

**ANTI POVERTY PROGRAMME AND
A SEARCH FOR AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR
RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in part fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

PALLAVI SINHA



**Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi – 110067**

2000



Y CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Chairperson

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation titled **Anti-Poverty Programme and a Search for an Institutional Frame work for Rural Development** submitted by **Pallavi Sinha**, in part fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of **Master of Philosophy** has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. To the best of our knowledge this is an original work.

We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the above mentioned degree.

Prof. Kuldeep Mathur
(Supervisor)

Prof. Kuldeep Mathur
(Chairperson)

Contents

	Acknowledgements	
	Preface	i-iii
Chapter – 1	Introduction India's Quest for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation	1-18
Chapter – 2	Critical Appraisal of the Poverty Alleviation Programmes	19-73
Chapter – 3	Administrative Arrangement for Rural Development : A Review	74-105
Chapter – 4	Need for People's Participation and the Role of Voluntary Agencies and NGOs.	106-130
	Conclusion	131-136
	Bibliography	137-142

Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without the inspiring guidance and supervision of Prof. Kuldeep Mathur whose comments and constructive suggestions have given this dissertation its final shape. I am grateful to him for his patience and support.

I am eternally indebted to my parents for being the anchor of my existence and for being absolutely the best parents one could ever hope and wish for. Any further attempt to thank them would sound woefully inadequate. Thanks also to Gunjan, my brother, for being the saner sibling, for putting up with my madness and loving me nevertheless.

I express my appreciation for Pratibha, Sonali and Sujata for being the greatest friends and for their acceptance and understanding of me as a person. My profound thanks are also due to Julie, simply for being there for me and to Gomati, Isering and Geetanjali for their invaluable time and help with my dissertation.

Lastly, my thanks to the staff at the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) library for their help and cooperation.

Pallavi Sinha
Pallavi Sinha

PREFACE

The work attempts to review India's efforts towards poverty alleviation and rural development and its impact on the masses in terms of the standard of living, availability of basic amenities, employment opportunities, income levels and credit facilities as well as agricultural production and investment levels that directly affect growth. It critically evaluates India's Anti-Poverty Programme as well as examines the entire network of institutions that are responsible for implementing the policies and programmes framed by the state, to ensure that the intended benefits reach the target population and help transform them into self-reliant families living above the poverty line. The study gives a description of the impact of the Poverty Alleviation Programmes especially IRDP, RLEGP and NREP (the latter two programmes NREP and RLEGP have been merged into one compact programme Jawahar Rozgar Yojana). Along with these three centrally sponsored programmes, namely, Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) formulated and reformulated during the Sixth and Seventh Plans and the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, emphasis is also given to Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) as well as Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA). A brief mention is also made of the changes that have been incorporated after the 73rd Constitutional Amendment and the added responsibilities of Panchayati Raj Institutions in this regard.

It further goes on to focus on the need as well as importance of people's participation in the developmental process so as to ensure a greater degree of success and the role that the voluntary agencies and non governmental organizations can play in this regard. The work tries to broadly cover the emergence of NGOs, on the Indian scene and their prolific presence in various fields today, striving to make a difference working at the grass-root level. I have not only tried to analyze the reasons for the relative localized success of the voluntary agencies vis-a-vis the governmental machinery but also look at the malaise and problems that are plaguing the NGO sector today because of increase in the size of organizational structure which has distanced them from the people they are working for, among other reasons. Instances have been incorporated where community initiative and involvement has managed to change the very face of villages – something that needs to be replicated and multiplied at every opportunity so as to give a boost to the task at hand. It becomes amply clear that both these arrangements, i.e., governmental set up, and voluntary organizations, individually, have failed to make a major difference in the scheme of things and should, ideally, attempt to combine their resources and manpower if they want to make any significant dent in alleviating the widespread poverty in our country.

The conclusion sums up the work while at the same time points out about India's narrow conceptualization of poverty, its measure based only on consumption of food and how this leaves a lot of scope for statistics and figures to give a misleading picture as it ignores access to innumerable other 'essentials' like clothing, sanitation, health, education, adequate fuel etc.

Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation in India is an extremely popular subject and as a result, a staggering amount of literature is available. To sift out the relevant portions was, in itself, a mammoth task and a serious attempt has been made to keep the chapters concise and to the point because the obverse, i.e., include endless matter and data, would have been so easy. I have also tried to avoid repetitions, or at any rate, keep it to a bare minimum, which again was difficult considering the nature of the topic. Another hardship encountered was availability of data on the final shape of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in different states, in the post 73rd Amendment phase and inadequacies in this regard is regretted.

The work is a literature survey of India's rural development and poverty alleviation programme and the sources were the secondary data available on the subject. Several books, journals, magazines and reports, both from the Government of India as well as international agencies like the United Nations, the World Bank etc. were consulted. The approach adopted is analytical and a critical evaluation follows at the end of each chapter.

INDIA'S QUEST FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Introduction

Poverty Alleviation has been on the national policy agenda for more than fifty years. As early as 1938, the Indian National Congress constituted a National Planning Committee headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, who had declared that the social objective should be “to ensure an adequate standard of living for the masses, in other words, to get rid of the appalling poverty of the people.” The importance of reduction in poverty and provision of other basic needs has been emphasised in all the Five Year Plans. Today, the elimination of poverty is of overwhelming political importance. The Planning Commission (1973) states that : “removal of poverty and attainment of self reliance are the two major tasks which the country has set out to accomplish”¹; “elimination of poverty must, therefore, have the highest priority.” The government has a two-pronged approach viz. promoting economic growth and direct action towards poverty alleviation.

In India, the anti-poverty strategy has relied and continues to rely on economic growth as one of the major instruments for poverty alleviation, although the target-group-oriented and minimum needs programmes have been added since the late sixties.

