at work or whose formation and

\* Emphasis added

development could be encouraged. In designing each programme, therefore, the Planning Commission and the concerned Central Ministries and Departments in the State should make a special effort to make out those components and areas of action which can be 'passed on' with the necessary administrative and technical guidance and financial support, for implementation mainly by appropriate voluntary organisations. We recommend that the programmes bearing on agricultural and rural development which are currently in operation under the Sixth Plan should be looked at afresh from this angle by a working group comprising representatives of the Planning Commission, Ministry of Rural Reconstruction, Ministry of Agriculture, and where necessary, other Ministries that may be concerned.

It is of the utmost importance that problems which have proved difficult of solution in different aspects of rural development or in different areas should be identified and suitable solutions developed through well designed experimentation. There should be definite programmes within each state for sponsoring proposals for innovative action through voluntary organisations and technical and research institutions. The importance of generating new ideas cannot be over-emphasised. We recommend that the National Institute of Rural Development should be assisted in assuming a significant advisory and evaluative role in the systematic study of innovative activities being currently undertaken by voluntary organisations and field agencies generally and in proposing new areas for experimental and innovative action.

India now possesses a most valuable resource for development in the knowledge available and the potential for gathering new knowledge which exists in her network of universities and institutions of higher education, including agricultural

universities, institutes of science and technology, institutes of management, and other centres of higher education. Besides these institutions, there are large number of colleges and other institutions in every part of the country. The time has come to draw upon this vast and growing resource for speeding development, specially in those rural regions which have remained relatively underdeveloped, such as tribal areas, drought-prone areas, forest areas, hill regions and areas of heavy population pressure, where a large proportion of the population continues to subsist in a stage of grinding poverty.

Involvement of universities and colleges and of research institutions generally in the tasks of development in fields in which they have special competence, and greater interchange of knowledge and experience between them and specialists, administrators and planners working in government agencies in different parts of the country, will be of value to both and will materially assist social, economic and technological development, specially in the rural areas. It would be desirable to evolve appropriate methods for drawing social scientists and scientists and technologists generally, whose main work lies in universities and research institutions, into continuing participation in the effort for development.

The machinery for coordination at the Central, State, district and block levels requires strengthening. At the Central level, the Cabinet Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development headed by the Prime Minister may like to review the progress of anti-poverty programmes once in six months on the basis of paper which should be prepared by the Planning Commission.

At the State level, a similar committee headed by the Chief Minister should undertake periodic reviews.

Nor is there evidence of any follow-up on even specific subjectwise studies by PEO. For example, even such a sensitive item as drinking water has not evoked prompt response. The PEO had pointed out as early as in 1978-79 that the location of the water points is an extremely important factor determining the optimal utilisation by the poor.<sup>29</sup>

The study on the Accessibility of the Poor to the Rural Water Supply brought out the fact that although the poor have been benefitted by the drinking water supply, their share in relation to the non-poor has been less both in terms of the total points provided in their localities and in the availability of the facility of piped water points. Thirtyfour per cent of the localities inhabited exclusively by the poor had only 16 per cent of the drinking water points provided to them under the Minimum Needs Programme.

PEO's evaluation of the Antyodaya (upliftment of the poorest of the poor) Programme in Rajasthan (which is now being continued under IRD) highlighted crucial importance of people's involvement in implementation and the vital role of public "information" in development work:<sup>30</sup>

The process of identification is extremely important. If it is based on the existing revenue records, etc. which are out-dated and incomplete in many cases, the chances of non-target groups being enrolled as families eligible for assistance, would remain fairly high.

On the other hand, if in the process of identification, the Gram Sabha and the local leadership are involved in a general meeting and in an open discussion, there is a fair chance that the identification of beneficiaries would be more just and fair.

A dispersal of knowledge is necessary to prevent various leakages and to let the potential beneficiaries themselves demand their rightful share, and thus act as local action groups mobilisation to protect their vital interests.

A case study of implementation of IRD Programme in Akola district of Maharashtra (1983) by a group of officers from Agricultural Banking College of the Reserve Bank has shown that the benefits of IRD are being passed on by the implementation authorities mainly to the upper strata above the poverty line.<sup>31</sup>

Both financial and physical achievements show that assistance under the Programme has been provided mainly to the upper strata of the poverty stricken population in spite of the fact that the number of agricultural labourers exceeds the small and marginal farmers put together.

The PEO had urged that as a rule, "awareness and knowledge about various programmes, the eligibility criteria and the various scales at which assistance is available, should be extensively propagated and communicated through mass media. All these schemes need be clearly and explicitly explained in general village meetings. Such a

dispersal of knowledge is necessary to prevent various various leakages and to let the potential beneficiaries themselves demand their rightful share, and thus act as local action groups mobilisation to protect their vital interests. Discussion as a method of imparting knowledge about the schemes programmes etc is an extremely important device to ensure the flow of benefits to those for whom these programmes are meant".

In a separate Evaluation study of another vital programme "Rural Industries Projects", the PEO had reported in 1978 that though the objective of these projects was "to evolve effective techniques, methods, and programmes for intensive development of village and small industries" the implementation had distorted the very objectives:<sup>32</sup>

The Surveys conducted by the Project staff used a generalised proforma which did not permit of a satisfactory appreciation of the local economy or of potentialities of the regions covered by the Projects. The units, which actually came up, bore no relation to the so-called 'potential', as brought out by the Surveys.

There was adequate commitment of the State Governments to the Programme, as evidenced from (a) the frequent changes in project officers as well as technical officers, (b) lack of the required direction from higher levels, due to inadequate appreciation of the fact that the real objective of these

Projects was to develop a methodology for generating patterns of rural industrialisation, appropriate to the special features of different localities, (c) lack of integration of this programme with the activities of other agencies in the field of small and village industries, (d) inadequate and inaccurate monitoring/feedback systems between the field and the policy making/funding levels of administration.

Several components of the RIP strategy registered only a marginal impact; mention may be made here of the general lack of success of schemes for technical assistance, with only about 6% of the units in Project areas having reported any operational contact with the Project authorities, or for training, provision of raw materials, marketing support, etc. A large part of the promotional expenditure proved to be unproductive.

Establishment and promotional costs per job varied from Project to Project, over an extremely wide range. While 6 out of the 26 projects surveyed reported average costs on this account at less than Rs 3,000 per job, as many as 9 Projects reported costs of Rs 10,000 or more per job.

A significant part of the funds was disbursed in towns with population more than 15000, which areas were specifically excluded from the area of operation of the RIPs.

A negligible fraction of the financial assistance disbursed went to rural artisans. (emphasis added)



A methodology of industrial potential surveys and for working out plans suited to the local situations should be improved by considering the poor feedback so far available to the Ministry of Industrial Development, which has resulted in several of the problems highlighted in the present Evaluation Report not having been spotted by the administrators, a reliable and a well defined monitoring system should be set up by the Ministry. This system reports, but should also provide for a systematic means of verifying periodically the impact of different components of RIP expenditure as well as of the progress being made in different Project areas in respect of the overall objectives of the Programme.

At the general level the PEO also recommended that the performance indicators and efficiency criteria of the officials administering the programmes for the rural poor should be modified to assign more weights to how and from whom higher output etc. is obtained rather than simply of 'how much' the quantitative increase in output has been realised. It also suggested that the responsibility for exercising watch and supervision should be shared between the officials and non-officials. The non-official members of the panchayats and cooperatives should be entrusted with this responsibility rather than a distant Registrar of Cooperative Societies or Collector or Director of Panchayats.

But all this knowledge gleaned with great effort and at great expense has not interested the policy-makers or the protagonists of the poor in positions of power.

### Cooperative

The National Development Council had decided in 1958 that apart from Panchayats cooperatives will be an important channel of plan implementation at the village and block levels, and that the two bodies Panchayats and Co-operatives will work in unison. Since Panchayats have been in a moribund state for most of this period as noted earlier, there has been little occasion for co-operatives to work with Panchayats. Moreover during the same period indifference of the policy makers to cooperatives has been no less than that noted in respect of Community Development and Panchayats. This is borne out by a review of the place of co-operatives in the successive Five Year Plans. While the preamble of the Plans according the foremost place to cooperation has remained the same as in the Second Plan\*, in actuality it has been pushed in the rear and given an insignificant place. Nor has there been any concerted effort to improve the working of cooperatives despite critical reports.

For example, PEO's Seventh Evaluation Report (1960) which undertook a special study of some cooperatives, (selected for study since they were recommended as among the best in different regions and districts) found that (a) "not one of them had linked its loan to the production programmes of the borrowers", (b) "not are the loan

\* The Second Plan emphasised that "economic development along democratic lines offers a vast field for the application of cooperation"...Our socialist pattern of society implies the creation of a large number of decentralised units, both in agriculture and in industry...the building up of cooperative sector as part of the scheme of planned development is, thus one of the central aims of national policy".

operations tied to the marketing of the produce of the borrower" and (c) "no society has developed a machinery for supervising the utilisation of loans". These were precisely the weaknesses sought to be removed through measures initiated in the mid-fifties on the recommendations of the All-India Rural Credit Survey which had concluded that though "cooperation has failed, cooperation must succeed".<sup>33</sup>

Some 10 years later, in 1966 the Reserve Bank set up a Committee to reassess the developments since the Credit Survey in 1954. The Committee reported in 1969 that although an impressive effort was made to implement the recommendations, "the uncertainties, delays and lack of effective action in such matters in the earlier stages did mean that some of the dynamism contemplated in the Rural Credit Survey was lost in half hearted effort and lack of comprehension".<sup>34</sup> By 1972, cooperatives were plagued with overdues which formed 60 per cent or more of the outstanding loans requiring the Reserve Bank to set up a special Study Team to investigate the causes of their overdues.<sup>35</sup>

Another Committee set up by the Reserve Bank in 1979 at the instance of the Government of India to review arrangements for institutional credit for agricultural and rural development (CRAFICARD) headed by B. Sivaraman<sup>36</sup> found that the situation with regard to the functioning of cooperatives in respect of

servicing the poorer sections and overdues had not improved much. In fact, while the Committee was engaged in its deliberations it became evident that Government itself was encouraging wilful default. The Government of Maharashtra contrary to all advice and norms wrote off with one stroke of pen, cooperative overdues to the extent of about Rs 50 crores on grounds of political expediency. This action overnight generated demand for similar bounty by other State Governments plunging the entire cooperative credit system into disorder and encouraging wilful default.

Papers presented by a number of social scientists at the Workshop on Cooperatives and Rural Development in India at the University of Delhi (March 1983) confirm that with rare exceptions apart, by and large the cooperatives continue to suffer from all the ailments highlighted for remedial treatment by the Rural Credit Survey some 30 years ago. Here is a sample:<sup>37</sup>

The study indicates a case of unequal participation and enjoyment of institutional facilities. Even though they are increasingly playing an important role, the control of money-lender still exists. Quite often the well-to-do families are making considerable profit through money received from cooperatives etc. without making any investment from family sources. Even though these institutions are playing a crucial positive role in agricultural development, quite often as facilities are not enjoyed equally, these institutions have widened inequalities. Even in those cases where class oriented development strategies were adopted and facilities were extended to certain classes, the well-to-do families mostly belonging to high/clean castes tried to manipulate the whole thing in their favour by suppressing facts or by other means.

Therefore, though the formal ownership of the cooperative is democratic, in actual practice the large growers control its policies...The dominance of the 'economically privileged' coterie in the co-operative factory is mainly due to two factors. Firstly, they are able to intimidate the small growers by the sheer weight of their ownership. Secondly, they use their links with the Government to establish a patron client relationship which prevents democratic functioning.

Some exceptions are the papers presented at this Workshop on AMUL network of Milk Cooperatives in Gujarat - but here too the evidence is conflicting (N.Rajaram, B.S.Baviskar, Shanti George, D.P.Apte).<sup>38</sup> Another exception is credit Cooperatives in Maharashtra. The Dandekar Committee on Financing Small and Margin Farmers Through Cooperative Credit Structure appointed by Government of Maharashtra reported (1976) that "the evidence before us shows that once they are members of the Cooperative Societies, the very small and small farmers...do not suffer from any special handicap in their access to credit". It also noted however that "the membership among small farmers is much lower than among large farmers" and suggested various remedial steps. Incidentally, the Committee also noted that "there is no evidence to suggest that default is more frequent among small farmers than among large farmers".<sup>39</sup>

Finally, take the case of cooperatives special meant for the weaker sections - the tribal population. The potential and problem of Cooperatives in tribal areas has been a matter of special concern to Government.

Several Committees have studied the subject and made positive recommendation e.g. Social Welfare Team of the Committee on Plan Projects (1959), the Dhebar Commission on Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (1961), Special Group on Cooperation for Backward Classes (1966), Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes (1969), Study Team to Examine Working of Cooperative Organisations in Project Areas of Tribal Development Agencies (1971), Study Team on Marketing, Credit and Cooperation in Tribal Areas (1978). Then there are special evaluation studies by the Tribal Research and Training Institute, Maharashtra (1979), Reserve Bank (1979-80), Vaikunth Mehta National Institute of Cooperative Management (1982), Bihar State Planning Board (1982), NABARD (1982), Cultural Research Institutes West Bengal (1982), Government of Tamilnadu (1983).

Reviewing the progress of Cooperatives in Tribal Areas Bhupinder Singh has reported in an occasional Paper (1983) of the Home Ministry,<sup>40</sup> that while various studies have revealed lacunae and weaknesses in Cooperatives and pointed out that short term credit has been "inadequate" and long term "scanty", credit is "one major difficulty" of the Large and Multipurpose Cooperative Societies (LAMPS) and that "there is still lack of coordination in the matter of preparation of district credit plans". On flow of differential rate of interest credit to tribal areas, he found that while "discussion with bank authorities and returns submitted by them assure that this is in fact taking place", the "State Government Authorities convey a

different picture. Most state representatives report tardy flow of DRI finance. But even for the limited credit that has trickled down, the author found that "on the whole, the recovery rates do not inspite confidence in the cooperative movement to sustain itself".

The position of cooperative and institutional credit in relation to another disadvantaged group, the scheduled castes, is equally unsatisfactory. The Working Group on the Development of Scheduled Castes (1980-85) reported that:<sup>41</sup>

Many Scheduled Caste agricultural labour families are in debt to the local large land holder/money lender; further his indebtedness is generally on extremely adverse terms; this is borne out by fact that two-thirds of the estimated number of bonded labourers are from the scheduled castes.

In the implementation of development programmes as so far, the flows of institutional finance to Scheduled castes have been extremely small...

As matters stand, the personnel in the Banks and Cooperative Financing Institutions are not specifically charged with the responsibility of ensuring adequate and meaningful flow of credit to Scheduled castes. (This requires) the Orientation of Banks both commercial and cooperative, so that they become effective instruments of reaching institutional finance to the Scheduled Castes.

## II District Administration and Decentralised Planning

As the foregoing review shows reform of the district administration and decentralised planning are two solutions persistently recommended by almost every study concerned with creating conditions for the success of Community Development. It is pertinent therefore to review the efforts and achievements in adapting district administration to the needs of development and in introduction of decentralised planning.

### (A) District Administration

Rural development administration which is the focus of this study cannot be looked at in isolation from district administration in general, district being the key territorial level in the development delivery system. We start with a brief historical look at the principles and influences that have shaped India's district administration to understand its attributes.

In a survey of the Changing Role of the District Officer, 1860-1960 Haridwar Rai<sup>42</sup> notes that the British design of district administration was greatly influenced by the Mughal tradition of "Concentration of powers in the hands of one man making him the real ruler of the area in his charge". The period between 1786 and 1857 was a period of experimentation by the British. Munro strongly favoured basing district administration on the Mughal system of 'one man rule'. Cornwallis favoured



the principle of checks and balances and division of powers as in the English political position. Munro's choice prevailed and the Collector in Bombay, Madras and North Western provinces during 1818 and 1858 was "an effective and powerful ruler of the area and exercised wide discretionary powers". Cornwallis got only Bengal to instal his English system in. The "Mutiny" in 1857 knocked out the Bengal experiment and everywhere the Collector became a virtual ruler combining in one person the offices of Revenue Administration, Civil Judge and Magistrate.

V.R. Gaikwad, S.N. Sadasivan and S.S. Khara highlight the political perspective. According to Gaikwad<sup>43</sup>:

the extremely pragmatic British evolved a system of administration most suitable for keeping the unorganised, rural population under subjugation and for exploiting the natural and human resources for the benefit of the colonial power. District administration was the strongest unit of this system. Through procedural means and by raw use of authority district administration prevented organised resistance of the rural population to the systematic exploitation of this class by the government and other vested interests.

Sadasivan<sup>44</sup> explains that historically district administration in India was designed "to resist political pressures rather than to generate a climate to enable local social forces to resolve political conflicts in the larger interest of society". Its primary purpose was to realise land revenue and to enforce law and order. Khara<sup>45</sup> observes that "Administrative apparatus remained screened from the influence of public opinion and of political activity. Political party was equally thoroughly screened from the administrative set up". (emphasis added)

While district administration was the strongest unit of the system, the Collector who presided over it was its kingpin. Though East India Company had ordained that the Collector should be retained as a permanent feature of local administration combining the offices of Revenue Administrator, Civil Judge and Magistrate, the events of 1857 compelled expansion in "public business" which led to the division of administration among a number of new sectoral departments and that in turn had an impact on the role of the district officer.

According to Rai, public business demanded technical knowledge and specialisation which required training and "so the control which the Collector had formerly exercised over them (district officers) in his district was partly replaced by that of departmental chiefs....there developed as a consequence, right through the system "a growing rigidity, hardening of arteries, an increasing uniformity". In the latter part

of the 19th century, the Lt. Governor of Bengal desired to make "the Magistrate-Collectors, no longer the drudges of many departments and master of none...in fact the general controlling authority over all departments in each district". By the end of Curzon's Viceroyalty, civil servants in the districts "found little time for informal contact with the people".

These developments gave birth to the two excruciating problems which have defied solution for over a century, namely, what role to assign to the Collector and how to coordinate different departments at the district level.

At the beginning of the present century, the Royal Commission Upon Decentralisation (1907-1909)<sup>46</sup> lent its weight in favour of the district officer being recognised as the boss by officers of all special departments. Under Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 a new power-structure came into existence in the form of a "Legislative Council" in which the majority of the members are elected. The new power affected district administration in various ways. Though the duties of the district officer as collector did not alter appreciably as a result of the reforms, but district magistrate had a much more anxious time during the reforms period than before. According to Rai, it was his duty to combat the non-cooperation movement. Even a small measure of popular control appeared to the Indian Civil Service officers (ICS) to undermine the whole administrative

structure built up assiduously by their predecessors. Report of the Working of the Reformed Constitution (1923-26) is representative of the views of such a critical and hostile section of the members of the ICS.<sup>47</sup>

The reforms, however, did not affect the dual capacity of the district officer and he still remained "the principal executive agent of government, the one man who can get things done, whether it be the repression of the outbreak of disorder...or the initiation of a child welfare movement".

Concludes M.P. Pai,<sup>48</sup> that "Between the establishment of the Rule of the Crown in 1857 and the transfer of power in 1945-47, the Collector was virtually the Government". It was expected that independence would usher in a drastic change in the character and quality of district administration. But 1947, changed nothing argues Gaikwad<sup>49</sup>, "the transfer of power through slow, step-by-step negotiation process resulted in continuing practically the entire administrative structure, its ethos, and systems of operations even after Independence. The potential capacity of the revenue and other department functionaries to hurt and terrorize the rural masses even today by procedural and not-so-procedural means is well known". In fact, he argues, along the same axis i.e. the exercise of authority the span of the district administration has vastly expanded in the post independence period including "maintenance of law and order, control of crime and administration of justice;

revenue administration including land administration, and collection of land revenue and other public dues; control, regulations and distribution of food supplies; arrangement for holding elections; administration of local bodies both urban and rural; welfare activities; emergencies and natural calamities and other matters such as small savings scheme and contribution to public loans"<sup>50</sup>.

It is not the case, however, that India has not given any thought or attention to reform of the administration in the post-independence period. There have been umpteen expert reports<sup>51</sup> on changes in the administrative structure, style, quality of personnel and training starting with Girija Shanker Bajpai (1947), followed by Gopalaswami Ayyangar (1950), A.D. Gorwala (1951), two rounds of Appleby (1953 and 1956), V.T. Krishnamachari (1962), and the Administrative Reforms Commission (1966 to 1970) whose long and arduous labours furnished the Government with 20 reports bearing 537 recommendations ranging from Union Government at the apex to Panchayat Raj Institutions at the grass root level. Special exercises on administrative reforms were attempted during the Emergency 1975-76.<sup>52</sup> Since 1980, the Economic Administration Reforms Commission headed by L.K. Jha has been at work though none of its reports have yet been made public. - A unique case of reforming public administration privately.

In February 1983, the Indian Institute of Public Administration jointly with the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms organised a National Seminar on District Administration. Background papers prepared for

the Seminar by 15 different authors show that despite all the expert reports and studies we are exactly where we were in 1947 with regard to the chronic ailments of district administration. Chandralekha of the Indian Administrative Service (Tamil Nadu cadre) On the role of the Collector in District Administration with particular reference to the phase with Community Development and Panchayat Raj in India gives a graphic view of how attempts at both general administrative reforms and specific ground level experiments have failed to improve district administration: <sup>53</sup>

To what extent did this first experiment (C.D.Organisation) of integrated development administration succeed

In retrospect it would appear the departmental forces were never reconciled, from the very outset, to the introduction of the integrated approach. The departments appeared to reject the "Integrated approach".

Ultimately, the Department of Agriculture succeeded in making the VLW a purely agricultural functionary rather than a multipurpose worker, thanks to the recommendations of the Ram Subhag Singh Committee. Other changes also followed which tended to weaken the authority of the Block Development Officer over the departmental officers who started looking more and more to the compliance of departmental instructions and started feeling that they had no obligation towards a common programme of Block Development. The situation as it stands at the moment would appear to be that the concept of area integrated development

has been given a go-bye and what prevails is the separate and independent implementation of the departmental schemes by the departmental officers.

To take the last example first, for all the districts in which small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers development programmes have been introduced new organisations called the SFDA or MFAL Development Agencies have been set up as registered societies. The Divisional and District Officers of the various departments concerned like agriculture, Co-operation, Animal Husbandry, Public Works, etc. are the members of the governing councils of the authorities which are needed by the Divisional Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner. The rejection mechanism, which led to the decisive defeat of the area integrated approach in the ACDP has also operated in cases of the SFDA and MFAL Development Agencies Programmes.

Instead of an all out approach to improve conditions of the small farmer through every possible manner and the consequent need for a total reorientation of the departmental programme and machinery in favour of the small and marginal farmers, the programme was limited to the specific items covered by the SFDA projects viz. providing subsidies and risk funds. Thus departmentalism came in the way of a full and comprehensive effort in the realisation of the goals of the SFDA and MFAL Programmes. Some difficulties have also cropped up in the DPADA (Drought Prone And Desert Areas) Programmes. The departments have tended to take their instructions from their departmental heads thereby bypassing governing councils of the DPADA. In a hurry to spend

departmental share of funds, the heads of department have sometimes given instructions for the purchase of the machinery far in advance of requirements. Specialist visitors have tended to pass on their instructions to their counter-parts at the project level rather than placing them before the governing councils. Thus these programmes have contributed to departmental expansionism without achieving the main objective viz. that of the co-ordination of efforts of various departments.

CADAS (Command Area Development Authorities) have been set up in the command areas. A limited budget has been placed at the disposal of the authorities with the expectation that these limited funds of the authorities of the CADAS would be supplemented by the resources of the department. But this seldom happens, nor has there been an adequate realisation of the need for the various departments to work together as a team for speedy and effective irrigation development.

The Block team was a group of officials drafted from the development departments designed to have a unified approach for achieving a common goal. But this unification approach stopped at the block level and did not extend beyond it. Even at the block level where there was a unified approach, the extension team would have done better if their Departmental Officers acted as they are expected to act. But they had their own Departmental prejudices, intra Departmental and inter Departmental rivalries. Even in the same Department there is no cohesion among its various wings.

This lack of co-ordination of the development departments at the District Level with its echo down to the Block Level setup, contributed to the poor performance of the block, resulting in the disintegration of the Block Organisation.



Co-ordination was a problem from the beginning and the attempts for the unified approach did not extend beyond the Block. No horizontal Co-ordination is possible unless there is vertical Co-ordination. The different subject matter experts pulled in different directions with the result they could not play their roles as extension educators and development practitioners. Now the Block organisation is bereft of its original shape, vitality and purpose.

Tusar Kanti Das,<sup>54</sup> another Member of the Indian Administrative Service of the West Bengal Cadre provides further proof, if any is needed, to Chandralekha's analysis.

It is also pertinent to note that the entry of the banks on a global scale in providing the loan component in most of the rural development schemes specially IRD has added to the problem of co-ordination with technical departments. An evaluation study (1980) of an ARDC refinancing scheme of development of minor irrigation in West Dinajpur (Jalpaiguri Division, West Bengal)<sup>55</sup> recorded considerable benefits having accrued to the borrowers from this scheme but these were "smaller than expected", and one of the reasons was that the borrowers were "in need of greater technical guidance for pursuing irrigated farming than they received from the concerned agencies". It therefore recommended that in agriculturally backward areas schemes should include "arrangements for effective coordination of the banks' efforts with those of local governmental agencies". But lack of coordination between banks and the district administration continues to be a major factor retarding the progress of the IRD and other anti-poverty programmes.

The bureaucratic rigidities have in fact, grown to such an extent in District Administration today, that even outside professional groups are unable to supplement and strengthen the capability of district administration. Here is the experience of an experimental project in six districts in six States conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Administration,<sup>56</sup> (sponsored by Government with Ford Foundation funding) to improve the capabilities of planning and implementation among local level officials:

The problem of developing capabilities at the local level for planning has concerned the national planners from the very beginning of planned development effort in India. The expression of this concern, however, underwent a shift from decentralised participation oriented planning approaches in the first three Five Year Plans to centrally administered and directed intervention strategies in the later plans. From people's organisations like Panchayati Raj or Cooperatives, attention moved to bureaucratic special agencies sponsored by the Government of India to plan and implement local development programmes. Backward groups were sought to be helped through such specialised agencies.

Regarding the initiative for change, whenever and wherever a cell wanted to go it alone, even if the intervention itself had great merit, district authorities did not allow that effort to be sustained. In other words, it was possible to initiate a change and partly carry it through on one's own but the bureaucratic ethos at district level did not allow it to progress or be repeated because it did not consider such a strategy conducive to its own interests.

....while we directed a lot of our attention on the District Collector expecting him to actively promote change, Drought Prone Area Programme was only one of his responsibilities. He had only a limited time available for future oriented programmes, especially as when most of the government operations moved from one "crash" programme to another.

Finally, the project ran into the agonising question - whom should the technical experts strengthen - only the bureaucracy or also the peoples' elected institutions?

The people for whom the effort at improvement was being designed did not get explicitly involved in the action-research process although some conceptual headway was made in that regard. In fact much of the cell's interaction with officials and their organisation was less encouraging than we had thought. Our intervention strategy also did not involve the local political leadership in the action-research process explicitly. In one district, the Panchayat leadership demanded that the cell should help in strengthening the capability of people's organisations in monitoring and preparing projects. The Zila Parnukh felt that the strengthening of the bureaucracy to perform its role better may not be so helpful to the district. We recognized these conflicts but were limited by the predetermined design for action research.

This and other reports also point out that District Administration is plagued with yet another disease - frequent transfers and increasingly shorter duration of posting of district officers - which debilitates its capacity for development work which requires accumulated experience and in depth familiarity with local population and the area.

According to IIPA report:

A second characteristic of the administrative milieu was the high turnover of officials located in the local level implementing agencies. Some District Collectors and Project Officers had very short tenures. Quite a few officers working in backward-drought prone districts considered it as a punishment posting. As such, while in the district, officers spent a large part of their energies in finding avenues to get out of the district. In such a situation, before a Collector or an official was ready to spend some time understanding the activities ...he had left for greener pastures.

The backward areas whose development is accorded priority and is subsidised in a variety of ways face even acuter problem in this respect. A study of 'duration of stay and frequency of transfers' of district and lower level officials in three most backward districts in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat,<sup>57</sup> found that:

Only a small proportion of officials in each of the four categories (Collector, SDO, Tehsildar, BDO) met the norm of minimum stay. If at all there was such a norm, it has clearly not been followed in practice.

The variation in the duration of stay of all categories of officials...is so high that it appears as though there is no policy regarding minimum, maximum or average duration of stay of officials of varying categories and level. Or, if there was a policy, it has not been implemented.

Throwing some light on the reasons for this state of affairs, a study on Development Administration in Kerala State, by the State Planning Board (based on a case study of administration in two districts)<sup>58</sup> explains that "the present state of affairs with a multiplicity of agencies in certain development sections of the state with overlapping functions in several cases ...is the result, partly of the trend of over departmentalisation which still persists and partly of certain programmes being concurrently implemented by several departments on account of considerations of operational efficiency". The study concluded that "effective coordination of the development activities in a district is possible only through the process of decentralised planning". (emphasis added)

### B Decentralised Planning

Indeed, the case for decentralised planning in India has received support both in theory and on practical grounds. M.L.Dantwala,<sup>59</sup> for instance, has argued that:

The merit of decentralised planning is derived from its ability to discover dormant resources and skills and its endeavour to activate them. Structural, technological, institutional and organisational obstacles to overall growth as well as its equitable spread can also be better identified when viewed in the proximity of the specific area and the people. More importantly, every area however small has its inherited social and cultural ethos which the planner has to understand if he is planning for the people and not merely for the area.

K.N. Raj et al at the Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum stress the necessity for decentralised planning also on practical grounds in the given conditions:<sup>60</sup>

Development planning in India has so far been primarily planning of the investments required for building up essential economic overheads such as in irrigation, power, transport, mining and heavy industry and social overheads as in education, health and scientific research. It is now a common place that the benefits of these investments have gone mainly to the top decile or two of the population; the condition of those in the bottom deciles has possibly even deteriorated. Since the reasons lie deeply embedded in the structure of the economy and its institutional framework, it would be unrealistic to expect any spectacular improvements through changes in the methods of planning or in the content of the development programmes. Yet there is some scope for improvements through (a) more careful selection and coordination of the investments directly or indirectly supported by the public sector, and (b) evolving organisational structures at different levels for promoting more broad-based and equitable use of their potential.

Dantwala also provides an effective answer to the argument that decentralisation may strengthen the hold of the strong on the weak in the village:

...at what level the power structure reflecting the vested interests is more assertive and pernicious is a question which the social scientists have to investigate. On their findings will depend the extent to which decentralisation will be in the interest of the poor.

One observation however can be made. The manipulative power of vested interest over the State apparatus concerned with planning (for the poor or the rest) and implementation increases as the area becomes smaller. But this is no reason for withholding decentralisation because the potential for mobilisation of countervailing forces also is greater when issues are more area specific.

The local planning authority should be given maximum latitude in regard to the development and welfare programmes concerning the target group which would obviously consist of the weaker sections of the population. This is necessary because it should be laid down that the performance of the local planning authority and implementing agencies will be judged primarily by the extent to which they succeed in augmenting and strengthening the skills and the asset base and hence the productivity and income of the weaker sections of the population within its jurisdiction.

Raj and his colleagues clear a number of "false notions" surrounding decentralised planning:

Discussions on local level planning have often been preoccupied with the identification of some unique ideal level of planning. As the Dantwala Working Group Report on Block Level Planning points out, this is really a false problem, for such an ideal unit of planning neither exists nor is it necessary. In fact, the different economies of scale associated with different technical projects would require different spatial units such that the corresponding unit of planning may also have to be different.

A second false notion in such literature is the treatment of programme formulation and implementation as if these are two separable, sequential stages of planning. In reality, planning is an iterative process where the programme itself may undergo several modifications in the course of implementation. This needs to be kept in mind in the setting up of organisational arrangements for the design, selection and implementation of projects.

The points raised in the paragraphs above would suggest that the conventional procedure of moving from the formulation of overall plans to individual projects needs to be reversed. We should instead start from the end use, and end users, of different projects - which would itself indicate the most convenient level at which the particular projects should be implemented. This would then indicate the most convenient organisational point at which different sets of projects should be formulated. We have to keep in mind here that information theorists and specialists in organisational design have repeatedly demonstrated that the delays in implementation as well as costs in terms of information handling, human and material resources are minimised when the organisational distance between the point of decision and the point of implementation is minimum.

We may now turn from these principles to the specific efforts made by government to promote decentralised planning.

Plan has exerted some pressure for reform of the administrative system particularly in respect of planning from below. The coverage of this exercise however has been thin both by States and scope of planning at the local level.



The experience of the First Plan brought out that the bulk of the State Plans were made up at the State secretariats. The Second Plan, therefore, prescribed an elaborate methodology for formulation of State Plans from village level upwards:<sup>61</sup>

The preparation of the first five year plan in the States took place mainly at State headquarters. Subsequently, attempts were made to break up State Plans into district plans. In national extension and community project areas, as programmes were carried to the village to be worked in cooperation with the people, the significance of village planning was increasingly realised. In the programme which they could under-take through their own labour with support comprehensive village planning which takes into account the needs of the entire community, weaker sections like tenant-cultivators, landless workers and artisans may not benefit sufficiently from assistance provided by the Government.

The methods adopted for preparing the second five year plan have provided valuable training both to the rural people and to rural officials associated with development. It is realised that the pattern of district administration envisaged in the national extension and community development programme will remain incomplete unless village institutions are placed on a sound footing and are entrusted with a great deal of responsibility for carrying out local programmes.

In the second five year plan one of the most important aspects was the preparation of plans at various levels below that of the State, that is, for individual villages, towns, talukas, tehsils or extension blocks and district. It

was recognised that both at the district and at the State level three kinds of programmes sponsored on behalf of public authorities would be included in the plan, namely,

- (a) programme initiated at the level in question, e.g. taluks, district and State,
- (b) programmes initiated at lower levels and integrated with those in (a), and
- (c) programmes initiated at levels above and integrated with (a), for instance, schemes sponsored by the Central Government but executed through States or schemes sponsored by the State Government and implemented through machinery available in the district.

A district plan would include programmes prepared on territorial basis for villages, groups of villages, talukas, extension blocks, municipal areas, etc. and also programmes to be executed within the district which are derived from departmental plans formulated at the State level. That part of the district plan which is prepared within the district is important both for the range of activities which it embodies and for the fact of association with the people at every level and the opportunity afforded to them to determine their needs and to contribute towards their fulfilment.

This methodology was however abandoned before it was adopted. There is little evidence to show that the Planning Commission exerted itself to persuade the States to adopt its prescription though various instruments were available to it specially the forum of National Development Council, the Annual Plan discussions and its **roving** State Plan Advisers.

The detailed plan formulation exercise prescribed in the Second Plan was not even echoed in the subsequent plans. Nearly two decades later, in the context of its greater emphasis on rural development, the Draft Sixth Plan, 1978-83, expressed itself in somewhat categorical terms on the subject:<sup>62</sup>

A major improvement in the organisation, attitudes and competence of the implementation machinery at all levels will be required at the State, district and block levels. New institutional arrangements may have to be devised which should ensure that the poorer sections of the population who are the targets of the new planning strategy, are given an adequate representation in the decision-making process particularly when it comes to critical areas, such as land reforms, access to institutional credit, location and operation of the infrastructural facilities which provide them with the minimum needs.

As a result of the studies undertaken and recommendations made by Administrative Reforms Commission and several other bodies, the deficiencies in implementation machinery are now more clearly identified, the benefits of operating improved managerial systems and techniques have been better understood and the conditions required for making these improvements are now better known than before.

The Draft Plan 1978-83 was however still born and so also its several ideas. It yielded place to the 1980-85 Sixth Plan which did however reiterate the needs for districts planning as necessary for improvement in rural development delivery arrangements, but took no practical steps to promote it.

### District Level

According to Planning Commission studies, the two States namely Maharashtra<sup>63</sup> and Gujarat<sup>64</sup> are exceptions and have been experimenting with District Planning. To ensure its success the two States have provided for transfer of a definite proportion of the State's financial resources to the Zilla Panchayats by splitting the State budget into "State Sector" and "District Sector" provisions.

The main features of District Planning in Maharashtra and Gujarat (see charts 1 to 3) are

- (1) categorising of certain development schemes as 'district sector' schemes;
- (2) creating a 'district sector' in the budget; and
- (3) adopting a criteria based on population for distribution of 'district sector' divisible funds among the various districts.

In both Gujarat and Maharashtra ministers are formally involved with the District Planning bodies in their capacity as Chairman of the District Planning and Development Councils/Boards. Specific districts are assigned to particular ministers in the State cabinet, ordinarily districts other than those to which the particular minister belongs. In contrast with Gujarat, the Planning Department in Maharashtra is, however, actively associated with the district planning bodies.

One of the notable features of Maharashtra is that the District Planning and Development Council has been vested with authority for reallocation of plan funds depending on monthly monitoring of development programmes so that "the allocation in each district under the State annual plans are utilised within the district as far as possible".

Currently both Maharashtra and Gujarat have realised the necessity to move downwards from the district level and are attempting to introduce planning at the block level in Maharashtra and Taluk level in Gujarat. Criteria for allocation of the blocks is being evolved somewhat on the same lines as criteria for plan allocations from the State to the District level. Besides, it has been provided in Maharashtra that amounts allotted to blocks are not transferable to other blocks and must be used in the respective blocks only.

A closer look, however, reveals serious weaknesses in these seemingly good looking arrangements. In Gujarat there is indeed no integrated district plan. At the State level 80 per cent of the plan allocation for district development is withheld at the State level and schemes for it are formulated by sectoral departments without much consultation with or reference to the district planning body. The district planning body in turn plan schemes for the remaining 20 per cent of the total allocation for district development in the State budget in two parts: 15 per cent discretionary for the district planning body to plan schemes which it considers appropriate and the remaining 5 per cent is used for schemes

for which it is entitled to a certain contribution from the State. In effect all the 3 schemes namely those funded out of 80 per cent, 15 per cent and 5 per cent have no means of being integrated or harmonised or made mutually reinforcing. The Planning Commission Study points out that the district plans for the 15 per cent and 5 per cent sectors also do not get integrated into the State Plan:

There are 3 district plans, one each for the 80 per cent, 15 per cent and 5 per cent sectors with no underlined unity among them. Also the individual exercises in respect of the 3 components are not involved by any perspective outlook. The schemes formulated are adhoc.

The repercussions of such unintegrated exercise are likely to be reflected in mounting non-plan expenditures over a period of time and it is understood that the schemes undertaken have a spillover character, sometimes ranging 2 or 3 years. Thus the 20% sector District Plan is likely to add to the recurring liabilities of the State, without thought to the macro dimensions of planning.

Another aspect of District Planning in Gujarat is that elected bodies namely district panchayats are now kept at a distance from district planning. The argument for not entrusting planning function to the district panchayats is "that a number of subjects fell outside their purview at present and fragmented planning restricted to the subjects within their jurisdiction was not desirable...and that the Panchayats were permeated by a political culture".

In Maharashtra too the effectiveness of the Zila Parishad has been eroded. It was fully in the picture when district planning was initiated, but in subsequent rounds the Collector has triumphed on grounds similar to that in Gujarat:

When the District Planning and Development Councils were set up the Chief Executive Officer of the Zila Parishad was the Member Secretary of the District Planning Development Council. However, it was noticed that Chief Executive Officer, Zila Parishad, was fully busy with various items of work relating to Zila Parishad's own functions. Further District Planning covered not only local sector schemes (under Zila Parishads) in rural areas but also state sector schemes, the schemes implemented by urban local bodies and various institutional agencies over which the Z.P. had no control. In view of this and also considering the role of the Collector as the Chief administrative head of the district, it was thought that, it would be desirable if the Collector was entrusted with the work of the district planning. In December 1975, therefore, it was decided to appoint the Collector of the District as the Member Secretary of the District Planning and Development Council.