¹ Dev, SM and Ajit Ranade, “Poverty and Public Policy” in India Development Report 1997 by Kirit S. Parikh

Poverty Status

The definition of poverty calls for a method to distinguish a poor individual from a non poor one. The widely used method is one of classifying an individual as poor if he or she does not meet a norm or set of norms. However, it is not simple either conceptually or empirically to define a set of norms. Even if one were to agree that the minimum amount of food, clothing and shelter needed to sustain life should constitute a universal set of norms, these minima are neither unambiguously defined nor easily quantified. Some of the widely used poverty measures are the head-count index (the proportion of a population with income or consumption below a poverty line), the poverty gap (the proportion by which the average income of the poor is below the poverty line), and the Sen Index and the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke Index² which are sensitive to the inequality in the distribution of incomes among the poor.

Any study of poverty has to begin with what Sen (1981)³ calls an exercise of “identification”, a method that distinguishes the poor from the non poor in a population which includes the poor. Sen (1981:21)⁴ sees the measurement of poverty as “an exercise of description assessing the predicament of people in terms of the prevailing standards of necessities. It is primarily a factual rather than ethical exercise,, and the facts relate to what is regarded as deprivation...”

2 Quibria, MG (ed.) (1993)

3 *ibid.*

4 *ibid.*

Dreze and Sen (1985) agree that poverty is a matter of deprivation. Poverty of life lies not merely in the impoverished state of living, but also in the lack of real opportunities, given by social constraints as well as personal circumstances, to choose other types of living. Poverty is, thus, ultimately a matter of “capability deprivation”, and note has to be taken of that basic connection not just at the conceptual level, but also in economic investigations and in social or political analysis. (Dreze and Sen, 1995)⁵.

Human Development Report (UNDP, 2000) asserts that poverty eradication is not only a development goal – it is a central challenge for human rights in the 21st century. Poverty limits human freedom and deprives a person of dignity. The Vienna Declaration adopted at the 1993 World Conference on the Human Rights affirms that “extreme poverty and social exclusion constitute a violation of human dignity”. (UNDP, 2000 :73) The Human Development Report, 2000, takes the view that poverty is broader than lack of income – that it is deprivation across many dimensions. If income is not the sum total of human lives, a lack of income can not be the sum total of human deprivation. Indeed, Human Development Report, 1997, on poverty, defined it as deprivation in the valuable things that a person can do or be. The term human poverty was coined to distinguish this broad deprivation from the narrower income poverty, a more conventional definition limited to deprivation in income or consumption, which India has adopted. Human Development focused on expanding capabilities important for all people, capabilities so basic

⁵ Ramachandran V, ‘Voluntary Organisations: Professional Agency or Sub-Contractor’ in Dantwala Ml, H.Sethi and P. Visaria (eds.) (1998)

that their lack forecloses other choices. Human poverty focuses on the lack of these same capabilities – to live a long, healthy and creative life, to be knowledgeable, to enjoy a decent standard of living, dignity, self-respect and the respect of others. This view holds that expanding human capabilities and securing human rights can thus empower poor people to escape poverty. Compared to this, the conceptualisation of poverty in India has been extremely narrow, concerning itself with income and consumption deprivation aspects only. The conceptualisation of poverty in economic perspective has been a vital issue in the Indian planning arena in the post-independence period. In economic sense, the poverty is defined through the specific indicators of per capita income and the calorie intake. The incidence of poverty is generally ascertained in relation to a normative measure called poverty line which is defined in terms of a level of household income (expenditure) that ensures a daily calorie requirement of 2400 per person in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas, and also covers some expenditure on essential non-food items. The planning Commission defined poverty line as monthly per capita income of Rs. 65 for rural areas and Rs. 75 for urban areas at 1977-78 prices corresponding to the minimum calorie requirements stated above. At 1988-89 prices, these figures work out to Rs. 132 and Rs. 152 for rural and urban areas respectively. Dandekar and Rath (Delhi; 1970), after a close analysis of various aspects of poverty in India conclude that the problem of poverty in India is essentially a problem of rural poverty. The urban poor of India are only an overflow of the rural poor into the cities and belong to the same class.

'Measurement of poverty' is the administrative requirement for two-fold purpose :

- i) to quantify the poverty by defining poor in absolute terms; and
- ii) to enlist the families who are below the 'poverty line' to concentrate on giving them opportunities for better living.

The narrow approach of Poverty Line is not concerned with wealth or material possessions, nor does it deal with other aspects of deprivation relating to access to water, shelter, health services, education or transport, nor with indebtedness, dependence, isolation, migration, vulnerability, powerlessness, high mortality, nor social disadvantage. The poverty line is concerned only with income or consumption, and usually only consumption.

Anti-Poverty Strategies And Programmes

The basic objective of development planning of the Government of India has been growth with social justice. As part of this broader objective, the Government had set for itself the goal of reduction in the incidence of poverty and its ultimate eradication within a time frame. To achieve this goal, it has evolved appropriate policies, strategies and programmes. But it should also be kept in mind that any policy and programme for the reduction of poverty is likely to be ineffective unless it takes account of a network of relationships through which poverty is generated and perpetuated and of structural components that are present in many of these relationships. In the past decades,

many aspects of deprivation in India have been attacked. Measures include the abolition of Zamindari, land reform, the limitation and control of indebtedness and interest rates, programme for special areas and special groups, and the sequence of major administered national programmes which began most conspicuously with Community Development in 1952. Priorities and programmes have flowed in succession and those of the past have been gradually buried or absorbed as new ones have come into prominence. The 1980s have been distinguished by programmes of direct attack on property, especially with the Integrated Rural Development Programme.

Importance of Rural Development for India.

In a developing country like India where majority of its population lives in rural areas and is dependent upon agriculture for its livelihood and where problems like poverty, unemployment, social and economic inequality exist more pronouncedly in countryside, the importance of rural development cannot be underestimated. To give a dignified life to all her citizens living in rural and urban areas, independent India has pledged to establish a 'socialistic pattern of society' through planned development.

About 76 percent of the Indian population lives in rural areas and the progress of the country is bound up with the progress of its innumerable villages. This majority of the population depends upon agriculture for their livelihood which is the single largest and important section of our economy contributing about 40.9 percent of the country's GNP (Gross National Product).

Agricultural production due to its erratic nature, fluctuates more violently than industrial production which leads to higher fluctuations in agricultural prices as well as agricultural incomes. The small and marginal farmers cannot bear the consequences of fluctuations in farm output, prices and adverse effects of free market. Only rural development can save them from their miserable conditions and can play an important role in increasing the purchasing power of the farmers.

Moreover, the politico-economic and socio-cultural disabilities threaten the development of the rural poor. This has aggravated the problem of poverty which has manifested itself in various forms i.e. unemployment, inequality, malnutrition, growth of slums and ignorance. The growing poverty, which undermines planned development, is much more severe in rural than in urban areas and has become the biggest bottleneck in national development. Rural development also holds the key to nation-building. It can transform rural society from traditional isolation to integration with the mainstream of national life. It will evolve a new society with a built-in value system by raising the social, economic and cultural value of the rural people through basic infrastructural amenities i.e. pure drinking water, nutritious meals, clothes, houses in clean environment, education, medical facilities, recreational facilities, electricity, metalled roads, avenues for cultural development, transport, communication etc., for their harmonious growth. The development of living and working conditions as well as awareness among rural masses, their active cooperation and involvement in the development programmes will

stop corrupt practices and thus contribute to the building of a strong modern India.

Poverty Alleviation

The most pressing problem of the under developed countries is that of poverty of low income households. The overriding goal of very low income households is to produce or earn enough to eat. Access to land for subsistence production partially insulates the households from rising food costs, providing an important form of food security. But the food needs are not adequately met. Even the landowner's family has to take the most demeaning jobs despite low pay. There is regular indebtedness. The workers' ignorance and their lack of organisation enables the landlord to undercut the minimum wage rate. Rapid loss of forests by the commercial contractors leads to forest destruction and affects the supply of cooking fuel to the small farmers. Coastal waters have been overexploited, leading to a threat to the livelihoods sustaining fishermen. The plantation agriculture ties up substantial land assets in the hands of a few. Thus, income distribution remains as it is and does not trickle down to the poor. So, unless the vicious circle of poverty, i.e. low income, low savings, low investment, low rate of growth and therefore a low level of income, is broken, increasing number of people would continue to be displaced and move towards large cities. The action that is required is slower population growth, balanced equitable development, specific attention to the needs of the landless to improve their survival strategies and sound management environment. Impact

rather than administrative expediency should be the guiding principle of intervention.

India : Poverty Profile

The 1998 Poverty Assessment builds on the 1997 Poverty Report (of the World Bank) and focuses on using public expenditure to expand the poor's access to quality education and health care. Compared to earlier profiles, poverty in India is declining, but slowly, and remains widespread i.e. 35 percent of the population (37 percent rural and 31 urban) lived below the poverty line in 1993-94 (latest year for which household survey data are available) India has the largest concentration of poor people in the world particularly in rural areas where almost three out of four Indians and 77 percent of the Indian poor live⁶. The Report also found that staggering as the overall numbers remain – 240 million rural poor and 72 million urban poor- they do not tell the full story. Social indicators of well being – health, education, nutrition describe a country which has made substantial gains against widespread deprivation over 50 years of its independence but has not achieved the momentum needed to bring the great majority of its poor into the economic mainstream. While India has succeeded in the last four decades in doubling life expectancy and reducing infant mortality, its death rate for infants under five as well as rates of malnutrition among children and women are among the highest in the world.

⁶ Poverty Reduction and the World Bank – Progress in Fiscal 1998.

And fewer than half the children from poor households are in school, reducing their prospects of escaping poverty.

It is also found that in general, gender, literacy, landownership, employment status and caste are closely associated with poverty. In general, where social indicators reflect little progress, poverty has also been very slow to decline. The incidence of poverty and the poor's access to social services varies considerably from state to state and even within states in India.

The Human Development Report, 2000⁷ ranks India as 128 among 174 countries in its Human Development Index (HDI) which measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development - long, healthy life, knowledge and decent standard of living – life expectancy at birth, educational attainment and GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita. An equally dismal performance is apparent in the Human Poverty Index (HPI) which reflects the distribution of progress and measures the backlog of deprivation that still exists where India's position is a low 58 among a group of 85 developing countries.

Rural Development And Indian Planning

In India, the strategy of rural development is the outcome of a long evolutionary process based on successes and failures of various policies. As a result of the experience gained in the three Five Year Plans and the several studies and debates on unemployment, poverty and inequality, the Fourth Five

⁷ United Nations Development Programme, HDR, 2000.

Year Plan was reoriented towards rural development and thereafter increasing allocation has been given to rural development and the problems of the poor.

During the first two decades of economic planning emphasis was laid on the need to maximise the rate of growth of the GNP (Gross National Product) mostly in conformity with the conventional approach, through stepping up rate of investment in the economy, the goal being increased production. It was considered that autonomous public investment would stimulate induced investment by private sector which, in turn, would push the GNP upwards. Such an upward shift in the GNP would contribute significantly to poverty alleviation and employment generation.