Maharashtra illustrates also how the methodology of planning at the Centre and State levels ultimately frustrates efforts to put substance into 'planning from below' despite district sector allocation:

After the ceilings for the annual plans are communicated to the districts, they are free to prepare their Districts Annual Plan and suggest schemes they want to incorporate in

the District Plan. However, while doing so, they have to take into account the guidelines issued by the State Government for preparation of schemes under several sectors. Even while preparing the Annual Plan of the State, the State Government has to abide by the guidelines given by the Government of India in this respect and it has to ensure that necessary outlays are provided for different schemes taking into consideration the targets set and guidelines given by the Government of India. Also objectives laid down for the Five Year Plan/Annual Plan have to be taken into account. It will thus be seen that the State has to prepare its Annual Plan within the frame-work prescribed by the Government of India. It, therefore, follows that the State Government also cannot give full liberty to any district in preparation of their Annual Plans. Hence necessary guidelines have to be issued and the District Planning and Development Councils have also to prepare their District Annual Plan within the frame work prescribed by the State Government.

In the Southern States as a whole, even half-hearted attempts at district planning and decentralisation have not been made.

In Andhra,<sup>65</sup> "district planning (is) being done at the State level". There is "planning for the district level rather than at the district level". There are two main constituents of the plan formulation for the district level in Andhra: (i) identification of schemes to be implemented at the district level as a part of the State's own policies and programmes and (ii) preparation of projects under the centrally sponsored schemes like IRDP, DPAP etc. Presently,



"the Collector plays an important role in district planning in the State", on the other hand a major implication of preparing district plans at the district level will be "the direct involvement and greater role of elected representatives in the planning process and in determining decision-making" which will diminish the present powers of the Collector.

In Tamil Nadu<sup>66</sup> "planning at the district level is not done at present. No separate organisation for planning exists in the district. All planning is done at the macro level in the State". The Tamil Nadu District Development Council Act 1958 provided for the establishment of District Development Councils. But the latter "do not prepare plans for the districts", they "only review plan implementation from time to time and suggest specific programmes to the Government based on local requirements".

Under the Panchayat Act 1958, the Panchayat Union(Block) became the implementing agency for the community development programme. Though the Panchayat Unions are federations of elected Gram Panchayats "planning and execution of all development works are the functions of the Block Development Officer", who is designated as "the Commissioner of the Panchayat Union Council". By virtue of the statutory, non-statutory functions imposed upon him, he is "the pivot on which the activities of the block revolve".

District planning cells were set up in the year 1972 for each district under the District Collectors for preparation of district plans. Elaborate guidelines for the formulation of district plans were given to these cells by the State

Planning Commission, District Planning Officers were put through a training programme. As a result, some 23 district development plans were formulated, but, "the, the district plan cells were disbanded after the work was completed". Obviously district planning was considered as one shot exercise.

In Kerala,<sup>67</sup> "the prevailing planning procedures do not provide any scope for due recognition to the ideas and requirements of the people. Plans reach the people from above more or less in the form of directions and only in the case of the works programmes, where contribution from the public is an essential component do the concerned officials approach them and attempt to involve them in planning". On a pilot basis the State has carried out an elaborate exercise for preparing a district plan for just one of its districts - Quilon. But, as elsewhere in the country, no arrangements have been made for the implementation of this plan or extending the exercise to other districts.

In 1979, the State established district planning units in each of its 11 districts. Though these units were set up as early as 1979, the State Planning Board is still examining the critical issues pertaining to district planning i.e. the types of schemes to be covered under district level programmes, quantum of allocation for such schemes and criteria for its distribution amongst the district, modus operandi of planning at the district level, method of the vertical and horizontal co-ordination in the present administrative set-up. In Kerala too, the Collector is the key figure. The District Planning

Officers have in fact been designated as "Ex-Officio Personal Assistants to the District Collectors". A very constructive piece of legislation from the view-point of decentralisation, namely the District Development Council Act, remains unenforced, as noted earlier, though it became law in 1980.

In Karnataka<sup>68</sup> there is no Zila Panchayat. A Bill to establish Zila Parishads is now (October 1983) before the State legislature. In the interim, some steps have been taken to disaggregate the district level outlays and functions, but these have not been carried to their logical end. According to the Planning Commission, "the procedures that have been evolved clearly reveal that in the name of integration, the line bureaucracy at the State headquarters have thwarted the growth and establishment of a horizontal decision-making body who can alter and amend departmental plans. The discretionary outlay and the district sub-plan are merely concepts without any teeth built into them. With mere 3.75 per cent of the total district outlay as untied funds this is a highly anaemic version of the Gujarat experiment in decentralised planning".

A telling example of how Departmental Heads at State level can vitiate planning from below is provided by one of the districts in the State. There is a large population of fishermen and women in this district. After surveying their problems the district plan provided for a series of minor programmes, involving little capital outlay, which would have facilitated fish collection and distribution operations of hundreds of small fisher households. However when the district

plan proposals were reviewed at the State level, the department eliminated all these items as not being in accordance with plan priorities and allocated practically the entire fisheries development budget for acquisition of deep sea fishing trawlers and related equipment. The local plan was beaming development on men and women engaged in fishing, while the department was for development of fisteries. This by no means is an isolated example.

Information is also available about two northern States - Uttar Pradesh<sup>69</sup> and Madhya Pradesh<sup>70</sup>. Like Karnataka, the experience of U.P., in regard to decentralised planning is limited to only one year and is yet to stabilise. But a distinct feature of arrangements of U.P. is the inclusion of the 'divisional level' in the planning drill. A noteworthy feature is that while the various development schemes have been classified in State and District sectors and allocated resources in the proportion of 70:30, in the Hill region, this proportion is fixed at 48:52 to give greater weight to local development of these backward areas. Another notable feature is a 15 per cent weightage given to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, marginal farmers and landless labourers. The operational arrangements are quite elaborate.

As regards organisation for planning, two Committees have been set up at district level, viz. (a) District Planning and Monitoring Committee (DPMC) and (b) District Plan Coordination and Action Committee (DPCAC). The former is under the Chairmanship of a Minister of State. It has M.Ps and MLAs represented in it. All the other members are officials. It should be noted that there is no representation of PRIs (Panchayatraj institution) or urban local bodies in this Committee.

The District Plan Coordination and Action Committee (DPCAC) is purely an official committee under the Chairmanship of the District Magistrate. The former Committee (DPMC) is expected to meet every two months, to review the progress of the plan, the latter (DPCAC) will formulate the plans and also meet every month to review the progress of the plan.

For integrating the Credit Plan into the District Plan, there is a separate Executive Committee chaired by the District Magistrate with representatives at the Lead Bank also associated with it.

At the Divisional level, a Divisional Committee has been constituted with a Cabinet Minister of the State as Chairman and the Divisional Commissioner as Deputy Chairman to review and approve the District Plan. In the Divisional Committee, it may be noted that the elected representatives (MPs and MLAs) are not included.

Within the seeming attempts at decentralisation runs a counter thread. For example, while the schemes provide that normally no changes can be made in the District Plan by the Heads of Departments at the State level it also provides that where the latter have some objection these will be referred to the Committee of Secretaries for a final decision at the State level rather than the proposal being referred back to the Division or the District with the comments and advice of the Heads of Departments for reconsideration and final decision. It is noteworthy that though the ministers preside over the planning exercise at the district and divisional levels the final decision is vested in a Committee of Secretaries at the state level.

As a Planning Commission review notes "this procedure intended to encourage local decision-making, however, does not go far. In fact, it negates the principle of decentralisation. The more appropriate method would be to help evolve communication systems which would facilitate mutual interaction, exchange of information, cooperation and conflict resolution rather than direct arbitration from above. The aim should be to evolve healthy multi-level planning procedures, rather than centralise decisions.... we cannot help observing that the mere introduction of multiple levels of review and approval without conferring adequate functions and powers would only tend to create delays in the planning process, create greater uncertainty and perplexity among the lower levels and thus discourage their enthusiastic participation in decentralised planning and management.

In Madhya Pradesh beyond setting up District Planning Boards which came into existence for the first time in 1975, the State has yet to take any definitive measures for decentralisation. 530 posts have been sanctioned to assist the District Planning Boards including 135 posts of senior officers consisting of economists, senior research officers and research officers. While not one of these 135 posts of senior officers has been filled (till October 1983), 239 posts of supporting staff had all been filled. This speaks for the seriousness attached to district planning.

Still the State Government appears to have greater faith in these professionally unaided planning bodies at the district level rather than in the panchayat raj institutions:

Though the State Government are at one with the idea of disaggregating plan outlays and activating the planning bodies at the district level, they are of the opinion that the process of decentralisation and activation of such bodies depends a great deal on the viability of Panchayat Raj Institutions. As these institutions in the State are in a formative stage, it will be inappropriate to saddle them with the major responsibility of district planning at this stage. Once they become fully operational and settle down to effective functioning, it will be possible to allocate district planning functions to them.

Tarlok Singh et al. (1982) based on a field visit to Rajasthan<sup>71</sup> on behalf of the Planning Commission, threw some light on the reasons for this impasse in district level planning despite the emphasis in the Sixth Plan:

The Sixth Plan has assumed that State Plan allocations will be disaggregated to the extent feasible into district plan allocations and these, in turn, will facilitate the drawing up of block plans. This is not happening in most States. At the state level, because of past administrative practice, there may be some reluctance on the part of departments to mark out allocations for districts in advance of or even early in a new financial year in respect of 'divisible' programmes and to

indicate the spatial components of 'indivisible' projects or programmes implemented directly by State level authorities. Both elements are essential for 'physical' programming at the area level. Without such disaggregation, action in the districts and therefore in the blocks has to wait upon piece-meal intimations of allocations coming from the State-level Departments from time to time through the year, often with such intimations being in fact concentrated in the later months of the year.

#### District Credit Plans

It is pertinent to note that though the Banks have initiated District Credit Plan formulation in recent years, there are no District Development Plans with which the credit plans can be inter-linked.<sup>72</sup> If credit is to serve its proper role as a tool of development, the district plans have to come first to indicate where and to what extent credit is needed. Banks themselves are still experimenting with even the limited and isolated District Credit Planning exercise they have initiated. A review of some twelve District Credit Plans - across banks and across states shows that the Credit plans are hardly a plan. They are mainly a bunching together of the advances the banks were making previously in the area, plus loan finance for programmes such as IRD.<sup>73</sup>

The rapid expansion of bank branches has extended another bureaucratic set up in the rural areas. The banks are faced with the problem of reorienting and motivating



their personnel to adapt itself to rural environment and the needs of rural development.

The rapid and huge expansion of bank branches has extended another bureaucratic set up in the rural areas. The banks are faced with the problem of reorienting and motivating their personnel to adopt itself to rural environment and the needs of rural development.

"Mass loaning" under pressures from varied sources is not contributing much to developing a durable motivation and outlook appropriate to assess the productive needs of the poor.

#### Block Planning

The necessity for planning at the Block level was emphasised as early as in the Second Plan, which expected the Block Plan to be largely a summation of Village Plans. But no village plans or Block plans were formulated. Repeated suggestions to formulate Village and Block plans were also made subsequently by various Committees especially the Balwantrai Mehta Committee but to no avail.

The lead was however provided by non-official organisations. The Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development under the inspiration of Jaya Prakash Narayan was the first to undertake the preparation of a full employment block plan. Under the direction of Ranjit Gupta it prepared the famous Musahri Plan (Muzaffarpur district, Bihar) in the early seventies.

The idea was revived by the Draft Sixth Plan (1978-83) which decided that to achieve the Plan objective of full employment, "detailed micro planning with community development blocks as units" should be undertaken. By 1979-80, block plans were to be attempted for nearly 2,600 blocks to be taken up for integrated rural development. The block plans were to "seek to identify programmes and projects for realising the development potential of the area, provide for location of suitable centres for supply of economic and social services and, wherever necessary, make provisions for suitable public works for dealing with any residuary problem of unemployment". Considerable time was however lost in issuing central guidelines as the proposals of the Dantwala Committee on Block Level Planning attracted some criticism, and the Mazumdar Committee which was entrusted with the task of formulating revised guidelines took its own time.<sup>74</sup>

However, without waiting for these guidelines some of the States initiated block planning exercise in a limited number of blocks in order to gain first hand experience and for evolving a satisfactory methodology. The preparation of the block plans was entrusted by the respective State Governments to selected technical and academic institutions and voluntary organisations. Some of the Block plans were entrusted to government agencies. Though there is no reliable count, it is estimated that about 300 Block Plans were thus prepared.

But before these plans could be completed or operationalised there was a change of Government at the Centre in 1980. The Draft Sixth Plan (1978-83) was dropped by the new

government and it put forth a new Sixth Plan(1980-85) which shifted local planning from the block to district level:

"A five year development profile will be drawn up for each district dis-aggregated into blocks, based on practical (achievable) possibilities of development in agriculture and allied sectors. This plan will be based on a scientific understanding of the developmental assets of the district".<sup>75</sup> The progress made with district planning has already been reviewed which shows that such planning is practically non-existent. There is thus neither Block planning today nor District planning.

It is pertinent however to mention that the Block plans initiated under the Draft Plan 1978-83, brought to surface considerable employment potential and opportunities. The opportunities and avenues are mostly of the kind that only a study of local situation and resources can capture. This is evident from a number of block plans which this study had an opportunity to glance through.<sup>76</sup> Extracts from one of these block plans illustrate the enormous potential for creating substantial employment opportunities both in the short and the longer term:

Jawahar Block, Thane District, Maharashtra

During the implementation of the plan about 27,50,000 mandays of unskilled labour would be utilised for capital formation. On completion of the plan permanent employment opportunity for 1,700 skilled persons and about 32,000 un-skilled persons will be created. Type of work which might be easily accepted by the tribal population (predominant) is also identified.

But there is no indication of interest in following upon these plans or the leads provided by them.

### Village Planning

Though village plans were to be the foundation of the CD movement as emphasised in its guidelines, and the bricks upon which the edifice of the entire State plans was to be erected as emphasised by the Second Plan, there have been no village plans in rural development under government auspices in the past three decades.

The only effort that came closest to formulation and implementation of village plans was the "Whole Village Development Programme" (WVDP) initiated in 1973-74 on the basis of the recommendations of the National Commission on Agriculture.<sup>77</sup> 5 Pilot projects were launched under this scheme covering 52 villages in 7 Blocks in 4 States:

<u>State</u>	<u>Block</u>	<u>No. of villages</u>
Bihar	Musahri	23
	Adhoura	14
Orissa	Jaleshwar	6
	Balasore	
	Saraskona	
Tamil Nadu	Malanelidanallur	4
Uttar Pradesh	Dudhi	5
Total	<u>7</u>	<u>52</u>

The central theme of the WVDP as conceived by the National Commission on Agriculture was "development of the village as a whole where the interests of the entire rural community including small farmers, marginal farmers and

agricultural labourers are kept in view. The programme is to achieve objectives by reducing the disparities in income among the rural population and increasing employment opportunities in the village". In view of this approach the programme did not envisage any specific target groups. Emphasis was on "harnessing local initiative and action and to make the initiated process of development in the area, self-sustaining and self-propelling". However, the rural poor were "to be given due importance" in terms of the social objectives of the programme.

A distinguishing feature of the WVDP was that for some of the pilot projects (Musahri in Bihar and Dudhi in UP) voluntary organisations were invited to act as implementing agencies, and composite funding of the village plans was provided by the Central Government totalling Rs 3.73 crores between 1975-76 to 1982-83.

The main component of the WVDP was an overall plan for land development, water control, cropping pattern and expansion of subsidiary occupations.

The findings of a Mid-term Appraisal (by the National Institute of Rural Development in 1981 on behalf of the Government) of the implementation of the programme in Musahri Block which accounted for nearly one half of the total villages covered in the entire country under WVDP are extremely refreshing:<sup>78</sup>

One of the five pilot projects of the whole Village Development Programme (WVDP) conceived by the National Commission on Agriculture (NCA) is being implemented at the Mushari block of Muzaffarpur district in Bihar State. Twenty two villages and 4552 families have been covered by one or more of the schemes of the WVDP.

The implementation of WVD Programme was entrusted to a Voluntary organisation namely the Muzaffarpur Development Agency (MDA). The MDA and its parent organisation, namely, The Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) have been carrying out a number of rural reconstruction programmes over years in the project area and the organisation seems to have gained good deal of acceptance among people in the project area.

A two tier organisational structure, as conceived by the architects of the WVDP was constituted with Gramasabhas (Village Councils) serving as the Project Implementation Committees (PICs) at the village level and a Project Implementation Union specially constituted at the project level serving as the PIU.

The village level Committees were represented by local leaders and were entrusted with heavy responsibilities like the selection of beneficiaries, participation in the purchase of animals under Animal Husbandry Programme, overseeing the management of Community programmes etc. Illiteracy, feuds and factions in some cases, lack of coordination between these bodies and the Gram Panchayats seem to have affected their functioning though these instances and situations were not several.

The project level committee was very broad based with representatives from Government, Banks, University, Sarvodaya workers and MDA officials. The participation of the Government representatives was less common than that of other members. So was the case with the bankers. Many problems could be coordinated still better by utilising this body as a forum for interaction and problem solving.

There were delays in the release of funds or rather the transmission of funds from the Centre to the State and then to the district to be passed on ultimately to the MDA. The shortfalls in target achievements led to the slowing down of the tempo of activity, idleness of personnel employed and dempening of the enthusiasm of villagers and their committees. Implementation of special programmes like this raises the question of planning of funds in general. Effective mechanism to release funds expeditiously the programmes are discussed and approved have to be evolved and the monitoring of reports could be taken as short term appraisals of performance of the project.

Awareness of the WVD programme among the population of the project area was considerably high as the project was a talk of the area it seems, long before it was allotted to them and the initiation of the project was done through public meetings, pamphlets and village level committee meetings. But most of the people had vague ideas about the specific objectives and contents of different programmes.

In terms of acquiring physical assets, the project population has definitely gained as they were provided better irrigation, drainage, farm inputs, milch animals, poultry and piggery units.

Respondents reported change in occupations, larger number of days of employment in a year, crop intensification and increase in gross irrigated area and additional incomes.

The project records and also our interviews with a sample of beneficiaries indicated that a very large section of the beneficiaries belonged to the landless labour and small and marginal farmers, though the target approach was not the central theme of the programme.

The strong emphasis in WVDP by the architects on Community Action was not reflected to the same degree in the operation of the programmes except in instances specified. This may be partly due to the heterogeneous nature of the Community with conflicting interest. Illiteracy, tradition and other factors seem to have added to the complexity of the situation.

Taking the factors such as the delay in the release of funds, limited expertise of project implementation committees at the local level in taking economic decisions of great consequence, the low level of literacy, feuds and factions of villages in consideration, the performance of the WVDP is no mean achievement and the programme requires to be carried out at least for the completion of the proposed work plan, if not beyond.

In another project area namely Dudhi, in Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh the implementation agency was Banwasi Seva Ashram, another Voluntary organisation. An evaluation study conducted by the Agricultural Finance Corporation of India has shown substantial improvement in income, productivity and standard of living of small farming tribal households in four blocks through the efforts of Banwasi Seva Ashram, another voluntary organisation:<sup>79</sup>

The Whole Village Development Programme draws its inspiration from the Sarvodaya-Antyodaya philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and the Gramdan-Gramswarajya movement led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. A Community approach to rural Development was being tried out in certain Gramdan areas, it was observed that if a community can be enthused and stirred into a joint action towards development the utilization of the growth potential is easier and much faster from which community as a whole benefits. This was called the 'Whole Village Development Approach.'



In all the project villages, village level committees called Gram Swarajya Sabhas were constituted by drawing one adult from each family. The plans were made and implemented on the basis of the suggestions and concensual decisions of these Gram Swarajya Sabhas. The process has thrown up constructive and determined leadership in most of the project villages. We feel extremely grateful to these Gram Swarajya Sabhas, village level technicians and community leaders for their continuous participation in the planning and implementation of this project.

One of the major physical component of the programme as conceived at the National Level included land consolidation. In its place, the programme administrators have given priority to creating records of titles to lands and watershed management. This was found very appropriate to the situation.

It was found that the programme has been implemented in an integrated way that most of the families participated in all the complementary development schemes.

Land development by itself has made very significant contribution to bringing more area under crop, increasing cropping intensity. This is a programme where 87.28% of the families have been benefited. Irrigation development has also received an equally high priority. Under this programme, 62.00% of the families could receive benefit. The share of participation would have been much more but for the lack of quick clearance from the forest department regarding forest lands affected by water spread. Helping in the purchase of bullocks contributed to development in three ways, i.e. facilitating land levelling, irrigation and raising crops in quick succession. This programme has benefited 70.53% of the families.

Adult literacy programme has benefited 60.15% of the families. This has helped to raise the literacy level from 14.58 to 27.10%.

202 locals were trained as bare-foot technicians who manned health posts and operated and repaired pumpsets, maintained accounts, trained people in industries and various other trades like carpentry, tailoring and spinning. Of all the 202 beneficiaries trained 59 are working for the Ashram on its staff in the various pockets. 131 are working in their own villages either as counsellors or helpers to the Gram Swarajya Sabha.

The Health Programme has helped immensely and as many as 98.35% of the families benefited under his programme.

The programme has helped in decreasing indebtedness of the families to money lenders. About 314 families received assistance for their debt redemption and freed themselves from bonded labour and mortgaged land. The percentage of families that owed to money lenders decreased from 42.60% during 1974-75 to 23.47% during 1978-79.

On the other hand, the farmers took more and more assistance from Gramkosh. All the sample families taken up for the present study have reported to have taken assistance from Gramkosh. It was also noticed that number of people taking consumption loans and loans for social obligation from money lenders reduced considerably.

Gram Swarajya Sabha promoted community sharing of resources and means of production. Many common bandhies have been constructed. Spirit of sharing was found even in cases in which when persons lost their good lands under water-spread while constructing bandhies and where families joined together to finance individuals who had to file cases against money lenders. In turn, these people repaid the same by rendering services.

People are willingly and regularly repaying assistance received. The village revolving funds have been established for each Gram Swarajya Sabha. For the year ending 30 June 1979, 1571 families had paid back an amount of Rs 3,69,295. Assistance was given on the norms similar to those of financing institutions permitting a 10 year term for irrigation and land development programme; 3 years for purchase of bullocks and one year for assistance by way of seed and fertilisers. As on June 1979 farmers had repaid 64 per cent of the amount due on irrigation, 72 per cent of the amount due on purchase of bullocks and 82 per cent of the amount taken for seed and fertilisers.

In promoting peoples action for community development, 168 Gram Swarajya Sabhas were organised in the villages.

Six Kshetriya Gram Sabha consisting of 40 to 100 representatives of the Gram Swarajya Sabhas were also established. It was observed that community leaders took keen interest in village development and promoting community programme. Disputes were locally settled and cases against money lenders and other exploitative classes were unitedly fought.

Per capita income is estimated to have increased from Rs 160 to Rs 278 in a matter of 4 years. The Ashram's claim that 35% of families have been brought above the poverty line is supported by data.

More people had adequate food, clothing and boarding. This would support the claim of raising people above the poverty line.

Earlier in the latter half of the 50s following a similar approach of village development planning based on individual household planning for the whole community with special emphasis on the small farmers, a pilot project run by the Indian Cooperative Union in the Mehrauli Block in Delhi had successfully demonstrated "how a Community Development Programme could be conducted as an effective instrument of productivity and an active ally of the weaker sections of the village community."<sup>80</sup>

Another pilot scheme of rural marketing service Centres<sup>81</sup> was initiated by the Ministry of Industry in conjunction with IRD Programme to generate non-farm employment. In 1978-79, it demonstrated successfully through the pioneering efforts of various voluntary organisations such as SEWA-Ahmedabad (Gujarat), Gram Nirman Mandal-Gaya (Bihar), All India Handloom Fabrics Marketing Cooperative Society (especially in Uttar Pradesh), SWRC Tilonia (Rajasthan) etc. how provision of integrated services of raw materials, marketing and technical assistance can provide effective economic support to the rural artisans. This scheme was based much on the same integrated approach at micro-level as governed the Whole Village Development Programme recommended by the National Commission on Agriculture.

### III Field Evidence

#### Introduction

Some field studies were undertaken to have a first hand view of the working of the important rural development programmes and to capture the perceptions of some of the elected representative and others. In order to provide a perspective with which to look at the reports from the field it is pertinent at first to describe briefly the objectives and features of the rural development programmes as in the words of the Sixth Plan:

#### Objectives

Alleviation of rural poverty is one of the prime objectives of the Sixth Plan. The hard core of poverty is to be found in rural areas. The poorest sections belong to the families of landless labourers, small and marginal farmers, rural artisans, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and socially and economically backward classes. The strategy and methodology for accelerated rural development in the Sixth Plan is as follows:

- (a) increasing production and productivity in agriculture and allied sectors;
- (b) resources and income development of vulnerable sections of rural population through development of the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors;
- (c) skill formation and skill upgrading programmes to promote self and wage employment amongst the rural poor;

- (d) facilitating adequate availability of credit;
- (e) promoting marketing support to ensure the viability of production programmes;
- (f) provision of additional employment opportunities to the rural poor for gainful employment during the lean agricultural season; and
- (g) provision of essential minimum needs.

With a view to achieving these aims a number of programmes have been taken up during the Sixth Plan for the development of the target group of the rural poor. These programmes can be classified into the following three broad categories:

- (I) Resources and income development programme.
- (II) Special area development programme.
- (III) Works programme for creation of supplementary employment opportunities.

(I) Resources and Income Development Programmes  
Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

The Integrated Rural Development Programme was taken up on October 2, 1980 in all the 5011 development blocks in the country. The main objective of the IRDP is to evolve an operationally integrated strategy for the purpose, on the one hand, of increasing production and productivity in agriculture and allied sectors, based on better use of land, water and

sun-light and, on the other, of the development of resources and income of vulnerable sections of the population with a view to lifting the poorest of the poor above the poverty line.

Under this programme, assistance is available for every viable economic activity which aims at raising the income of the target group. The emphasis is on selecting one or more schemes in which the beneficiary has genuine interest. This programme is being implemented through the District Rural Development Agencies with the help of the block machinery.

The programme envisages grant of subsidies which amount to 25% of the capital cost for small farmers, 33-1/3 per cent for marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and rural artisans and 50% for tribal beneficiaries. Community works are eligible for 50% subsidy. Nearly 20% of the outlay on this programme is being utilised for strengthening administrative and infrastructural support and the balance of 80 per cent is meant for subsidies to the beneficiaries for acquisition of assets.

(II) Special Area Development Programmes  
Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP)

DPAP is an integrated area development programme in the agricultural sector for optimum utilisation of land, water and livestock resources, restoration of ecological balance and stabilising the income of the people, particularly

the weaker sections of society. The programme is continuing in the Sixth Plan period with the strategy for the development of these areas being reoriented towards insulating the economy of those areas from the effects of recurring droughts through diversification of agriculture and promoting afforestation, pasture development and soil and water conservation.

Desert Development Programme (DDP)

The Desert Development Programme was started in 1977-78 with the objective of controlling desertification and promotion of opportunities for raising the level of production, income and employment in the areas covered.

This another Centrally Sponsored Programme with 50% assistance from the Centre.

(III) Works Programme for Creation of Supplementary Employment Opportunities

National Rural Employment Programme

The Food for Work Programme was reviewed during 1980-81 and it was decided to restructure the programme as the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) from October, 1980. The NREP, therefore, became a regular part of the Sixth Five Year Plan from 1st April, 1981 since when it is being implemented as a Centrally Sponsored Programme with 50% Central Assistance. Under this programme generation of



additional gainful employment to the extent of 300-400 million mandays per year for the unemployed and under-employed in the rural areas is envisaged.

Another important objective of the programme is the creation of durable community assets for strengthening the rural infrastructure.

#### TRYSEM

The National Scheme of Training of Rural Youth for self-employment (TRYSEM) has been in operation since the 15th August, 1979. The major thrust of this scheme is on equipping rural youth with necessary skills and technology to enable them to take up vocations on a self-employment basis. The Sixth Plan target for training rural youth is 2 lakhs per annum, i.e. 40 youth per block every year.

#### Co-operation

The strategy for development of cooperation during the Sixth Five Year Plan is as under:

- i) Drawing up a clearly conceived action programme for strengthening of primary village societies so that they are able to act effectively as multi-purpose units catering to the diverse needs of their members;

- ii) Re-examination of the existing co-operative policies and procedures with a view to ensuring that the efforts to the co-operative are more systematically directed towards ameliorating the economic conditions of the rural poor.

### Progress

The progress of the main programmes IRDP, NREP, TRYSEM, in the first three years (1980-81 to 1982-83) of the Sixth Plan as reported in the Mid-term appraisal may be briefly recapitulated here:<sup>82</sup>

IRDP: 9.9 million families were provided subsidy and loan aggregating Rs 739 crores and Rs 1382 crores respectively in the three-year period. Except for about 30 per cent the rest of the beneficiaries were believed to belong to the 'poorest groups below the poverty line'. Areas listed as requiring improvement are: proper identification of beneficiaries; removal of deficiency in administrative infrastructure; involvement of peoples representatives; initiation of activities in support of the IRDP beneficiaries; and detailed evaluation. Another official report<sup>83</sup> states that the coverage of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under IRDP is about 45 per cent compared to the prescribed minimum of 30 per cent. Women benefitted were stated to be little over 7 per cent of the total in 20 states and union territories for which information is available.

NREP: The programme generated 1157 million mandays employment in the 3 year period. In terms of objectives of creating community assets the progress reported for the two year period 1981-82 and 1982-83 included afforestation of an area of 1.67 lakh hectares, soil and water conservation and land reclamation covering 1.73 lakh hectares; construction of 84,000 school and other buildings and 1.66 lakh kilometers roads constructed/improved. The constraints listed in implementation are: supply and distribution of foodgrains as part of the wages; delays in preparation of shelf of projects; non-availability of technical manuals/guide books in local languages for the block staff; difficulties of local resource mobilisation; durability of assets and their maintenance; works implemented through NREP often not coordinated and integrated with the requirements of the families identified for assistance under IRDP; normal funds of departments like PWD, irrigation etc. are sometimes shown as matching contribution from the states ignoring that NREP is additional programme for generating additional income opportunities; the works selected under NREP are not being decided as is expected through popular participation and consultation with Village Panchayat and Gram Sabha; and tendencies to go in for building construction with high material components counter to the basic objectives of the programme.

TRYSEM: In the three year period, 5.10 lakh youths were trained of whom nearly 50 per cent, i.e. 2.37 lakhs are reported to be self-employed. The problems highlighted are lack of finance; lack of confidence among the trainees; and

also lack of integrated system of supply of raw materials and marketing; lack of diversification of activities in which the trainees are being trained for self-employment. There is a view that it would be difficult for rural youth from poor families to set up self-employment ventures and it would be better for them to go in for wage employment.

DPAP: The programme coverage by the end of 1982-83 extended to 510 blocks in 69 districts, in 13 states. Expenditure in the three years of the Sixth Plan amounted to Rs 185.65 crores. The Task Force on DPAP has highlighted major problems of the programme:<sup>84</sup>

- (1) By far the most important aspect of irrigation development is utilisation which has been extremely low in numerous schemes taken up under the DPAP and DDP. In many cases, actual irrigation has been a mere one-fifth of what was indicated at the stage of sanction. The Task Force noted with regret that such wastage of a costly resource has not caused the consternation it ought to have and has not led to formulation of a crash programme of stepping up irrigation utilisation.
- (2) It is equally disturbing that more useful but less impressive works have been neglected in favour of more expensive but less cost-effective projects. In a number of drought-prone areas, the amount of monsoon rainfalls is not inconsiderable. A substantial part of the total precipitation is allowed to be lost as unutilised run-off. Harvesting of rain-water has to be given for greater importance and has to be attempted both by the State and by individual farmers.

- (3) The case of Ramanathapuram in Tamil Nadu where nearly 7,000 tanks have been allowed to fall into disrepair is by no means unusual. It appears that maintenance of irrigation works some-how has come to be considered less existing than execution of new projects.
- (4) Maintenance is neglected over long periods with the result that the original command shrinks and farming, instead of becoming more intensive in course of time, becomes less intensive.
- (5) The drawal of funds under the DPAP/DDP is taken as a matter of course to locate funds for schemes which are perfectly viable and which could be funded through institutional finance. This virtually amounts to an undeserved subsidy to the concerned dairy organisations in the State at the expense of people inhabiting arid and semi-arid tracts. This tendency should be curbed even if, in the short run, the level of expenditure in a project falls somewhat. This level in many cases is a fiction in that while it is shown as expenditure in the project accounts, the amount remains un-utilised for long with the dairy institutions.

An associate poverty alleviation programme is the Minimum Needs Programme (MNP). According to the Planning Commission, MNP is an investment on human resources development: "Through public sector expenditure and investment, consumption levels of free or subsidised social services are to be improved, particularly for those whose consumption levels are below the poverty line. Integration of social consumption programmes with economic development programmes is sought to be established for providing a basis for accelerated growth, as also for reducing disparities in

consumption levels".<sup>85</sup> The programme includes elementary and adult education, rural health, water supply, roads and electrification, housing assistance to rural landless labourers, nutrition. For each of these items there is a minimum norm with reference to either the size of population or age or distance.

The field studies here have attempted to look at the two broad thrusts of these programmes (1) development of human capital and (2) harnessing of natural resources of land, water, forests etc. for development. In view of the wide variety of programmes, the field studies have not attempted to conform to a stereotyped questionnaire for investigation, though a general proforma was prepared at the start. Each case study was left free to adopt appropriate methodology to ensure that it highlighted such aspects as appeared locally significant and those which it could best cover.

Considerable primary data was collected about utilisation and non-utilisation of schemes especially by the disadvantaged groups - Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The overall field coverage is across four states, half-a-dozen blocks and about an equal number of programmes SFDA/IRDP, DPAP, NREP, TRYSEM, some of the MNP including Integrated Child Development Services. At the household level the field studies have covered about 1000 households. Taken together the case studies have covered all important aspects relevant to the objectives of the study.

The field researchers included institutions and individuals. Individual researchers were Prof. B.V. Krishnamurty: Nanjungud, and Vinita Bhargava: Ishagarh. Institutions included Institute of Social Studies Trust: Chakrata, Udipi, Gulbarga; Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development: Dhamdaha; and Sewa Mandir Udaipur: Kherwara. These are referred to as case studies. To supplement them, the Honorary project Director made several field visits e.g. to Nanjungud, Kollegal, Quilon, Kherwara, Dhundala, Udipi, Jaipur, Udaipur, Ranchi, Bangalore and Trivandrum and held individual and group discussions with functionaries and others at village/block/district/state levels in these States. These are referred to as field notes.

What is presented here are summaries of case studies which have drawn on field notes where appropriate. The section on perceptions of functionaries and others is based primarily on the case studies and field notes and partly on other contemporary sources.

The field evidence is presented in two broad sections which follow (1) Case Studies and (2) Perceptions of Functionaries and Others. Overall findings are summed up in Chapter IV titled 'Summing up and Some Lessons'.

DHAMDAHIA BLOCKDist. Purnea, Bihar

One of the blocks included in the case study through field work was Dhamdaha in District Purnea, Bihar. Here the focus of field work was to look at development efforts on two fronts (1) human development front - removal of poverty, unemployment and inequalities, and provision of minimum needs and (2) utilisation of natural resources such as land, water and forests, for development.

Its population in 1981 was 1.51 lakhs, all rural. As per the earlier census, Scheduled Castes were 15.93% of the population, Scheduled Tribes 11.95%, Backward Caste Hindus 49.2% and Muslims 17.6%. Dhamdaha has been covered by almost every conceivable programme since 1956 starting with Community Development and including IADP, SFDA, CAD, NREP, TRYSEM, and the Training & Visit (T&V) system of agricultural extension.

The field survey included a sample of 300 households drawn from 12 villages chosen at random from each of the 12 halkas from the universe of 63 inhabited villages in the Block. A minimum of 25 households across occupational groups were selected from each village. For a detailed note on methodology, see the Dhamdaha case study in volume two.

The stark fact that emerges is that 86.4% of the population is below the poverty line by income, and about the same proportion (88.02 percent) by household expenditure.



A little over one third of the population is destitute with an annual household income not exceeding Rs 1,500. A comparative analysis of household income by primary occupations shows that agricultural labour is the most depressed occupation having the lowest per capita annual income of Scheduled Castes as a group which averaged the lowest in the block at Rs 316. Scheduled Tribes' per capita income averaged Rs 426 - one step above the Scheduled Castes. By occupational groups Artisans come next to agricultural labour with per capita income of Rs 464. Inequalities in income are pronounced. 34 per cent of the households having annual income below Rs 1,500 accounted for only 14.29% of the total income of all households, while the highest annual income group Rs 15,000 and above though forming only 2% of the households accounted for over 13 per cent of the total income of all households.

By average annual household expenditure also the Scheduled Castes were at the lowest rung at Rs 1,769 followed by Scheduled Tribes at Rs 2,567 as against the average for all classes of Rs 2,820 and the average for Bhoomihars of Rs 9,712. A noticeable fact is that food items made up Rs 1,323 or nearly 78 per cent of the total consumption expenditure of Rs 1,769 in the case of Scheduled Tribes. In contrast, in the case of Bhoomihars more than 50 per cent of the expenditure of Rs 9,712 was on items other than food. Inequalities in pattern of expenditure are grosser. Bhoomihars expenditure on food was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times that of Scheduled Castes on food; and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  times that of the Scheduled Castes' expenditure on items other than food.

In the matter of availability of foodgrains, the area is in net deficit, both in respect of cereals and pulses. Due to Kosi Canal there has been a substantial increase in area under irrigation but the cropping intensity is low at 110% and yields for different crops are poor. By 1981 the public distribution system (fair price shops) had extended to all the Gram Panchayats. The number of outlets increased from 25 to 45 between 1961 and 1981. But the total foodgrains provided in 1981 through these outlets amounted to only 654 tonnes against the estimated deficit of 3,933 tonnes. The daily per capita availability of milk is 69 grammes - far below the minimum nutritional requirement of 250 grammes.

The incidence of under-employment is high. Those having work for more than 301 days in the year were a bare 0.58 per cent. Nearly three-fourths (73.43 per cent) of the total workers were acutely under-employed having work for only 101-200 days in a year. Women are afflicted more by under-employment than men. While 66.52 per cent of the male workers came in the category of low work period of 101-200 days in a year, as many as 92.77 per cent women workers were in this category. Child labour is significant. There were 8,543 workers other than those in the age group of 16-60 years, of whom 80 per cent were children.

There has been no occupational mobility. In fact as against 90.3% of the total workers in 1961, 91.7% were dependent on primary occupation (agriculture) in 1979. The number of those dependent on secondary occupation which was already low at 3.7% in 1961, declined further to 1% in 1979.

There was a slight increase in the share of tertiary employment from 6% to 7.3% between 1961 and 1979. Among the primary workers, the cultivators and the agriculture labourers were evenly divided at 45.24 per cent and 45.30 per cent respectively. In the tertiary sector over 50 per cent of the workers were in business; i.e. petty trade.