The strategy followed during the first two decades of Indian planning was more production oriented than welfare oriented. The Community Development Programme launched in 1952 addressed itself more to the decentralisation of development efforts. The programme succeeded to some extent in creating a viable infrastructure in the rural areas including the extension machinery. However, it did not succeed to the desired extent in generating community efforts and combining the same with those of the government for bringing about a process of self sustaining socio-economic development in the rural sector. Though a modest beginning of macro level planning in India was made by the programme in the First Five Year Plan with development block acting as major plank in the process of agricultural development, the programme suffered for want of various types of linkages at

different levels that are necessary for an integrated development of the rural areas. Panchayati Raj Institutions which came into being in late fifties and early sixties were expected to become development agents in the scheme of democratic decentralisation. It is thus, during 1950-60 efforts were made to a limited extent to create some kind of infrastructure that would facilitate increased agricultural production.

The early 1960s witnessed the launching of several production-oriented area programmes (such as IADP, IAAP, RIP, ICDP, ANDP and HYVP) which despite succeeding in increasing the agricultural production and ushering in the 'Green Revolution', tended to accentuate economic development and employment generation.

By 1970, it was realised that the various developmental programmes undertaken in the economy had not improved the socio-economic conditions of a large majority of the rural people and that public investment in the rural sector could not so far mitigate the incidence of poverty and unemployment. The realisation that demands of distributive justice cannot be overlooked for sustaining development efforts and that connective measures are necessary to set the pace of socio-economic development on a right path, has given rise to the launching of a wide array of development programmes during 1970s. This paved the way to another strategy of rural development.

The Decade 1970-80 are specially important as it witnessed the launching of a wide variety of development programmes which sought to make

a multipronged attack on the multi-dimensional problems of poverty and unemployment, besides making efforts to achieve a high rate of economic growth through the creation and development of infrastructural facilities in the interests of increased production. In the 1970s, the government launched the rural works programmes, Special Nutrition Programme, Rural Artisans Programme, Crash Scheme for Rural Employment, Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Project, Small Farmers Development Agency, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour Development Agency, Command Area Development Programme, Drought Prone Area Programme, whole village Development Programme, Food-for-Work Programme, Minimum Needs Programme etc.; while some of these programmes are area oriented, others are both area-cum-beneficiary oriented programmes.

Since the magnitude of poverty, unemployment and inequality was still alarming, solutions to these problems were sought to be found in a direct attack on these. This necessitated a shift in the strategy to target groups and target areas. The target group in its actual operation made it clear that the developmental programmes tailored to suit their needs and skills would be able to succeed only within the overall context of spatial planning which measures growth of appropriate output mix and choice of techniques, and a fuller and effective utilisation of all available physical and human resources. The area approach and the target group approach are inseparable and emphasize poverty alleviation, generation of employment opportunities, provision of facilities to meet the minimum needs of the rural poor etc. The significant shift from

community development in the earlier Five Year Plans to target-oriented and area development programmes in the Sixth Plan-viz. self-employment and wage-employment programmes. In the Self-Employment Programme (IRDP), credit and subsidy were provided to generate income earning assets. The major intervention to promote self employment in several areas has been to forge backward and forward linkages with available infrastructure and markets. The twin objectives of the wage employment programmes on the other hand has been asset creation in rural areas for filling the infrastructure gaps, and providing employment and wage opportunities to the rural poor seeking work and wage. The selection of public assets to be created under the wage employment programme was, in its turn, to fulfil the minimum needs of the community.

With winds of change sweeping across the world, India too, as most of developing countries, embarked on various economic reforms while at the same time recognising the task of growth, unemployment, mass poverty as well as lower levels of income and per capita consumption in her rural areas. As a result, rural development as the main objective of development strategy remains a priority even today when we are entering into a new millennium, as it was in the decades following independence. ✓

Alternative Model : People Centred Development

Attention is now focussed on the new dimensions of development that have emerged after being disillusioned by blindly aping the western model.

Firstly, it contends that economic development and increase in production have no meaning unless they lead to elimination of poverty. Secondly, production would be self-defeating if it leads to destruction rather than preservation of the productive capacity of the environment. Thirdly, development is for the people and unless it leads to increased participation of people in the development process, development can be meaningless. In particular, development must involve a strategy focussed on increasing the access of the small farmer and the self-employed to land, water, crop and other facilities that would alone lead to increase in their productivity and fulfilment of their most basic needs. Thus, 'people-centred development' emerges as an alternative to 'production-centred development'. The key to the survival of the millions in the underdeveloped countries is part-time employment plus imaginative new policies aimed at making their production i.e., production and consumption, more productive.

Effective development planning must be participatory. The production-centred development has favoured command system form of organisation, while the people-centred development favours self organising system geared to community goal setting and problem solving processes and to innovative and adaptive action. Programmes of community development should be implemented through conventional and bureaucratic structures with reliance on centralised bureaucratic organisations and inadequate investment for building the community. What is required is the appropriate community oriented management and active involvement/ participation of people in developmental projects.

In conventional production centred development model the needs of production system assume precedence over the needs of the people, which is not only dehumanising but has also proven itself environmentally unsustainable which in turn led to serious search for alternatives. It was also realised that a blueprint approach is inadequate response to the rural development problems. Rural development has to be a learning process, a fact that should be reflected in policies and programmes made in this regard in terms of recognition of disparate ground realities and dynamics of different regions, its adaptability and assessment.

Role of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Poverty Alleviation and Rural Development.

In recent times, in India as in most developing countries, a Third Sector consisting of the Non-Governmental Organisations (popularly called as NGOs) has emerged as a viable institutional framework to serve as a catalyst for development and change. This is in distinction to the role played by the governmental organisation as the first sector more accustomed to maintaining law and order and resolving conflicts, and the private commercial enterprises as the second sector-known to exist more for profit making than for affecting the process of development. This Third Sector has grown in the background of 'voluntarism' and 'self-help' approach applied to the processes of development.