While the minimum agricultural wages have been fixed at Rs 8.20 per worker per day, the prevalent agricultural, non-agricultural wage rates are considerably below this level except for carpentry and masonry work. For example, the wages in ploughing are (Rs 5.50), harvesting (Rs 7.00), earth-work (Rs 5.00), construction labour (Rs 6.00), masonry work (Rs 18.00) and carpentry (Rs 10.00).

Higher yields are expected to increase labour absorption in agriculture. But average yields of the principal crops of the area paddy, wheat, maize, pulses, oil-seeds, jute continue to be poor despite extension of irrigation facilities reflected in the cropping intensity of only 110 per cent.

An integral part of the strategy of poverty alleviation has been transfer of assets to the poor, particularly, land asset through land reform measures. Though Zamindari in Bihar was abolished in 1952 through Bihar Land Reforms Act 1950, ceilings were enacted in the early 60s limiting the holdings from 6 to 15 hectares per family - the variation dependent upon the quality of land. This Act is protected under IX Schedule. It has not yet been implemented in

Dhanda block or in the rest of the State. There are still about half a dozen large land owners in Bihar with holdings of over 10,000 acres retained illegally. There is marked inequality in land holdings. The average size of holdings in the block works out to 4.70 acres. 59.25 per cent of holdings are below 2.47 acres (i.e. one hectare) and occupy only 11.27 per cent of the total area. 13.14 per cent of the holdings are between 2.47-4.94 acres accounting for 9.47 per cent of the total area. 27.61 per cent of the holdings are above 4.94 acres, occupying 79.26 per cent of the total area.

An attempt was made in 1978 by the Kosi Kranti Project (which included Dhanda) initiated by some socially motivated persons and supported by the State Government to implement land reforms. Under this project a fresh land survey was undertaken and completed in 12 villages of the block for correction of land records preparatory to implementation of the land reform laws and the ceilings Act. But even before the results of the survey of the first 12 villages could be analysed government support petered out and the project dropped. The situation has not changed since. 4,713 acres of land were donated in the block under 'Bhoodan' but of this only about 2,000 acres have so far been distributed to 1,867 landless families. There is sharp agrarian tension in the area resulting from disputes between the land owners and share croppers.

Another means adopted for transfer of assets to the poor is through provision of credit at concessional

rate of interest (DRI - differential rate of interest) at 4%. The State Bank of India alone had advanced a substantial sum of Rs 19.94 lakhs as loan to 1,810 families under the Scheme. But the average loan per household amounted to Rs 991 only, too small to help the recipients acquire any worthwhile productive assets. Besides, in Dhamdaha, the initial enthusiasm of banks appears to be cooling down mainly due to poor recovery which is attributed to lack of coordination between bank staff and block staff. During 1981-82, out of a total of 583 loan applications sent to the banks, only 223 were sanctioned and only 165 were actually financed against the annual target of 600 households.

There were no small-scale industries in the block in 1951, nor are there any now. The only notable addition in the 30-year period are 21 units comprising of oil mills, rice mills and saw mills and these have some bearing on the poor condition of 131 units of various artisan trades which otherwise are suffering from financial constraints, paucity of raw materials and/or unequal competition. The level of skills has not been upgraded. In fact there is no institution in the area for upgrading technical skills. The TRYSEM programme has made, as yet, a nominal entry having trained 14 persons - by 1981. In addition, introduction of Khadi-work since the early 60s provides part-time employment to 150 female spinners and 15 weavers.

As for the focus of poverty alleviation programmes on the special groups, IRDP is the most vital, intended as it is for the very poor. Out of 4,972 households assisted

under the programme during the year 1980-81 in district Purnea as a whole of which Dhamdaha is a part, only 1,061 families or (21.4%), comprised of Scheduled Castes (8.9%), Scheduled Tribes (7.5%) and other Backward Classes (5%). Recall that per capita income of Scheduled Castes is the lowest (Rs 314) in the block and that of Scheduled Tribes only a little higher at Rs 426. If IRDP was truly to reach the poorest of the poor as stipulated under official guidelines, the share of these groups should have been at least three times higher.

The share of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in assistance provided for purchase of animals under IRDP, was even less. Out of 543 families provided animals, the households belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes totalled only 79, i.e. about one eighth of the total. In terms of upgrading the skills of the poor under TRYSEM programme the share of these groups was again very small - only 35 out of a total of 229. Their share was the lowest even among the artisans. Of the 1,481 assisted, the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes were only 101, i.e. less than 8 per cent. It is only in forestry that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes made up 75 per cent of the 200 families assisted.

The selection of families and choice and formulation of schemes is virtually done by the VLW and Mukhiya. The State Government has got an integrated development plan of four blocks prepared by the Association of Voluntary Agencies

for Rural Development, under the Kosi Kranti Project which has great relevance to IRDP, but it is not being used as the frame-work for implementation of IRDP.

Other measures of assistance available to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and some of the Backward Hindu Castes and Backward Muslims include pre-matric scholarships. In the year 1980-81, 18,202 persons were provided such scholarship in the district. The average expenditure per annum per head was Rs. 87. Of these 50 per cent were other Backward Castes Hindus and Muslims (OBCs) while 41.68 per cent and 8.43 per cent were Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectively. Post-matric scholarship was awarded to 1,496 persons; the average cost per annum per person being Rs. 250. Here again the largest single share at 38.17 per cent was that of OBCs, Scheduled Castes coming next with 34.96 per cent and Scheduled Tribes 8.89 per cent. Hostel facilities were extended to 499 persons of whom 85.17 per cent were Scheduled Castes (425) and 14.83 per cent Scheduled Tribes (74). The average cost per annum per head was Rs. 250. These forms of assistance seem to go directly to the groups intended.

The help given to 18 Scheduled Castes persons under cottage industry averaged Rs. 750 per head. The package also seems to include some flimsy constituents. Medical aid provided to 251 persons (including 35 Scheduled Castes and 16 Scheduled Tribes) averaged Rs. 16 per head. Agricultural subsidy was equally flimsy amounting to Rs. 170 per head for 208 persons assisted, including 78 Scheduled Castes and 30 Scheduled Tribes.

Looking at various aspects of Minimum Needs Programme in the Block, the population is still largely unlettered. Overall literacy rates improved from 12.7 per cent in 1961 to 22 per cent only in 1979. Female literacy in 1979 was a mere 9.8 per cent. Though the number of schools and middle-schools has increased between 1951 and 1982 from 58 to 86 and 5 to 25 respectively, the educational apparatus is not particularly favourable to girls education. There are no separate schools for girls but more than that the proportion of female teachers to total teachers is extremely low. There were only 9 female teachers in a total of 186 primary school teachers and 19 female teachers in a total 199 middle-school teachers. There are no female teachers at a higher level.

In terms of other minimum needs there has been a substantial increase in drinking water wells. In 1951 the population was mainly dependent upon open shallow kaccha wells (patkuiyan). The water was not potable. In 1982, Dhandaha proper is about to have a piped water supply. Besides 437 hand tubewells have been installed. Unfortunately, about one-fifth of these are stated to be defunct. There are no organised latrines or smokeless chulhas in the area.

On the health front, the most striking contribution has been in respect of eradication of malaria and small-pox which were a menace upto the 50s. Between 1951 and 1981 there has also been considerable expansion of permanent medical facilities. The Block has one PHC, 9 health sub-centres and 6 family welfare centres. By RMNP norms, however,



the Block is still short of 15 health sub-centres and 2 PHCs. It has an homeopathic and an Ayurvedic dispensary, and is covered by leprosy control. There is also a Malaria Inspector.

However, there is only one trained 'Dai' in the entire block. It is pertinent to mention that the proportion of females to males in the population has declined significantly from 936:1000 in 1951 to 896:1000 in 1979.

There has been a noticeable increase in the linking of the villages with pucca roads which were practically non-existent in 1951. By 1981, out of 63 inhabited villages, 21 or 1/3rd are connected with pucca roads and 33 or 1/2 by kaccha roads. There has also been substantial expansion in the postal services; number of branch Post Offices having gone up from 1 in 1951 to 25 in 1981. In 1951 there was no electricity in the block. By 1981, 22 of the 63 inhabited villages had been electrified. A bridge across the Chhoti Kosi has also provided a communication boon to the area.

While the bridge has been a boon in some ways, it has disrupted the traditional water borne transport connecting the block to places like Calcutta, Bhagalpur and Patna with which the area had good commerce. The major exports of the area around 1951 included milk products, jute, maize, tobacco, bamboos, fish and chillies. Its import included cloth, salt, kerosene, oil-seeds, spices, jute, maize and bamboos till 1956 were exported in boats using river navigation. What changes the new transportation system has induced in the trade pattern of the Block is a matter requiring study.

We may now turn to harness the attempts made in the Block to natural resources of land, water and forests for development.

The benefit of irrigation through the Kosi Canal has raised the irrigated area from an insignificant 14 acres in 1961 to a substantial - over 13,000 acres in 1978-79. The Kosi Canal project has also provided protective flood control embankment along the Kosi river creating favourable conditions for the construction of private permanent irrigation works (other than Canals) which now cover over 7,000 acres. Presently 27.2 per cent of the net cultivable area is irrigated. Minor extensions and improvements in the existing system and construction of field channels could increase the net command area under irrigation by about 58 per cent.

Canal irrigation and construction of protective flood control embankments along the Kosi have, however, been a mixed blessing. Drainage is one of the serious difficulties caused by them. The situation has worsened since the construction of Eastern Kosi Canal System which appears to have overlooked the requirements of natural drainage. Drainage and water logging problems in turn have increased the incidence of disease and mortality of the livestock.

In terms of agricultural development, the irrigation facility itself is not being utilised to full advantage. Cropping intensity, as noted earlier, is only 110 per cent despite a large extension machinery and T & V system.

The Kosi Command Area Development (KCAD) programme was launched during the Fifth Plan to organise and promote on-farm development in its command area with a view to optimising utilisation of irrigation potential and agricultural production. During the Sixth Plan, along with on-farm development, modernisation of irrigation systems, drainage, construction of field channels and land shaping were to be given special attention. Besides, ancillary activities, like development of marketing and processing facilities, animal husbandry, farm forestry, etc. were also to be organised for an integrated development of the area.

The KCAD Authority was headed by an officer of the Commissioner's rank drawn from one of the three services, IAS, Agriculture and Engineering. It had its own team at the top. However, for the execution of its programmes and schemes at the field level, KCAD depended on the block staff which was neither under its control nor equal to the task. The Case Study says "as regards achievements, KCAD was yet to undertake implementation of any specific programme/scheme in Dhamdaha when it was integrated with IRDP. So, for all practical purposes, CAD proved a non-starter in this block".

T & V was launched in Dhamdaha on October 2, 1978. The project seeks to transfer the technical know-how in agriculture to the farmers through a system of training and visit. For this purpose, it introduced a single line of administration in agriculture. This frees all agricultural extension staff from the control of the BDO and other coordinators/general administrators at higher levels.

All except two VLWs have to work exclusively for the project under the direct control of the Block Agricultural Extension Officer (BAEO). The line of control goes straight through the officers of Agriculture Department at various levels right upto the Director of Agriculture at the state level. BAEOs and VLWs are the key functionaries under the project. Each of the VLWs is in charge of 700-800 farmer households. Some progressive farmers in different groups are selected as contact farmers. The VLWs, during their visits, approach the group through these contact farmers and pass on the necessary technical know-how.

The Case Study reports that though "the project started with high hopes, the extension staff in the block looks frustrated. The farmers, on the other hand, seem to have no use for technical know-how unless they have matching credit and inputs to make use of it. But the T & V concerns itself with the transfer of know-how only and not with credit and inputs. It has so far not been able to create any visible impact nor is it likely to achieve its aim in its present form".

Input supply situation is no better. Seed supply arrangements are poor. There is a Government Seed Farm in the Block which is functioning indifferently. Fertiliser consumption has come down in the past four years. There has been no upgradation of the agricultural implements used by the small and marginal farmers in the area except that between 1951 and 1981 certain hand tools like phawras

and gaintas, produced by big industries such as Tatas have made inroads into the area as elsewhere, and largely replaced those produced by village blacksmiths.

However, as for the big farmers, between 1951 and 1981, the block has witnessed the arrival of 200 tractors, 200 trolleys, 125 pump driven cultivators. The Lead Bank in Dhamdaha (Central Bank) had lent Rs 7.43 lakhs for tractors, and Rs 1.78 lakhs for pump sets, i.e. a total of Rs 9.21 lakhs out of Rs 10.4 lakhs advanced for equipment/assets, i.e. excluding crop loans. Bamboo borings and hand tubewells got a total of Rs 24,400. A noteworthy feature is that tractor loans were made to 15 persons amounting to Rs 6.64 lakhs against which the balance outstanding in 1981 was Rs 7.43 lakhs which means neither principal nor interest have been recovered. Same is true of pump sets; loanees number 25, the sum loaned was Rs 1.13 lakhs while the outstanding is Rs 1.78 lakhs. Notice that even such a limited number of asset-based loanees (tractors 15 and pump sets 25) are beyond the pursuit of the banks' recovery organisation - for obvious reasons.

The recently enhanced rates of subsidy for minor irrigation (M.I) (to small farmers 50 per cent general and 65 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and to marginal farmers 80 per cent general and 100 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) have given filip to the M.I. programme on the one hand and bred corruption on the other. Most of the pumpsets purchased in the name of

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have gone to better off farmers at highly reduced rates. In order to check the malpractice the programme itself has been suspended by the government for the time being.

Among the most precious of natural resources - forests - which covered a significant proportion in the block area, have been completely decimated through official participation. Area under tree cover has been reduced to a tenth of the original.

Livestock is another important asset of particular relevance to the poorer families. One of the major problems of the area has been large scale destruction of animals, first in 1949 and then in 1961 due to severe winter which claimed the lives of about 40 per cent of animals in the Block. Now a permanent hazard to the animals is canal water which as stated earlier has introduced fatal diseases for the animals in the area. Little has been done so far to bring about qualitative changes in the productivity of the animals through upgrading of breeds and fodder development. Between 1972 and 1977 the cattle population of the Block remained static at about 34,000 which shows that if there were a scheme to assist the poor to acquire milch cattle it had not shown its hand. Although in the matter of goats and pigs there was an increase in numbers of about 2,500 and 400 respectively between 1972 and 1977, but little of it was supported by government agencies which have decided to restrict goat population.

Another impediment in the way of the poor maintaining their livestock asset, is poor quality of veterinary services available in the area, reflected in the poor shape of veterinary buildings, equipment and instruments. The mobile veterinary service is hardly mobile due to lack of transport facilities. Besides, one of the two posts of the veterinary doctors is vacant. However, some of the diseases such as FMD, RP and Anthrax, which were common in the area earlier are now stated to be under control through vaccination.

Turning to the delivery system, as in other CD blocks after stage I and stage II the extension agency in the Block continued without any development funds at its disposal and this brought down not only the tempo of development but also the morale and integrity of the Block functionaries. In Dhamdaha the field report says "exceptions apart, it has little initiative... and has generally become corrupt. The role of 'friend, philosopher and guide' envisaged for this set up during the heydays of CD is a thing of the past". The Case Study also argues that there is a connection between corruption and concentration of powers in few hands:

In Bihar, initially officers drawn from the State Agriculture Service were posted as Prakhand Vikas Padadhikaris (PVPs) as the emphasis was on agricultural development. Although the designation PVP means the same as BDO, these officers were nevertheless called PVP and not BDO. Soon after, Sub-Deputy Collectors were posted as BDOs and

one and the same officer was assigned the charge of the Circle Officer (CO) - the Revenue Officer at the block/Anchal level - as well as BDO and designated as CO-cum-BDO. The same officer was further burdened with civil supplies, and also law and order/magisterial duties in times of need. Revenue and supplies by their very nature had a corrupting influence and together with magisterial functions, the power went to their head instead of being used for development and service.

The combined post of CO-cum-BDO continued till the early 70s when the two posts were separated. Lately, the portfolio of civil supplies has also been transferred from the BDO to the CO. Besides, starting from the late 60s, the cadre of Sub-Deputy Collectors was merged with that of Deputy Collectors in phases, and the BDO's post has thus been upgraded. However, these officers drawn from the Bihar Administrative Service rarely have the right aptitude for development; they impatiently look forward to their posting as executive magistrates at the Sub-Divisional level after minimal initial qualifying service in the block. So the State is yet to have an independent development-oriented cadre of BDOs.

The special "beneficiary-oriented", large subsidy offering programmes have compounded the concentration of powers and patronage and expanded the arena and extent of corruption, enhancing the incidence of mis-delivery of benefits to the un-intended.



What is conspicuous by its absence is the role and participation of the people in any of the programmes either in planning or implementation or raising of local resources or a minimum contribution against each specific project. As the Case Study concludes:

Notwithstanding the lip-service to the importance of people's participation in development, people and their organisations, like Panchayati Raj bodies have all along been kept at a distance and by-passed and democratic decentralisation is not yet a reality.

As a corollary, all initiatives regarding various development programmes conceived and launched from time to time have been coming from the top, i.e. the national level, leaving hardly any room for freedom of thought and action at the lower levels, especially at the block and intermediate/village level, with the result that these much needed qualities at the field level gradually dried up. The programmes conceived at and directed from the macro level could not but be straight-jacketed and impersonal, often ignoring the local needs, situation and priorities.

National priorities have all along been fixed in such a way that rural development is always starved of necessary resources. Even under IRDP, with the current scale of allocations and the target of 600 households per annum, in a block like Dhamdaha with over 85 per cent of its households below the poverty line it will take over 40 years to assist all the households to move above the poverty line, provided there is no further pauperisation during the period, an unlikely prospect.

Last but not least, the extension staff at the block and village level appears to have all along been considered as omniscient and omnipotent in respect of the various programmes launched over the years. Naturally, this team has been omnipresent as the implementing agency at the field level, without the much needed measures to strengthen and rejuvenate it numerically, qualitatively and functionally to enable it to prove equal to the varied tasks assigned to it.

Thus, notwithstanding their changing faces, the various strategies adopted so far have been basically similar as they are anti-people and anti-development. So, strategies which did not work in the past, are not working at present, and can hardly be expected to work in the future.

The above review shows that the development efforts in the block have been able to achieve precious little in respect of the main task of poverty alleviation and employment generation and limiting inequalities or in respect of development of human capital by way of literacy, skill development, reduction in the use of child labour. Of the natural resources of land, water, forests, only significant achievement is in the use of water for irrigation but the extent of cropping intensity, low yields and drainage problems show poor and ill-planned utilisation of the resources of water and land. Destruction of forests is unmatched.

Livestock is poorly cared. Only on two fronts have successes been substantial - eradication of malaria and small-pox and Kosi Canal for flood control and irrigation. These programmes were, however, outside the purview of local CD organisation and district administration.

NanjangudMysore District, Karnataka

Nanjangud study's qualitative appreciation of the ground level scene corroborates Dhamdaha's essentially quantitative portrayal. Nanjungud is one of the eleven taluks of Mysore District. In 1981, it had a population of 2.71 lakhs. A little over 87 per cent of the population is rural inhabiting 168 villages. Per 1,000 males there were 955 females in the 1981 census against 954 in 1971. In the earlier census, Scheduled Castes constituted one fifth of the total population of the taluk. The population of Scheduled Tribes was 720 only.

Starting as a CD block, this taluk too has been covered by a variety of development programmes including SFDA, IRDP, NREP, TRYSEM, Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes, Milk Procurement Cooperatives, Rural Artisans Programme. A DRDS has been set up to replacing the earlier SFDA. The river waters of the Kabini which flows through the Taluk are being harnessed for irrigation under a major irrigation project. Since the tribal population in this taluk is small, field visits were made to the neighbouring taluk, Kollegal, where the tribal population is significant and their development is being attempted through a Tribal Development Sub Plan.

The Nanjungud case study bristles with policy implications of wider national import. Both macro and micro observations at the taluk level highlight the pitfalls of the planning process at work. Several

activities being pursued are of harm to the local population as well as to the plan objectives of poverty alleviation and judicious harnessing of natural resources. The study brings out:

- how little of the activities inside the block that are being supported by Government intervention are in the direct interests of the well-being of the local people.
- how some of the major lines of activity in land and water use and industrialisation inside the block, which are the resultant of the decisions taken and implemented upon by the highest levels of the State and Union Government (in the context of State and National objectives) are not only of little relevance to the needs and aspirations of the local people but are positively harmful to their interests and that of their posterity.
- how major investments projects that would be of substantial benefit to the people of the block and the adjoining blocks are being subjected to interminable delays in completion where as projects of no direct benefit to them have not only become operational with remarkable speed but new projects, of similar nature are being pursued with remarkable vigour, and

- how the vast segment of the rural population subsisting on rainfed foodcrops cultivation have had no substantial assistance from Government in any form towards improving their production and income, and a few fragmentary and disjointed measures such as IADP and Minimum Needs Programmes have been having an insignificant impact.

The extent to which the programmes in operation through Government intervention in the Nanjungud Taluk, mainly to serve the wider state and national level objectives, have been to the detriment of the sustained well being of the people of the region could be seen from the following.

The 1971 census recorded as area under forests in the taluk a surface of the order of 5,300 acres, entirely concentrated in the south - western part of the Hullahalli Hobli. This one time reputed forest area has been totally denuded of its forest cover and is now brought under single stand eucalyptus plantation, together with the adjoining areas. These plantations are being raised (by the Forest Plantation Corporation) to meet the contractual commitments of the Government with the industrial interests in the State and are of no direct benefit whatsoever to the region. On the contrary, the ecological stability has been undermined with its adverse impact on agriculture in the region. Moreover, if these plantations were kept alive for the purposes of ratoon harvesting the lands will have to be

abandoned as unfit for future use since the rootspread of eucalyptus is such that clearing the lands of the root system would be beyond economic feasibility.

In the interests of conservation of the land base of the region and its rational exploitation, not only further eucalyptus plantation has to be stopped but a phased programme of liberating the lands which have been already committed to eucalyptus and reforesting these lands on sound ecological lines.

According to 1971 census, a little over 80 per cent of the total geographic area of the taluk was classified as land available for cultivation and some 80 per cent of the cultivable land was already under cultivation. There is little additional land available for cultivation. Over the decade of the Seventies, the cultivable land rural population ratio has moved down from 0.97 acre per person in 1971 to 0.82 acre per person in 1981. With the natural increase in rural population, it is only rational that fullest use is made of land available for cultivation to promote agricultural development. But what is revealed from the document Taluk wise Plan Statistics Mysore District is that 1982 the Government policy is very different and should cause serious concern.

Only an area of 437 acres is shown as culturable waste in the taluk and a disproportionately large area of the order of 31,000 acres of cultivable land has been classified as "land put to non-agricultural use". The total

surface covered by rivers, canals, tank beds, roads, etc. constitute only a small fraction of this figure. Evidently a very large part of cultivable land in the taluk which should have been developed for agricultural purposes is being directed to the Government towards setting up industrial units (under special programmes for industrialisation of the "industrially backward District of Mysore").

A few relatively large sized industrial units (paper, synthetic yarn, waste silk processing, chemicals, etc) are already established in the proximity of Nanjungud town along the Kabini river banks; the Government is engaged in attracting more such units in the taluk. It is extremely important to reconsider this policy and save the potential crop lands from appropriation for industrial purposes. In this context, it is pertinent to reproduce the news item that appeared in the 2nd August/<sup>1983</sup> issue of Indian Express Bangalore edition: "ACQUISITION: Rural Development Minister Harinath Mishra said the Centre has advised State Governments to avoid acquisition of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes".

Livestock - The male cattle population has dropped by 4,088, i.e. by about 8 per cent between 1972 and 1977. Maintenance of cattle is becoming increasingly difficult due to paucity of feed resources which are shrinking due to contraction of grazing lands with their appropriation for arable purposes, settlement and industrial activity.



Greater part of the cattle today is of non-descript indigenous stock, generally dwarf sized when previously the area was liberally endowed with the famous Amrut Mahal stock. Insufficiency of feed has greatly affected the stamina of the surviving stock. There is no plan to conserve the grasslands to serve the needs of the cattle stock, some of the recent encalyptus plantations have also occupied pastures and culturable wastes in the taluk.

A major development push can be seen in the area in the field of sericulture. The case study brings out the original complexities and concerns this development poses in relation to the very objectives of the sericulture development programme namely higher employment, income and standard of living (consumption) for the rural poor.

Ragi and jowar are the staple food of the mass of the people in the taluk; and the situation in respect of area and yields of these crops is greatly disturbing. The quantities currently produced in the taluk of ragi and jowar fall far short of the requirements of the population and substantial quantities are being imported from outside. The exact figures, however, have to be assembled. The more disquieting feature is the progressive decline in the area under staple grains of ragi and jowar, in the taluk, a phenomenon which is the resultant of government neglect and indifference to rainfed food crops on the one side and positive government encouragement to farmers to divert their rainfed lands under foodcrops to mulberry under monoculture.

Over the decade 1971-81, area under rainfed mulberry cultivation has gone up from 12,080 acres in 1970-71 to 26,972 acres in the taluk; and this has brought about a fall in the area under ragi and jowar of an identical magnitude. It is the farmers who were cultivating ragi or jowar on their fields who have now committed their fields to single stand mulberry plantations.

Here is a situation where rising market demands for staple foodgrains are not only not being matched by increasing production and supplies, but the very factors accounting for rising demands are responsible for falling supplies. Demands for foodgrains are increasing because of expanding cash incomes through mulberry cultivation. And supplies of foodgrains are falling because of diversion of lands from foodcrops to mulberry. This is happening in a context where staple grains production is stagnating all over the country in the wake of an expanding population. And Government policies, instead of correcting these imbalances, are only aggravating them.

Rainfed farm lands in the taluk have been under food crops cultivation for generations and generations. The holdings are small in the range of 2 to 5 acres and farming in general, is undertaken by the owners themselves. These farmers constitute the largest number among the agricultural households in the taluk. Their activity has to be looked upon primarily as a means of raising adequate food for their family consumption, cash incomes being a function of surpluses the farmers could afford to market after meeting domestic needs.

However, the systems of crop planning and crop production embody the experience of centuries and display remarkable ingenuity in the deployment of soils for deriving the best possible combination of advantages in food production. Most meaningful methods of crop mix and crop rotation are practised in raising food crops in a composite manner which ensures adequate supplies of cereals (ragi and jowar), pulses (tur, cowpea, horsegram) and oilseeds (gingelly, groundnut and niger). And the crop residues (ragi straw, jowar stalk, pods oilseeds) offers substantial and nutritive feed to the cattle (supplementing the grazing resources). Green matter in excess of what is fed to the cattle is ploughed back to enrich soils fertility and dried bio-mass serves as fuel for the rural homes. After the extraction of oil from the oil seeds, the cake serves as rich protein feed to the cattle. Horse gram is the protein feed to the bullocks.

Farm management by these simple traditional farmers, characterised by a system of crop-livestock integration is an admirable demonstration of bio-technology for agriculture. Crop production is an activity undertaken as much for providing food for human consumption as for providing feed to the cattle. Thus crop production is the main source of support to the cattle but cattle in turn constitute the main support to the farmer in terms of draft power and organic manure to his field and milk to his home. The great merit is self sufficiency on the farm realised through a reciprocal relationship between crop production and livestock maintenance.

These rural people meet their basic food requirements out of their own production and offer whatever surpluses are left with to the nearby small towns through the marked channels of the village fair, itinerary trader or direct delivery to the town merchant. To the extent there is no dependence on outside supplies for meeting the food requirements on the part of these rural people and on the contrary, some modest surpluses are being offered to the outside, there is a corresponding easing of the market demands for food grains in the wider context, which is of distinct advantage to the rest of the economy - a feature that is of special interest to those charged with programming for meeting the food demands in the country.

What is of greater significance to note is the pattern of food consumption on the part of the peasant families that their own farms offer to them viz. composite supplies of cereals, pulses and edible oils and in addition milk, thus facilitating appropriately balance food intake that conforms to the standard nutritional requirements in terms of calories, proteins, minerals and vitamins.

Even in respect of rural households that do not possess their own farms holdings viz., landless labourers and artisans, their food needs are met, as much as the farm surpluses render it possible, from the supplies within the region itself. Payment in kind (in the form of food grains) for the services of farm labourers is a normal practice and preference for labour barter exchange between artisan wares and food grains is a common feature.

It is at this point that one has to pause and ponder over long term implications of cash incomes through mulberry raising tending to become more and more attractive in relation to cash earnings through the sale of food grains (surpluses available after meeting farmers' home consumption needs).

Notwithstanding the fact that productivity of sericulture in terms of the quantity of raw silk produced (and the corresponding earnings) on rainfed lands, are just about a quarter of what is obtained on irrigated plants, these farmers find mulberry raising attractive in preference to food crops cultivation. This should focus attention on the present state of the economics of food crops cultivation in these rainfed areas.

In the early stages higher food grains prices may have no adverse impact on those landless rural families that are in a position of enjoying comfortable incomes in sericulture. To the contrary, their levels of food grains consumption might be superior to what they were affording earlier as landless labourers from other sources of livelihood (seasonal agricultural labour, casual labour, etc) although the prices were lower. However, in respect of the landless families whose earnings in sericulture are marginal, the rise in food grain prices would more than off-set their improved income position. And for these landless families who do not have openings in sericulture, rise in food grain prices would only depress further their already low consumption standards.

As the food grain prices rise higher and higher (which has been the phenomena of recent years), not only immiserisation of the landless families intensify but the submarginal segment of the families engaged in sericulture would also keep expanding.

Coarse grains production in the country as a whole, which is essentially under rainfed conditions has been virtually stagnating all through the period since independence. Although this constitutes the largest segment of Indian Agriculture in terms of the geographic area under foodcrops cultivation as well as the number of farm holdings, in distinct contrast to wheat and rice. The surpluses that move out of the regions where these grains are grown constitutes only a small fraction of the total output. A very large part of production is absorbed by the peasant families and the non-agricultural households in the region itself. Also the movement of these grains is over relatively short distances to the nearby towns and cities where the limited stocks are readily absorbed by the lower segment of the urban population (largely the unorganised labour).

Consider now NREP and IRDP, the two main programme interventions for poverty alleviation. NREP is intended to provide off season employment and infrastructure support to IRDP assisted household level projects. In the Nanjungud taluk there is no evidence of integration between IRDP and NREP and by no means is the latter being utilised in support

of the former. Nor is NREP being applied to labour-intensive projects, it is being used mainly for construction of buildings such as panchayat halls, etc. which are material-intensive.

The Food-for-Work Programme, the predecessor of the NREP was focussed on soil and water conservation works in Karnataka State. In Mysore Division itself, these works generated 3.70 lakh mandays employment between 1972-73 to 1978-79. Besides, soil conservation works had a positive influence on crop yields of the small and marginal farmers. A study of impact on twenty farmers showed a noticeable change in the yield of crops due to soil conservation works. "Increase in yield ranged between 10 to 50 per cent over the previous yield. An increase of 20 to 25 per cent in the yield level was most common". This impact on yields was attributable to improvement in moisture level due directly to soil conservation works which partially compensated for delayed rains.

Despite this rich experience in works of this twin advantage - increased employment and agricultural yields - NREP has been diverted to the administratively convenient and quick ways of achieving expenditure targets through buildings such as panchayat halls, etc instead of the more arduous task of raising yields on marginal and small farmers which could durably relieve their owners of poverty.

For example, the type of IRDP assistance provided to the bulk of the marginal and small farmers on whom the programme is focussed, was also not focussed on raising the yields from their small holdings. It mainly consisted of distribution of carts and agricultural implements. The contribution of agricultural implements by themselves to productivity is marginal.

In the Nanjungud Block, of the 151 families selected for IRDP assistance in 1982-83, as many as 75 families i.e. about 60 per cent were provided agricultural implements and traditional carts. A pair of bullock each was intended for 45 families. 21 (10 small and 11 marginal farmers) out of 151 were given PP sprayers at an average cost of Rs 600 per unit - of doubtful annual income significance to those poor households.

Assistance provided to small and marginal farmers in the Mysore district as a whole for improving their agricultural productivity averaged Rs 800 per household in 1981-82 for the 1,002 households assisted. Though low in itself it, however, registered improvement over the average assistance of Rs 450 per household in the two previous years.

IRDP was also not focussed on the special groups. Though scheduled castes are 20 per cent of the population of the Block and make up the majority of the agricultural labour, their proportion in the total of 603 IRDP families



in 1982-83 was 213, that is, at least half of the number that would have been eligible had the "poorest among the poor" criteria been adhered to. This distortion is due to the continuous violation of the prescribed procedure for selection of households which requires association of the Gram Sabha. Gram Sevak has virtually replaced the Gram Sabha.

Under animal husbandry schemes of IRDP of special interest to the land less agricultural workers, the average investment as per the scheme for a viable cross-breed cow unit (comprises of 2 cows) is Rs 8,000, and a 2 buffaloe unit Rs 5,000, goat or sheep unit (comprises of 11 goats or sheep) Rs 2,900 and Rs 2,200 respectively, piggery units (3 pigs) and poultry (100 birds) Rs 4,000 and Rs 5,000 each respectively. The quality of the animals (cows and buffaloes) seen with some of the IRDP assisted families, during the field work seemed nowhere of the quality envisaged in the unit-wise cost of the scheme. The discrepancy may explain the widespread leakage alleged in the subsidy.

2,867 or about 60 per cent of the families were assisted under the animal husbandry programme with an average subsidy of Rs 700 or including the loan an average investment of Rs 2,100 per family which means one milch cattle of low or medium quality. This average investment obtains not only for 1981-82 but for all families numbering

11,356 assisted with milch cattle over a three year period 1979-80 to 1981-82 in the Mysore district. According to the official scheme a viable unit requires at least two cross-bred cows or 2 buffaloes. But most recipients were given only one cow or buffalo.

Although Nanjungud has a large population of traditional artisans 5,030 identified by IRDP (out of 16,480 in the whole district) those chosen for IRDP assistance during 1982-83 totalled 80 including 15 cycle shops, 10 petty shops, 7 tea shops and 10 tailoring machines for new Trysem trainees. Thus more than 50 per cent of those assisted under the category of artisans were other than traditional rural artisans. Besides, the 80 assisted did not include any carpenter, potter, weaver, basketmaker or leather worker - though these are supposed to be on high priority.

Operating in this desultory fashion and in isolation from NREP, the poverty alleviation programmes are not achieving their objective of "raising the poorest among the poor above poverty line". In 1980-81 the Mysore district as a whole (eleven taluks) assisted a total of 10,362 families under the IRDP. In 1981-82, 4,729 families had been aided. The assistance averaged less than Rs 900 per household which including another Rs 1,800 by way of loan was on the face of it too low a sum to bail a household out of the poverty line fence. Field visits confirmed that with rare exceptions the activities undertaken mainly at the

inducement of the gram-sewaks are ridden with problems including infructuous size of assistance, lack of viability, management and marketing.

Obviously, nothing had been learnt from the working of the SFDA - the predecessor of IRDP. Earlier between 1970-71 and 1978-79, under SFDA a total of 41,109 persons had been assisted in Mysore district. The aid provided per assisted family averaged Rs 360 which was practically infructuous from the view point of helping families to cross the poverty barrier. Partly, of course, the number of those assisted got bloated and the average assistance per family depressed since as many as one third of the families assisted were under "Cooperation" with an average assistance of less than Rs 45 per family. The membership of the assisted cooperatives is assumed to be the number of families helped though the gap between the registered and active membership of the cooperatives is wide and well known.

All these show that it is a number game. The thrust of the implementors is on showing as large a number of "beneficiaries" as possible with little regard to the objective of raising the assisted households above poverty line or at least to give them means to achieve progressively higher income. And, this is what the field visit found that there is a lot of distribution but little development.

The field study found that not only the IRDP but also the component plan for Scheduled Castes and TRYSEM were all leading the poor on uncertain ground - a case of the blind leading the blind:

In village Imnavu we saw at work the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and National Rural Employment Programme (NREP). The village has about 80 households of whom 20 are harijan households. We met some of the households helped by IRDP to acquire cross-bred cows. Their frame and the few cloths on it showed they were clearly poor.

The milk selling was no problem because there is a supporting service organisation. The village has an active milk-cooperative union which collects and supplies milk to Mysore city. Fodder and feed are, however, a problem. They are quite costly. As the recipients are landless they have to purchase all the fodder and feed they need (unlike the bio-gas plant owner). Instalments on loan for cattle are deducted by the milk union from weekly payments and remitted to the Bank. The yield per cow is only 8 litres and this for a cross-bred. After paying for the cattle feed and loan instalment, they are left with a small income in their hands. Availability and prices of fodder have a direct impact on their earnings.

In village Biligali we saw more of the IRD Programme. In several states including Karnataka a "cluster" approach is being followed. The rationale is that instead of picking out 5 poorest families in every village which "scatters" the programme recipients and makes it difficult to organise supporting services for them, it is better to help a larger number (than 5, as under the Antyodaya approach) in a "cluster" where supporting services can be more easily organised.

Here at Biligali, we met families who were landless and looked decidedly poor as intended by the programme. They have been given buffaloes. But there is no milk cooperative union in and around the village. They have neither institutional supply of fodder/feed nor marketing of milk. They feed the buffaloes the minimum, and the milk sale too fetches the minimum. Feed costs Rs 6 per day; milk earns Rs 6 per day. They are left with nothing or little to sustain them. The "cluster" eluded us.

It was a large village with over 100 households. Departing from the programme, we looked for village artisans. There is no blacksmith or carpenter - the two basic village artisans, in Biligali. There is a flourishing rope making activity by women, with local grass. The ropes have a local market. These workers have not been specifically aided under any programme.

As we were about to leave, there was loud acclaim because a blacksmith had just appeared from the neighbouring village where they have a "cluster" of blacksmiths whose main work is to make carts, agricultural implements and repair of farm tools. He said, they have not received any help. He had tragically lost one eye having been hit by a cinder while blowing. Unlike the factories there is no medical, let alone risk cover against occupational hazards.

An Alaganchi village, a harijan, marginal farmer with 2 acres of land has been provided a tube well under the "Special Component Plant" for Scheduled Castes. This electrically operated pump costs Rs 35,000.

Subsidy is 80%. Loan thus to be repaid is Rs 7,500 or Rs 3,750 per acre. The cultivator can at once see that his labour is not enough now for the 2 irrigated acre. He wants bullocks. He would also need working capital. To repay for the well, the bullocks and to meet fixed electricity charges, and interest on working capital he would need to work a minimum of 3 crops a year. He is thinking of intensive ragi, some mulberry.

On enquiry, we were told that no 'project report' had been prepared for such a large investment (Rs 35,000 on the well); and that it is not possible to give the same person more 'benefits' now from other schemes to acquire bullocks or working capital. Additionally, we learnt that in the block about 45 such other wells are being installed out of a total of 100 planned and sanctioned.

The well is capable of irrigation 6 acres; but 2 acres owned by this marginal farmer are being watered. When asked, what about selling water to your neighbours, he answered, "it is for the government to decide."

At Kawlande village, we saw a poultry farm set up by a young man trained under TRYSEM. It has 400 lovely birds; with ample wire-meshed accommodation. But egg production has suddenly fallen in the past two weeks - below 60 eggs per day - for no decipherably disease. Was the stock defective, Veterinary doctor has not seen yet. The Asstt. Commissioner promised to rush him. At 60 eggs sale per day he cannot feed 400 birds let alone himself or repay the loan.

To get a closer look at tribal development the neighbouring block of Kollegal with a larger tribal population was visited. The tribal population of Karnataka's southern most Taluk Kollegal - once part of Tamilnadu - provides tragic testimony to Dr.C.Gopalan's staggering statistical profile and projection of India's malnutrition. The reality is even more shocking. In a day's trip we saw scores of children with a soul but scarcely a body. Their legs are like bamboo sticks.

Their emaciated bodies validate Professor Amartya Sen's advocacy of food entitlement. Dr. K.N. Raj and his colleagues at Trivandrum have put their finger on the set of conditions necessary to ensure availability, if not entitlement, of foodgrains to the poorer sections of the population where neither market mechanism nor the public distribution system prove reliable. Their study of poverty has concluded that local production of essential foodgrains offers a more dependable guarantee of their availability to the poor. The crop planning in Kollegal, to the extent it exists, is not informed by any such principle.

In its own words, the activities of the agricultural department under the tribal sub plan have been limited. "The department has implemented the following programmes namely - supply of bullocks, supply of bullock carts, supply of inputs and manures, supply of implements, P.P. Chemicals". There is no agricultural development plan

for the area or for these families providing for increase of local output of ragi, pulses, oilseeds and other items of crucial local consumption.

In contrast, a brief visit to Myrada, a voluntary organisation in Kollegal, that has helped settled a large number of Tibetans in the Taluk, showed its achievements as

- prepared a plan and doubled the output of ragi in 3000 out of 4000 acres in their project area through initial demonstration, free supply of better quality seeds and guarantee against loss of crop due to adoption of new variety of seeds;
- provided pre-crop finance including inputs, storage and marketing;
- provided implements, technical assistance and managerial and organisational help in enrolling marginal and small farmers as members in the local cooperative;
- helped in diversification of crops (pulses, oilseeds, vegetables) in accordance with needs of local consumption and for raising some cash income too.

Of the 24 gram sevaks in position, 5 are attached to the BDO and 19 to the Agriculture department of whom 18 are working on the training and visit (TSV) pattern. They broadcast advice from house to house without being in a position to readily offer the wherewithal needed by



the marginal and small farmers to put the advice to practice. Unlike Myrada they have no facilities for either agricultural planning (what crops to grow, what yields to aim for), or for backing up the plan with finance, infrastructure and inputs.

The scope for expansion of horticulture is enormous given the malnutrition and emaciated bodies of the tribal population we can face to face in a number of villages. But even taken together what the Forest and Horticulture departments have achieved in the past two decades is no more than a token.

Besides, no fruit trees - even hardy ones like numbu, drumstick, guava, amla, jack fruit, papayya which could contribute to nutrition - are to be seen either around the rural houses and housesites, wells, schools, ICDS centres or ashram schools. These programmes are run by different departments hence Horticulture and Forest departments do not have any role or responsibility to ensure that all such institutions are surrounded with fruit plants for local consumption.

None of the animal distributing departments have developed a calf or sheep rearing centre in the area itself. Each programme is chasing the limited number of milch and other animals, raising their prices and thus wiping out the effect of subsidy (meant to help the landless), not to mention the corruption it breeds.

Systematic cultivation and supply of fodder and feed is another vital element for better care of the animals, higher yields and enlarged incomes of the households. Fodder and feed are not on the agenda of any of these departments.

National Rural Employment Programme works in Kollegal as in Nanjungud are again mainly institutional buildings (schools, VP halls etc) and some good link roads.

But the most qualifying programme, the vast state-wide desilting of 18th/19th century tanks (a unique scientific irrigation system developed in the erstwhile Mysore state) remains outside the purview of NREP despite a convincing analysis of the economics and benefits of desilting of old tanks prepared by the State Planning department as early as 1977-78:

<u>Benefits</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1989</u>
1. Agricultural income	Rs.Cr.	4.17	41.72
2. Employment	million mandays		
a) onsite in desilting (seasonal & cumulative)		12.70	127.00
b) Farm (continuing)		0.97	9.72
c) Fisheries (Seasonal)		0.62	6.17
d) Fisheries (continuing)		0.18	1.85

In eleven months, between April 1982 and February 1983, the Asstt Eng., Karnataka Electricity Board (KEB) at Kollegal Taluk had received 119 applications for energising irrigation pump (IP) sets. Of these only 13 had been serviced. Nearly half (54) were pending 'preparation of estimates' by O&M units. About 32 were under correspondence with applicants; for not fulfilling the formalities of the Board (11), for additional load (15) and for producing Water Right Certificates (6). The delays were not due to lack of availability of power or materials or staff but due mainly to procedural requirements.

Delay in energisation of pumpsets is killing for the small borrowers. Interest and repayment burden starts on the farmer not from the date when the IP set is energised, but from the date the loan is drawn for boring and purchase of the pump set. Both, the loaning policy and electricity supply procedures are autocratic and appear to be designed to increase rather than reduce the poverty and destitution of the marginal and small farmers. No wonder only larger farmers venture in to irrigation.

The Asstt. Engineer, PWD, showed us an irrigation project under construction financed from tribal sub plan at an estimated cost of about Rs 25 lakhs. When asked whether and what proportion of the irrigation benefit will go to the tribal cultivators, "water channels will follow the contours", he said. Obviously no prior plan of likely beneficiaries of the irrigation scheme, and among them the

proportion of tribals, was prepared though the funding is entirely from funds earmarked for tribal development. Neither was there a consultation with the local tribal population before the project was initiated in their name.

We found at site, what the note prepared by the BDO said:

"Andipalya. Lokkanhalli village Panchayat: The colony is electrified by K&B Board but the houses of Scheduled Tribes have not been provided with lights since there are no such schemes under tribal sub-plan"

The statement applies not only to Lokkanhalli V.P., but all tribal villages. Whether electrification of houses of STs is included in the tribal sub-plan or not, rural electrification is included in the national Minimum Needs Programme.

The forests have been the traditional home of the tribals and a source of their livelihood. Under the directive to preserve forests, the rights of the tribals to forest land and produce were forfeited. They are now allowed to work on forest land as 'tenants at will' without being given any patta thus government, the biggest landlord has now adopted the practice it has abolished among the similar landlords. In effect, the forest officers and guards have come to exercise unchecked arbitrary authority not only over the tribals but also the forests. At the taluka level, there is no public forum to which the Forest department is accountable.

The area by size shown as forest lands in taluk statistics really means area under the control of Forest department but not necessarily an area with tree cover. In the drive to MM Hills we saw more devastation than any vigorous afforestation endeavour could recapture over decades.

Out of 9 open wells sanctioned under the tribal sub-plan, we were told, only 1 well at Hosapoda has been completed leaving the other works at different stages. Out of the total allotment of about Rs 70,000 nearly Rs 46,000 have already been spent but the other 8 wells are incomplete because of the contractor having violated some conditions. In a remote tribal village we saw one bore well constructed by the Public Health Engineering Department which had not been commissioned. Later the enquiries made with the PHE staff at the taluk headquarters revealed that though the pump had been installed, the pipes had yet to be fitted. This had been delayed due to non-arrival of supplies. In this village practically every man and woman referred to water famine and that at times they could not get even a cup of water per person. There was also an old open well in the village which they pointed out could give water if it can be dug some more. When the taluk officials promised to quickly engage a contractor to get the job done, a tribal woman stepped forward and said "why don't you give us the contract? We are sitting idle without work. When the contractor will come, he will only hire us for doing the job." She, a strikingly forceful personality, then proceeded to make the

men assure the BDO that if the contract was given to them, they were willing to provide all the labour necessary for deepening the well.

It has some moral for those who engaged the contractor for the construction of 9 open wells, of which only one has been completed though 75% of the budget has been spent.

House sites have been allotted to a large number of tribal households, but only a small proportion have so far received housing assistance which consists of doors, windows and roofing materials. These are given after the household has raised the walls. None of the materials provided by government are locally made. Supplies are made by contractors from Mysore against accepted tenders. Consequently, there is delay in arrival of materials at site. But what is worse is the loss of opportunities of utilisation of local labour and material resources. It amounts to providing a roof to a rural household in the village but providing work opportunities to him in the town.

The Tehsildar is incharge at the Taluka level for civil supplies. His functions in this field include procurement of levy rice and levy paddy from growers and traders, and to arrange for supplies of essential commodities in the area through a net work of fair price shops, cooperatives etc. There is no advisory committee attached to the Tehsildar to assist him in his civil supplies functions. Nor is the selection of private shopkeepers, which are licenced as fair price shops, done in consultation with the local village

community. There is no advisory committee at the fair price shop level either. The community has also no means of knowing what commodities, in what quantities and with what criteria of distribution, are assigned to the fair price shops in the area from time to time.

The brightest moment of the field visit was a brief stopover on the return journey, to see an Ashram school at Thalabeta. It is a government run residential school with 40 tribal children in the 6-7 age group. It is housed in a large building, on the main road, which was once a halting place for the Mysore Maharaja. The children here looked healthy and bore no resemblance to their brothers and sisters in the remote villages we visited. Secret - a ball of ragi with a spoon of sambhar, twice a day. They are proof of the transportation Amartya Sen expects from food entitlement in the lives of Gopalan's withering away children. We met some of the parents who had come to visit their children and who in contrast wore a lean and hungry look.

Government provides Rs 40 per month per child. Of this Rs 10 goes to meet the cost of freight and cleaning of grains and feeding of the cooks and teachers. The balance of Rs 30 permit only two meals a day for the children at 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. with nothing in between. There are no vegetables, no buttermilk or fruit. But even these measly meals demonstrate what they can do to encounter malnutrition.

The allowance of Rs 40 per child was fixed in the mid-sixties and has not been revised since. These tender ones are unaware of our magnanimous institutions called "dearness allowance" or "escalation clause". Programme of this kind deserves to be multiplied and funded reasonably. One way to reduce budgetary pressures and costs could be to encourage local production of fruit, vegetables, pulses, buttermilk etc. Though there is considerable land attached to the ashram school, it is not being used to grow any fruit trees or vegetables.

Concludes the case Study " In a context as the one described above, any attempt at a given point of time to formulate a block development plan mechanistically conforming to the models and guidelines dictated from Yojana Bhavan would be an exercise in futility. Effort has to be directed at first in stemming the processes that are already at work in the utilisation of the basic resources of the region (land, water and vegetation) for purposes far removed from the interests and well being of the local people and liberating the resources base already committed for these purposes, establishing the pattern of resources utilisation that is most conducive to the welfare of the people in the region, re-ordering the priorities in this optique, and only the drawing up a block development plan in the framework of district, State & National planning".



KherwaraDistrict Udaipur, Rajasthan

Kherwara's population of 1.61 lakhs inhabiting 212 villages is all rural. Over 70 per cent of the population is tribal - mainly the Bhils; the Scheduled Castes are fewer - about 3.5 per cent.

Topographically the area being hilly and climatically semi-arid, there is very little scope for extensive (though considerable for intensive) agriculture. Forest cover had been the primary source of the area in terms of food, fodder and fuel. With the widespread deforestation both due to the leasing system of forests to contractors and illegal felling after commercialization of timber needs, not only has the ecological system been threatened due to soil erosion and running off top soil water but the very means of livelihood of the people, primarily the tribals have been threatened, reducing them to migratory seasonal wage labour to Gujarat.

Special problems of the area are (1) deforestation, soil erosion; (2) non-availability and fragmentation of cultivable land; (3) absence of surface water storage and ground water availability; (4) drought proneness and (5) poor communication and transport facilities.

The Block has been visited by most development programmes beginning with CD and including DPAP, IRD, NREP, TRYSEM, MNP etc. Rajasthan is also regarded as a pioneer

in democratic decentralisation - panchayatiraj. What has been the impact of these measures on the major problems of the Block and its population?

It is officially recognised that "Udaipur district is undulating. It is mostly hilly interspaced by valleys. Due to steep slopy land, soil erosion by water has become immense. For regaining the lost fertility of the soil, increasing its productivity, emphasis shall have to be given on land levelling, reclamation of alkaline soils, stone terracing of slopy land etc." But the speed and pattern of development of development resources - be it DPAP or IRDP - is following its own wilful slopes.

In this context, the Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP) is one of the most vital for the area. But the manner in which it is being implemented shows that it can hardly combat as powerful an adversary as drought.

DPAP was started in Kherwara in 1975. The work is restricted to soil conservation. There are four offices in the block. A catchment area is identified. Usually the area covered is about 150 hectares, and the number of farmers benefitted is between 10 and 100. The cost of each scheme is about a lakh to three lakh of rupees. This scheme works independently of the minor irrigation projects. After the survey is done, a technical design along with the cost estimate is sent to the Additional Director, Jodhpur for technical sanction. The financial sanction is obtained from the Department. This takes anywhere between one to two years.

The implications of delay are poignantly brought out by the case study: Therefore "last year (1981-82) the Kherwara unit of DPAP spent Rs 5,000. The administrative expenditure was of the order of Rs 1.5 lakhs. From January to end of March 1981, a design plan was prepared. From April to September, the plan was sitting in Jodhpur waiting for approval. The rest of the year was spent in report writing and detailed cost estimate".

The gravity of the loss of action lies in the fact that the function of the DPAP includes such vital activities as afforestation, pasture development, anicut and check dams, soil conservation and dry farm demonstration. It is not surprising, therefore, that the impact of DPAP has been negligible. The total area which has benefitted from the scheme over the past six years has been approximately 700 hectares and the number of persons benefitted about 350. The programme organisation is immune to pressure from below as the likely beneficiaries of the DPAP programme are not aware of the existence of such a programme. It is only where a scheme is undertaken that the project staff mobilises the beneficiaries to provide labour at the prevalent rates.

The reasons for DPAP's poor performance, may be summarised: (1) inordinate paper work and delays in channels of communication; (2) staff attitude of apathy towards tribals; (3) lack of demand from the people - due to ignorance about DPAP about benefits of soil conservation; and (4) lack of governmental action against the department for non-functioning.

As for efforts to develop irrigation facilities, net area irrigated increased in two decades from 2,746 acres in 1961 to 4,848 acres in 1981. A look at the changes in the land utilisation pattern shows however that as against 1,200 acres double cropped in 1961, 17,000 acres had come under double cropping by 1981. By itself it represents an impressive 15 fold increase but localised as a good part of it is done to 11 government tanks.

What is the record of IRDP which is focussed on the marginal and small farmers? The fundamental assistance required by the small and marginal farmers to raise their yields in this block is in respect of soil conservation and land development.

In 1978-79, out of the 2,650 households assisted in the district under IRDP, land development assistance was provided to only 20 households that is less than one per cent. On the contrary, bullocks and bullock pairs with carts and milch cattle were extended to 1,278 households assisted. In 1979-80, of the 6,830 households assisted only 62 that is less than one per cent were provided land development assistance. In 1980-81 only 26 out of 9,192 households assisted were extended soil conservation assistance - thus the proportion of such households fell further to about a quarter per cent.

In 1981-82 and 1982-83 for the first time the proportion of households given such help rose but only to the extent of 5%. In numbers it was 371 out of 7,344

households assisted. The 1982-83, IRDP Action Plan claimed that it was based on an analysis of previous experience. But the details showed that land development and soil conservation measures were to be extended in the fields of only 587 cultivators that is less than 5% of the total assisted households. In financial terms, of the total IRDP subsidy of Rs 169 lakhs earmarked for different types of schemes in 1982-83, the share of soil conservation and land development works was only Rs 2.6 lakhs or a mere 1.6% of the total subsidy.

In the Kherwara Block the share of land development works was 0.6 lakh or a little over 6%. This assistance was extended to 138 families which works out to an average of Rs 425 per household. This is also the average for the district as a whole for these works. Considering the nature of the terrain and the undulating topography, this sum on the face of it appeared too small to sustain any worthwhile land development and soil conservation measures. The field visit presented a mixed bag. Some of the fields at least at the foot of the hillocks served by soil conservation measures were green and had visibly made a good impact. Such instances were few. In the plains the small bundings looked indifferently made, had already given way without yielding much benefit. Much of the damage to the buildings was attributed to cattle. There was no involvement of the panchayat.

The fact is that agricultural development component of IRDP in Udaipur is exhausting itself on supply of bullocks and bullock carts. Of the 2,178 households to be helped in

the district in 1982-83, under "agriculture", as many as 1,661 i.e. 80% were confined to supply of bullock pairs and another 15% to bullock carts. Out of a total subsidy of Rs 29.12 lakhs for agricultural development under IRDP, Rs 26.20 lakhs or nearly 90% was only for bullocks and bullock carts. Apart from their secondary place in increasing productivity, these are precisely the kind of items which are prone to widespread malpractices and complaints that the same pair of bullocks and the same carts get shown against more than one recipient.

Apart from land development and soil conservation measures, agricultural practices relevant for dry farming assume special significance in a water shortage area such as Kherwara.

Dry farming practices are propagated by Demonstrations undertaken by the T & V extension staff as well as DPAP. DPAP also undertakes demonstrations suited to the drought prone, water deficient areas. Broadly speaking, the agricultural technology related to planting, and fertiliser use is appropriate to the local conditions. But "there is acute crisis of confidence amongst the tribals. The tribals are reluctant to adopt any of the government schemes. This is also true of dry farming though there is hundred per cent subsidy. There are two reasons for this. First, they do not have any confidence in the new technology. For example, according to the agriculture experts the grain must be sown two feet apart, whereas the tribal is traditionally used to

sowing six inches apart. He cannot be convinced that planting of lesser number of seeds can lead to higher production. Second, there is a great fear among the tribals that they will be asked to repay money (locally called 'vasuli'). There has been innumerable cases where the tribals have been forced to 'repay' money they had never borrowed in the first place. The corrupt officials get the tribals thumb print on some document and bind him over for "payment".

The block is covered by T & V system. But it is a purely extension set up. It has no integration with input supplies. The utility and credibility of its teaching and training can be maintained only if the credit and inputs are forthcoming. The extension network for providing fertiliser, seed etc has not penetrated deep enough into the villages and sometimes inputs are not available. Besides, as pointed out by another field study team which visited Udaipur " the T & V system appears to place the main emphasis on instructions and demonstrations through contact. farmers who, in turn, are expected to influence other farmers within their area of influence. We were informed that every fifteen days the village extension workers are required to go to the district headquarters to take back to contact farmers hints for work to be done in the succeeding period. Agricultural extension calls for more comprehensive approaches to local communities, to land, water and other aspects of agriculture, and it is not certain if these are receiving adequate attention. Further, in the tribal areas, the T & V system seems to have little to impart, since forestry comes first

and agriculture supplements work in the forest. The time has come to take a closer look at T & V experience with a view to improving its capacity as an extension service."

What is the record on the development of human capital? Adult education is a part of the minimum needs programme. And given a literacy rate of 14.1 per cent, the area needs it badly. In 1978, the new adult education programme launched in the block started with training of hundred literacy teachers. To make the training participatory, the planning for training was done with the participants. Centres were located in the instructors' houses or in open space or in temples. Sample survey of 35 centres revealed that the average attendance was 16 and out of 27 the mean number of adults enrolled the mean number of drop outs was 6. Though the learners belong to the age group of 15 to 25 but more of them were nearer to 15 years or lower. There was no learner about the age of 35.

Interestingly, over 90 per cent of the learners were from Scheduled Tribes, most of them were small land holders. The reason stated for attending the centres was to be able to read and write and what is more significant 'to learn about agriculture'. This shows that if programmes like IRDP were truly to concentrate on activities which would really help in development of agriculture in the area they would be moving in the direction in which tribal households in this block are vitally interested.



The number of literates among women is very small (around 4 per cent) and is likely to continue to be so as fewer girls are going through elementary education. Girls are required for domestic work and school time invariably clashes with their domestic routine. "In the tribal areas in Udaipur, there is little work being done on behalf of women or involving their participation and development. The Mahila Mandal, a unit of the Seva Mandir in Udaipur, is running educational institutions, but few girls from tribal areas are able to benefit from them. Women are full partners in economic activities in tribal areas, but there is not much for them in the current programme. If the IRDP were conceived more broadly than it has been in the Sixth Plan, work for the welfare and development of women and girls would be given a basic role in it."

In terms of provision of safe drinking water the situation is bad. There is an acute shortage of drinking water. The number of drinking water wells is 168 but most of them are concentrated in 15 large villages out of 212. Consequently, stagnant water is used for drinking, cooking, bathing and washing. When the elected Block Samiti Parmukh was asked what was being done to give priority to drinking water he pointed out that though the Block has an annual budget of about Rs 45 lakhs per annum, the Block Samiti does not have the powers of planning or giving priority in respect of even one paisa. The schemes were predetermined at the State or district level and implemented by the BDO.

The block panch and Sarpanchs of several Gram Panchayats interviewed all wanted to give the highest priority to wells but were helpless.

The health services apparatus includes 8 health sub-centres, 2 primary health centres (one ordinary and one upgraded), and 4 Family Planning Centres. The nearest hospital is 65 Kms away in Udaipur. The number of trained Dais is 80. There were 20 village health workers including 12 females. There is an Ayurvedic and a Homeopathy dispensary each. However, the Budget of the primary health centre even the upgraded one is limited at Rs 42,000 per annum. The ordinary one has a budget of Rs 25,000 per annum, and the patients have to pay for costlier medicines on their own. In the interior villages where the bulk of the poor households are there are no medical facilities or medicines. Given these feeble measures, according to the PHC staff, "there has itself, been no improvement in the occurrence of any of the main diseases except the incidence of guinea-worm which has come down."

In respect of the basic need of foodgrains, Kherwara is a deficit block. Against an estimated demand of 24,000 tonnes, the supply is about 21,160 tonnes, of which 20,000 tonnes of cereals are produced locally and 1,360 tonnes are available through the Public Distribution System (PDS). The brunt of the deficit is borne by the poorer households. Of the 2,810 land holders, 1,200 own less than one acre. The small and marginal farmers together number 20,000 owning less

than 5 acres which given the dry farming conditions in the block means that the yields are insufficient to sustain the family the year around. While the larger land holders are able to market their surplus, the marginal farmers do not produce enough for themselves and often do not have the purchasing power to take advantage of PDS.

Apart from the purchasing power one serious problem is that the distribution is done once in a month, which amounts to barring the entry of the poor. The items supplied by the 49 ration shops in the block are limited to wheat, sugar and rice. Fuel and cloth are not supplied by them. The 22 consumer stores however distribute wheat, cloth and consumer items like soap, dal, masalas and bidis. But they also do not supply fuel pushing the population - particularly the poorer households - towards the forests. Even the supplies of the limited range of items is often irregular and since the sale is on cash basis the poor are forced to turn to money lenders.

The field visit found a refreshing contrast in the rural development work being done in Kherwara under the auspices of Seva Mandir where there is genuine integration between land development, irrigation, extension, adult education and between community awakening, involvement and support by technical personnel. A number of elected representatives of the panchayat bodies from village panchayat upwards have emerged on the strength of the adult education work of Seva Mandir which combines development of human capital with that of natural resources of land and water.

Isagarh BlockGuna District, Madhya Pradesh

Isagarh has had a chequered past, unlike many block headquarters, villages/towns of the State. It has been an important village on the main trade route to the famous saree weaving town of Chanderi. It has been run over by the victorious moghul armies on the way from Chanderi Lalitpur etc. Strategically so important that the Gwalior Maharaja sent an army under the Englishman John Baptiste Filose to annexe the province in the last century and incidentally also to rechristen it Isagarh. Only few remains of that great past can be seen now, in the form of the dilapidated moti mahal and sagar mahal palaces, the multitude of large lakes which served in the past as a series of moats to defend the palaces from the enemies, the remains of a couple of old temples, now situated in the forest area and of course memories, both documented and otherwise, for now Isagarh belongs to the new generation, majority of whom can trace their lineage backwards to only 50 years or so and many who have come to Isagarh to work in the many public and private institutions that have sprung up just before or after Independence.

In less than 50 years much land and building development has taken place. The face of Isagarh has been changed. Whole forests have been wiped out, new institutions have been created and natural fauna, flora have been trampled to nothingness by the march of "development". Present day Isagarh gives hardly any inkling of the conditions 50 years ago.

"Development" (in the contemporary sense of the word) in the Isagarh block perhaps had its beginnings in the novel concept of leasing virgin forest land to interested

entrepreneurs for a period of 2 or 3 years within which time the land had to be turned agriculturally productive under the Chakook Tarashi Act of 1922 promulgated by the then Maharaja of Gwalior. Few contenders could complete the tall order of taming 100 bighas of forest and farm the land in 2 years time and hence lost the deal. Towards 1930 a party of farmers from Sind came over and took 35 "Chaks" and razed the forest in Isagarh block to the ground. Soon they formed a registered society which continues to hold this and much more land now. Wells were dug, pumpsets arrived, modern agriculture raised earnings from the land several folds and there is generally much in this, but the forests vanished for ever, probably never to return.

Isagarh's population of 96,802 is all rural. Between 1961 and 1971 there was only one village out of 189 villages, which had a population of 3,000 and above. Scheduled Castes comprised 19.6 per cent and Scheduled Tribes (mainly seharis) 9.6 per cent of the population in 1981.

In 1981 the male:female ratio for Isagarh was 1000:725, the national average being 1000:930. Only two decades ago in 1961, the proportion of males to females was evenly matched 51:49. Between 1971 and 1981 the male population increased by 30.16 per cent while the female population increased by only 6.82 per cent. The corresponding increase in the decade 1961-71 was 31.62 per cent and 20.9 per cent respectively for males and females.

The community development block was formed in April 1958. The block has gone through several stages of growth and development since its inception and is now at the stage of extension.

On the human development front, the progress in two of the basic needs education and health is disquieting. Guna district happens to be quite badly off as far as literacy goes. By 1981 census 32.42 per cent males and 9.31 per cent females are literated giving a district average of 21.58 per cent. The urban average is about three times as much as the rural average (49.67 per cent and 16.94 per cent). The female literacy rate is rather low, 20 per cent of male literacy (4.96 per cent) in rural areas and 50 per cent of male literacy (35.58 per cent) in urban areas. The 1971 figures for Ashoknagar tehsil are quite similar to those for the district 29.4 per cent males and 8.1 per cent females are literate giving an average of 19.4 per cent. The rural urban bias is about the same as for the district. The literacy rates (1971) for the population, 28.3 per cent for males and 6.6 per cent for females. The corresponding figures for 1961 for the same population are 13.6 per cent (total) 23.1 per cent (males) and 3.75 per cent (females). Quite oddly the literacy rate for 1981 is only 15 per cent.

This much literacy has been made possible through schools in all but 53 villages (1981, source B.D.O). In 1961, 138 villages did not have schools and 114 villages were without schools in 1971. The number of primary schools has risen from 50 in 1961 to 70 in 1971 and to 121 in 1981. The number of middle schools was 22 in 1981, 12 in 1971 and only 5 in 1961. There was only one high school in 1961, by 1971 there were two. There has been no further increase. The block does not have colleges, agriculture or technical schools. Such facilities are available at Ashoknagar which

has two degree colleges. There are a total of 242 primary schools, 40 middle schools and 6 high schools in Ashoknagar tehsil. The only agriculture college of the district is situated in Ashoknagar tehsil. There are 449 instructors in primary schools, 266 in middle schools, 84 in high/higher secondary schools and 34 in colleges. The number of primary schools students in Ashoknagar Tehsil (1981) was 11,939 males and 4,521 females, 5,656 males and 1,051 females attended middle schools, children attending high school numbered 1,437 males and 315 females. 467 male and 113 female children attended colleges.

The proportion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students in Ashoknagar tehsil formed 1/5 to 1/10 of the total number of students. 2,314, 552, 134 and 44 Scheduled Castes students attended primary school, middle school, high schools and colleges respectively. The corresponding numbers for Scheduled Tribes students are 340, 65, 3 and 2 respectively (1981).

In sum, the most sought out groups by development strategy namely Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women were the least of the beneficiaries of the education paraphemation. The spread of health services is notable. Guna district had several ayurvedic health centres and dispensaries earlier on; only in the last years of the 19th century allopathic dispensaries started getting set-up. Isagarh is one of the earliest such centres. The dispensary at Isagarh was set up in 1880's. Now the block is served fairly well by health infrastructure. It has a primary health centre with three doctors, two of whom are specialists

in general medicines. This centre maintains supervision over four sub centres distributed over the block and give family welfare centres. The paramedical workers serving the block include eight auxillary nurse midwives, sixteen male paramedical workers, one male health education, forty-nine male and three female community health workers and thirty five trained midwives. The Government hospital is in Ashoknagar, the tuberculosis hospital at Guna.

There is a charitable hospital run by a private trust (Shri Anandpur Trust) which has facilities for 50 inpatients besides modern diagnostic and therapeutic facilities and competent specialists in several fields of medicine and surgery. This hospital acts as a referral centre for the Primary health centre and local practitioners, besides running its own services. It is well connected by road to major villages in the block.

The surveillance and village level preventive health delivery are in a deplorable state in the best of circumstances. This is well reflected by the high incidence of respiratory infections, diarrhoeal diseases and vitamin deficiencies. Tuberculosis happens to be one of the greatest killers in this area and an important cause of morbidity. The low rate of tuberculosis is most probably due to the poor case detection attempts rather than a real low prevalence. In 1980 there have been 42 deaths due to diarrhoeal diseases, 10 due to respiratory illnesses, 350 due to fever and 505 due to miscellaneous causes in the Ashoknagar tehsil, (totalling 907 deaths). The infant mortality rate is close to 100/110



live births. From the tehsil there have been 150 vasectomies, 350 tubectomies and 49 IUD users in 1980. This is the achievement of twelve family planning centres distributed all over Ashoknagar tehsil.

For drinking water, another vital basic need, there is no facility in the block for purified piped water. Piped water outlets however exist in three villages, Isagarh, Shri Anandpur and Sukhpur. There were no hand-pumps till 1971. Now there are 64 hand pumps in the block. In 1961 there were 152 villages using 368 pucca wells for drinking water, while 172 villages had pucca wells in 1971. The figure for 1981 is 172 villages. The number of problem villages identified in 1971 was 14 while the number identified in 1981 is 54 (criterion: absence of potable drinking water within 1.6 km radius). Most impressive increase is in electrification of villages. While none of the villages were electrified in 1961, 115 villages had received this facility by 1981.

As for harvesting natural resources for development, there has been gross abuse of the forest wealth. In 1981, out of the total geographical area of 1,13,580 hectares in the Block, forest area was reduced to 10,144 hectares against 67,100 hectares in 1971. The rate of denudation is painfully rapid. The forest is mainly the central India dry shrub type Teak, Khair, miscellaneous trees including saal and grass. In the mughal times the forests must have been very thick for Emperors to be hunting elephants in this region. Elephants are no longer found. The hungry power saws of contractors no doubt contribute greatly to the rapid deforestation in the area. Adivasi women and children displaying bundles of wood (collected over the day) at the Isagarh market

is a daily sight. Sadly enough there is no mention of afforestation programmes in the annual action plan for the year 1982-83 and 1983-84. If drastic action is not taken soon the once virgin forests of Isagarh may be reduced to barren wasteland. There have been attempts at planting exotic flora like eucalyptus by the Shri Chandpur Trust but one wonders whether this may not deplete the ground water even further complicating the deforestation and desertification.

A very vulnerable aspect of agriculture in this area is the lack of facilities for artificial irrigation. The percentage of area irrigated to net area sown is about 4.5 per cent in the district as against the state average of 10.7 per cent. Within the district Bomori and Chachoda blocks fare well with 10.5 per cent and 9.2 per cent respectively while Guna and Aron blocks can claim only 1.4 per cent and 1.5 per cent irrigated land respectively. Isagarh block in 1980-81 had only 1.2 per cent of net sown area irrigated. The net irrigated area in Isagarh Block in 1970-71 amounted to 1,500 hectares which decreased to 1,096 hectares by 1980-81; 549 hectares were irrigated by dug wells, 310 hectares by canals, 208 hectares by tanks and the rest by other sources. Minor irrigation schemes instituted in the block in 1981-82 benefitted 75 families. Even in the recent period 1982-83, progress has been painfully slow. Only 70 new wells were constructed with government aid and 10 by private parties against a target of 300. This is despite the fact that the quantum of subsidy available for minor Irrigation Projects ranges from 33 per cent to 80 per cent. For farmers

having land holding upto 2 hectares the subsidy is 50 per cent. The subsidy for farmers of land holding between 2 hectares and 4 hectares is 33 per cent. All Scheduled Caste farmers with land holdings upto 4 hectares are entitled for subsidy of 50 per cent.

On the whole, distribution activities are prepared by the departments. The district agriculture department has plans to supply (from January 1983 to March 1985) 125 threshers among Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribe farmers, the target for sprayers and dusters and seed drills is 910. Their contribution to expenditure of subsidy is obvious but to productivity not so clear.

But where productivity related measures have been conceived, they are not delivered close to the small and marginal farmers. In order to boost agricultural production a World Bank aided scheme has been introduced in the district through which new cropping pattern, use of high yielding varieties and chemical fertilizers will be developed. Provision of subsidy amounting to Rs 9.18 lakhs has been made for 795 beneficiaries in the plan including input subsidy for potassic and phosphatic fertilizers and land development will also be made available to small and marginal farmers.

In the year 1982-83 the department organized demonstration and minikits for various crops. One major soyabean demonstration was organized, costing about Rs 20,000 to the exchequer in terms of seeds, ploughing cost, fertilizers etc. As there is none other than the Shri Anandpur Trust in the Isagarh block who can offer the required large piece of land,

the Trust has been awarded the demonstration. Forty hectares were sown with soyabean, expensive fertilizers were liberally granted and a rich harvest hauled. However, such a project would have had a tremendously greater 'demonstration' value if it could have been carried out in the midst of any village in the block rather than in a secluded estate.

Credit is an important input for farm production. Institutional credit to the weaker sections has been the thrust of policy since bank nationalisation. Farm credit is categorised as priority sector credit. One of the nationalised banks operating in Isagarh had extended credit to 346 farmers three fourths of whom were other than marginal and small farmers and their share in the credit advanced was more than 80 per cent. Other borrowers included just 4 landless and 1 artisan from among the vulnerable sections.

Land Development Bank which is supposed to provide investment credit had loaned an average of less than Rs 22 per borrower to 801 small and marginal farmers. The flow of short term credit through service cooperatives has not improved over a whole decade. In 1971, the loan advanced per member averaged Rs 275, in 1981 the corresponding figure was Rs 315. Thus institutional credit remains a mirage. Both medium term investment credit and short term working capital were grossly under-financed leaving the small borrowers firmly in the clutches of money-lenders who charge more but seldom underfinance.

Efforts at skill development are ineffectual. By 1982-83, 25 persons had been trained from Trysem programmes in the block. There is only one training centre which is situated in Isagarh and women are trained in stitching and tailoring. There is no marketing arrangement for crafts that they produce. They are hence encouraged to stitch miniature sized prototype garments and baby clothes which are then stuck on the album which they have to maintain. The sewing machines that are bought with the loan sanctioned at the end of the training are very soon sold at a premium in the market. Even if some enterprising trainees wished to start a tailoring shop in Isagarh she would be out done and put out of business by the heavy competition offered by the already saturated market. This clearly shows the poor understanding of the programme by the organisers, bad selection of trade and the short-comings of this programme. In 1983-84, 6-9 more trainee tailors would be added to the area by the programme.

As for assistance to traditional rural industries, a notable example is that of a cooperative leather curing unit organised in 1982-83 which included all the 25 traditional leather workers in Isagarh village. Curing pits were constructed, chemicals were bought and the "beshi" method of curing was chosen, without any market survey and arrangement of marketing outlets. Much of the unsold cured leather got spoilt by inclement weather. This and the non-availability of further stock of supplies led to lack of confidence in the government organisation and within a year of starting this "special development", the programme ground to a halt.

The cooperative was disbanded and what remains now is the set of unused curing pits. Any renewed attempt to organise the works is jeopardized by the mistrust of the villagers in the abilities of the block level workers. A successful initiative has been to link two or three families weaving traditional Chanderi saris with the government cooperative at Chanderi. Now they take raw material from the government outlet and market the saris through it.

"Block level development in Isagarh Block is organised in no different manner from elsewhere in the State. The hall mark of the organisation appears to be corruption at all levels, ill informed, self-centred officials and dearth of planning, annual plans are prepared by trying to divide the budget available into several heads of expenditure rather than by studying the priority needs of the Block and then drawing up plans. There is no accountability of the development workers" concludes the Case Study.

Chakrata  
Dist. Dehradun, Uttar Pradesh

Chakrata Tehsil - also known as "Jaunsar-Babar" - comprises of two blocks - Chakrata and Kalsi. In 1981, its population was 73,023 inhabiting 384 villages. (Chakrata block 32,834 with 167 villages). The town Chakrata is famous for its cantonment. Over 75 per cent of the Chakrata block area is covered under forest. It has a large tribal population and the tribal community is known for the practice of polyandry. The entire Chakrata tehsil is declared a Scheduled Tribes area. No one other than a Scheduled Tribe can acquire land here.

Chakrata has been covered by almost all development programmes and projects from the early days of Community Development. The Dehradun District of which Chakrata Tehsil is a part, being hilly and tribal, also has a Hill Area Development Agency, a Tribal Development Agency and a Tribal Development Corporation besides the standard departments is a district. 10.68 per cent of the district population is tribal as against 0.2 per cent for Uttar Pradesh as a whole and 7.49 per cent for the country.

One of the most sensitive programmes relates to delivery of services for child development. Hundreds and thousands of children suffer from ill-health, malnutrition and do not go to school as we noticed in Nanjungud, Kollegal and other areas studied. Instead they work at tender age to assist the family. Child labour is synonymous with poverty. Integrated child development services (ICDS) were initiated in selected areas in each State beginning with the Third Plan, in an attempt to coordinate health, education and welfare services. While the focus of this case study is on ICDS, it also provides some information from contemporary studies about rehabilitation of bonded labour and other development programmes in the block.

#### Integrated Child Development Services

ICDS aims at providing a package of integrated services essential for child development namely supplementary nutrition, immunisation and health care, referral services, nutrition, and health education and non-formal pre-school education to children below 6 years and expectant and nursing mothers so that every child in the project area could have a reasonable opportunity of survival and develop into a useful member



of society. It was initiated by the Central Government on an experimental basis in 33 project areas during 1975-76. By 1980, there were a total of 200 ICDS projects. Each project covers a population of approximately 100,000 is co-terminus with a community development block for a rural project or a tribal development block in a tribal area.

The focal point for the delivery of the services under this scheme is an Anganwadi Centre, having an average population of about 1000 persons, where all the services are provided. There is an Anganwadi worker incharge of the centre. One ICDS project consists of one Child Development Project Officer (CDPO), 4-5 mukhya sevikas . (Supervisors), one senior clerk, two store keepers and typists, one driver, one office peon, one doctor, two Lady Health Visitors (LHV), eight Auxillary Nurse-Mid Wives (ANM), one hundred Anganwadi workers, one hundred Anganwadi helpers and one Medical Consultant.

The study of ICDS is based primarily on primary sources. Household surveys were carried out covering

600 households in 31 villages in Chakrata tehsil (i.e. including Chakrata and Kalsi blocks) which has an ICDS project, Mid Day Meal Programme (MDM) and Special Nutrition Programme (SNP). Schedules were canvassed to those who benefitted from these programmes as also those who did not in order to get the actual and perceived benefits/needs of the people for whom the programmes were intended. Implementing agencies and personnel were interviewed in order to identify obstacles as well as perceptions of the delivery agency. Villages were chosen on the basis of the schemes operating and capturing a control group of non-beneficiaries. The households were selected on the basis of utilisation of schemes (beneficiaries and non-utilisation of schemes non-beneficiaries).