The proliferation of NGOs itself in as apparent indication to the prominence they gained in a democratic pluralistic country like India. The

crucial role of NGOs, albeit at the micro level , has been widely recognised by many because of their advantage and relative success vis-à-vis the statutory bodies and governmental agencies in delivering goods. Their ever-growing relevance in matters concerning people's participation and development as well as their role as a catalyst of social change have allowed them to carve a niche for themselves in the changing Indian scenario and emerge as an effective player in achieving India's goals of poverty alleviation and rural development.

Since Independence until the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85), there was little effort on the part of the government to define the role of a voluntary agency or to recognise the importance of NGOs in the development process. The tendency was to equate the work of the voluntary agencies with only welfare activities and charity work. But, realising the importance of participating development, the Sixth Five Year Plan Document(1980-85), emphasised the significance of non-governmental organisations, formal and informal in nature, as new actions, which could motivate and mobilise people in specific or general developmental tasks and meet the new demands of the growing sphere of development activities.

There has been an astronomical increase in the number of NGOs in India during the past ten-fifteen years due to rising awareness and social concern, widespread poverty and deprivation, weakening governmental delivery mechanism, democratic spirit and increased funding. The Seventh Plan (1985-90) envisaged a more active role for the voluntary organisations so as to make

communities as self reliant as possible. They were expected to show how village and indigenous resources could be used and how human resources, rural skills and local knowledge, grossly underutilised at present could be used for their own development. Further, these were to be utilised to demystify technology and bring it in a simpler form to the rural poor, to train a cadre of grass-roots workers who believe in professionalising voluntarism, to mobilise financial resources from within the community and to mobilise and organise the poor and generate awareness to demand quality services and impose a community system, of accountability on the performance of village level government functionaries. Similar emphasis is also evident in the subsequent plans which reiterates their growing significance in the fight against poverty and for a better standard of living.

CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES IN INDIA.

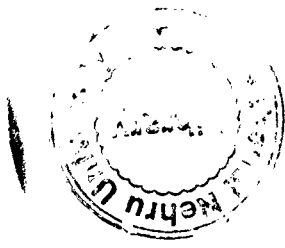
Poverty is the inability to secure the minimum consumption requirement for life, health and efficiency and alleviation of rural poverty has been one of the primary objectives of planned development in India. Ever since the inception of planning, the policies and the programmes have been designed and redesigned with their aim. The recommendation of the Famine Commissions 1880, 1898 and 1901 formed the cornerstones for rural development policy of British India. Removal of poverty, provision of employment, survival of cottage industries, awakening of rural masses, reduction of social distance, achievement of self reliance and attainment of village Swaraj were some of Gandhiji's major thrust areas. He gave a blue print at rural upliftment through reconstruction programme. During the several decades of planning, the eradication of rural poverty has been a recurrent theme in the concerns of Indian policy makers, politicians and administrators. Yet the proportion of those living below the poverty line has not declined substantially.

Several specially designed programmes became a part of the strategy of direct attack on poverty and were initiated during the Fourth Plan but the problem of rural poverty was brought into a sharper focus only during the Sixth Plan. The Seventh Plan too emphasized growth with social justice. It was realised that a sustainable strategy of poverty alleviation has to be based on increasing the productive

employment opportunities in the process of growth itself. However, to the extent the process of growth bypasses some sections of the population, it is necessary to formulate specific poverty alleviation programmes for generation of a certain minimum level of income for the rural poor.

Rural development implies both the economic betterment of people as well as greater social transformation. Increased participation of people in the rural development process, decentralization of planning, better enforcement of land reforms, and greater access to credit and inputs go a long way in providing the rural people with better prospects for economic development. Improvements in health, education, drinking water, energy supply, sanitation and housing coupled with attitudinal changes also facilitate their social development. It encompasses a spectrum of activities and human mobilization to make people stand on their own feet and break away from all structural disabilities which chain them to conditions in which they may live in. The need for having a separate development programme for the rural areas lies in their relative deprivation. Rural poverty is inextricably linked with low rural productivity and increased unemployment in rural areas.

Rural development thus connotes overall development of rural areas with a view to improving the quality of life of rural people. It aims to integrate the growth of rural poor and to provide them a better standard of living. It is a process, which ensures higher income, larger employment, and security of life and equity in social and economic hierarchies. The rural development approach emphasizes the total attack of



all problems of rural areas and stresses the need to create change in the existing lifestyle, value orientation, attitudinal behaviors and task base of the rural poor. It is not of recent origin but has been a dormant thesis even when capital-output ratio and Harrod-Domar models of growth were being talked about. We have, however, now reached a stage in the evolution of our economy, when a renewed emphasis on its effect in economic growth is accompanied by a sharper focus on social justice and alleviation of poverty.

TH-9044

India's approach to planning is eclectic in every sense of the term. It tries to reconcile planning with democracy, increased production with equitable distribution, establishment of large industry with promotion of cottage industries, introduction of high-tech with upgradation of traditional technology and upholding human values with the pursuit of material advancement. The anti-poverty programmes introduced in the seventies were aimed at raising poor families above the poverty line. But the job of converting families below poverty line- the families of marginal farmers and landless labour- was entrusted to the whittled down machinery of block development without realising that to convert even a single poor family into a self reliant viable family on a permanent or enduring basis was a Herculean task and could not be accomplished through a simple act of giving loan or a subsidy to that family. The poor family has to be given a sense of confidence to undertake a productive activity which could be a source of self reliant living and that activity has to be supported by linking it up to a larger productive enterprise which can support the poor family in terms of supply of

input, marketing of output and technical expertise. A new extension machinery is needed consisting of technical specialists, development workers, cooperative organisers, bankers and financiers, teachers and welfare workers. What are required, are group or cluster approach, collective enterprise and back up support of a bigger organisation like a co-operative dairy.

Employment at miserably low levels of productivity and incomes is already a problem of far greater magnitude than unemployment as such. It is estimated that in 1987-88 the rate of unemployment was only 3% and inclusive of the under employed, it was around 5%. As per the methodology used in the Planning Commission, Poverty for the same year was estimated to be 30%. This demonstrates that even though a large proportion of the rural population was 'working' it was difficult for them to eke out a living even at subsistence levels from it. Though there has been decline in the incidence of rural poverty over time, in terms of absolute numbers of poor the decline has been much less. While this can be attributed to the demographic factor, the fact remains that after 50 odd years of planned development, about 200 million are still poor in rural India. The average incidence of rural poverty conceals wider inter-state differences which suggest that greater attention needs to be paid to the regions which have a greater concentration of the rural poor.

The dent, however minor, made on the poverty levels in India is attributable both to the growth factor and to the special employment programmes launched by the government in order to generate more incomes in the rural areas. But the impact of

such programmes also depends to a great extent on how well they are implemented. The strategies of implementation is crucial to the success of a programme. These strategies are formulated within the constitutional and administrative environment. At the macro level, the features of the environment may be easily discernible but they vary at the operational level. It is this difference that allows states to show their ingenuity in striving for success if they have the necessary political will.

Review of the Existing Programmes

The importance of reduction in poverty and provision of other basic needs has been emphasized in all the Five Year Plans particularly since the 5th Five Year Plan. The Government has a two pronged approach viz. promoting economic growth and direct action towards poverty alleviation. The large literature on poverty trends show that the poverty ratio during the 1980s was distinctly lower than in 1960s and 1970s and that the period upto the early 70s was characterised by fluctuations in the poverty ratio with no clearly discernible trend over time.

Poverty alleviation programmes have to be viewed in the wider perspective of socio-economic transformation in the country. The resources and the capabilities needed for running such programme cannot be generated in the system unless the economy itself is buoyant and there is sustained increase in output. Also, the demand for goods and services produced by the poor household enterprises rises significantly in response to the overall increase in incomes in the country so that the viability of

these household enterprises depends critically on the sustained increase in the national income. Further it is necessary to ensure that the pattern of overall economic growth itself is such as to generate adequate incomes for the poor sections through its greater impact on employment generation and on the development of less developed regions.

These programmes, thus, should be regarded as supplementing the basic plan for overall economic growth, in terms of generating productive assets and skills as well as incomes for the poor.

Background of the Formulation of Poverty Alleviation Schemes

In formulating development programmes the policy makers have been open to ideas whose source lay in experience in India and abroad. During the fifties, the Planning Commission had become a forum where frequent interaction between the foreign and Indian experts took place. Contrary to popular belief, this interaction was even greater in the area of rural development. The Ford Foundation entered India through the gates of rural development. The Etawah type project (earlier, a Pilot Project at Etawah had been undertaken) was cited as the self supporting village project that America could invest in. The advances made by this project led to the unfolding of the Community Development Programme. The administrative structure that was designed for the Community Development Programme (CDP) facilitated a vertical flow of power and control wherein an administrator with the responsibility of planning, directing and coordinating community development projects throughout the country

was appointed. At the district level, the programme was administered under the leadership of the district collector with the assistance of block development officers working under him.

In a matter of a few years it became apparent that the CDP could not do what it had set out to do. In 1959-60, India faced a severe food crisis and the Ford Foundation proposed an alternative strategy which proposed to choose a few districts in the country where efforts would be made to increase food production through intensive use of technology and other inputs, and which later came to be known as Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP). This programme laid the foundation for the wider adoption of the new agricultural strategy that ultimately led to a remarkable increase in agricultural output since the later 1960s. The Ford Foundation supported the programme for ten years.

One of the best efforts of the Ford Foundation in rural development, which had a widespread impact of Indian public thinking, was the sponsorship of a study on poverty in India by Dandekar and Rath. This study led to widespread discussion on the distribution of development gains in India and changed the orientation of perspectives towards rural development.

The development experience of about fifteen years (1951-52 to 1966-67) brought into serious doubt the assumptions of the planners that strategies of growth and productivity would suffice to resolve the problems of rural poverty by themselves.

The efforts at promulgating land ceiling and giving land to the tillers had, by and large, failed. A new perspective, which advocated that growth and poverty alleviation could not be seen as distinct goals, and that the latter should be built into the growth processes, began to crystallize. However, strategies to correct structural imbalances that led to poverty were not included in this new perspective. Land reforms were not given a prominent place. Around this time, the international aid giving agencies began expressing dissatisfaction with a purely economic approach towards distributive justice; instead they proposed direct attempts to benefit the rural poor through administrative packages. The World Bank began to emphasize in its policy documents that greater attention on capital formation among poorer farmers was necessary for using their available resources and labour to generate higher incomes. The ILO (International Labour Organisation) also began its shift from primary occupation with growth towards creation of employment opportunity and satisfaction of basic human needs.