The sampling design which was purposive was adopted to capture/study the impact of schemes where they were in effective operation. Non-beneficiary households were selected in the same or different village to understand why the schemes were not implemented or were not effective in operation. In all the villages or centres the sample size was 10 to 20 per cent of the total. But

in Chakrata and Kalsi the villages were very small and beneficiary village had no non-beneficiary households. Hence the sample covered 50 per cent plus of the total households in the village centre.

Out of the 107 households, majority of the beneficiaries were families of marginal farmers with animals (38.3%) followed by big farmers with animals (24.3%) and small farmers with animals (17.75%) and the landless (17.75%).

At first sight there appeared to be a fair representation of the economic categories with a bias towards the marginal farmer, small farmer and landless. However, if we exclude landless with animals and marginal farmers with animals and retain only landless farmers and marginal farmers without animals, then the share of the poorest of the poor in the programme drops considerably. The landless and marginal farmers without animals who constitute the poorest of the poor, together add upto only 1/8th of the male children and 1/6th of the female children utilising the services of Anganwadi and SNP. In the case of 'SNP only' the proportion was

less than 1/6th in the case of male and 1/10th in the case of female children from the poorest of the poor households. In Mid Day Meal Programme the share of these households was less than 1/10th in the case of male and less than 1/15th in the case of the female children.

In contrast, the share of the small and big farmers with animals in the case of mid-day meals was close to 50 per cent in the case of male as well as female children. Again in the immunisation programme also the proportion of small and big farmers with animals was quite significant; more than 33 per cent in the case of male and more than 50 per cent in the case of female children.

Undoubtedly the inclusion of women and children of the larger farmers in programme services is justifiable on the ground that the tribal villages are remotely placed where other educational and health services are unavailable. However what is not so understandable is the incredibly small share of women and children from the poorest households for whom this programme is primarily intended particularly in the mid-day meal programme which

is intended to improve participation of the children from the poorest households in education, nutrition etc.

A look at the income pattern confirms what has been observed above that the majority of those benefitted by the programme are from the upper strata i.e. those with annual earnings between Rs.5001 to Rs. 10,000 (39.25%) and Rs. 10,001 and above (25%) annually. In mid-day meal in particular 51 out of 61 male children and 29 out of 33 female children were from households above the poverty line i.e. with an annual income of Rs.4001 and above. In the SNP 21 out of 26 male and 21 out of 30 female children were from households with income above the poverty line. Taking Anganwadi and SNP, together 44 out of 56 male and 45 out of 53 female children were from households whose income was above the poverty line.

On the other hand those having annual income upto Rs. 2,000 had only 3 male and 3 female children out of a total of 56 and 53 respectively in the Anganwadi and SNP. In SNP alone there was no male child from this income group among the 26 and only 2 girls out of 30.

In the mid-day meal programme there were only 3 male and one girl child from households with income upto Rs. 2,000 per annum in the total of 61 boys and 33 girls covered by the programme. Nutrition was clearly not flowing where it was needed most.

The highest predominant educational level of male, of the household benefitting, were literate (35.5%) and illiterate (31.8%) with only 7.5% and 14.95% being educated to secondary and above secondary levels respectively.

The highest educational level of female members of the households benefitting were illiterate 69.15%, followed by literates (21.5%) and primary school levels (5.6%). This reflected the general low levels of education of men and women.

A majority of beneficiary households were farmer cultivators (55.1%) followed by those in professional service (14.95%) and agricultural labourers (10.2%).

About 8.4% and 7.4% were non-agricultural workers and artisans respectively. Only 3.7% were in trade or business. In Chakrata by and large, majority of the people cultivated their own land, collectively in a joint-polygamous family. The beneficiary sample was representative of this phenomenon.

Most of the beneficiary households had 5-7 member (44.9%) and those with 8-10 members following (29%). Chakrata had a striking feature of having Joint families with some or all brothers married collectively to one or more women, with children being the collective progeny of the brothers. However, legally they assume lineage from the eldest brother and it was found that families were sometimes as large as 11-17 member (18.6%) and less frequently 17-19 members (1.8%). The modern trend of nuclear families was only slightly reflected by the sample (7.4%).

Of the 107 beneficiary households only 4 were female headed (3.7%) belonging to the income bracket of Rs. 4,000 and above. They were mostly illiterate and 50% having land holding above 5 acres of land with major occupation being farmer cultivators. Two were scheduled tribe Brahmin and the other two scheduled

tribe Thakurs. They had an average family size of 8-10 members (75%).

In order to trace the agency of communication of the child development scheme (i.e. in this case the ICDS) the disbursal of sources were looked at closely it was found 89.3% of the beneficiaries were informed by the village functionary, in this case the Anganwadi worker, 13.1% by other social worker, 3.7% by Departmental Officials and 0.9% by a voluntary agency or the Auxillary nurse (Mid-wife).

The non beneficiaries predominantly fell into the marginal farmer (51%), small farmer (23.4%) category, followed by the big farmer (19.15%). The non beneficiary sample was predominantly scheduled tribe-Harijan (51.06%) and scheduled tribe Thakurs (46.8%) and farmer-cultivators by occupation.

The basic reason why non-beneficiaries did not utilise the scheme was that it was not available in the village itself. In Chakrata the villages were very small



clusters and the entire village benefitted from the ICDS scheme. Therefore, the non beneficiary sample was available in only villages where the schemes were not in operation.

Majority of the respondents were satisfied with the hours of service and found them convenient for all age group services provided by the Anganwadi centre. 96% of the children between the age group 3 to 6 years utilising the nursery programme, found the hours of service convenient as stated by their mothers. 86% of the Pregnant and Lactating women found the service hours for Collecting supplementary nutrition convenient and 93% of mothers of the children below 3 years of age found the centre-hours convenient.

It was our experience in Chakrata to find the Anganwadi centres catering to village hamlets with not more than 250-300 population. The centres were located in the village hamlets itself and was convenient to the residents of that hamlet. Since the closest hamlets would be anywhere between 5 kms. to 10 kms away, the benefits of the educational & nutritional programme could not be extended to a population of 1000, as stipulated in the programme. However

the neighbouring hamlets were covered in the Auxillary Nurse (Mid-wife)'s beat, and were covered by the immunisation programme, the hours of service were flexible and fixed after consultation with the beneficiary population.

As for the functionaries, 96% of the respondents found the functionaries accessible to them. In a majority of the respondents (53.9%) of those who responded to this question stated that no functionary visited them regularly. 46.1% of the responses indicated that the Anganwadi helper/teacher visited them regularly, while only 13.9% of the respondents had the ANM or LHV visiting them regularly. Only 2.8% of the respondents stated that the supervisor visited them.

The CDPO although could not be expected to visit them regularly, since she administered the entire block which has 35 functioning centres in the project, the researchers were told that the CDPO had not visited many of the remote centres even once a year. The CDPO however had the handicap of not having a jeep in the project to enable her visit her centres.

Only six beneficiaries found the location of the

centre inconvenient for the reasons of it being too, far. These respondents belonged to households where annual income was below Rs.2,000 and the highest education of male and female of the family being illiteracy. These six respondents were from a Harijan (kolta and bajgi) hamlet about 2 kilometer away from the hamlet in which the centre was located. They found the centre too far for their children below six years to either attend the educational programme or for the supplementary feeding programme.

Of the 180 respondents from the 107 beneficiary households only 22 (12%) contributed even once a year to the programme, 21 (11.6%) contributed in kind and one in cash. None stated any contribution in terms of service. Although there is no provision for contribution in cash and since only one respondent stated this category, it considered a number negligible for objective analysis. However, a minority of the beneficiary contributed fuel, and spices to the Supplementary Nutrition Programme,

56 Children of the beneficiary sample benefitted from only the supplementary nutrition programme (without the educational component) of which 26 (46.5%) were male children and 30 (53.5%) were female.

60 children of the beneficiary sample i.e. 18.4% of the total number of children in the age group 0-6 years benefitted from the immunisation programme of which 29 (48%) were male children and 31.52% were female children.

Out of the total of 243 women, 72 were pregnant or lactating, of this only 17 (i.e. 23.6%) were immunised in the ICDS programme, 29 (40.2%) benefitted from the supplementary nutrition programme and 57 women (23.4%) of the total women population of the beneficiary sample benefitted from the adult education classes.

A majority of the respondents felt they benefitted in terms of better child care (71.1%), followed by benefits such as more food for children (60.5%); nutritive quality food intake of children (47.7%) and free and more education of children (39.9%).

A minority felt their children learnt better manners (15.5%) found improvement in material and child health (14.4%); more food for pregnant and lactating women (7.7%);

cleaner environment (2.2%); improved personal hygiene (2.2%); helped in primary school enrolment (2.2%); set good habits of regularity in school attendance (1.1%) and created more social and economic awareness (1.1%).

Fifty seven respondents (31.66%) were dis-satisfied with the programme. A majority of this group (96.4%) were dis-satisfied because food was not given regularly, followed by 47.3% who felt the scheme did not work.

A minority 17.5% of the respondents felt dis-satisfied because the helper did not escort the children to Anganwadi, followed by those who felt that children were not cared for properly (10.5%) and that the worker ignored the child (8.7%).

Out of a total of 180 respondents, a majority of them (65.8%) felt the food should be distributed every day (which was not being done); they stated that the quantity of food should be increased (57.7%); better monitoring would improve the scheme (53.8%). 25% felt

there should be compulsory immunisation by the ANM and better health service (16.1%).

A minority of respondents suggested that the nursery should be held daily (15.0%); that free clothes/uniform should be given in the scheme (8.3%), there should be a better selection of teacher with higher calibre (7.2%); longer hours for balwadi (5.0%), the scheme should help to organise consumer cooperatives 3.8%; that there should be free tonics for pregnant and lactating women (3.3%); a proper building for the centre (2.2%); improved quality of food (1.6%) and finally weekly visits of Anganwadi teacher (1.1%).

It was the concern of this enquiry to find out whether the children were neglected when women went to work. The concern is based on the assumption that most often the younger children were looked after by the elder ones, thus being one of the major contributing factors for keeping the older children out of school.

A majority of the respondents stated that the younger children went to Anganwadi (77.7%); the older children looked after themselves (72.2%); children were looked after by the older people who did not go to work (45.5%).

A minority of the respondents stated that all their children went to school (19.4%); that they took children to work-site (16.1%) and that they left children with neighbours and relatives (11.6%).

As stated earlier Chakrata block lies in a polygamous tribal belt. One household often has three to four brothers married to 1-6 common wives. The division of labour in this tribal group has the women doing most of the agricultural operations, with men participating in only harrowing and threshing. Alongwith the agricultural operations, the household chores also fell into the women's lot. In this structure the women divide their chores among themselves, with either the oldest women or the lactating women looking after the children and the household chores, while the others do the agricultural work, fodder cutting and cattle grazing. Older children are rarely imposed upon into child care roles. Anganwadi has been seen to play the role of child care-take (partially) as can be noted from 77.7% of the response.

There was a unanimous felt need by the respondents for Health Care of children (100%), very closely followed by need for Nutrition for children (97.76%) and Non-Formal Education for children (82.22%). A minority stressed on formal Education for children (28.89%) and

Nutrition, Health-Care and Education for mothers (12.78%).

The low emphasis on formal education can be explained by the lack of exposure of the tribal group of Jaunsar-Babar to the needs of formalised Education, and its consequent benefits in terms of occupational mobility. They tilled land which was a joint property of a large polygamous-family unit, and education in the national school system would seem irrelevant to them.

Supplementary Nutrition is an integral part of the Anganwadi Service and is expected to supplement 300 calories and 12 gms. of protein per day per beneficiary. While all the centre food registers recorded food as having been received from the Project head quarter store, the beneficiary responses reveal that except for one centre out of the thirty five functioning centres at Chakrata, none distributed supplementary nutrition to beneficiary every day.

A break down of responses show that a majority claimed that they either received nutrition for 10 to 15 days a month (37.33%) or 6 to 9 days a month (36.97%). 21.22% respondents benefitting from supplementary nutrition claimed that they were given food only upto 5 days a month. Only



3.6% respondents, all belonging to one centre claimed that they received food more than 26 days a month.

The ICDS package of Services places a strong emphasis on care of infants through medical attention to pregnant and lactating women and the infant, followed up by the immunisation, health check up of the ICDS registered child upto 6 years. The PHC is responsible for this component of the scheme and execute it through its team of ANM's, LHV's and Medical Officer-in-charge and consultant.

Of the total 61 infants in Chakrata block, a majority (98.36%) infants were born at home with only one infant (1.64%) born in Maternity Home. On enquiring as to why mother's preferred to give birth to infants at home, it came to surface that 40% of the women found it too expensive to go to Hospital, be it Government or private. Closely following (36.67%) reason for not going to hospital for child birth was that help was available at home in the form of local dai or elderly relatives, and a confidence that the child birth could safely take place at home. A fair number (23.33%) felt that since a hospital or maternity home was

not available near or at convenient distance from home, they could not go to Hospital for delivery.

Out of a total of 325 children in the Chakrata Sample, only 73 (22.46%) were immunised.

The ratio of immunised children to number of beneficiary household was 60:107, while the ratio of immunised children to no. of non-beneficiary household was 13:47. The proportion of immunised children of ICDS beneficiary was 2.03 times more than the proportion of immunised children of the control, (non-beneficiary) sample.

Similarly 16 women had been immunised in the beneficiary sample of 107 households while 3 women had been immunised in the non-beneficiary sample of 47 households. The proportion of immunised women in beneficiary sample being greater (2.34 times) than the proportion of immunised women in non-beneficiary sample.

ICDS was shown to make an impact in the immunisation component of the scheme.

Bonded Labour

Although, as stated earlier, no one other than a Scheduled Tribe can acquire land in the Chakrata tehsil as it has been declared as a Scheduled Tribes area, Rajputs and Brahmins residing in the area have also been recognised as Scheduled Tribes and acquired big holdings.

Besides, they also control the common banjar land which after the last land survey in the area in 1951 left to be utilised by residents of the area as a whole, in the traditional manner for cattle grazing or dense forest. Brahmins and Rajputs however were reported to have divided all this land amongst themselves and restricted its use by the poor belonging to Kotla, Bazgi and lower castes. Given this configuration bonded labour practice has flourished in the area for long.

In order to usher in a new deal for the previously bonded, there are multiple items of assistance being offered by Government to rehabilitate those "released" from bonded labour legislatively i.e. under the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, (1976).

For example, in 1980-81 land improvement assistance was provided to 1,052 bonded labour families. It averaged Rs.592 per family. Assistance for cultivation to 600 families average Rs. 109 per person; for seeds supplied to 396 persons it averaged Rs. 93, for purchase of bullocks it averaged Rs. 842 for 1,129 persons. Supply of sheep units to 374 persons, goat units to 190, cow units to 984 and buffaloes to 827 persons average Rs.1,486, Rs.1,622, Rs.1,070 and Rs.1,930 respectively. Altogether Rs.60 lakhs was spent on rehabilitation of bonded labour in the year, most of the sum spent on purchase of livestock - a favourite of the functionaries all over India.

A closer look at the scheme for land improvement and agricultural inputs shows that assistance for productivity increases is inadequate (land improvement at Rs.592 per family, for instance) and typically fragmented by individual items (by land improvement, by seeds, by cultivation etc.). There is no assurance that one single piece of land will receive adequate and

composite assistance in order to make it fit for cultivation and to increase its yield. The seeds may be placed in the hands of one, fertilizer in the hands of another and the assistance for land improvement may go to yet another. The detailed itemwise provision of budget for each one of these activities and the recording of expenditure and monitoring of progress according to each item obstructs any composite or comprehensive package of assistance to a single farm.

Thus the task of rehabilitation of bonded labour which is by no means easy has been rendered more difficult by the uneconomic size of assistance and the indifferent manner of its application. Despite the assistance provided the bonded labourers find it necessary to lean back on their erstwhile landlords. Although the fathers have been liberated, young sons are now going into the service of the landlords for the new loans being contracted by the tribals in Chakrata. The assistance has clearly not proved effective.

Efficiency though important is however a secondary aspect of this sordid problem. The first is as one Gram

Pradhan puts it that the very selection of bonded labourers is untruthful. "Only those people were included in the list of bonded labourers who were able to pay some illegal gratification. Several high caste Hindus have got included their names in the list and have received full benefits as bonded labourers while they themselves have engaged several Koltas and Scheduled Castes as bonded labourers .. all influential people and leaders of political parties... are taking all advantages meant for Scheduled Tribes".

Amount is also being provided under the rehabilitation scheme to enable the released bonded labourers to acquire shares in the local cooperatives. A sum of Rs.63,420 was applied for this purpose during 1980-81. However all the 7 cooperatives (LAMPS) in the area are defunct due to heavy overdues and there seems little prospect of their revival in the conceivable future. This is expecting the bonded labourers to sail in a boat which is grounded.

Besides, though the overdue loans are in the names of the poor persons "actually these loans have been taken by the upper caste influential people in their names. Due to pressure and fear, the poor accept the liability. Since they do not own enough property, loans cannot be recovered from them. Since the overdues cannot be cleared, further

credit to the farmers of this area is not possible and in this way, the vicious circle is going on and the cooperative credit activity in the area has come to a standstill. So in effect the bonded labourers have poor access to both land and credit - the two productive assets most essential for their durable independence.

The foundation of the institution of bonded labour in Chakrata rests on the unequal land holding structure which also sustains an unequal social and political power structure. Most of the bigger landlords require labour and the tribals in the grip of poverty and ignorance provide it in perpetuity in exchange for loans or other obligations which their forefathers contracted from the bigger landlords. As the foregoing review shows, nothing has been done to attack the problem at the root. Rs.60 lakhs spent on rehabilitation are likely to prove not only infructuous but counter productive. A large part of this sum is finding its way in the hands of the bigger landlords. This was confirmed by some of the elected representatives and functionaries in the area though those most affected are for good reason reticent.

Other Development Programmes

During the year 1980-81, assistance for agricultural development was provided in the Dehradun district to 3,239 persons of whom not one was a Scheduled Tribe. Under the Hill Area Development Schemes (HADA), 4,382 persons were aided through IRDP of whom 964 were Scheduled Tribes making up 22 per cent of the total persons assisted.

In animal husbandry, Scheduled Tribes assisted were 501 out of 5,403, i.e. less than 10 per cent. The special agricultural assistance scheme which is part of Harijan social welfare scheme covered only 72 families of STs and 40 of SCs.

Of the total of 68 rural houses built in the district during 1980-81 under Rural Housing Scheme for the weaker sections, 35 were for the STs. Under social welfare schemes, educational assistance by way of stipend and scholarships covered 11,312 STs out of a total of 19,717 in the district including 7,057 SCs. Housing and educational assistance seem to reach the preferred groups with greater firmness.



All the 7 LAMPS - large cooperative societies are defunct. The stated reason is huge overdues of about Rs. 10 lakhs. Horticultural development in the area is poor though the climate and soil of the tehsil are ideal for such development.

There are no ST teachers in the Schools though their share in non-teaching jobs is nearly 30 per cent. Most striking feature is that there were no dropouts from the schools among the STs (that is, STs who are able to go to school) while dropouts amongst SCs were 33 per cent.

The flow of institutional credit to the Scheduled Tribes in the Dehradun district as on 30th June 1981 presents a bleak picture. Scheduled Tribes were only 1 per cent of the total number of persons receiving institutional credit in the district and the quantum of credit provided to them relative to the others was petty. Their share in the volume of credit amounted to only 0.1 per cent. The average loan received by the 98 Scheduled Tribes assisted was Rs 1,571.

Of the 98 tribal families, 40 were given loans on differential rate of interest, average loan per family being Rs 1,575. Another 51 families received financial assistance

in the category 'Priority Sector Advances'; advance per family being Rs 1,549. It is noteworthy that 7,310 "others" in the district received an average loan of Rs 18,500 ("others" being other than Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other backward classes).

In the Chakrata block a branch of the State Bank of India had however better averages to show though the total number of families assisted were very small. For example, it had provided DRI loans to only 227 households in the Block but of these 60 per cent were Scheduled Tribes and 36 per cent Scheduled Castes. Similarly, of the Rs 3.56 lakhs advanced to these 227 households the share of the Scheduled Tribes was a little over 72 per cent by amount and that of the Scheduled Castes about 27 per cent. In terms of average loan the Scheduled Tribes received Rs 1,797 per family which is slightly higher than the district average and within the block considerably higher than the average of Rs 1,158 received by Scheduled Castes.

Besides credit, cultivable land had been allotted in the block to 2,517 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and house sites to 594 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But there were complaints that some of these though shown as allotted in the names of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled

Tribes had in fact gone to others not eligible but influential.

During 1980-81, assistance provided under the Hill Area Development Agency, IRD and Harijan Welfare Officer in the block showed that except for pre-matric scholarships extended to 2,112 students by the Harijan Welfare Officer, the number of persons aided under different programmes was very small. For example, agricultural development assistance and assistance for rehabilitation of tribals under the Harijan Welfare Programme had been given to only 2 households each. Under the Cottage Industries Programme for harijans only 3 Scheduled Castes had been assisted.

The Hill Area Development Agency assisted 60 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes families in 1980-81 in respect of agriculture and 45 in respect of animal husbandry programme. The InD programme aided 82 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes households in respect of agriculture development and 56 towards minor irrigation. The assistance under minor irrigation averaged a little less than Rs 1,200 each which is so low as to be worthwhile. Assistance for agricultural programme under HADA to 60 families and to 82 families under

IRD averaged about Rs 400. Assistance for animal husbandry was less than Rs 1,000 per household.

The coverage of number of families and the nature and quantum of assistance provided speak of the indifference with which the development programme in this backward (hills and tribal) area is being implemented. It raises doubt therefore whether the families who are now being provided assistance under child development services including special nutrition programme will be in a position to substitute government assistance with their own earnings in the conceivable future.

To conclude, the community is not involved in either the general development programme or rehabilitation of bonded labour or child development services. Even in the simple task of preparation of nutritive food, the mothers are kept at a distance. Says the case study: "No formal efforts are made to canvass suggestions from the community or for incorporating it in the programme. The community is not involved in either the preparation or distribution of supplementary nutrition. They are not aware of their right to be involved. Most food items are either "pre-cooked" or given raw. Food is rarely given in cooked form, especially in Chakrata. There is no local food committee to supervise distribution of the amount or quality of food given to children and women."

Udipi and GulbargaDistricts Dakshina Kannada and Gulbarga -  
Karnataka

To return to quantity, the type of households to whom various development benefits are being delivered were studied extensively in the framework of acknowledged development disparities, two taluks Udipi (district Dakshina Kannada) and Gulbarga (district Gulbarga). One is part of an advanced district and another a backward district. On the basis of a development index used by the Government of Karnataka, Dakshina Kannada ranks No.2 in the State and Gulbarga district ranks No.19 and is at the bottom.

Economic ProfileDakshina Kannada/Udipi Taluk

The district of Dakshina Kannada is one of the most economically developed in Karnataka State, second only to Bangalore. It has a unique extensive network of banks (Syndicate, Canara, etc) and educational institutions (including engineering, medical colleges) sponsored and supported by private efforts. It is a coastal district with average annual rainfall over 400 cm. Its principal foodcrop is rice, coconut, cashew, aracanut, some sugarcane are also grown, along with pulses in the summer. Udipi a coastal taluk with alluvial soil also exhibits this cropping pattern with the exception of aracanut which is now very important in comparison with other taluks in the district.

The multiple cropping index in 1979-80 was 1.24 for the district and 1.22 for Udipi Taluk. The multiple cropping index is the ratio of gross cropped areas to net sown area. While only around 30 per cent of net sown area is irrigated, this does not seriously handicap agricultural production since rainfall is plentiful and fairly reliable. However, irrigation extension would probably raise the multiple cropping index further and hence increase total agricultural output.\* Around 35 per cent of net sown area is under high yielding varieties chiefly rice.

According to the State Agricultural Census of 1976-77 over 81 per cent of owned holdings in the district are under 2 hectares each. Such holdings account for only around 47 per cent of total area. The Gini coefficient of owned land in the district was calculated on the basis of the 1971 Agricultural Census as 0.541 which indicates a high level of land holding inequality. According to district officials, however, Dakshina Kannada is one of the districts where land reforms have been implemented quite vigorously partly because of the consciousness of the tenants themselves in demanding their rights.

Data pertaining to the industrial base of the district can be obtained from the Census of Establishments which was conducted systematically, for the first time, along with the

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\* The multiple cropping index given above is probably an underestimate, since it does not include 'rainfed' multiple cropping, for which data are not available in Taluk-wise Plan Statistics Dakshina Kannada

Population Census of 1971. While Dakshina Kannada ranks only sixth in population in the State, it ranks second in the number of registered factories, fourth in the number of unregistered workshops and first in the number of household industries. Although half of the 441 factories are in the major groups of food products and in beverages, tobacco and tobacco products, unregistered workshops are also in these major product groups and in 'repairs'.

Of the 23,698 units that comprise the district's household industry 19,219 (81%) are in major NIC group 22, - beverages, tobacco and tobacco products. The bulk of this is beedi making, for which the district is well known. Units in this major group also account for 81% of employment in household industry in the district. Over 70% of the State's units and employment in major group 22 are to be found in Dakshina Kannada; 90% of the district's beedi units are in the rural areas as is 91% of the employment generated by them.

Dakshina Kannada also has 641 units in major group 23 (manufacture of cotton textiles) employing 1752 persons and 763 units in major group 26 (manufacture of textile products) employing 1306 persons.

Thus while there appears to be a considerable industrial base in the district, it is not very diversified and is highly intensive in tobacco and food products, both of which are among the more traditional industries. One cannot, therefore, place a great deal of emphasis on the large number of industrial units, in the district.

Gulbarga/Gulbarga Taluk

In sharp contrast to Dakshina Kannada, Gulbarga district is in a drought-prone area, part of the old Hyderabad state. It is one of the most backward districts in the State on the basis of development indicies. It has a larger geographical area than Dakshina Kannada, but it obtains less than a quarter of the annual rainfall, and only about two-thirds of the per capita income of the latter. Gulbarga Taluk's annual rainfall is even lower than that for the district as a whole. Net irrigated area is only 2.21% of net sown area for the district, and only slightly better for the taluk. Over half of the irrigable area is depending on wells, which are themselves likely to go dry in a bad rainfall year. Poor rainfall and irrigation result in low multiple cropping, although the multiple cropping index is higher for Gulbarga Taluk.

Dry grain cultivation predominates in the district. Jawar and bajra account for over 55 per cent of the total foodgrain area, while pulses are grown on another 35 per cent. Thus jawar, bajra and pulses account for over 90 per cent of foodgrain area in Gulbarga district as well as the Gulbarga taluk. Rice is grown only on 1-2% of the foodgrain area. As a result, high yielding varieties comprise only a little over 1 per cent of net sown area.

Land distribution data from the Agricultural Census of 1976-77 indicate that only 28.60 per cent of holdings are under two hectares each, while another 33.80 per cent of holdings are between two and five hectares. Such holdings



account for 5.59 per cent and 20.56 per cent of total area respectively. Holdings in the five to ten hectare range constitute 22.70 per cent of the total holdings and 29.53 per cent of total area. Thus the middle range from two to ten hectares accounts for 56.50 per cent of holdings and 50.09 per cent of total area. Land inequality appears therefore to be lower here than in Dakshina Kannada. These data corroborate the findings of the 1971 Agricultural Census. On the basis of the latter, the Gini Coefficient of owned land was calculated as 0.481 considerably lower than that for Dakshina Kannada.

The Industrial base of Gulbarga is quite poor. The district ranks seventh in population to the State, but only thirteenth in the number of registered factories, tenth in the number of unregistered factories and ninth in the number of household industries. According to the 1971 Census of Establishments, 65 per cent of the industrial establishments in the district are household units.

Half of the 89 registered factories are in food products or non-metallied mineral products. The production of tobacco products as well as cotton ginning, baling and spinning account for a significant proportion of both registered factories and unregistered workshops. Many of the NIC major industrial groups are found among the household industries with cotton textile accounting for the largest number. While Gulbarga town has a dominant position in factories and workshops, this does not hold for household industries.

As noted, Dakshina Kannada has 23,698 household industrial units. Gulbarga, on the other hand, has only 4,991 such units providing employment for 8,693 persons. Of these 1,731 (i.e. 39%) units with 3,530 persons employed (i.e. 40.60%) are in major groups 23 - manufacture of cotton textiles. This is the single largest group; it constitutes, however, only 9 per cent of the 19,443 units in group 23 in the state.

There are in addition 346 units in major group 24 (manufacture of wool, silk and synthetic fibre textiles), 456 units in group 26 (Manufacture of Textile products) and 117 units in group 22 (beverages, tobacco and tobacco products). These provide employment for a total of 1,663 persons. It can be seen from the above that the base of even household industry is too poor in the district to provide much employment for either men or women.

Moving more specifically to the taluk level, Udipi has a population of 3.84 lakhs of which 22 per cent is urban. It has 115 villages. Unlike most blocks it has 7 hospitals and 16 family planning centres. It has 240 bus stops. As a result of land reforms there are reported to be only 60 holdings of 10 hectares and above, and 381 of 5 to 10 hectares; as against 29,068 holdings upto 2 hectares of which 21,833 are upto 1 hectare. There are 7,422 irrigation pumptsets in the taluk which shows that a number of small farms . . . too have gained access to irrigation due largely to extensive and relatively liberal availability of bank credit.

Paddy covers more than two thirds of the gross cropped area followed by coconut, pulses and cashew. There are 90 tractors in the taluk although the holdings above 10 acres are only 60.

The numerous pumpsets, the cropping pattern and the population of tractors raise some doubts about the quality of land reforms in Udipi. Undoubtedly the holdings have been split into numerous marginal and small farms but how many of these belong to genuine "marginal farmers" and "small farmers", and how many have been split between family members to satisfy the law, is a question to which there is no ready answer. Such a doubt however acquires extra force when, as will be shown, the field survey threw up widely different set of numbers of households below poverty line by income and asset criteria.

Gulbarga has a population of 3.05 lakhs, of which 1.46 lakhs or nearly 50 per cent is categorised as urban. But as the District Credit Plan points out much of Gulbarga district's urban areas are "over grown villages". In sharp contrast to Udipi, here land holdings of 10 hectares and above number 4,621 and those upto 1 hectare number only 1,423. Most holdings (11,548) are concentrated in the group 3 to 10 hectares. The number of tractors is 429. (It is noteworthy that Gulbarga district as a whole has 36,552 land holdings above 10 hectares as against 4,621 such holdings in Gulbarga taluk. But Gulbarga taluk has 429 tractors out of a total of 730 tractors in the district).

The irrigation pumpsets in the taluk are only 1,277 although according to the hydrogeological survey there is a potential of over 80,000 wells in the district compared to the existing 15,114. As against a total gross cropped area of 1.39 lakhs the double cropped area is only 12,842 hectares.

The crops grown in the area are mainly for local consumption and of a type where no significant technological developments have yet been recorded, namely Jowar (36,328 ha.), Bajra (25,712 ha.), Tur (20,881 ha.) and Gram (5,785 ha.). Groundnut is also grown covering an area of 4,964 hectares. These various features of Gulbarga taluk suggest that despite a large proportion of larger holdings the investment in land and agricultural improvement in this taluk is nominal except in labour displacing farm equipment such as tractors.

#### Minimum Needs

Comparative development of selected items of minimum needs - education, health, power consumption, roads and water - in the two districts/taluks is also noteworthy.

#### Education

According to the 1971 census of Establishments, there were 2239 educational institutions in Dakshina Kannada of which 81% were rural. Gulbarga district had 1339 in all, of which 65% were rural. 16% of Gulbarga's educational institutions were privately run, in contrast to 44% in Dakshin Kannada. The latter district ranked eight in the State while Gulbarga was fifteenth in the total number of educational institutions.

Consequently, the literacy rate of 43.45% in Dakshin Kannada was even higher than the 42.72% of Bangalore district. There were 866 persons per educational institution in Dakshin Kannada, very similar to Bangalore. In Gulbarga district, the literacy rate was only 18.74%, and there were as many as 1,293 persons per institution there, Dakshina Kannada had a better distribution between rural and urban areas.

In 1981, the literacy level in Gulbarga district had risen to 25%. Female literacy was still as low as 14%. Gulbarga taluk was better off with overall literacy at 39% and female literacy at 26%. Dakshina Kannada had a literacy rate of 53%, with female literacy at 45%. Udupi taluk was even higher with 60% overall and 54% female literacy.

There were 1712 primary schools in Gulbarga and almost as many, 1698, in Dakshina Kannada. It is not clear how this should be interpreted. Gulbarga has roughly half the population and twice the area of Dakshina Kannada. If the number of primary schools is considered relative, to the area, then Gulbarga is worse off, if it is considered relative to population, then it is better off. We need to know the actual spatial distribution of schools relative to population in order to interpret these numbers correctly.

### Health

According to the Census of Establishments, in 1971 there were 9822 public health institutions in the state about 2/3 of which were privately run. 939 of these, slightly under 10% were in Dakshina Kannada, which ranked fourth in the state. 405, i.e. 4%, were in Gulberga district which ranked

ninth in the State. 59% were located in rural Dakshina Kannada, against 48% in rural Gulbarga. There were 2065 persons per public health institution in Dakshina Kannada, versus 4305 persons in Gulbarga, and 2937 persons in the State as a whole. Clearly, Dakshina Kannada had a better health infrastructure. It must be remembered, nevertheless, that 79% of the institutions in Dakshina Kannada were privately run, making them less accessible to people with lower incomes.

In 1979-80, there were 66 hospitals (including dispensaries) and 17 primary health centres in Gulbarga. Dakshina Kannada had 128 hospitals and 17 PHC's. Gulbarga taluk had 10 hospitals and 2 PHC's, while Udupi taluk had 29 hospitals and 4 PHC's. The population to bed ratio was as high as 2316 in Gulbarga district, though Gulbarga taluk was better off, with only 554 persons per bed. Dakshina Kannada had a ratio of 695 per bed, while Udupi had only 421. The population per PHC was lower in Gulbarga district than in Dakshina Kannada, but higher in Gulbarga taluk compared to Udupi taluk.

#### Power, roads and water

In 1979-80, the reference year for much of our other data, total power consumption was greater in Gulbarga than in Dakshina Kannada district (142, 340 kilowatt hours against 128, 327). However, a very large proportion (81%) of Gulbarga district's total is consumed in Chittapur Taluk. In Dakshina Kannada, Mangalore Taluk consumes 48% of the total.

The distribution of power between various uses is strikingly different in the two districts. In Gulbarga, 83% of the total is for industrial uses; again a large share (72% of all industrial consumption) goes to Chitapur taluk. Agriculture and domestic consumption account for only about 7% each. In Dakshina Kannada, on the other hand, industry uses only 37% of Total power, while agriculture accounts for 16% and domestic consumption for 34%.

The low agricultural consumption in Gulbarga district is not surprising given its dry farming practices. What is more crucial from a woman's perspective is the difference in domestic power consumption. In fact, all Taluks except Sullia in Dakshina Kannada consume more domestic power than every Taluks in Gulbarga, with the exception of Gulbarga taluk which includes Gulbarga town.

Per capita power consumption was 67 units in Gulbarga but only 55 units in Dakshina Kannada. Again the farmer is very highly weighted by the 327 units per capita in Chitapur taluk. Excepting Sedam taluk, all others are below the district average. Per capita consumption is somewhat more evenly distributed in Dakshina Kannada, although here too, Mangalore taluk has an average of 105 units, while Sullia consumes only 5 units per capita.

Turning to the taluks, total power consumption was considerably higher in Udupi than in Gulbarga taluk (27767kw hours versus 19471 kw hours). In Udupi taluk, 28% was consumed in industrial uses, 23% of by agriculture

and 35% by domestic consumption. By contrast in Gulbarga taluk, 52% was consumed by industry, 10% by agriculture, and 26% by domestic consumers. Gulbarga taluk accounts for over half of the district's domestic power consumption presumably because of the presence of the town. Despite this domestic power consumption in Gulbarga taluk was only about half the amount in Udupi taluk (5066 kw hours against 9692 kw hours). Per capita consumption was 60 units in Udupi taluk and 53 units in Gulbarga taluk.

It appears, therefore, that excluding the unusual case of Chitapur taluk, the power situation is much better in Dakshina Kannada and Udupi taluk than in Gulbarga. Although village electrification data are not very meaningful (the existence of a single connection being sufficient for a village to be declared "electrified"), for what it is worth we may note that 100% of Udupi's villages have been electrified as against 66% in Gulbarga taluk.

Turning now to roads, the road length in Gulbarga district in 1979-80 was 27 kms. per 100 square kms. of area. The corresponding figure for Dakshina Kannada was 51 kms. Udupi taluk had 62 kms. versus 29 kms. in Gulbarga taluk. There were only 2 villages not connected by road in Udupi taluk against 4 in Gulbarga taluk.

Surprisingly, when we turn to water supply, the number of villages with inadequate water supply was higher in Dakshina Kannada than in Gulbarga (345 against 286). The total number of inhabited villages being greater in Gulbarga, the proportion of villages with inadequate supply was also



higher in Dakshina Kannada (52% versus 22%). A closer examination reveals that 44% of the 286 villages in Gulbarga suffered from an insufficient source of water, as might be expected in a drought - prone district. On the other hand, there were no such villages at all in Dakshina Kannada. Instead, 78% of the 345 villages in Dakshina Kannada had "no source free from health problems such as cholera, etc." The dimensions of the water problems are, thus, rather different in the two districts, inadequacy being the main problem in Gulbarga and health problems being the main concern in Dakshina Kannada.

Udupi taluk does not quite reflect the problems of the district. Only 7 of its 110 villages had water problems and all seven either had no source at all or none within a mile's distance. "Unhealthy" water was not a problem here. Gulbarga taluk does not reflect its district however, 19 of its 137 villages had problems, and of these 8 had inadequate sources while another four had no source or none within a mile.

Altogether these indicators show that social infrastructure - education and health - had a broad superiority for Dakshina Kannada/Udupi over Gulbarga district and Taluk. The differences noted between the two districts and taluks in terms of power consumption, roads and availability of water are also quite striking. In general Dakshina Kannada and Udupi taluk appear to be generally better off, though they are not without problems as in the case of water.

But despite these pronounced differences in the economic and social characteristics and other endowments of the two districts in the State, the package of poverty alleviation programmes (IRDP, NREP etc ) is identical in the two districts/taluks. The impression one gets is that the removal of regional disparities in development (which also underscore poverty at household level) was not a conscious goal and relating development strategy to the local situation was not an operational imperative. Households were being assisted on individual basis under the same pattern as elsewhere and with no provision of supporting infrastructure.

A significantly large sample of households was field studied in respect of utilisation and non-utilisation of schemes by selected households. The development schemes included in the sample survey were grouped under four major categories:

- Training Schemes
- Employment and Economic Schemes
- Social Welfare Schemes
- Women & Child Development Schemes

The training schemes were considered separately for each sector: agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, forestry, fisheries, trysem, khadi & village industries.

The employment and economic schemes included: Janatha housing, SFDA/IRDP, ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Programme), IDWG (Integrated Development of Western Ghats), Co-operatives, EAS/NREP, Banks (institutional credit), other agencies. Social welfare schemes included: scholarships for physically handicapped, monthly financial assistance allowance towards old age pension, financial assistance to needy women for taking up training, training in tailoring and other crafts for Schedules Caste women, supply of sewing machines and other equipment, vocational training centres for women on various crafts, nutrition and cooking demonstration camps. The women and child development schemes included: mahila mandals, ICDS, special nutrition programme, mid-day meals, maternity and child health services, creches etc.

Those utilising development schemes were analysed by (i) income, (ii) expenditure, (iii) asset, (iv) education and (v) special status as Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes. The sample included a total of 1,033 households (Udipi 606, Gulbarga 527) in 22 village centres. Of them over 500 households were canvassed for employment and economic development schemes. In Udipi the sampling procedure adopted was stratified random sampling without replacement; and in Gulbarga it was purposive sampling (alteration was made based on Udipi experience). For detailed methodology see volume two.

Considering the utilisation of all economic and social development schemes included in the field survey nearly 74 per cent or two thirds of the total of 606 households in Udipi were above the poverty line with income of Rs. 4,001 and above. One fourth of total number of households had income of Rs. 10,000 and above, while about 37 per cent had income of Rs. 5,001 to Rs. 10,000.

257 of the 606 households had utilised one or more of the economic schemes (SFDA/IRDP, ITDP, EAS/NREP, Janatha housing and institutional credit). When analysed in terms of income, only 28 per cent of the total households which utilised these schemes were below the poverty line, i.e. with annual income upto Rs. 4,000, in other words as many as 72 per cent of the households utilising the schemes were above the poverty line. And what is more, 61 per cent of the total households utilising these schemes had annual income of Rs. 5,001 and above; and 25.68 per cent Rs. 10,000 and above.

Included in these 257 families were 57 households which received SFDA/IRDP assistance. Of them 78 per cent were above the poverty line, 20 per cent had income between Rs. 2,001 to Rs. 4,000, and there was not a single household which belonged to the poorest of the poor category i.e. with income upto Rs. 2,000.

Besides, 20 households out of 57 had income of Rs. 5,001 to Rs. 10,000 and 17 had income of Rs. 10,000 and above.

In respect of Janatha housing 63 per cent of the households assisted were above poverty line. Only 6 households (out of 93) receiving Janatha housing had income upto Rs. 2,000. More than 52 per cent had income of Rs. 5,001 and above.

90 per cent of those receiving co-operative credit had income of Rs. 5,001 and above i.e. clearly above the poverty line. There was not a single household with income upto Rs. 2,000 who had received co-operative credit. In terms of commercial banks credit, two thirds of the total recipients had income of Rs. 5,001 and above. There was however one solitary borrower out of 43 where income was upto Rs. 2,000 per annum. Of the 28 tribal families assisted under ITDP, over 64 per cent had income of Rs. 4,001 and above.

In the utilisation of the training schemes relating to agriculture, three fourths of the trainees were in the income range of Rs. 4,001 and above, in TRYSEM scheme this income group accounted for 100 per cent of the trainees; and in the Khadi & Village Industries Training its share was 75 per cent.

Of the total of 427 households in Gulbarga availing of different types of socio-economic schemes, 251 or over 58 per cent were in the income level of Rs. 4,001 and above, while the poorest among the poor were less than 10 per cent.

Of the 258 out of 427 households which utilised various economic schemes, 167 of about 60 per cent had income of Rs. 4,001 and above. Only 23 households i.e. less than 9 per cent had income upto Rs. 2,000.

Among the 150 households out of 258 which availed of SFDA/IRDP assistance, less than 10 per cent were in the category of poorest of the poor i.e. income upto Rs. 2,000; 60 per cent had income of Rs. 4,001 and above including 44 per cent with income of Rs. 5,001 and above.

Among the 55 households provided were Janatha housing 33 households or 60 per cent above poverty line and had income of Rs. 4,001 and above. Only one solitary household had income upto Rs. 2,000.

100 per cent of the households receiving co-operative credit had income of Rs. 5,001 and above. However, in the case of commercial credit 50 per cent of the households were in this income range while about 20 per cent were the poorest among the poor with income upto Rs. 2,000.

The distribution of households utilising development schemes, classified by expenditure varies significantly from that classified by income. See table 1. For example, in Udipi while 74 per cent of households utilising different types of socio-economic schemes were above poverty line

(income above Rs. 4,001), as many as 87 per cent households had expenditure above Rs. 4,001. Similarly in Gulbarga while by income 58 per cent households utilising socio-economic schemes were above poverty line, by expenditure 83 per cent reported expenditure of more than Rs. 4,000 per annum.

To what extent this discrepancy is due to indebtedness is difficult to say, but indebtedness is probably an important factor in making up **excess of expenditure as income**. Analysis of the households by assets presents a very different picture than that obtained via income and expenditure categories. Asset categories were (1) landless, (2) marginal farmer, (3) small farmer and (4) big farmer. Each of these categories was divided into (a) without animals and (b) with animals. See Table 2.

It shows that mere categorisation as landless, marginal and small farmer as is done under IRDP etc does not provide a reliable guide to the poor unless we know all other productive assets (land, animals, equipment etc) at least their value and condition.

If, using the asset classification, we take all the landless and marginal and small farmers with or without animals to belong to the poverty population, the field survey shows that such households form nearly 70% of the total household utilising socio-economic schemes in Gulbarga and 94 per cent in Udipi. This is the very opposite picture of what emerged from categorisation by income and expenditure criteria.

Since poverty alleviation programmes are specially focussed on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the bulk of whom are acknowledgedly below poverty line, the study also looked at the share of these special groups in the utilisation of development schemes. In respect of all socio-economic development schemes, the proportion of households of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the total households assisted was a little less than 13 per cent in Udipi and 51 per cent in Gulberga. The focus in Gulberga was clearly pronounced towards these groups compared with Udipi. In economic schemes the share of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes households in the total number of households assisted with economic schemes was 29 per cent in Udipi and 64 per cent in Gulberga. In training, the proportion of these special groups in the total number of trainees was 20 per cent in Udipi and 50 per cent in Gulberga.

Taken together, all the above facts and figures highlight the propensity of all the socio-economic development programmes to embrace higher income groups and shun the poor. Whether it is the most backward district or the most advanced district the utilisation of various types of development schemes are concentrated in the hands of those already in a higher income bracket, contrary to the expressly stated objective of according priority to those at the bottom.



The reason for non-utilisation of economic and social development schemes by households (interviewed in the same villages where those utilising the schemes were interviewed) revealed that non-awareness of the existence of the schemes was stated to be the single largest reason. Some of the households stated that the schemes were not accessible to them because of lack of time to pursue or inability to provide the security expected by the banks. In Udipi, of those availing different types of development schemes more than 80 per cent had had primary education and above; while in Gulberga the corresponding figure was 45 per cent. Educational level has some influence on awareness which has an impact on improving access to development schemes.

To conclude, the survey of utilisation of development schemes by 1,033 households in Udipi and Gulberga taluks shows that:

1. Development schemes are utilised mainly by those above the poverty line and not the poor, let alone the poorest of the poor.
2. It takes a year for the assistance to reach the beneficiaries after the application for the scheme.
3. There is not enough awareness/knowledge about the various schemes.

4. Requirement of security for bank loans restricts the poor from making use of the schemes, even when they are offered to them.
5. Animals or poultry given to beneficiaries cannot be housed properly because of lack of space in the huts of the poor households.
6. Employment in EAS/NREP is taken up by ~~immigrant~~ migrant labour as local labour is not available for such low wages (Rs. 5 per day). The community contributed funds, so that labourers could be paid a higher wage. Although the Panchayat is supposed to undertake the works, it is ultimately the contractors who execute them.
7. Developmental schemes reach only the easily accessible villages. Local leaders have to take the initiative to get the schemes for their village.
8. Mid-day meals programme is not based on local food habits. In some cases, the food was not cooked properly. In some schools the students had to collect the firewood and also cook the food and **there** was no supervision by the teachers

9. Women from the very low income families view Mahila Mandals as an organisation meant for the educated women and for those with free time.
10. Most people could never meet officials and even if they met them, nobody had the patience to explain the details of the schemes to them. However, some of the functionaries felt that making the people understand the concept of 'subsidy' was very difficult and that people came forward to accept the schemes only when it was absolutely necessary for them. A detailed analysis of functionaries responses is attempted in the next section.

Though from the 'development index' of the State Government, Dakshina Kannada district ranks number 2 and has ~~pro-rata~~ a larger literate population but seen from the status of local self-government in Udipi taluk the area could hardly be considered as advanced. Udipi's Taluk Development Board and 69 villave panchayats have been under suspension since 1978. This state of affairs is not confined to this taluk alone in the district. Their supersession may well have occurred not because of any incapacity of these bodies to govern themselves but for extraneous political considerations. It shows however that the development index does not consider active and live local bodies as one of the yardsticks

of government. The moribund State of local bodies in the taluk appears particularly odd when it is claimed that the taluk has 97 yuvak mandals, 58 mahila mandals 70 libraries, 40 community centres and a vast network of banking and educational institutions.

Table 1 - Utilisation of Development Schemes : Distribution of Households by Income and Expenditure, Gulbarga and Udipi Taluks, 1982-83

	Gulbarga				Udipi			
	Exp		Income		Exp		Income	
	AA	BB	AA	BB	AA	BB	AA	BB
(A) <u>Below Poverty Line</u>								
Upto 2000	1.4	0.7	9.6	8.0	2.6	2.3	5.8	3.3
2001-3000	6.0	5.3	15.5	15.0	3.7	6.7	10.4	11.2
3001-4000	9.6	8.0	16.2	17.0	6.7	7.3	10.1	11.6
Sub-total	17.0	14.0	41.3	40.0	13.0	16.3	26.3	26.1
(B) <u>Above Poverty Line</u>								
4001-5000	16.1	13.0	11.9	13.0	11.4	15.0	10.1	11.6
5001-10000	49.6	50.2	32.3	34.0	44.4	36.7	37.5	36.3
10001-above	17.3	22.8	14.5	13.0	31.2	32.0	26.1	26.0
Sub-total	83.0	86.0	58.7	60.0	87.0	83.7	73.7	63.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total HHS	427	285	427	285	606	303	606	303

Source: Field Survey, ISST

AA = All socio-economic schemes

BB = Economic schemes only

Table 2 - Utilisation of Development Schemes:  
Distribution of Households by Asset,  
Gulbarga and Udipi Taluks, 1982-83

	Gulbarga	Udipi
<u>Without Animals</u>		
Landless	58 (13.6)	91 (15.0)
Marginal	15 (3.5)	37 (6.0)
Small	22 (5.1)	-
Big	19 (4.4)	-
<u>With Animals</u>		
Landless	88 (20.6)	120 (19.8)
Marginal	29 (6.8)	251 (40.4)
Small	86 (20.1)	70 (11.5)
Big	110 (25.7)	37 (6.1)
TOTAL	427	606 (100)

Perceptions of Functionaries and OthersFunctionaries

There is a very large body of government functionaries of various ranks spread over different departments in a district today. In district Dehradun for instance which is a relatively smaller district, there were 72 class I and class II officers, 925 class III and 571 class IV, i.e. a total of 1,575 functionaries spread over about 21 different departments dealing with administration of revenue and development. Besides, there is the standard organisation at the Block level under the BDO including the VLWs as shown in Chart 4 . Apart from the BDO's organisation, there are a number of other extension functionaries in a Block as shown in Chart 5 .

From the view point of the study of the development delivery system it was considered useful to gather written and oral views of the major development functionaries and their perceptions about the success of the programmes being implemented by them and whether in their view the benefits of the programmes were flowing to those for whom they are intended, the nature of problems being encountered and their main suggestion.

Consider first written responses from district (Gulbarga) level functionaries of 8 departments/agencies viz. District Rural Development Society (DRDS), Social Welfare, Agriculture, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Sericulture, Forest and Industry summarised in Chart 6 .

Two answers stand out. First, practically all departmental spokesmen believe that their programmes are successful. Only two departments, Social Welfare and Forest, qualified that their programmes were partly successful. Second, the departments uniformly believe that their assistance is reaching the poor or the target groups.

Lack of coordination with other departments and with banks are identified as the more widespread of the implementation problems by a majority of the departmental respondents. These are followed by lack of infra-structure, transport and staff.

For improving implementation, a majority of the departmental functionaries suggest decentralisation of decision-making i.e. delegation of powers and authority to the field officers of the respective departments. Other suggestions towards the same and include community participation, involvement of voluntary organisation and advanced training for field workers.

For improving community participation in development programmes, most departmental functionaries stressed the need for great propaganda of the schemes.

Another suggestion is quicker delivery of benefits under the various schemes and higher wages under the employment programmes. This give a clue to their concept of 'community participation' in development programmes.



None of the departments have envisaged any role for the community in the planning and implementation of the programmes. To them 'decentralisation' means delegation of powers and authority to the field officers by the departmental heads and not any transfer of powers to elected panchayats.

Though the problem of coordination with other departments is most frequently mentioned as an implementation problem, none of the departments made any specific suggestions as to how to overcome it or minimise it.

In another district (Mysore) group discussions were held with departmental heads at two levels - block (Nanjangud) and district (Mysore). The following is a brief summary of these discussions:-

A group discussion with about 15 field functionaries from Gram Sevaks/village Accountants to Asstt. Commissioner, focussed on the question: what would they do to improve/accelerate development based on their long experience and intimate contact with rural population: were they put in policy and decision-making positions? Most participants (across hierarchy) laid emphasis on 'education' of the masses. They feel that development cannot be sustained or accelerated without a process of 'self-improvement'. They had not been able to give any push to the process of self-improvement because too much expectation had been built on government to "do" development.

~~What is the degree of your contact with the community?~~  
 Are the recipients of IRDP benefits - the poorest in the village, for instance, selected in consultation with and in the open meeting of the gram sabhas? "No, gram sabhas are not consulted". Why not? Is it not laid down in the guidelines? Answer, no. But presidents of the village panchayats or MLAs are consulted. A view was also expressed that gram sabhas if consulted will not select the poorest.

Who formulates the project for the selected families? First the answer was: the families themselves. But then how is it that they are going in for milch cattle which they cannot maintain for lack of land and other resources. They prefer milch cattle because the subsidy is high. They did not subscribe to the view that the functionaries themselves induce the poor to take up subsidy-intensive activities. Why are milch cattle given in villages where there are no overhead marketing facilities. Is this too not against the guidelines? There was no clear answer. The group was then answered what they regard as their main problems.

- 1) Lack of staff: Heavy load as a result. Suggestions: three BDOs instead of one; and 15 Gram Sewaks instead of 5 or 6.
- 2) Lack of cooperation from other departments which are quite independent of BDO e.g. agriculture, animal husbandry.
- 3) All 'benefits' have to be given in kind to avoid misuse. But purchases in kind, as for example, milch cattle are full of abuse. They have to go to a shandy to

buy milch cattle for IRDP recipients. And there the prices are pushed up very high (almost annulling the benefit of the subsidy). This leads to underhand dealings. These could be minimised if there were 'calf-rearing' and 'sheep breeding' centres run by the animal husbandry department. There is a provision for these in the plan, but they have not been set up as yet.

At the district level, the Deputy Commissioner, who is also Chairman of DRDS, and the Special Deputy Commissioner incharge of development highlighted some of the inbuilt weaknesses of the system. For example, 28 sectoral departments had to issue sanctions to make up for the 'integrated' Tribal Development Plan. With the best of will it was impossible to get these sanctions to issue in a meaningful sequence and on time; and this is particularly bad in a tribal development endeavour where one is dealing with a 'community'. While some procedural reforms had been introduced in the recent past but "much more needed to be done to speed up and restore credibility". They felt also that the challenging task of formulating projects for the poor and monitoring could do with support of selected local research, teaching or action institutions which could be competitively assigned to different blocks in the district without adding much to permanent staff.

All the BDOs in the district who had assembled for a periodic BDOs meeting with the DC and other district

officers present made the following suggestions:

- (1) Voluntary agencies had direct and better contact with the people and wherever available should be used by the administration.
- (2) Benefits of government schemes should be directed towards the community and not individuals.

In Rajasthan the issues were discussed at two successive workshops (at Jaipur and Udaipur) each including amongst its participants almost all District collectors and a mix of Zila Pramukhs. Participants also included some Block Samiti Pradhans, village Sarpanchs, and Heads of Departments and other senior officers at the State level.

These discussions highlighted the lack of rapport between elected Panchayatiraj Chiefs and the district officials on the one hand and the district officials and Heads of Departments on the other. These problems are not new but what was new was the discovery that no ground rules have been evolved yet in these spheres as an institutional solution. Some of the commonly agreed suggestions were:

- (1) All the Pramukhs and officials, participating in the discussions, are of the view that Gram Sabha is the foundation of democracy, and without making it strong and effective, neither democracy will be sound nor development will get the right direction.

- (2) All the three levels Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad should be entrusted sufficient powers and activities and the powers and duties at the three levels should be defined clearly to avoid any confusion and implemented properly.
- (3) The Pramukh should be the Chairman of all Samitis for the development programmes at District level.
- (4) The development programmes at district level should not be parallel to Zila Parishad.
- (5) For success of Panchayati Raj, cooperation between public representative and staff/officials of State must be there. Mistakes can be committed at both ends and there should be arrangements to stop and control them.

A District Planning Officer in Rajasthan explained that there was no such thing as 'District Planning'. The district plan, to the extent it exists, is merely a collection of different schemes included in the annual budget of different sectoral departments. The District Planning Officer's post had existed for sometime but it had now been transferred to the DRDA. His main work is to prepare an annual Action Plan for IRDP. The Action Plan is mainly a summation of the proposals received from the different blocks showing what kind of activities the households wished to undertake what kinds of schemes. Many times the proposals represent wish of the family but the choice of the functionaries themselves.

On bottlenecks in initiating District Plan, he referred to the Dantwala Committee's recommendation of a multi-disciplinary team of at least five persons to be

appointed at the district level for formulation of a District Plan. This list, he said, had been curtailed to three by the Ajit Majumdar Committee with the Planning Commission. The State Government had reduced the list to two and finally to one effectively. Currently besides the District Planning Officer only one post had been filled generally a subject matter specialist. Apart from this skeleton staff he said there is no indication of any unallocated resources for planning from below.

The District Planning Officer having been placed under the DRDA, his work area was confined to only a few specified programmes being operated in the district by DRDA. A number of development programmes were outside the DRDA including NREP. In the circumstances, "District Planning" is a complete misnomer". When asked whether in order to improve their stock of knowledge, the District Planning Officers were regularly supplied copies of various national or state level evaluation reports such as PEO's evaluation reports on Antyodaya, Food-for-Work etc or copies of the Economic Survey of the State, the answer was in the negative.

When asked about the follow-up action taken on the recommendations of the Bikaner Conference which was to give "rebirth" to the Panchayat Raj system, he stated that one of the decisions was that RAS (Rajasthan Administrative Service) personnel will man about 110 blocks in the state i.e. about half of the total. But though nearly 18 months had passed, nothing had been done to implement the decision. The same was true about similar other decisions taken at the Bikaner Conference.

Interviewing an Additional Deputy Commissioner, incharge of development, we enquired what lessons could be extracted in respect of decentralisation from a State like Rajasthan, which was a pioneer in this field. "But there is no decentralisation in Rajasthan. It may have a reputation outside for having been a pioneer state in Panchayati Raj, in fact, the powers, resources, the involvement of these bodies in planning and implementation was nominal". He said, a number of programmes had been loaded on the existing field organisation which was too feeble. Steps taken for strengthening it have been highly inadequate. The limited available field organisation was being driven to perform but there were obvious limits to how much it could do if quality and integrity had also to be maintained. For example, he stated that "since these family oriented programmes were started, nearly 14000 heads of cattle were reported to have been purchased and added in the district, but the latest census figures do not show any such addition. To what extent these distortions have been introduced by subsidy programmes? According to him it was a very serious question requiring urgent consideration. It would be far better to give a reasonable initial period in which no recoveries were made but that the full value of the investment should be recovered without subsidy. He felt that interest rates could be subsidised but subsidy on capital was proving a great source of corruption and distortion in the nature of schemes undertaken.

One of the District Magistrates of UP, who is also Chairman of DRDA holds that "The number of instructions, procedures, forms, norms, amendments, and modifications in

every scheme are even beyond the comprehension of the project officer responsible for the implementation of this (IRDP) scheme. Several government officials themselves may not be able to fill up the forms and complete the formalities without taking outside help". Further, "only those people who have money or who can part with a portion of their loan and further those who can effectively follow up their case can get the loan...this leads invariably to influential people benefitting from such schemes". As for transfer of land asset, "poor people especially Scheduled Castes, are given land which is barren, uneven on the banks of ponds, nullahs or rivers. This is why these beneficiaries steeped in poverty and given land of such poor quality can never reap any worthwhile benefits from such schemes".

In Bihar discussions, the participants were about 35 functionaries including a mix of District Collectors, BDOs, Assistant Extension Officers, Gramsevaks and Sevikas, district level functionaries of various departments, bank representatives, village industries development agencies and some voluntary organisations. Specifically, on IRDP, the highlight was on the "indifferent process of planning"; lack of coordination



with financial institutions and between various departments. One of the District Collectors also sketched out the painful anatomy of corruption which he felt had become so entrenched as to defy solution. Target-setting (number of families to be assisted and the amount to be spent within a financial year) were reported to be at the root of distortion of aims of the programmes and lack of honesty in implementation.

In Karnataka discussions were held with the departmental heads at the State capital in Bangalore in order to understand the process of planning and plan coordination. While the results of these discussions appear in detail in volume 2, it would suffice to say that there are no inter-sectoral linkages between the various sectoral programmes planned and implemented by the different departments. Though each of these passed through one central point, the Planning Department. The latter has no system or mechanism to bring about harmony, consistency and coordination in the sectoral programmes at the planning stage. There is neither a system of regular monitoring or evaluation. There are a number of useful evaluation studies undertaken by the State Planning Department itself but the wisdom of these is not imbibed and absorbed into the process and substance of planning and implementation.

In Karnataka, various aspects of implementation of the important poverty alleviation programmes including IRD, Trysem, NREP, DPAP, Co-operative Credit were discussed by Chairman (Deputy Commissioner) and representatives of all the District Rural Development Societies at a State level

workshop at the Administrative Training Institute, alongwith representatives of the Central and State Government. Problems with Sectoral departments occupied the discussions such as:

- (1) Department of animal husbandry and veterinary services is not taking sufficient action for upgrading the local cattle to meet the increasing demand of milch animals.
- (2) Though the Agro-industries Corporation is supposed to execute the borewell scheme for the Scheduled Castes (under the special components plan) on a turnkey basis, the electric installation is not done without which the water cannot be pumped.
- (3) Though it is clearly contemplated that the soil conservation works and the minor irrigation work (under DPAP) should be done in the same compact block with water shed management this is not scrupulously followed and the advice of the Director of Agriculture that the conventional type of bunds under the soil conservation programme are of "dubious value" is not being heeded.
- (4) There is undue delay caused by the PWD in scrutinising the estimate and in according technical sanctions for the works under the DPAP. There was a unanimous view that PWD is causing undue delay in giving technical sanctions of the work undertaken by even others like BDOs.
- (5) The PWD charges as much as 17% of the cost of the estimate as departmental charges.

Since the focus on aiding individual households under IRDP was borne out of the Antyodaya programme in Rajasthan, the perceptions of a senior Rajasthan administrator on

programme implementation, and its limitations are relevant:

- (1) The programme succeeded initially because of good political support and dynamism exhibited by the district administration. The clarity of channels of communication between Shri Shekhawat, the Chief Minister and collectors helped in enthusing the latter for achievement of results. The C.M.'s office as also the Policy Planning Cell which we had created in our office played a useful role in generating ideas and keeping the Chief Minister informed about the progress and pitfalls.
- (2) The District Collectors were posted for their dynamism and merit. Most of them were direct recruits in their twenties or early thirties and were willing to innovate and experiment.
- (3) Problem areas:
  - (a) Lack of after care: The Government machinery finds it easy to get target oriented. As new beneficiaries come in, attention gets shifted from the earlier beneficiaries who may need financial assistance. Poverty cannot be eliminated by providing one time credit or subsidy. There is need for reinforcement credit. Organisation of after care services become very important. These have been neglected even in IRD. It would be difficult for the administration alone to provide such after care services. The role of local panchayats and voluntary groups is very important in this regard. Village teacher can be made social visitor to the poor families for periodically visiting them and checking up about their needs. He can be given prepaid post cards for informing the Vikas Adhikari or Project

Officer, the association to function. This would act as a pressure group on the administration. As the SC/ST have developed a lobby of their own, Antyodayee persons would also develop a lobby of their own for betterment of their conditions.

- (b) Formation of District/Block Association of Antyodayee persons: Administration, howsoever benign it may be, cannot feel the pain and miseries experienced by the poor. The poor themselves need to be conscientised about the causes of their poverty and the oppressive social and economic system. Earlier they did not have identity and official support. Now every village has 10-15 poor families who can collectively raise their voice about the delays in assistance, neglect, provision and denial of benefits.

It would be helpful if district or block level associations of Antyodayees are registered under the Societies Registration Act. The Government may provide managerial subsidy to absorb the initial costs.

As its operation level goes up, higher credit needs may arise. If a drop out phenomenon is to be avoided then such a family should be kept on mailing list of development, so to say, for a period of at least 4-5 years.

- (c) Market Surveys: Informal market in rural areas cannot absorb many persons in rural vocations. Soon there would be glut of tailors, carpenters etc. trained under Trysem. There should be a block-wise survey to identify the new employment opportunities and train people for those vocations.

It would be useful to adopt a group approach in planning common facilities for leather work, handicrafts etc. There could be leather estates where workers can come and produce better quality shoes using better equipments and getting better hides and skins at proper prices with credit facilities.

- (d) Flexibility in assistance package:  
Flexibility given to local administration would generate enthusiasm and involvement in them. It would enrich the content of the programmes.
- (e) Creation of a Risk Fund: Many poor families due to some reason or the other would not be able to fully utilise the assistance. Some times there is a loss of ad. production capacity created. The Risk Fund should be able to help them.
- (f) Periodic monitoring and evaluation:  
This is ignored, but it is a must.

### Block Level

Two individual interviews with Block Development Officers here bring out their tasks, problems, they face and some of their comments. The two included one each from Rajasthan and Karnataka.

One of the Block Development Officers interviewed in February 1983 had been working in this Block since March 1981. He was recruited under the State Administrative Service in the year 1979. He had been appointed, to start with, in another block for the probation period and training. During the probation period he worked as a village accountant,

revenue inspector, sireshtedar in PWD office, forest department, treasury, court and police department to acquire knowledge of all these departments.

Before he took over the charge of BDO in this Block seven BDOs had served since 1972.

He is in charge of all the developmental scheme of the government. He issues licences to Irrigation pumpsets, and Gobar gas, IRDP, EAS, NREP, Janata Housing Schemes are undertaken through him. There are extension workers and junior engineers to look after the work at the grass-root level. The BDO supervises the functions of the extension workers and checks the work undertaken by the extension worker. They also help the banks to recover loan given under development schemes.

The Deputy Commissioner gets all funds from the government and he distributes the funds and resources for developmental activities. The BDO is fully incharge of all the funds and resources sanctioned for his Block, including distribution to the beneficiaries.

The personnel working in the block office under the direction of BDO consists of (1) Sirestadar-Manager, (2) First Division Clerk-3, (3) Second Division Clerk-4, (4) Social Education Officer-1, (5) Panchayat Extension Worker-1, (6) Two Rural Engineer-Junior Engineer, (7) Grama Sevakas-6, (8) Social Welfare Inspector (vacant), (9) Co-operative Extension Officer-1, (10) Bore Well Mechanic-1, (11) Progress Assistant-1, and (12) Mukhya Sevika-1.

On problems, the BDO regards that the staff is insufficient. There is much work load on the BDO to supervise all the schemes. He cannot go for frequent visits. He faces the problem from bank officials as they feel that BDO is fully incharge of the development schemes and they do not take much interest. The banks do not have sufficient field officers to scrutinise the applications themselves. "Whenever the new schemes are implemented by the government, BDOs do not get any orientation and they just get instructions. This makes them to have insufficient knowledge about the new schemes and it makes them to face many practical problems".

He does not face any senior-junior relationship problem in his office even though he is much younger to other officers under him. He says, "they give respect to power and so I do not face any problem". However, "sometimes we have to face political pressure and we oblige the politicians but never go out of legal procedures".

#### Suggestions for improvement

1. Adequate office staff should be provided.
2. Additional extension officers.
3. Independent village accountant for each village- instead of one village accountant for a group of villages.
4. There should be sufficient orientation to the BDO and other field staff regarding the scheme.
5. BDO's work load should be reduced.
6. Wherever the bank people are involved in the development activities, there should be some control over bank officers.

7. For effective coordination all Govt. staff working in the Block should be under the BDO.
8. All the above said problems should be removed and then only the BDOs can function smoothly.

The BDO of Kherwara stated that much of what was claimed to have been transferred and delegated to the Panchayati Raj bodies had in fact not yet been transferred or delegated. The dis-satisfaction of the elected representatives was, therefore, genuine. There was no system of preparing a block plan and without it the task of coordination became even more difficult. He claimed that he was able to achieve fairly good coordination at the block level through this his personal approach. But there was nothing definitive or delineated in the system to ensure or enforce such coordination. Similarly in the programmes stated to have been entrusted to the Panchayat Samiti such as IRDP, the role of the block was mainly of a post office. The bank and the DRDA are the final approving authority.

The Block Development Officer of Dhundla (Chittorgarh District) felt that the development programme should concentrate on two basic things (1) Shiksha (education) and (2) Samanata (equality or removal of income and other disparities). He felt that the school coverage of the population needed considerable improvement and so also the quality of education imparted. The drop out rate was very high because of lack of adequate income opportunities for the parents which forced them to keep their little children away from school and put them to some income earning activity however small or looking after household duties to enable their parents to concentrate on wage work.



Village Level

A number of village level workers (VLW) or village extension workers (VEW) and one gram sevika were also interviewed.

One of the VEWs is working under the T&V system. His functions include direction for land preparation, distribution of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, demonstration on methods of preparing field, inter-culture, rat control and grain storage. He provides training on all the above topics to the 548 families he is expected to contact. He has selected 72 as contact families. Of these 30 are small farmers and 42 marginal farmers. Within this he has made the selection of contact farmers on caste basis more or less in proportion to the representation of the caste in the 548 families he is expected to reach.

He is not connected with the panchayat or the BDO. His line of command moves upwards to Agriculture Extension Officer at the block level to District Agriculture Officer to Deputy Director Agriculture division level and Director Agriculture at the State level. All village extension workers meet once a month, meet the District Agriculture Officer at the district level once a month for submitting progress report, for receiving training from seniors and preparing plan of action for the following month. But formal training he received only in 1968 for two years at the time of joining.

He was followed through on the field trip to 5 villages. Among his achievements in the previous year he counted loans he secured for 12 farmers for agriculture purposes. Of this

5 had taken loans for buffaloes and 7 for bullock pairs. The loans were obtained from under the IRDP. The achievements also include distribution of inputs during Rabi and Kharif and in each case it was stated that the quantities of seed, fertilizer, pesticides, rat control, chemicals were higher than the target set for him. In addition 65 trees were planted.

As for changes his major concern is that the VEW should handle the supply of inputs and not the cooperative society which he says works only between 10 AM and 5 PM and its fixed timing is of no practical help to the villagers. He has so far not been provided with a staff quarter though PWD entrusted the construction to a contractor about two years ago. His family which is engaged in agriculture stays in a different district and he is in frequent contact with them.

Another VLW works directly under the BDO and his work loan seems to involve mainly the IRDP loan and subsidy activity on the one hand and on the other he receives a number of visitors and petitions about land allotment or land disputes of one description or the other and local complaints including between individuals and the panchayat. As for problems, he feels that there is only one way communication with his bosses. He has only to listen to them but they have no time or inclination to listen to him.

One of the village level workers interviewed was working as a Village Accountant and Panchayat Secretary since 1972 that is over past 10 years. He is incharge of a cluster of four villages. He also has an additional charge of two villages.

His native place is another Taluk. He passed his Higher Secondary Certificate and was appointed as Village Accountant in 1972. He had undergone three months training immediately after his appointment. The training was mainly in the functions of a village accountant.

All the records regarding land holdings is maintained by him, he collects land revenue of his villages. He issues all the certificates of caste, land holding, income etc needed for the identification of beneficiaries for developmental activities. Apart from village accountant's work he is working as village panchayat secretary. He conducts meetings of village Panchayat Board and is responsible for all the social functions in the village. He plays important role in forming of Yuvaka, Yuvaki and Mahila Mandals. As a Panchayat Secretary he has the power to spend Rs 50 per month on any matter with the approval of the Panchayat President.

His role in implementing the developmental schemes is to provide the identified persons with caste, land holdings and annual income certificates. He has an Assistant who accompanies him during the time of revenue collection. He has no power over the revenue money collected and hands it over to his supervisor (Revenue Inspector). Apart from his official duty he has to motivate the people for family planning. Every month he has to get 5-10 cases for family planning (Tubectomy and Vasectomy).

The BDO conducts meetings once in a month. During that meeting they discuss about collection of house-tax, professional tax, issuing of licence, drinking water problems and the BDO asks suggestions how these could be improved.

During the collection of revenue they face many problems. The big landlords who have the political influence are not ready to pay the revenue in time. He has to visit their houses many times which makes it very difficult for them to look into the other works.

He faces conveyance problem while visiting the villages, sometimes walking 8-10 K.M. from the office. Apart from that, he is not entitled to get travelling allowance while attending the monthly meeting at Taluk headquarters. The stationery supplied to maintain all the records is not sufficient. There is no housing and he does not have government quarters.

The records maintained by a VLA are: (1) R.T.C. (Record, Tenancy, Crops); (2) Jama Bandi - village statistics, Geographical area, Survey Settlement, Survey numbers, boundary, land holdings, objection disputes, illegal construction without permission, Inam Jameen, the land owned by Temples, Mosques, and the other charitable institutes; (3) Mutation Register - change of land holding right, and transfer of land holding; (4) Kirdi - Cash Book; (5) Dispute Register; (6) Khata (ledger) - land revenue, land holding etc household-wise; (7) Attendance Register; and (8) Death & Birth Register.

Another VLW whose family income is a little over Rs. 20,000 per annum and works mainly in the tribal area, has no means of transport and the distance of the 16 villages which he has to cover from the panchayat samiti ranges from 1 km to 29 kms. He usually walks to the villages in his jurisdiction, but of the two thana panchayats he has not been able to visit any village in one of the Thana panchayats which

is further away. He feels that he cannot concentrate on his work due to uncertain and shifting policies of the government. He has been entrusted the job of group secretary for panchayats and has to look after all the activities under the panchayat sarpanch. He would much like to be left alone as a VLW without the responsibilities of a group secretary.

With regard to the tribals he has particularly sharp views. He feels that they are not interested in doing anything for themselves and expect government to do every thing for them. "They (the tribals) feel that if nothing is done for them it will only harm the government and therefore government is bound to do something for their development". He is of the view that this feeling has got deeply set in the minds of the tribals and it would be far better for government not to extend them so much assistance. For himself he has no problems. He belongs to this village. His wife is employed in a hospital in another district at district headquarters where the children are receiving their education. In the 8 villages where he explained his achievements in the previous year and listed them, they all related to distribution of loans for buffaloes and bullock pairs. In terms of agriculture involving 25 families, he had helped 3 persons one each for setting up a shop including a tea shop, a barber shop and a ready-made clothes shop. Under "village and cottage industries" assistance was given through him to one comb maker, one bamboo maker, one brick layer and one leather worker.

When the people who received loans through him were contacted separately, not one was aware of the duration of the loan except that they had to pay a monthly instalment of Rs 50. Just as they were not aware of the period within which the loan had to be repaid they were also not aware of the rate of interest.

In another block, "Seven Days in the Life of a Gramsevika" were observed. She has more than 20 years service to her credit. After she had listed all the achievements as also the problems surrounding her programme, her area of operation and her career, she was asked what alteration would she make were she to become the Prime Minister of India:

She thought for a while and said "I will see to it that all villages have Gramlakshmis" and "Bais", that food is distributed in each Balwadi and the Gram Panchayat gives Rs 25 per month for cooking demonstration each month. There is no proper system of promotions. Look at me, I have been a gramsevika for the last twenty years. If I bribe..... at Bhopal, only then will I be promoted. The poor BD has tried, what can he do, he has always given a good report on my work.

However, as observation days proceeded, many more dimensions were discovered. The training centre being run was full of problems. There were all kinds of allegations/allusions. The instructors had their own story to tell. The moral is that in the absence of any community participation or supervision, doubts continue to be expressed whether all the

trainees do really exist and whether the Government is not being taken for a ride. The worst of the comment was that "all the oil, grain, pulses she just consumes herself and is growing fat on it". All this may be baseless and probably is. But the arrangements made by the Government for implementation of development schemes (which exclude local participation) are such that the very institution of Government as well as its functionaries have been rendered highly vulnerable to this kind of cruel criticism.

IV Summing Up And Some Lessons

Rural India has moved miles since the initiation of the nation-wide Community Development Programme some thirty years ago. There is greater awakening and interest in development. Complaints and dissatisfaction, though galore as we have seen, reflect passion for development - of the right variety and quality.

The preceding historical review, summaries of case studies and perceptions of functionaries and others compel some overall comments on the variety and quality of rural development.

First, the people have no part in development planning or in establishing priorities or implementation. Self-help and the spirit of self-reliance which were prescribed as the main tests of success of the Community Development Programme have been its major casualty. The condition precedent for undertaking a scheme now is not the availability of community contribution but government subsidy. The very word self-help or anything approaching such a concept does not even feature in the current rural development guidelines emanating from the Centre. The preamble of the CD Programme had wanted it to be a programme of the community in which the government was to participate with technical and financial assistance. What obtains on the ground today is the very reverse of this concept - it is a through and through government programme in which the community is asked to participate from time to time.

Government is the "benefactor" and as the abominable phrase goes those who are aided are the "beneficiaries".



Second, there is a plethora of centrally-sponsored schemes but not a single village-sponsored scheme. There is no village planning or local planning. Planning is central.

Third, even central planning is not comprehensive. If planning is allocation of scarce resources in relation to established priorities, it is not evident. For example, as the field reports show at the time the drinking water wells in drought affected villages and half-built harijan houses could not be completed for lack of cement, there was abundant and almost unabashed use of cement in the capital for construction of hotels, stadia and even foot-paths.

Another instance is the provision of food for tribal children in the Ashram School at Kollegal. Their food budget has remained unchanged for the past 17 years making it difficult for the children to get more than one ball of ragi a day. This is stated to be due to lack of resources. But, at the same time, to mention only one example, dearness allowance of Central Government employees has been revised upwards times without number and one single increase in their dearness allowance announced during 1983 is expected to cost the exchequer Rs 175 crores per annum. Children are unquestionably dear to the planners. ("Even marginal investment in child welfare brings manifold returns. Child care must be the corner-stone of all our constructive activities", Prime Minister, Foreword to Profile of the Child in India)<sup>86</sup>. But dearness allowance is reserved exclusively for the governmental functionaries.

Again, while handloom weavers (in one of the block studied) reported that they were idle half the time - this is a widespread phenomenon - and the Plan intended a place of

price for the handlooms, the Sixth Plan Mid-term Appraisal reports that the output of the powerlooms was ahead of the target, which as other studies show was killing handlooms.<sup>87</sup>

Surely there is some connection between the shortage of cement at one place and the excess of it at another, between idle looms in the handloom sector and the excess of production in the powerloom sector, and also painfully between One ragi ball per day for the tribal children and diversion of resources to ensure that the standard of living of a small select section of the people is not allowed to be affected by price rise.

These are but only a few examples of inconsistencies and absence of comprehensive substance in our planning. What is in vogue presently can scarcely qualify for being called Central planning except in a geographical sense, that is, distinguishing it from planning at block, district or State level.