These two approaches of redirecting investments towards the poor and the satisfaction of their basic needs had a strong impact on the strategies adopted to alleviate rural poverty in India from 1970 onwards. The new perspective found wide acceptance in India due to the favorable political climate that prevailed in the country during the later 1960s. As a result, programmes that sought to bring direct benefits to the rural poor through redirection of some investment were seen not only as instruments of containing rural unrest but also a way of fulfilling the demands of

social change and distributive justice. This has been described as the fundamental paradox of Indian political economy; the commitment to radical social change and yet an equal determination to avoid a direct attack on the existing structures. (Francine Frankel, 1978: 3-78)¹

Another change discernible at the central level was in the occupational pattern of the members of the Lok Sabha which began to shift towards agriculturists so much so that by Fifth Plan, they were the largest single group in the Parliament. Moreover, in the initial elections, the Panchayati Raj had provided a secular method of elections to the land-owning classes of legitimize their hold on the village social structure. Thus emerged a blend of careful thwarting of attempts to implement land ceiling along with a welcoming attitude towards special schemes to alleviate poverty.

This new perspective on rural development began the era of special schemes, displacing the comprehensive programme of rural upliftment through community development introduced in the First Five Year Plan, which would be discussed in the paper subsequently.

There are a large number of self – employment and employment generation schemes sponsored by the various Ministries/ Departments of the Government of India. While there is considerable overlap and duplication, each of the schemes have different

¹ Mathur K, “Designing Poverty Alleviation Programme; International Agencies and Indian Policies”. in Mathur K, (ed). (1996).

norms, procedures and implementing agencies making the process of accessing these schemes cumbersome from the point of view of the intended beneficiary.

The first of such programmes were embodied in the Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Agencies (MFALA) established in 1970-71. Both of these agencies were merged into one as the SFDA at the beginning of the Fifth Plan in 1975. Initially, 46 Small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDAs) and 41 Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Agencies (MFALAs) were started. In 1979 there were 168 SFDAs, run in 198 districts of the country. Subsequently in 1978-79 the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) replaced the SFDA programme in some selected blocks, and by 1980 was extended to all the districts in the country. Under the Small Farmers Development Programme during the period 1971-77, around 6.5 million rural households were benefited. The total budgetary outlay was Rs. 134.31 crores and additional credit of Rs. 243 crores was released.

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (IRDP)

Under the Integrated Rural Development Programme, those living below the defined poverty line in rural areas are identified and given assistance for acquisition of productive assets or appropriate skills for self – employment, which in turn, should generate enough income to enable the beneficiaries to rise above the poverty line. The programme of asset endowment under IRDP was designed to develop self-

employment ventures in a variety of activities like sericulture, animal husbandry and land based activities in the primary sector; weaving handicrafts etc. in the secondary sector; and service and business activities in the tertiary sector. With a view of diversifying the occupational structure, it had been stipulated that 33% of the beneficiary coverage should, as far as possible, be in the secondary and tertiary sectors. The assets provided to the selected households were financed through a mix of Government subsidies and institutional credit on an average subsidy credit ratio of 1:2. The capital cost of the assets was subsidized to the extent of 25% for small farmers, 33.3% for marginal, farmers, agricultural labourers, and rural artisans and 50% for the scheduled tribes. A family could receive upto Rs. 3000 by way of subsidy. In drought prone areas, the limit of subsidy ceiling was Rs. 4000 while for tribal beneficiaries it was Rs. 5000.

Table 1.1 shows the key indicators of performance of IRDP in the Sixth Plan period. It could be seen that at the national level, the targets have been achieved in respect of all the quantitative parameters set in the programme guidelines while as between states, the performance has been uneven. The assessment at the end of Sixth Plan revealed several shortcomings and this knowledge along with the feedback from the State Governments helped introduce suitable changes in the guidelines for the IRDP in the Seventh Plan. The poverty line was based at Rs. 6400, but those eligible for assistance under the IRDP had to have an average annual income of Rs. 4800 or less. It was assumed that those households with income levels between Rs. 4800 and

Rs. 6400 would be able to rise above the poverty line in the process of growth itself. It was targeted that 20 million families would be assisted under IRDP during the Seventh Plan of which 10 million were new households and 10 million old beneficiaries who had been unable to cross the poverty line and required a second dose.

During the Seventh Plan, the subsidy expenditure on IRDP was Rs. 3316 crores which was in excess of the target of Rs. 3000 crores. The total investment including institutional credit amounted to Rs. 8688 crores. In quantitative terms, the physical achievement of about 18 million households fell short of the original target of 20 million households but exceeded the cumulative target, which was only 16 million families. The sectoral composition indicates that, of all the schemes selected under IRDP, 44% fell under primary sector, 18.5% in the secondary sector and 37.5% in the tertiary sector. Table 1.2 throws light on the salient features of the IRDP performance during the Seventh Plan and 1990-91.

During the Eighth Five Year Plan, the total allocation (Centre and State) under IRDP was Rs. 5048.29 crores and the total investment amounted to Rs. 11541.06 crores. In quantitative numbers, 10.82 million families were covered under IRDP against the initial target 12.6 million families fixed for the entire Eight Plan Period. Of the families covered, 50.06% were SC/STs and 33.5% women. The coverage of women was still lower than the target of 40%.

Despite shortcoming, IRDP has shown strong promising features wherein it has been quite successful in terms of providing incremental income to poor families. In some cases it has actually resulted in a change in occupational structure. Along with a definite shift in the sectoral coverage pattern and a considerable increase in the amount of investment per household over a period of 5 years, there has also been an increase in the credit- subsidy ratio that gives reasons to rejoice.

The Report of the Committee to Review and Rationalize Centrally Sponsored Schemes for Poverty Alleviation and Employment Generation also finds favour with IRDP continuing to be the single self- employment programme targeted to families living below the poverty line in the country. Under this programme, the Report recommends that the quantum of subsidy should be standardized for all categories of beneficiaries. (There should be no differential, as is at present, in the percentage of subsidy, category wise or area wise). This quantum of subsidy should be standardized for all individual beneficiaries at 7500. The project cost for individual beneficiaries sponsored under IRDP should range within the investment band of Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 50,000. Accordingly, the existing normative subsidy- credit ratio pegged at 1:2 would have to be enhanced.