Fourth, the ground level functionaries are involved in implementation but little in planning. The functionaries are numerous but their effectiveness seriously hindered by lack of mutual coordination, lack of delegated authority, lack of motivation and lack of involvement with or answerability to the people and their elected institutions. Lack of coordination of district and lower level functionaries is in-built since much of planning that travels to rural areas is sectoral and not area-based. Departments invariably

are jealous of their jurisdiction and control over their field officers and consequently operate in isolation from each other; and are reluctant to let even technical institutions and voluntary organisations share some of the burden of development, even where the latter have proved their efficacy.

Fifth, in respect of development of human capital or human resources, the situation is equally disappointing. Reaching these programmes to the poorest of the poor and among them to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women to bring them forward in society is a primary plan objective. In the field, these preferred groups are having only peripheral access to IRDP resources or child development services including nutrition. Almost in all blocks the majority of those reaping the benefits of the poverty alleviation programmes (especially IRDP subsidies and MNP benefits) happen to be those already above the poverty line. The programmes of skill development especially TRYSEM have neither sufficient depth to give the trainees capacity for self employment nor do they furnish the ex-trainees with overhead services essential for the success of their small individual ventures. Potable drinking water wells are missing and being acutely missed by the population in a number of villages. Literacy is low, women's appallingly so.

Sixth, the children of the poorest households are still out of the reach of the elementary educational apparatus.

Our educational system persists with its proven irrelevance to the poor. If development is about future, we must worry about the future of the children who have no access to education today. Programmewise, the most urgent innovation required is in the system of school education which as structured at present is leaving out a large number of children of tender age who have to help with household work or to take up employment to earn for the family. The rigid school system including fixed hours and the contents of education unrelated to their needs preclude these children from having any access to education. At this rate the adult education programme may have to be run for hundreds of years. A method has yet to be found of reaching education to these children in the poorest households at hours and in a manner convenient to them, and its contents relevant to their needs.<sup>88</sup>

Seventh, though increasing agricultural production and productivity of marginal and small farmers has been listed as objective number one of the Rural Development Programme in the Plan, in the field it not only does not enjoy any such primacy its pursuit is absolutely perfunctory. This is borne out by the analysis of the contents of IRDP/NREP programmes in almost all blocks. Nanjungud Case Study also analyses the twist being given to cropping pattern where irrigation and land have been harnessed for higher agricultural productivity. It raises pertinent issues involved in indiscriminate substitution of consumption crops by commercial crops which particularly affects the poorest sections.

Eighth, there is evidence across blocks that the objective of harnessing natural resources has suffered severely. There is no block which has not reported serious damage or rather wholesale destruction of forests. The attention to land development essential for agricultural productivity has received little worthwhile or sustained attention.

For example, harnessing of water resources by afforestation and soil conservation in order to increase moisture content for increasing agricultural productivity in rainfed and drought prone areas is an important aim of the rural development programmes. But in the field, even where the special DPA Programme is being implemented, the coverage and manner of implementation are incredibly indifferent. There is also adhocism in the choice and location of projects. There is absence of systematic plans for watershed management which are elementary.

Ninth, there are inconsistencies in village production and other socio-economic data in district hand-books. The manner and methodology of collection of such data is not being adequately supervised and is also subject to departmental bias. Regular monitoring and evaluation which marked the CD Programme in its early years, are conspicuous by their absence. Thus neither the policy maker at the apex nor the functionaries in the field are guided by realistic figures and objective assessment.<sup>89</sup>

Tenth, nowhere in the blocks studied there was the availability of an integrated infrastructure of raw material, marketing and technical assistance to the rural artisans who are regarded as part of the poverty groups. Though a pilot scheme of rural marketing and service centres initiated in 1978-79 had shown signs of success and in 1982 was commended for replication in all the development blocks by the Expert Group of the Planning Commission on Programmes of Poverty Alleviation (headed by one of its members, Dr M.S. Swaminathan) the Planning Commission has not only taken no action on it but simply recorded without basis in the Mid-term appraisal that "the scheme of RMCs set up with the objectives of providing a total package in the nature of raw materials and marketing and act as multi-product outlets for rural industries has not been successful". It is a pity that there should be such little concern for accuracy let alone the artisans.<sup>90</sup>

Eleventh, another remarkable omission is application of science and technology in various aspects of rural economy and life. The type of tools being introduced for example in the name of improved agricultural implements are of little significance. In the case of tools and equipment used by village artisans there was little evidence of any improvement. In a country which has otherwise built up an impressive and elaborate infrastructure of science and technology including space technology, the omission is serious in the context of priority being

expressed in favour of poverty alleviation. Even project formulation is not being done by technical personnel but mainly by the village level worker who single handed is being called upon to find a project, as if by magic, to relieve poverty household by household.

Twelveth, vested with considerable programme and financial patronage without accountability to the local population or their institutions, the delivery mechanism has acquired more than ordinary insensitivity and indifference to not only the people's needs but also to the very national objectives of development of local resources both natural and human. Even sensitive programmes such as abolition of bonded labour, allotment of ceiling-surplus land to the landless, aid to antodaya families, child development services, elementary education, supply of the prescribed minimum needs and subsistence rations to the poor households are all subject to delays, corruption if not downright subversion.

As a result there is a haunting contrariness in the rural landscape today. On the one hand several thousand crores of rupees are being expended on rural development and on the other as Guhan reminds us in his study of village Palakurichi in Tamilnadu<sup>91</sup> that the backbone of India's agriculture "the agricultural labourers, men and women, when no longer fit for normal work have no other course except to face destitution which gets relieved only by death". Only Nagaland has come up with the most thoughtful suggestion to build a food bufferstock in each village to prevent starvation. In Kollegal itself we saw what even one measly ragi ball can do to diminish malnutrition apparent from the difference in the appearance of the few ashram inmates with hundreds of children outside in the villages.

What lessons do we draw for the future?

Admittedly, removal of India's entrenched poverty is no easy task. But we appear to be making it more difficult than necessary. The foregoing review of the past 30 years of rural development experience suggests that we are impervious to lessons from the field. Every two years a learned team or a high powered committee or a pains-taking study has been pointing out almost identical shortcomings, weak spots and errors which plague rural development work. But none of the subsequent reports have been able to notice follow up action or improvement based on insights provided by previous reviews. In an endeavour of this kind past experience is capital and too valuable to be frittered away.

Indeed, the neglect of past experience has been a built-in feature of the Community Development Programme from the start. In the very first official document the community projects administration was asked to draw upon the experience of the then three ongoing projects namely Nilokheri, Etawah and Faridabad which were acknowledged as the "inspiring examples" leading to the creation of the CD Programme. The lessons drawn from these projects were to be pumped into the orientation and training of senior officials who were to mind the Community Development Programme at the Centre and the States. From the literature surveyed there does not appear to be any document or evidence to show that the experience of these three projects was analysed or drawn upon.

Failure to study and incorporate the salient features of the Faridabad project was all the more serious because unlike Etawah and Nilokheri, the Faridabad community rehabilitation project covering a population of about 30,000 started its activities only after the formation of a representative



Project Advisory Committee elected on the basis of adult franchise through secret ballot in 1950. This was perhaps the first Mini election on adult franchise basis in India after Independence. The development plans and programmes in Faridabad were conceived and implemented with the closest association of this elected representative body and their views respected by the Faridabad Development Board which included among others Dr Rajendra Prasad and Prime Minister Nehru; Faridabad Development Board had <sup>also</sup> an unallocated fund which could accommodate local suggestions without difficulty.<sup>92</sup> Had the basic step of starting <sup>the project</sup> with duly elected Project Committees been taken the history and the results of the community development movement in India may have been profoundly different.

Tragically, lessons from the past continue to be ignored.

A first important lesson to be learnt from the history of the CD Programme is to guard against exaggerated claims. CD fell into a trap of its own make-believe figures and lost not only credibility but much else as we saw. But look at the astronomical claims of poverty removal made by the Sixth Plan Mid-term Appraisal, August 1983. There were an estimated 339 million people below poverty line at the beginning of the Sixth Plan (1980-85). According to the Mid-term Appraisal, this number had declined to 282 million in the first two years of the plan. The achievement is attributed to government's anti-poverty programmes such as IRDP and NREP. During the two reference years IRDP subsidy amounted to Rs 418 crores and bank credit to Rs 722 crores; and expenditure on

NREP was Rs 537 crores. It is thus that 57 million people are claimed to have been relieved of poverty in the two year period.

But even these gigantic sums spent on IRDP etc could not have made the expected impression on poverty due to a variety of reasons. Some of the reasons were found in our field studies and acknowledged by the Appraisal such as marginal share of the poor households in programme benefits and absorption of substantial proportion of the benefits by non-poor households. Then there are reasons found by us and other studies but not acknowledged by the Appraisal such as substantial leakages in IRDP subsidies and loans due to widespread corruption. The leakage is about 50 per cent.

However, individual members of the Planning Commission have been acknowledging this phenomenon in some of their public statements. For example, Planning Commission Member A.M. Khusro addressing a seminar at Osmania University (Financial Express, December 26, 1983) was reported as having said that he was "constrained to observe" that in the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) as now implemented, the "Instances of mis-utilisation are not found lacking, inducing not only the officials but also bankers into massive corruption, which is indeed a dangerous trend".

Another reason is that NREP is loaded with works of limited employment value. Public Accounts Committee has in fact wondered whether NREP is not "merely substituting planned levels of employment". There is also official admission that reports from the field are not consistent. 93

Then there is the fact, and this is vital, that such sums as do ultimately manage to trickle down to the poor are not oriented towards raising their productivity as noted earlier and are not often sufficient to raise the family above the poverty line. The average loan per Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste family was as low as Rs 65 and Rs 157 in a Kerala district, and in most districts it was below Rs 1,000.; the quantum of aid provided defies economic rationality - and has reduced poverty reduction into a number game.<sup>94</sup> see also Table 3.

The attack on poverty is thus lacking in both depth and quality. Even in terms of quantity, Rajkrishna has convincingly shown Mid-term Appraisal's claim of having relieved 57 million persons of poverty as statistically untenable. The exaggeration is a staggering 1:10. Indeed, Rajkrishna apprehends that the poverty population instead of diminishing to zero by 1992 as implied in the Mid-term Appraisal's claim, is likely to grow to 472 million by the end of the century - that is exceeding the total population of the country at the time of Independence.<sup>95</sup>

It does not augur well, therefore, for poverty alleviation endeavours that the Planning Commission should fall a prey to unrealistic figures of achievements. There is danger in those figures deluding the policy makers into believing that the battle against poverty is succeeding and succeeding on a large scale. As the field evidence here and elsewhere shows there is success but much too modest to justify complacency let alone drum-beating.

**Table/- Pattern of Flow of Institutional Credit to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes - in Selected States and Districts Around 1980-1981**

State	District	SCs		STs		Average Loan per Loanee (Rs.)		
		a	b	a	b	SCs	STs	Others
Gujarat	Panchmahal	8.8	3.3	52.8	9.8	1,260	628	7,408
	Junagarh	23.4	1.2	0.8	0.06	729	1,000	19,287
	Baroda	15.7	0.8	9.5	0.5	929	876	25,100
Rajasthan	S.Ganganagar	11.9	2.4			4,054	-	29,150
	Jaipur	24.5	2.6	4.7	0.4	367	329	5,482
UP	Hamirpur	14.6	8.4	1.5	0.7	2,391	1,857	4,505
	Allahabad	5.7	1.3			2,640		11,808
	Gorakhpur	15.2	3.5	2.5	0.5	1,199	994	6,760
	Banda	14.5	2.2	0.6	0.06	1,813	1,100	11,201
	Lehradun	11.7	0.7	1.0	0.1	1,058	1,571	18,506
	R. Bareilly	31.1	10.9	-	-	1,385	-	5,693
	Bareilly	5.4	0.2	-	-	1,291	-	30,758
	Jainpur	31.9	10.8	2.02	0.5	1,646	1,212	6,869
	Basti	13.7	1.8	0.51	0.1	1,019	2,300	9,510
Maharashtra	Pune	5.4	0.8	-	-	3,704	-	23,675
Haryana	Ambala	45.7	9.0			1,745		15,652
	Gurgaon	12.0	4.5	1.3	0.7	2,039	2,979	6,255
Tamilnadu	Tirunelveli	0.2	0.2			2,000		2,361
	Nilgiri	18.3	4.1	8.9	2.1	2,634	2,633	16,960
West Bengal	Purulia	12.0	8.1	11.6	4.9	771	488	1,317
	Bankura	25.3	16.2	4.9	3.5	819	871	12,784
Kerala	Ernakulam	33.1	0.2	2.1	0.01	157	65	71,160
	Trivandrum	15.0	9.7	1.8	1.8	651	2,162	2,140
Bihar	Patna	30.3	0.9	0.2	0.02	653	2,333	34,528
	Ranchi	12.0	0.3	14.3	0.5	784	1,007	6,300
	Gaya	23.2	9.7	0.4	0.03	2,339	500	7,414
	Dhanbad	24.5	1.3	20.9	1.0	408	361	15,515
	Madhubani	10.9	14.5			1,865	-	2,847
Orissa	Puri	9.0	1.7	5.4	1.1	1,086	1,182	6,191
	Ganjam	14.5	7.2	3.3	2.8	712	1,195	1,616
Punjab	All 12 Districts (average)	9.9	0.2	-	-	1,339	-	91,590

**Notes:** SCs : Scheduled Castes; STs : Scheduled Tribes

a : Percentage share in total number of those provided bank loans  
b : Percentage share in total bank credit.

Not all the bank branches in a district are covered in each of the above districts, for lack of availability of data.

The second but equally important lesson from the past being ignored is the persistent mismatch between our capacity to generate ideas and our capability to devise and manage institutions worthy of the ideas. There has been a profusion of anti-poverty programmes in recent years, but not a solitary step to improve implementation or to combat a single chronic deficiency in organisation and/or methods.

For example the poverty removal faith is pinned presently on two major programmes IRDP and NREP. The ideas underlying these programmes are laudable - one aims at the poorest of the poor, the antodaya approach, and the other at helping the rural under-employed. Individual projects under these programmes have to be formulated at the block/district level for which no competent and committed arrangements have been made. Nor are these programmes an integral part of an overall area plan be it block, village or district. In fact, Block planning was put under suspension in 1980, the day the coverage of IRDP was extended to all the Blocks in the country. Even where block plans have been prepared and paid for, they are not being utilised. Does this imply Yojana Bhavan's faith in the possibility of development without planning and project formulation without technical expertise?

In the absence of such plans there is no assurance for instance whether adhoc short-run employment projects undertaken under NREP will pave the way for longer-term absorption of labour and that the investment on different projects will be mutually reinforcing. Similarly, IRDP is not "integrated"

in any sense of the term with other development activities in a given area. Minimum needs programme which also represents good ideas is also handicapped for lack of local area plan support on a timely basis. It is thus that institutional deficiencies mutilate good ideas.

Thirdly, the people continue to be alien to development planning and implementation. The central issue in reform of the development administration at the District Level continues to be what it was a hundred years ago in the heydays of colonialism, that is: what place to give to the collector rather than what place to give to the community. The problem of coordination of departmental functionaries at the district level has also defied solution for over a century. The relationship of the Collector with the departmental functionaries remains uncertain and unresolved. There can be no solution of this problem within the framework of a colonial concept of district administration. The problem of coordination will continue so long as district administration remains unaccountable to a representative elected body of the people at that level and all the administrators and technical officers functioning **in the field** are not placed **formally** under the **control** of such a body.

Indeed, it is hypocritical to expect that a colonial type of administration can deliver an egalitarian programme of release from bonded labourhood, land reforms, asset transfer, cooperation, or even productivity-oriented programmes based on land, forests, livestock. No wonder our socialism does not proceed beyond the slogan stage.

Institutional arrangements for development were wobbly from the day go, and continue to be top-heavy and without the pillars of public support. This was the finding of the most illustrious study in the CD series, the Balvantrai Mehta Committee Report. Its solution - democratic decentralisation - aimed at giving institutional roots to development, to provide a development instrument accessible and accountable to the people in the remotest villages and to institutionalise village and local planning and participation in implementation with all feasible local contribution. As the preceding review and field evidence show, the dream of democratic decentralisation is in shambles. The review also shows that this is so not because of any inherent unworkability of the Balvantrai Committee's Scheme of Panchayatiraj, but due more to a lack of a firm commitment in working it. Perhaps its success is feared. But still it offers the most practical scheme of democratic participation of the people in their own development.<sup>96</sup>

Twenty years later, the labours of the Ashoka Mehta Committee were not able to improve upon either the Balvantrai Mehta Committee's scheme or the given situation. Indeed, today there is greater bureaucratisation of the development institutions in evidence than democratisation. The District Rural Development Society, an administrative creature, has divested the elected Zila Panchayats of the core of their functions - planning and programme implementation - and left them naked with only cosmetics to cover themselves with. The latest initiative from the Centre to "decentralise" development at Divisional level is to preclude any possibility of participation by the village and block population in planning or implementation.<sup>97</sup> It is the ultimate mockery of democratic decentralisation. It will develop only bureaucracy.

While panchayats were envisaged as representing political participation, cooperatives were to provide a companion institution for economic participation by the people. But cooperatives too are being supplanted by Corporations (another administrative creature) in almost all spheres - handlooms, milk, credit, marketing, Scheduled Castes development and even women's development to name only a few. To the extent and in the areas where panchayats and cooperatives have managed to survive the advance of bureaucratic encroachments it is due either to benign sufferance or to surrender to dictated terms. Such an existence cannot be expected to provide even an iota of dynamism to the cooperative movement required for solving India's phenomenal and worsening poverty problem. Indeed, field evidence has confirmed that the share of the weaker sections in cooperative credit continues to be low. Statistically we have a huge number of cooperatives 3 lakhs, with over 11 crore members - but they do not add upto a movement. If anything they are stagnant.

Even the Corporations - government's new love - have been reduced to routine administrative culture. For example, under Karnataka's Component Plan for Scheduled Castes, its Agro-industries Corporation was assigned the task of installation of bore wells on a turnkey basis. Obviously, the concept of turnkey is not comprehended and the job is left half-done without electric installation. When the clients, (the District Deputy Commissioners) complained about it at a State level Conference, the response of the Corporation



was not one of assuring prompt compliance expected of a commercial corporation but typically bureaucratic. The clients were asked to approach the administrative department controlling the Corporation and Finance and other departments.<sup>98</sup>

Even the institution of special Area Development Authority has been run to ground as the field evidence pointed out and this is now confirmed by the 1982-83 report of the National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD). Commenting on the performance of Command Area Authorities (CADA) in three States Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra, the report refers to "lack of concerted efforts and planning on the part of the Command Area Authorities" as also "paucity of technical personnel and administrative delays continue to impede the progress of implementation".<sup>99</sup>

Panchayats and Cooperatives apart, the local population is not considered fit for being associated with development even in an advisory capacity. Fair Price and Ration Shops for instance area deal struck between the shopkeepers and the civil supplies departments or their local nominees. There are no local advisory Committees to check whether Fair Price Shops are functioning fairly and honestly and whether the quality of goods supplied by them are fit for human consumption. There are no food Committees either attached to nutrition centres or to public health and veterinary services - the latter even more important because the animals cannot speak for themselves when maltreated. In contrast, we have advisory Committee's galore in urban areas. For

example, there is a Film Advisory Committee ostensibly to watch fitness of films for public consumption, a telephone advisory Committee as a watch dog for adherence to priorities, 'local advisory boards' for banks to watch distribution of credit. Indeed every Ministry or department is adorned by dozens of such bodies. The question is not whether all of them are equally effective but that their appointment reflects the democratic principle of association of the people with the administration.

Not only is local population kept out of development planning and implementation, the indigenous principle itself has no place in it. For example, though the strategy of import substitution has paid good dividends in development of modern industry in India, the indigenous principle (be it manufacture or tools or labour) is apparently stressed only at the port or import level. The field study showed that local (labour) unemployed rural artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths etc who are themselves part of the target group for poverty alleviation programmes are not utilised for making doors, windows and other articles required for rural housing, nor are their services utilised for the manufacture of even simple agricultural implements distributed under IRDP's agricultural component.

Local materials are not utilised for preparation of nutrition-food distributed at the integrated child development centres - (integrated, with nothing). In fact the exclusion of indigenous principle in rural development has been carried

to such ridiculous limits as to bypass local women from cooking the (nutrition) food for distribution to their children at these centres. In the same fashion cropping pattern is being influenced by all considerations except that of local consumption needs despite the fact that there are eminent studies to show that local production of cereals required for local consumption offers greater assurance (than market mechanism or public distribution system) of their availability to the rural poor.<sup>100</sup>

We face as much danger, if not more, from the practitioners' blinkers as from poor practice. The interviews/discussions show that the functionaries are satisfied that the anti-poverty programmes are successful and benefits are reaching the poor. They believe also that greater information through propaganda for government schemes is all that is needed for enhancing peoples' participation. Obviously, participation is seen as longer queues at the official window for IRDP subsidies, and not as a venture in creative thinking and planning by the people and in determining what problems to solve, how and how soon and at what level of quality as envisioned by the founders of the Community Development Programme. What is witnessed today is a debasement of the Community Development philosophy.

A fourth lesson is that in the absence of institutions resting on popular sanction (and not mere participation as the cliché goes) there has been a failure to generate a development process. Without development process, poverty

cannot be ended in the foreseeable future. The showering of "benefits" from above even if on a mammoth number of individual households and villages cannot and has not added up to a self-propelling and self-sustaining development process. What has been achieved so far can be likened to grass without roots. It is patchwork. The exclusion of popular involvement in planning and implementation has implied and imposed excruciating burden on Yojna Bhavan (and some of its companion Bhavans) of generating all the programme ideas, initiative and resources for solving India's poverty problem household by household. It is an impossible task. What they achieve is planted from above, remains on the surface and does not acquire an organic life of its own. The result, as noted earlier is a surfeit of spending without much impact on poverty.

Programmes of poverty eradication of the masses can not be invented centrally. The possibilities and opportunities have to be captured by a close study of the local situation and resources. Individual projects and schemes must be based on direct observation and appreciation. As shown, the programmes are good in themselves but their merit has been realised only in some areas and to a limited extent. When a programme flows from the top, even though it may have local relevance it brings with it enormous distortions and leakages which wash out any merit that it may contain. Besides, as Tendulkar has pointed out<sup>101</sup> the success of such packages which are centrally conceived "depends crucially on the latitude they allow for the local level variations". But the state of our development delivery administration being what it is, it snuffs out the scope for such variations.

Indeed, the study shows a high degree of inter-dependence between the programmes and the nature of the delivery organisation. Any improvement in one cannot yield much profit without reforming the other.<sup>102</sup> This is as true of large investments such as irrigation which remain substantially underutilised,<sup>103</sup> or policies towards special sectors such as village & cottage industries which remain unenforced<sup>104</sup> or programmes for special sections Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes,<sup>105</sup> Women and Children,<sup>106</sup> Land reforms and transfer of assets to marginal and small farmers which remain marginally delivered<sup>107</sup> or Fair Price Shops which refuse to suit their practices to the buying habits of the poor<sup>108</sup> or special employment programmes which fail to take off.<sup>109</sup> The study also reveals that there are enough ideas in the 30-year old basket of Community Development, which in a judicious combination can provide the direction of future reform. This combination should include arrangements for establishing integration between the Community and development planning & implementation on the one hand, and the Community and the administration & budgeting on the other while retaining sensitivity to destitution which in the raw means starvation. The suggestions that emerge are:

#### Popular Base and integrated administration

- (1) Democratic decentralisation upto the district level as advocated by the Balvantrai Mehta Committee; with gram sabha as the basic institution at the village level and all the technical and administrative staff (such as for land reforms, bonded labour, children & women, Scheduled Castes, & Scheduled Tribes, agriculture, cooperatives, education, health, animal husbandry, forest, industry) placed under the direction of the three tier elected panchayat bodies: village, block and district. In its negative aspect it implies the end of the century old rule of the Collector.

Integrated Planning, Funding and implementation

- (2) Micro-level planning with project formulation capability advocated by the Second Plan and reaffirmed by the Draft Sixth Plan, and the assimilation of the micro-plans into the national plan as per methodology outlined in the Second Plan. None of this process can be put on the ground at the State level unless at the Central level it is first accepted that within the overall plan frame there will be space for schemes and projects suggested by different tiers within the multi-level framework and which will be honoured.
- (3) The Whole Village Development methodology advocated by the National Commission on Agriculture including arrangements for integrated funding of village development plans and the utilisation of services of voluntary and technical organisations where available; and a network of rural markets and service centres for the artisans.
- (4) Integrated funding of area plans at village, block, district levels implies restructuring development budget and plan allocation at State level by area rather than by sectors.

Tests of success

- (5) The tests of success suggested by V.T. Krishnamachari particularly the emphasis on self-help and community contribution, backed by an independent programme evaluation body under eminent men (as it was in the past under distinguished men like Prof D.G. Karve/Prof VKRV Rao):

A matter of Conscience

- (6) A grain buffer-stock at each village level with joint contribution by the Community and the government - a concept evolved by Nagaland government - to ensure that no one in a village is allowed to go hungry.<sup>109</sup> And within the Whole Village Development strategy simultaneous uplift of the Antyodaya families as demonstrated in Rajasthan.<sup>110</sup>

They provide a sound and practical basis for refashioning the development administration and give prestige and primacy due to the Community in our democratic framework.

The study has refrained from providing any short-run compromise solutions, because the challenge is not as trivial as one more BDO and three more VLWs or a little more central subsidy to States for strengthening the Block organisation, or some trimming of delays by reforming step by step procedures, or ten to twenty per cent of plan funds conceded for local planning (which in any case presently means planning by a Committee of divisional or district officials), one more vehicle or a little deconcentration of powers of the bureaucracy from its head towards its tail. Alas, presently all suggestions on the anvil of the functionaries - high or low, are encompassed within this barren range. That leaves India's struggle against poverty with little hope.

If at all power as envisaged in democratic decentralisation cannot be transferred to the people at the village, block and district levels and the administrative organisation cannot be subordinated to them at the appropriate level, then it is better to wind up the present field organisation altogether, withdraw the subsidies, the concessional interest rates and the centrally-invented programmes for poverty alleviation. In any case, whether we are able to substitute the present delivery system with a democratically elected and operated system or not, a vote for the retention of the present bureaucratic delivery system - as it is or in some modified form - is a vote for not only waste of precious resources but perpetuation of poverty itself.

Studies show that even when the bureaucracy is armed with absolute authority, as during the Emergency when it was not subject to criticism by the legislature or the press, it is unable to deliver the goods. The Chief Ministers Conference held during the Emergency on 5th, 6th March 1976 "on the implementation of land reforms and the 20-point economic programme of the Prime Minister" decided to take special administrative measures for the speedy implementation of the programme for distribution of surplus land. Here is an eye opener extract from the (Agra University) study of a village in Orissa of what happened to the 'New farmers'; 1+1

As regards neglect and harrasment of allottees by the officials, the data reveal that 67.2 per cent allottees reported neglect and harassment by the officials.

The allottees who were being harassed narrated several instances of harassment. Two such instances are given here.

An allottee states, 'The government has allotted land to me. At first the land lord who was its previous owner did not resist. I sowed and raised the crop. At the time of harvest the previous land lord warned me not to cut the crop. I approached the Revenue Inspector in this connection, but did not receive any favourable response, rather he co-operated with the land owner. The land owner even threatened to kill me when I went to harvest the crop. I registered a case at the police station. The police seized the crop and gave charge of it to the ward member. In this struggle the crop



got damaged. It was harvested and shared by the police and ward member. I approached the Tehsildar. He said, "Government has given you land. Now it is your responsibility to take possession of that land. Why should we take such unnecessary burden over our head? I also approached the local M.L.A., but still the land is not in my possession".

Another allottee narrates, 'After I received the Patta the patwari asked me to pay some money in return of the land. I refused to pay anything. After two months he asked for the Patta on some legal pretext. I handed it over to him. I have not received it till now. Whenever I approached the Patwari, I always receive the answer, 'The patta is in the Tehsildar Court'. Because I do not have ownership right certificate, I am not getting any facility for loan, etc'.

Our administration is reform-proof. We have earlier seen that all studies in the past 100 years have come to naught including the special drive during the Emergency by the Department of Administrative Reforms to improve the rural administration at the "cutting edge level".

Apart from its failure on the development front, bureaucracy's indifference and corruption are lowering the very prestige of the government as an institution in the eyes of the people. Unfortunately, this is rapidly becoming true of the expanding rural branches of the banks (whose number has increased from 1837 in 1969 to 20,398 in 1982) also which are expected to raise deposits from the public.

Unless the bank staff enjoys reputation for honesty how can the villagers be expected to trust them and <sup>to</sup> deposit their savings with the banks. This state of affairs is not in the best interest of either good governance of the country or good health of its financial arteries. A government does not need guns to command respect if it has a good image. And good image depends on integrity, impartiality and efficiency. Alas, the attributes of a good government are a crying need of the hour at the rural end of the administration, the subject of this study.

A return to the kind of regime the aforesaid lessons imply is dependent not on the political will of the rulers as is fashion to say, but on the politicisation of the masses which alone can produce the requisite and sustained conditions for the use of the resources and authority of the State in aid of the society constructively, honestly and speedily.

From the wider view-point, even if we succeed in delivering physically or quantitatively the minimum or basic needs through centralised planning and bureaucratic implementation, at the human plane our population is unlikely to acquire 'capabilities' of Amartya Sen's description and quality.<sup>112</sup>

Finally, the route we take to restructure our rural development endeavour has implications for long-term equilibrium between State and Society as also for equality within society - Gandhiji's two principal concerns for free India.

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89. An effort was made to prepare a bibliography of all the studies carried out by the state level programme evaluation organisations. After considerable correspondence only a few state units supplied such lists and most of them stated that the reports were for 'official use only'. What a lot of knowledge on public affairs and of public interest is locked up in the secretariats. Unfortunately it is not even being put to use by the officials for whom it is exclusively reserved.
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- (c) "Findings of the Workshop on Social Inputs for Area Development", Patna, 27-29 April 1982, UNICEF and Centre for Development Studies and Activities, Poona
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- (b) Green Acres Or Red? Bhoomi Andolan in Bodh Gaya, published by The Social Justice & Legal Support Cell, AVARD, New Delhi, 1980
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- (e) "Uncertainty, Entrepreneurship and Share coping in India", C.H.Hanumanth Rao, Journal of Political Economics, May-June 1979
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Chart 1 - Schemes Included Under "District Sector"

<u>District Sectors</u>	<u>Mahara- shtra</u>	<u>Gujarat</u>	<u>M.P.</u>	<u>U.P.</u>	<u>Kerala</u>	<u>A.P.</u>	<u>Tamil Nadu</u>	<u>Karnataka</u>
Agricultural production	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Medium irrigation	/	X	X	X	X	/	N.A.	X
Minor irrigation	/	/	/	X	/	/	N.A.	/
Soil conservation	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Ayacut development	/	X	/	X	X	X	N.A.	/
Animal husbandry	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Dairy development	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	X
Forest	/	/	/	X	/	X	N.A.	/
Fisheries	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Warehousing & marketing	/	/	/	/	X	X	N.A.	/
Cooperation & community development	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Small scale industries	/	X	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Large & medium industries	X	/	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
Education	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Social welfare	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Backward classes	/	/	/	/	X	X	N.A.	/
Health	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Water supply & sanitation	X	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/

Chart 1 (contd...)

District Sectors	Mahara- shtra	Gujarat	M.P.	U.P.	Kerala	A.P.	Tamil Nadu	Karnataka
Urban development	X	/	/	/	X	X	N.A.	/
Rural development	X	/	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
Transport and communi- cation	X	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Housing	X	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	X
Horticulture	X	X	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
IRDP/NREP/DPAP	X	/	X	/	/	/	N.A.	X
Command area development	X	/	X	X	/	X	N.A.	X
Land reforms	X	/	X	X	/	X	N.A.	X
Power	X	/	X	/	/	X	N.A.	X
Rural electrification	X	X	/	X	X	X	N.A.	X
Local self government	X	X	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
Economic services	X	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	X



Chart 2 - Share of "State" and "District Sectors" in The Total State Annual Plan - In Percent

<u>States</u>	<u>State Sector</u>	<u>District Sector</u>	<u>Special Features</u>
Maharashtra	60	40	90% of the district outlay is covered by continuing schemes/ inevitable expansions and rest for taking up new schemes.
Gujarat	65	35	82.2% of the district outlay is for normal district level schemes, 13.3% for schemes to be proposed by district planning boards at their descretion and 4.4% as incentive outlay allocable to districts against matching contribution.
U.P. for hill region	70	30	60% of the divisible outlay of the district should percolate to the backward blocks and 40% to progressive blocks. After expenditure on ongoing schemes is met, 60% of the balance is to be utilized for new productive schemes and 40% for infra-structural works.
Madhya Pradesh	NA	NA	-
Andhra Pradesh	NA	NA	-
Tamil Nadu	NA	NA	-
Karnataka	65	35	75% of the district outlay is worked out at the state level by the District & Regional Planning Unit and 25% is kept as cushion at the state level.
Kerala	65	35	On-going district schemes are given preference over new schemes in allocation from the district sector outlay.  In productive sectors, proposals are framed at the block level for efficient exploitation of the local resources. Pressing problems of the weaker and vulnerable sections of the society are also taken care of even though they may not be based on locally available resources and raw materials.

Chart 3 - Criteria for Distribution of "District Sector" Allocation Amongst Different Districts

Criteria/ States Weightage	Mahara- shtra	Gujarat	U.P.	M.P.	A.P.	T. Nadu	Karnataka	Kerala
Population <sup>1</sup>	70	55	65	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	50	N.A.
Backwardness in :								
- Agriculture	5	10	5				5	
- Irrigation	4	10					5	
- Communications	5	10	5				2.5	
- Industries	5	5	5				5	
Backwardness in targets of other selected mini- mum needs		5	15	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	17.5	N.A.
Special Problems :	6			N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5	N.A.
- DPAP	3							
- Coastal districts	1.5							
- Forest areas	1.5							
Amount retained for meeting special problems i.e. un- employment etc.				N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5	N.A.
Incentive Provision		5		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.		N.A.
Local Tax Effort				N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5	N.A.
Special Problems of the District			5	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.		N.A.

Note: 1 (see next page)

contd/...2

Chart 3 (contd)

Note 1: The break-up of percentage allocation among different categories of population statewise is as follows:

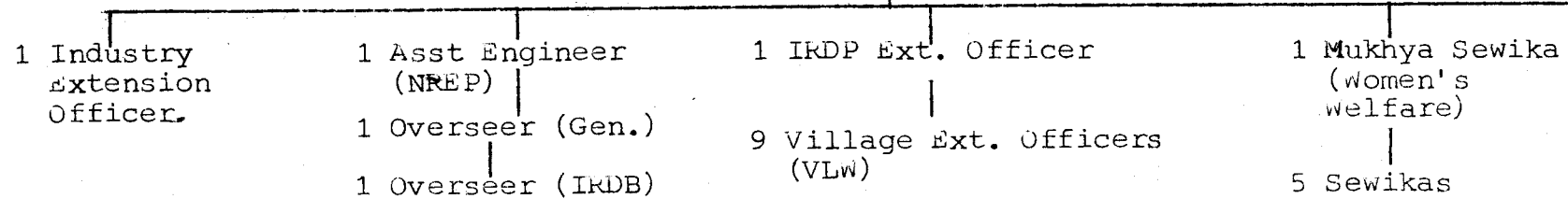
<u>Maharashtra:</u>	Total population	60%
	Urban population	5%
	Population of S.C. & S.T. etc.	5%
<u>Gujarat:</u>	Population (excluding towns having population of 50,000 and above)	40%
	Population of S.C., S.T., Small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers other than S.C., S.T.	15%
<u>U. P.</u>	Population	50%
	Population of SC/ST	5%
	Population of small farmers	10%
<u>Karnataka</u>	Population	50%

BLOCK DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION

(Block Chavra, Dist. Quilon)

Block Development Advisory Committee\*

Block Development Officer



\* Block Development Committee Consists of 19 Members:

Panchayat Presidents	5
MLA	1
Representatives of Political parties	9
Others representing Harijans/ women/social workers BDO acts as the Secretary)	3
BDC meets once in two months	

## EXTENSION SET-UP IN THE BLOCK (AS IN 1982) Dhamdaha Block (Bihar)

Sl. no.	Subject/designation	Posts (No):		Minimum qualifications prescribed	Mode of recruitment	Training imparted:		Pay and allowances (starting) Rs.	Other facilities, e.g. residential accommodation, conveyance, etc.	Avenues of promotion	Powers & functions:		Arrangement for mutually coordinated functioning of different functionaries/mutual relationships	Immediate controlling officer
		Sanctioned	Persons positioned			Pre-service	In-service (with special reference to the new programmes)				Administrative	Developmental		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<u>A. At the Block Level:</u>														
1) <u>Officers:</u>														
a) <u>Coordination:</u>														
1.	Block Development Officer (from State Administrative Service) or Blockhead Vikas Sadakhikari (FVP) (from State Agriculture Service)	1	1	Graduate	Bihar Public Service Commission (BPSO)	Institutional training ATU Kanchi and practical training in Collectorate and Settlement Office.	Nil	1,232.20	Government quarter and jeep	Ample	Over-all coordination and administration	Fluctuating position due to changing policies and programmes.	S.D.O.	
b) <u>Subject Specialists:</u>														
<u>Agriculture:</u>														
2.	Project Executive Officer (PEO)	1	-	B.Sc.(Ag)	Departmental	Nil	Nil	1,160.00	Nil	- do -	Over-all in-charge of Agricultural Development Programme under IADP	Little coordination with the BDO	Jt. Director(Ag)	
3.	Block Agricultural Extension Officer (BAEO)	2	2	B.Sc.(Ag)	- do -	Nil	Nil	964.50	Government quarter	- do -	Control over VILVs Agricultural Extension work in the block	Incharge of Single line of Departmental control and lack of coordination with BDO and others.	PEO	
<u>Animal Husbandry:</u>														
4.	Block Animal Husbandry Officer (BAHO) (Veterinary Doctor)	2	1	B.V.Sc.	- do -	Nil	Nil	1,054.00	Provision of Govt. quarter, but not available at present	- do -	Incharge of Animal Husbandry Programme	Not so effective	District Animal Husbandry office	
<u>Rural Industries:</u>														
Nil														
<u>Cooperatives:</u>														
5.	Block Cooperative Extension Officer (BCO)	1	1	Graduate	- do -	Nil	Nil	954.00	-	Modest	Incharge of cooperation programme in the block.	- do -	BDO	

EXTENSION SET-UP IN THE BLOCK (AS IN 1982)

Chart 5 (A) Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
6. Block Cooperative Extension Officer (Ag)	1	-	Graduate	Departmental		Nil	Nil	956.00	-	-	To assist in respect of credit and supplies through co-operatives under the IADP	Not so effective		PEO
<u>Institutional Finance/Credit:</u>														
Nil														
<u>Public Health:</u>														
7. Medical Officer (MO) (Doctor)	2	2	MBS	DESO		Nil	Nil	1290.00	P.P.Van	Anglo	Incharge of Public Health and Family Welfare Programmes	Little		Distr. Medical Office
<u>Education:</u>														
8. Block Education Extension Officer (BEO)	2	2	Graduate B. Ed.	DESO		Nil	Nil	1,026.00	Govt. quarter	- do -	Incharge of Primary and Middle School Education	Little		BDO
<u>Adult Education:</u>														
9. Project Officer (PO)	1	1	Graduate	Departmental	15days training	Nil	Nil	1,160.00	Jeep	Nil	Incharge of AS Programme	Weak		Distr. Adult Education Officer (DAEO)
10. Assistant Project Officer Panchayat & Social Education:	1	1	- do -	- do -		Nil	Nil	891.00	-	- do -	To assist the PO	- do -		PO/JC
11. Gram Panchayat supervisor (GPS)	1	1	- do -	- do -	At Panchayat Training Institute, Dugbar.	Nil	Nil	1,016.00	Government quarter	Modest	Incharge of Panchayat Raj Programme	- do -		BDO
<u>Rural Engineering:</u>														
12. Senior Engineer	1	1	Diploma Civil Engineering (CE, DESO)	- do -		Nil	Nil	784.00	- do -	- do -	Technical supervision of rural works	- do -		BDO/S (RSE)
13. Welfare Inspector	1	1	Graduate	Departmental		Nil	Nil	956.00	-	very little	Incharge of welfare programmes	- do -		BDO
<u>ii) Supporting Staff:</u>														
<u>a) Coordination/Office:</u>														
1. Head Clerk-cum-Accountant	1	1	Matriculate	District Magistrate		Nil	Training in Accounts	700.00	Government quarter	Nil	Supervision of office & accounts	Coordinates clerical work.	- do -	
2. Office Assistants	4	4	- do -	- do -		- do -	- do -	654.00	Provision for Govt. quarter, but not available at present.	Modest			- do -	
3. Driver	1	1	Driving license	- do -		-	-	498.00	- do -	-			- do -	
4. Peons & Night Guard	3	3	-	- do -		-	-	412.80	- do -	-			- do -	

EXTENSION SET-UP IN THE BLOCK (AS IN 1982)

Chart 3 (1) contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
b) Subjects/Sectors:														
<u>Agriculture:</u>														
5.	Head Clerk		1	Matriculate	Jt. Director (Ag)	Nil	Training in accounts	788.00	-	Modest	Supervision of office & accounts	Coordinates clerical work	PSO	
6.	Stenographer	1	1	- do - + shorthand and typing	- do -	Nil	Nil	671.60	-	-	-	-	- do	
7.	Typist	1	1	Matriculate + typing	- do -	Nil	Nil	671.60	-	Modest	Supervision of office & accounts	Coordinates clerical work	- do	
8.	Clerks	4	4	Matriculate	- do -	Nil	Nil	671.60	-	- do -	-	-	- do	
9.	Peons	Position not available.												
<u>Animal Husbandry:</u>														
10.	Livestock Overseer	1	-											
11.	Livestock Assistant	3	3	Details not available.										
12.	Peon	1	1											
13.	Night Guard-cum-Sweeper	1	1											
<u>Public Health:</u>														
<u>PHU &amp; Family Welfare:</u>														
14.	Lady Health Visitor (LHV)	2	2	Matriculate + 3 years' course	Director	Three years professional course	-	853.60	10% of pay for house rent	-	-	-	-	N.O.
15.	Sanitary Inspector	1	1	Matriculate	Civil Surgeon (CS)	Professional course at Public Health Institute, Patna.	-	625.00	-	-	-	-	- do	
16.	Extension Educator	1	1	Matriculate + Diploma in Health Education	Director	Diploma course	-	961.00	-	-	-	-	- do	
17.	Team Leader	1	1	Matriculate	Director, Malaria	Short-term training	-	677.10	-	-	-	-	- do	
18.	Basic Health Inspector	1	1	- do -	- do -	-	-	634.60	-	-	-	-	- do	
19.	Lab. Technician	1	1	Matriculate + Lab. technician course	- do -	Professional course	-	627.10	-	-	-	-	- do	
20.	Accountant-cum-Clerk	2	2	Matriculate	C.S.	-	-	669.80	-	-	-	-	- do	
21.	Jeep Driver	2	1	Driving License	C.S.	-	-	493.00	-	-	-	-	- do	
22.	Peon	1	1	Middle school	U.S.	-	-	412.80	-	-	-	-	- do	
23.	Night Guard-cum-Sweeper	4	4	Literate	C.S.	-	-	412.80	-	-	-	-	- do	

ADMISSION SET-UP IN THE BLOCK (AS IN 1982)

Chart 9. (i) contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<u>State Discharge:</u>														
24.	Compounder	1	1	Matriculate + Pharmacist course	GS	Professional course	-	771.60	Government quarter	-	-	-	-	HO
25.	Dresser	1	1	1600 hrs sch-ool+Professional training	GS	Dresser's training	-	462.80	- do -	-	-	-	-	- do -
<u>Ward Attendant:</u>														
27.	Male	1	1	-	GS	-	-	412.80	- do -	-	-	-	-	- do -
28.	Female	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	- do -	-	-	-	-	- do -
29.	Trained Bai	1	1	-	GS	Bai's training	-	462.80	- do -	-	-	-	-	- do -
30.	Sweeper	1	1	-	GS	-	-	412.80	- do -	-	-	-	-	- do -
<u>Adult Education:</u>														
31.	Clerk-cum-accountant	2	1	Matriculate	Regional Dy. Director	-	-	669.00	-	-	-	-	-	PO
32.	Jeep Driver	1	1	Driving licence	- do -	-	-	499.00	-	-	-	-	-	- do -
33.	Peon	2	2	-	- do -	-	-	412.80	-	-	-	-	-	- do -
<u>5. AT THE VILLAGES/ Panchayat Level:</u>														
	Village Level Worker (VLMs)	25	25	Matriculate + Professional course (diploma)	District Board	Professional course	-	786.00	-	Little	Link between the concerned Group (Block) Level Workers (GLWs and people	-	-	BAO/SA
	Gram Sevika (Female VLMs)	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	- do -	clerical and promotional assistance to Gram Panchayats & Welfare work	-	-	SDO
	Panchayat Sewer	25	20	Matriculate	- do -	-	-	675.60	-	-	Incharge of stockman centre	-	-	GPS/SA
	Stockman (SO)	2	2	Details not available	-	-	-	-	-	-	Manager of the PADS concerned	-	-	SAHO
	Manager (PADS) (Coop.)	19	9	Matriculate	District Level Board	15 days training	-	200.00 (Stipend)	-	-	-	-	-	BOBO/SA
	Adult Education Supervisor	10	10 (Male 5 Female 5)	Graduate	Director, AE	Short duration training	-	891.00	-	-	Supervision of AD Centres.	-	-	PO



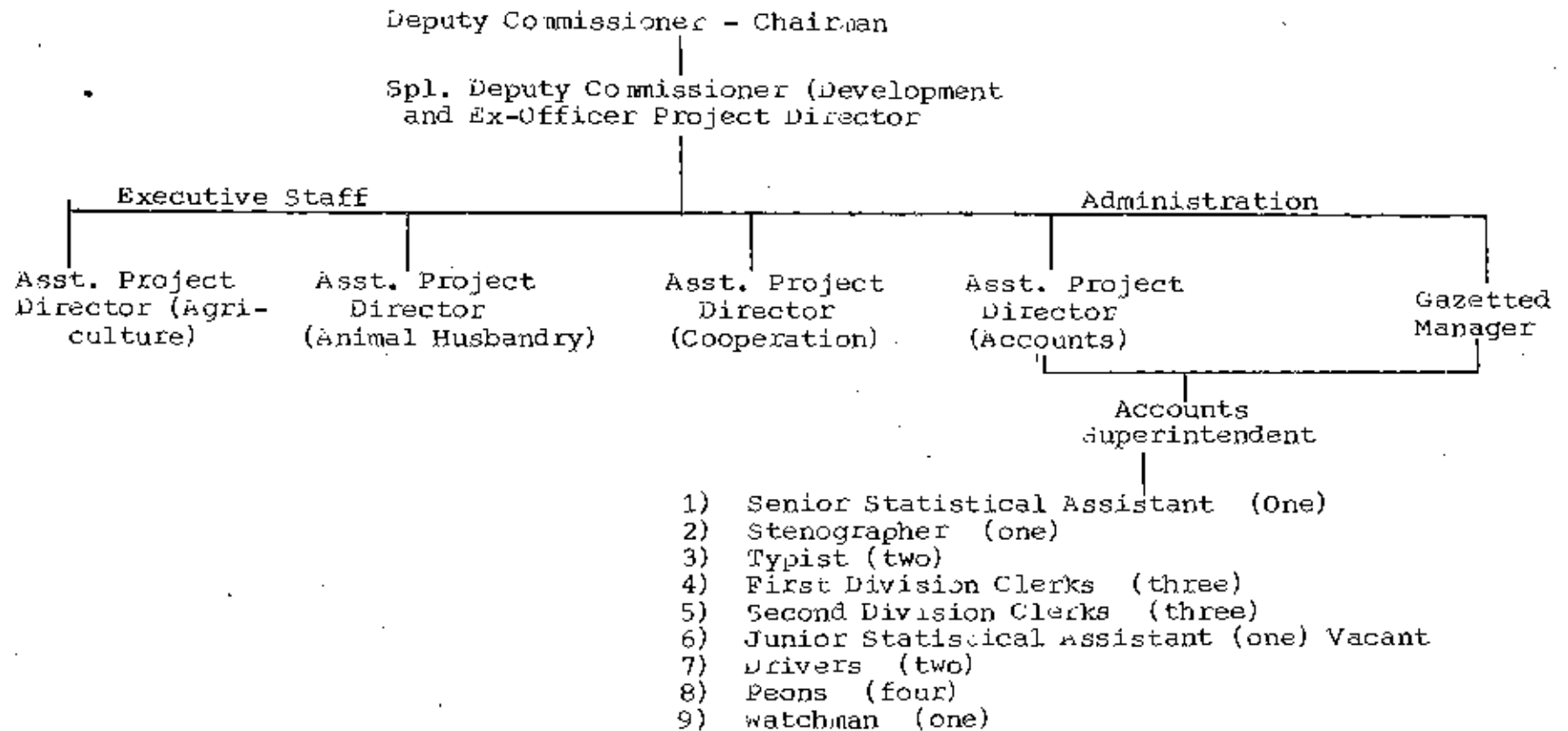
## EXTENSION SET-UP IN THE BLOCK (AS IN 1992)

Chart 5 (i) contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<u>Public Health</u>														
Asst		7	7	Middle school/Matriculate	Director	AIM course	Short-term courses	685.60	10% of pay as House Rent	-	-	-	-	N.O.
Health worker		3	3	Middle school	CS	Dressers' course (6 months)	-	481.10	-	-	-	-	-	N.O.
Vaccinator		3	3	- do -	CS	Short-term training	-	470.20	-	-	-	-	-	N.O.
Basic Health Worker		4	4	Matric	Director Malaria	Professional (BHW) course	-	628.70	-	-	-	-	-	N.O.

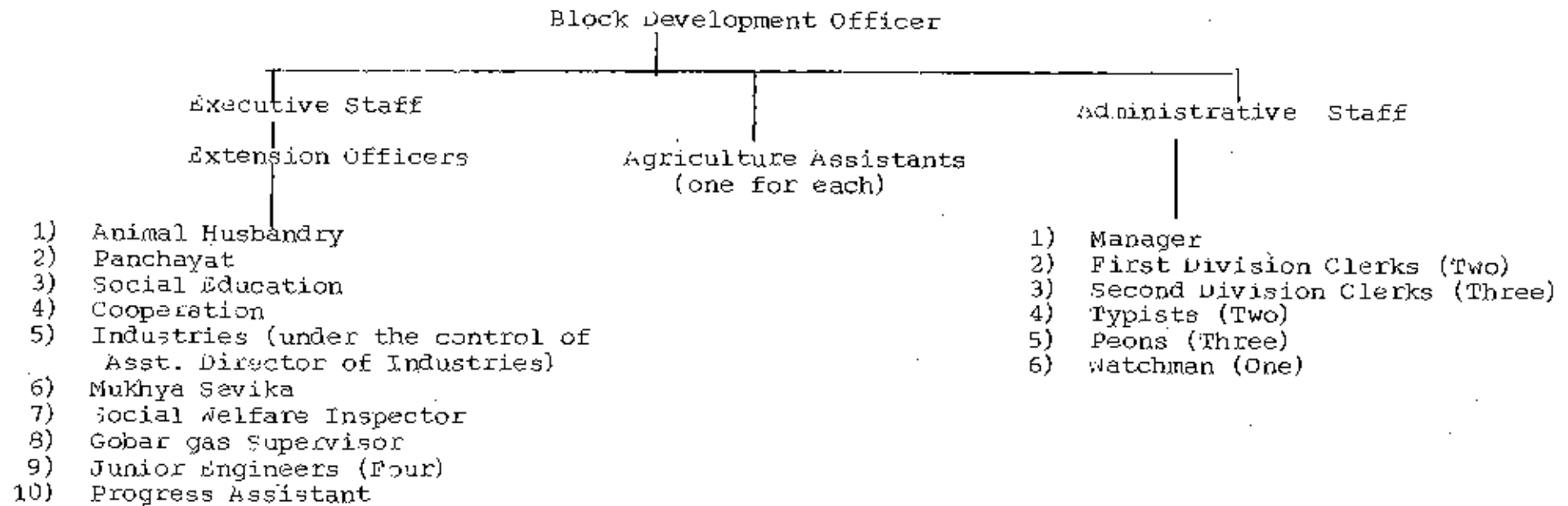
Source: BHO and other officers concerned.

Organisation Set-up of D.K.D.S. Mysore



7/10/71

(ii) Organisation Set-up of Block Development Office



Perceptions of District Officials of  
different Development Departments

Department/ Programme	Success of programme/ Whether reaching poor	Implementation problems/suggestions for impl.	Promote participation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DRDS/IRDP	Successful except Delivery system inadequate. Local opinion yet to be mobilised.  Reach only those who are "identified"	Lack of coordination with banks  No scope since IRDP is already a continuing programme. No need for decentralisation since IRDP only releases subsidies and has full freedom.	By quicker delivery of benefits
Social Welfare/ women's Welfare	Partly successful Delivery system unsatisfactory. Village level leadership not good.  Reach only those who are "identified"	Problem with infrastructure and evaluation.  Training of field workers. Vol. agencies should be involved. Decision-making decentralised to district level.	More propaganda. Quicker delivery. Partly by providing higher wages.
Agriculture/ Tech. know how inputs	Successful as programme inherently good. Delivery system good. Funds adequate  Through TRY reaching majority of illiterate farmers	Lack of office building & staff qrs. Inadequate transport Lack of coordination with banks. No problem of evaluation  Advanced training for specialists at Universities. Adequate conveyance Greater incentive for field staff. Coordn. with linked agencies Decentralisation Community participation	More propaganda of the schemes. Timely credit & inputs.

1	2	3	4
Industry	<p>Successful trainees getting useful, locally relevant skills</p> <p>Beneficiaries chosen from clusters but benefits do not reach the needy</p>	<p>Infrastructure</p> <p>Stipend low</p> <p>Lack of facilities</p> <p>Proper identification of "beneficiaries"</p> <p>Involve DIC</p>	<p>Propaganda</p> <p>Higher stipend</p> <p>Prompt credit</p> <p>Educating people</p>
Horticulture	<p>Successful</p> <p>Needy are identified by actual contact.</p>	<p>Reached only educated</p> <p>Vehicles lacking</p> <p>Centralised system</p> <p>Delay in approval.</p> <p>No evaluation</p> <p>Timely supply of seeds &amp; fertilisers</p> <p>Payment only in kind</p> <p>Delegate power and decentralise</p> <p>Develop farms</p> <p>Maintenance of seeds purity</p> <p>Extra funds</p>	<p>Propaganda</p> <p>Developing more farmers.</p>
Sericulture/ Know-how	<p>Successful as it yields high income</p> <p>Reaches farmers having irrigation and experience</p>	<p>Infrastructure</p> <p>Coordn. with other departments</p> <p>By extension to more farmers</p>	<p>Propaganda</p> <p>Better delivery</p> <p>Providing additional employment.</p>

1	2	3	4
Forest	<p>Partly successful problems due to climate and scanty rains</p> <p>Ag. labour provided employment during slack period and year round</p>	<p>Infrastructure Coordn. with other departments</p> <p>Rural extension wing Scientific methods, in increase afforestation efficiency. Decentralisation and delegation of authority.</p>	<p>Propaganda Addl. employment Higher wages.</p>
Animal husbandry	<p>Successful</p> <p>Selection according to criteria</p>	<p>Infrastructure and number of Functionaries inadequate Lack of coordn. with other depts. Funds must be with implementing officer. Full delegation</p>	<p>Propaganda Simplification of procedure Higher wages.</p>

✓

CHART 7 - CD ORGANISATION

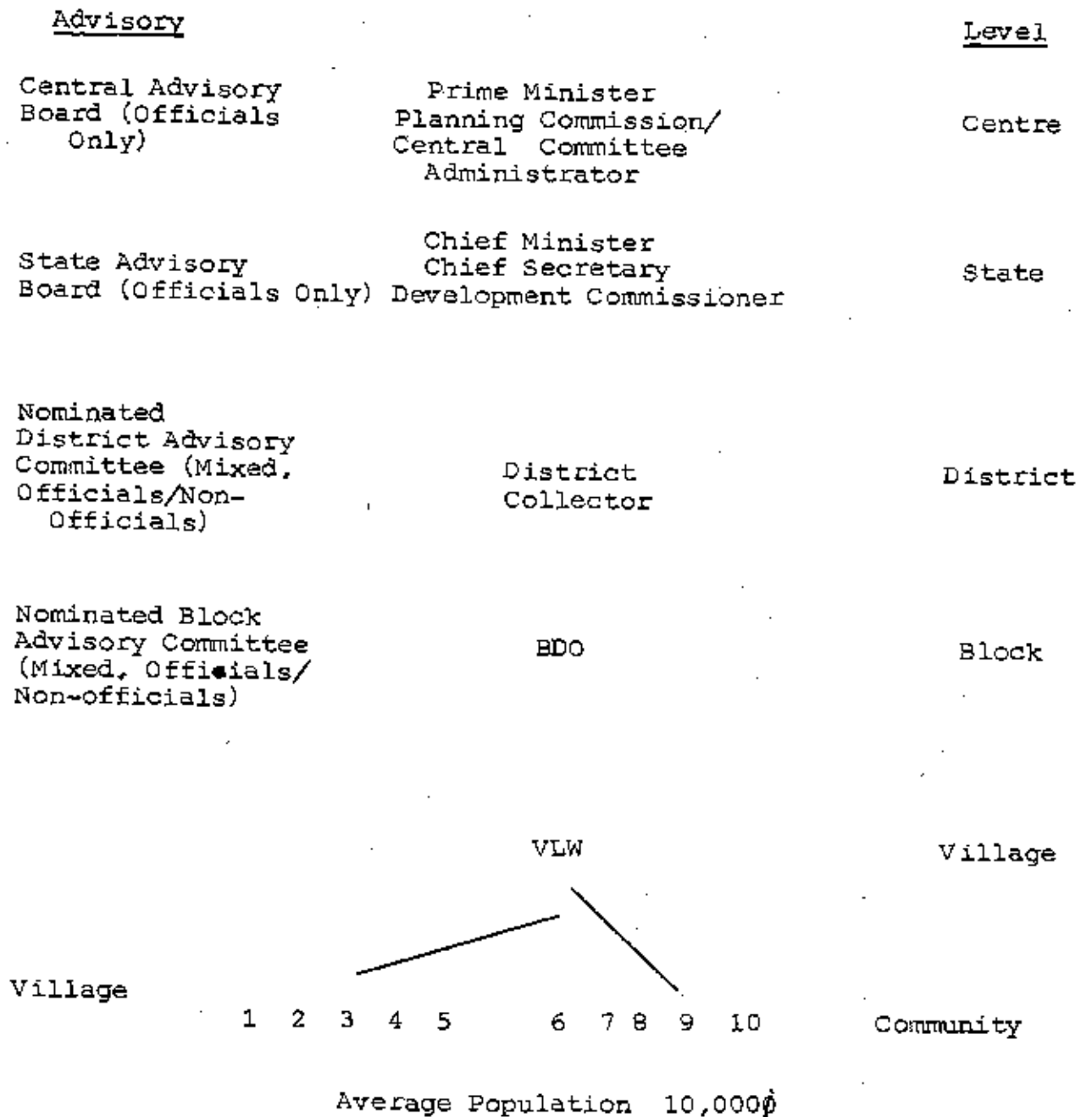


Chart 1 - Schemes Included Under "District Sector"

<u>District Sectors</u>	<u>Mahara- shtra</u>	<u>Gujarat</u>	<u>M.P.</u>	<u>U.P.</u>	<u>Kerala</u>	<u>A.P.</u>	<u>Tamil Nadu</u>	<u>Karnataka</u>
Agricultural production	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Medium irrigation	/	X	X	X	X	/	N.A.	X
Minor irrigation	/	/	/	X	/	/	N.A.	/
Soil conservation	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Ayacut development	/	X	/	X	X	X	N.A.	/
Animal husbandry	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Dairy development	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	X
Forest	/	/	/	X	/	X	N.A.	/
Fisheries	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Warehousing & marketing	/	/	/	/	X	X	N.A.	/
Cooperation & community development	/	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Small scale industries	/	X	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Large & medium industries	X	/	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
Education	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Social welfare	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Backward classes	/	/	/	/	X	X	N.A.	/
Health	/	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	/
Water supply & sanitation	X	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/

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Chart 1 (contd.:.)

District Sectors	Mahara- shtra	Gujarat	M.P.	U.P.	Kerala	A.P.	Tamil Nadu	Karnataka
Urban development	X	/	/	/	X	X	N.A.	/
Rural development	X	/	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
Transport and communi- cation	X	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	/
Housing	X	/	/	/	/	/	N.A.	X
Horticulture	X	X	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
IRDP/NREP/DPAP	X	/	X	/	/	/	N.A.	X
Command area development	X	/	X	X	/	X	N.A.	X
Land reforms	X	/	X	X	/	X	N.A.	X
Power	X	/	X	/	/	X	N.A.	X
Rural electrification	X	X	/	X	X	X	N.A.	X
Local self government	X	X	X	/	X	X	N.A.	X
Economic services	X	/	/	/	/	X	N.A.	X

Chart 2 - Share of "State" and "District Sectors" in The Total State Annual Plan - In Percent

<u>States</u>	<u>State Sector</u>	<u>District Sector</u>	<u>Special Features</u>
Maharashtra	60	40	90% of the district outlay is covered by continuing schemes/ inevitable expansions and rest for taking up new schemes.
Gujarat	65	35	82.2% of the district outlay is for normal district level schemes, 13.3% for schemes to be proposed by district planning boards at their descretion and 4.4% as incentive outlay allocable to districts against matching contribution.
U.P. for hill region	70	30	60% of the divisible outlay of the district should percolate to the backward blocks and 40% to progressive blocks. After expenditure on ongoing schemes is met, 60% of the balance is to be utilized for new productive schemes and 40% for infra-structural works.
Madhya Pradesh	NA	NA	-
Andhra Pradesh	NA	NA	-
Tamil Nadu	NA	NA	-
Karnataka	65	35	75% of the district outlay is worked out at the state level by the District & Regional Planning Unit and 25% is kept as cushion at the state level.
Kerala	65	35	On-going district schemes are given preference over new schemes in allocation from the district sector outlay.  In productive sectors, proposals are framed at the block level for efficient exploitation of the local resources. Pressing problems of the weaker and vulnerable sections of the society are also taken care of even though they may not be based on locally available resources and raw materials.

Chart 3 - Criteria for Distribution of "District Sector" Allocation Amongst Different Districts

<u>Criteria/ States Weightage</u>	<u>Mahara- shtra</u>	<u>Gujarat</u>	<u>U.P.</u>	<u>M.P.</u>	<u>A.P.</u>	<u>T. Nadu</u>	<u>Karnataka</u>	<u>Kerala</u>
Population <sup>1</sup>	70	55	65	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	50	N.A.
Backwardness in :								
- Agriculture	5	10	5				5	
- Irrigation	4	10					5	
- Communications	5	10	5				2.5	
- Industries	5	5	5				5	
Backwardness in targets of other selected mini- mum needs		5	15	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	17.5	N.A.
Special Problems :	6			N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5	N.A.
- DPAP	3							
- Coastal districts	1.5							
- Forest areas	1.5							
Amount retained for meeting special problems i.e. un- employment etc.				N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5	N.A.
Incentive Provision		5		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.		N.A.
Local Tax Effort				N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5	N.A.
Special Problems of the District			5	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.		N.A.

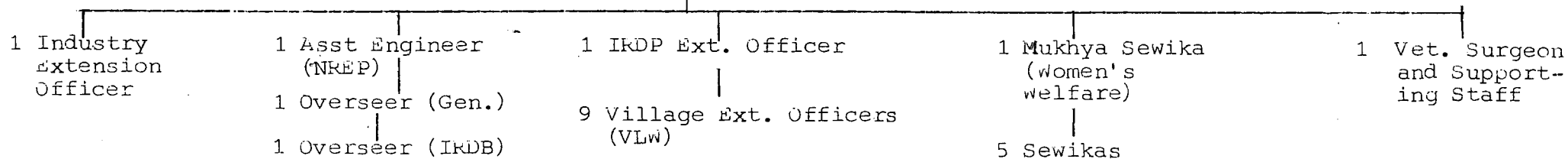
Note: 1 (see next page)

contd/...2

Chart 3 (contd)

Note 1: The break-up of percentage allocation among different categories of population statewide is as follows:

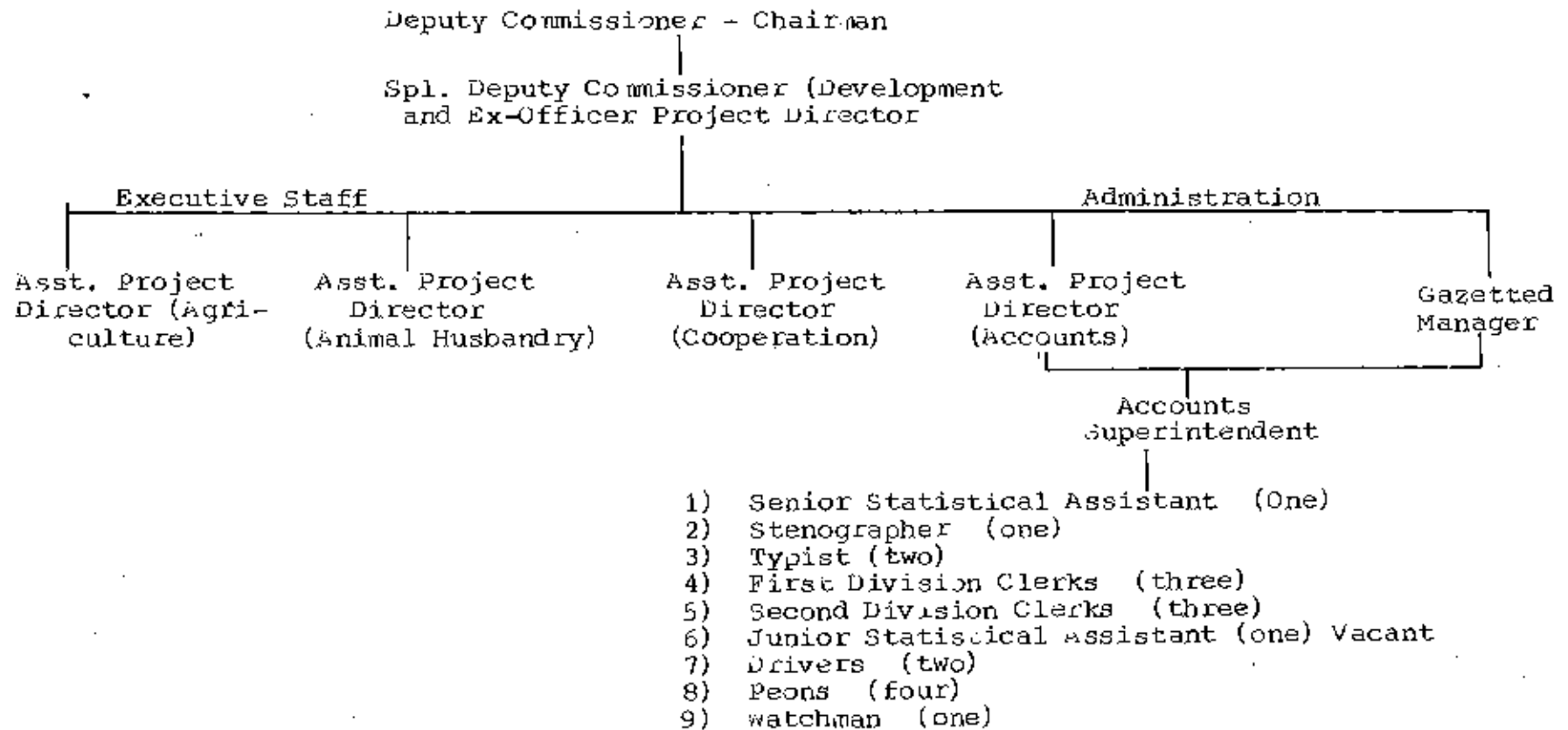
<u>Maharashtra:</u>	Total population	60%
	Urban population	5%
	Population of S.C. & S.T. etc.	5%
<u>Gujarat:</u>	Population (excluding towns having population of 50,000 and above)	40%
	Population of S.C., S.T., Small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers other than S.C., S.T.	15%
<u>U.P.</u>	Population	50%
	Population of SC/ST	5%
	Population of small farmers	10%
<u>Karnataka</u>	Population	50%

BLOCK DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION(Block Chavra, Dist. Quilon)Block Development Advisory Committee\*Block Development Officer

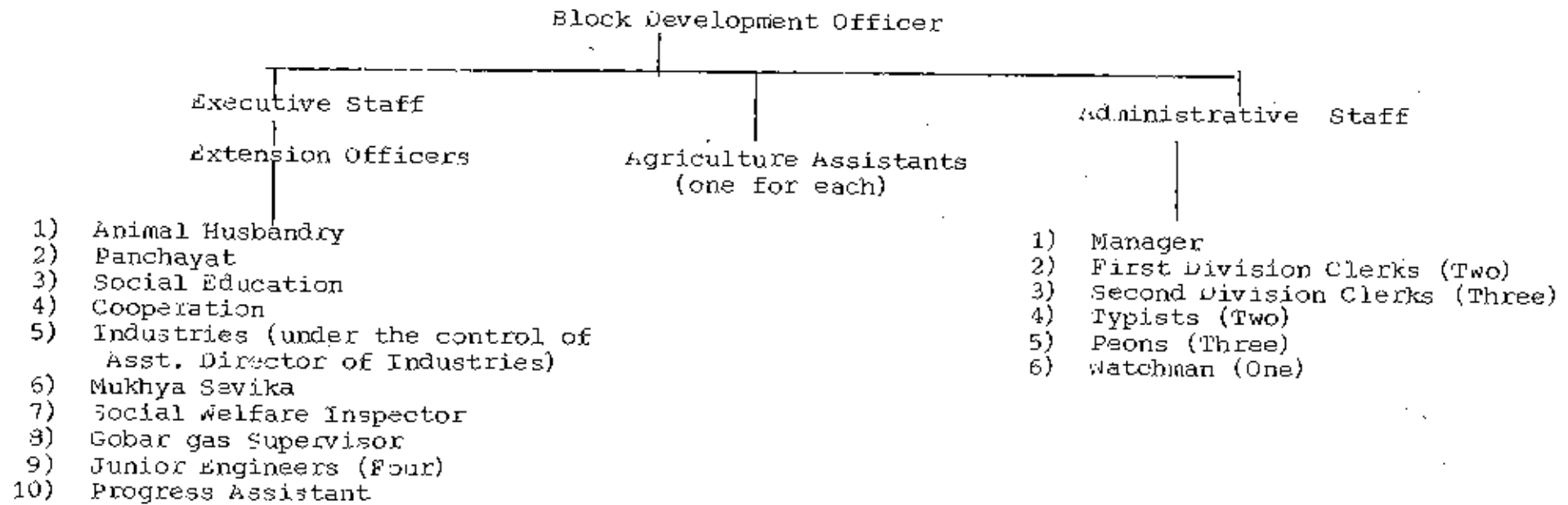
\* Block Development Committee Consists of 19 Members:

Panchayat Presidents	5
MLA	1
Representatives of Political parties	9
Others representing Harijans/women/social workers BDO acts as the Secretary)	3
BDC meets once in two months	

Organisation Set-up of D.K.D.S. Mysore



(ii) Organisation Set-up of Block Development Office



Perceptions of District Officials of  
different Development Departments

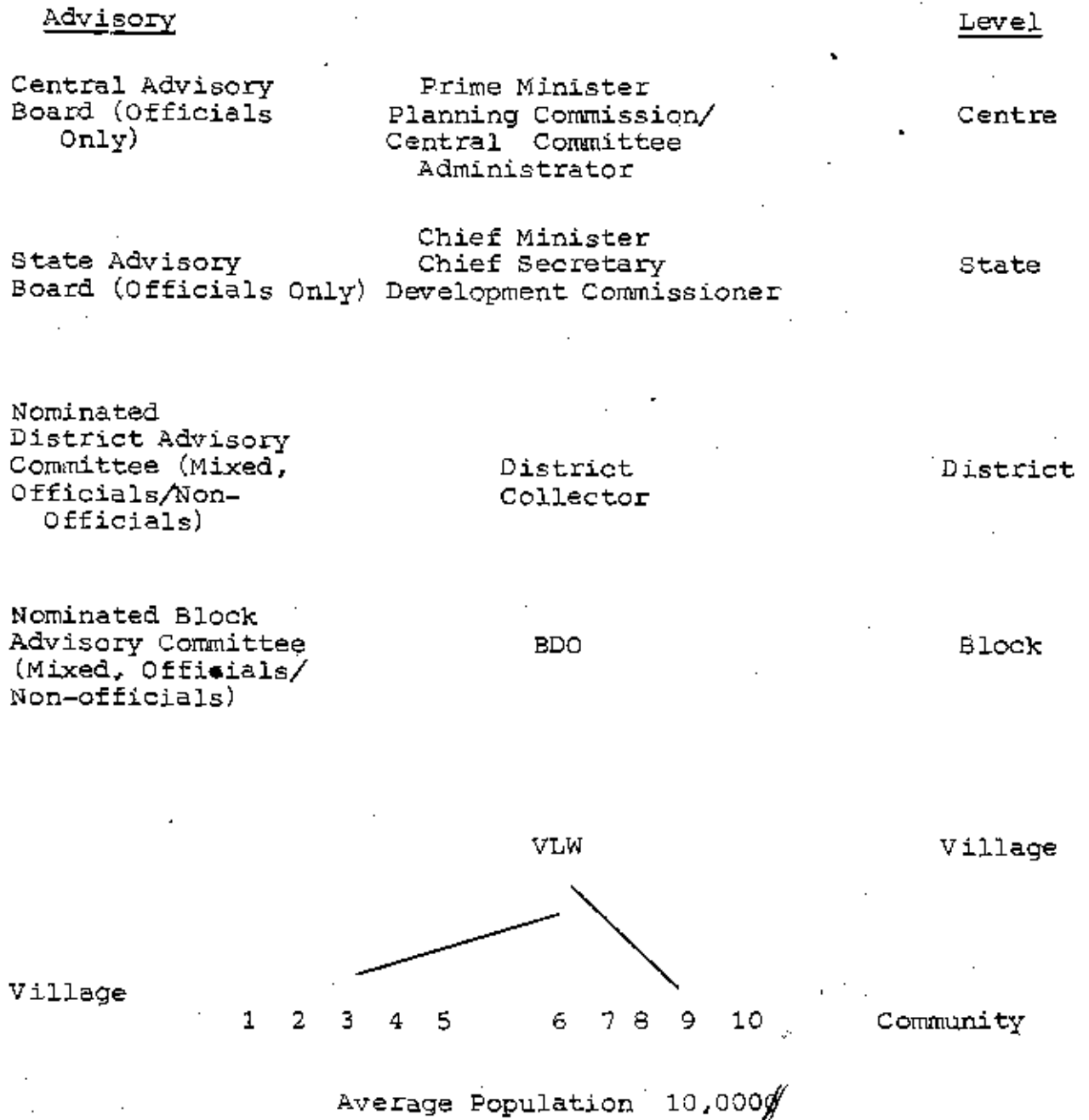
Department/ Programme	Success of programme/ Whether reaching poor	Implementation problems/Suggestions for impl.	Promote participation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DRDS/IRDP	Successful except Delivery system inadequate. Local opinion yet to be mobilised.  Reach only those who are "identified"	Lack of coordination with banks  No scope since IRDP is already a continuing programme. No need for decentralisation since IRDP only releases subsidies and has full freedom.	By quicker delivery of benefits
Social Welfare/ Women's Welfare	Partly successful Delivery system unsatisfactory. Village level leadership not good.  Reach only those who are "identified"	Problem with infrastructure and evaluation.  Training of field workers. Vol. agencies should be involved. Decision-making decentralised to district level.	More propaganda. Quicker delivery. Partly by providing higher wages.
Agriculture/ Tech. know how inputs	Successful as programme inherently good. Delivery system good. Funds adequate  Through TVV reaching majority of illiterate farmers	Lack of office building & staff qrs. Inadequate transport Lack of coordination with banks. No problem of evaluation  Advanced training for specialists at Universities. Adequate conveyance Greater incentive for field staff. Coordn. with linked agencies Decentralisation Community participation	More propaganda of the schemes. Timely credit & inputs.



1	2	3	4
Industry	<p>Successful trainees getting useful, locally relevant skills</p> <p>Beneficiaries chosen from clusters but benefits do not reach the needy</p>	<p>Infrastructure</p> <p>Stipend low</p> <p>Lack of facilities</p> <p>Proper identification of "beneficiaries"</p> <p>Involve DIC</p>	<p>Propaganda</p> <p>Higher stipend</p> <p>Prompt credit</p> <p>Educating people</p>
Horticulture	<p>Successful</p> <p>Needy are identified by actual contact.</p>	<p>Reached only educated</p> <p>Vehicles lacking</p> <p>Centralised system</p> <p>Delay in approval</p> <p>No evaluation</p> <p>Timely supply of seeds &amp; fertilisers</p> <p>Payment only in kind</p> <p>Delegate power and decentralise</p> <p>Develop farms</p> <p>Maintenance of seeds purity</p> <p>Extra funds</p>	<p>Propaganda</p> <p>Developing more farmers.</p>
Sericulture/ Know-how	<p>Successful as it yields high income</p> <p>Reaches farmers having irrigation and experience</p>	<p>Infrastructure</p> <p>Coordn. with other departments</p> <p>By extension to more farmers</p>	<p>Propaganda</p> <p>Better delivery</p> <p>Providing additional employment.</p>

1	2	3	4
Forest	<p>Partly successful problems due to climate and scanty rains</p> <p>Ag. labour provided employment during slack period and year round</p>	<p>Infrastructure Coordn. with other departments</p> <p>Rural extension wing Scientific methods, in increase afforestation efficiency. Decentralisation and delegation of authority.</p>	<p>Propaganda Addl. employment Higher wages.</p>
Animal Husbandry	<p>Successful</p> <p>Selection according to criteria</p>	<p>Infrastructure and number of Functionaries inadequate Lack of coordn. with other deptts. Funds must be with implementing officer. Full delegation</p>	<p>Propaganda Simplification of procedure Higher wages.</p>

CHART 7 - CD ORGANISATION



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