It is suggested that as far as possible there should be concerted effort to move away from individual beneficiary to a group approach. This would reduce the extent of leakages as also improve the viability of projects and provide sustained employment to the poor. Also, a cluster approach should be preferred wherein a few specified

activities are identified for assistance in an area. This will help in building up relevant infrastructure in the area.

The programme for **supply of improved toolkits to rural artisans (SITRA)** is also at present a sub-scheme of IRDP, however, as the rural artisans constitute a part of the target group under IRDP, it is recommended that rather than having a separate scheme for them, they should be financed from within the IRDP in consonance with its funding pattern.

TRAINING OF RURAL YOUTH FOR SELF EMPLOYMENT (TRYSEM)

With the objective of providing technical skills to rural youths to enable them to take up self employment in the broad fields of agriculture and allied activities, the schemes of Training of Rural Youth for Self- Employment was started on 15th August, 1979. The Sixth Plan aimed to train 2 lakh rural youths every year at the rate of 40 youths per block per annum. The target group comprised rural youths between the ages of 11 and 35 from families living below the poverty line. It was also indicated that a minimum of 30% of the trained youths should belong to Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) communities and a minimum of 33.3% of the rural youths trained to be women. Against the target of 10.05 lakh youths to be trained during the Sixth Plan, 9.4 lakh youths were actually trained which accounts for 93.3% of the target. Of the 9.4 lakh youths trained, 4.64 lakh youths (49.4%) were self

employed. Members of SCs and STs accounted for 31.5% of the persons trained, while women accounted for 34.8% of the total number of persons trained.

During the Seventh Plan, about 10 lakh youths were trained under TRYSEM, of which 47% took up self-employment and 12% wage employment. The remaining 41% could not avail of either. On the other hand a sizeable proportion of IRDP beneficiaries who needed training could not receive it. In fact, only 6 to 7% of IRDP beneficiaries were trained under TRYSEM. During 1990-91, the number of youths trained were 2.6 lakhs, of which 70% got employed.

During the Eighth Plan, 15.28 lakh youth were trained under TRYSEM, of whom 36.16 per cent took up self employment and 15.05% wage -employment, while the remaining 50.79% remained unemployed. There has been a poor convergence of TRYSEM with IRDP and it has been reflected in the Fourth Round of the Concurrent Evaluation of IRDP (1992-93). Only 3.88% of the IRDP beneficiaries had received training under TRYSEM. Clearly, TRYSEM has been a weak link in the overall strategy for self employment in rural areas.

The Committee to review these Poverty Alleviation Programmers recognizes TRYSEM as a facilitating component of IRDP for providing basic technical and entrepreneurial skills to families living below the poverty line. Skill upgradation under this programme would be imparted through recognised training institutes, ITIs, master

craftsmen etc., in order to provide the rural youth with opportunities for both self - employment and wage employment.

DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN RURAL AREAS (DWCRA)

It was noticed in the first three years of the Seventh Plan that the benefits under the IRDP were not flowing to women in adequate measures. Therefore, a programme for Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) was introduced in September, 1982, in 560 blocks as a pilot project with a view to increasing their income and also to provide support service needed to enable them to take up income - generating activities. For this purpose, assistance could be given either to individual woman or to those organised into homogenous groups to take up economically viable activities on a group basis together with the provision of support services and child-care facilities for the women so organised. The Sixth Plan outlay for the scheme was Rs. 15.60 crores which was to be made available to the extent of Rs. 5.40 crores. It was realised that Government effort would require to be supplemented by voluntary agencies also and a scheme of assistance to voluntary agencies under DWCRA was formulated. Besides, need was also felt for the construction of multipurpose community centers for the purpose of imparting training to workers to enable them to take up income generating activities, demonstration of appropriate technology and living quarters for gram sevikas of the area. In all, 3308 groups covering 52, 170 women beneficiaries were actually organised under the programme in the Sixth Plan.

By the end of the Seventh Plan, this scheme which was operational in only 50 districts earlier had extended to 161 districts. Under DWCRA, a group of women are granted assistance to take up viable economic activities with Rs. 15,000 as a one time grant to be used as a revolving fund. In the Seventh Plan about 28,000 groups could be formed against the target of 35,000 with a membership of 4.6 lakh women. During 1990-91, against a target of 7,500, 7139 groups were actually formed.

Since the inception of the scheme till 1997, 1,87, 918 DWCRA groups were formed covering above 30 lakh rural women. It was in the Eighth Plan that DWCRA received a fillip with the Government taking several initiatives to strengthen the programme. The Child Care Activities (CCA); Information Education and Communication (IEC); and Community Based Convergent Services (CBCS) components were introduced in the DWCRA programme in 1995-96 to further benefit the target population.

While, in principle, this scheme is a sound one, in operationalising it, the impact has been inadequate. This is perhaps due to lack of cohesion among women groups formed under this scheme and their inability to identify activities that could generate sustained income. In this sphere, the experiment to form women's thrift and credit societies first, and then start them on economic work has been successful in some states.

The Review Committee, in its report, also favours continuation of DWCRA as a separate sub- scheme of IRDP. Twenty percent of IRDP funds would continue to be earmarked for strengthening programme infrastructure, providing forward and backward linkages and marketing support.

WAGE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMMES

There are two major wage employment programmes namely the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) and the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) presently in operation. The JRY was launched as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) in April, 1989 by merging the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). In a comprehensive restructuring of the wage employment programmes, JRY was further streamlined with Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) and Million Wells Scheme (MWS), which were sub-schemes of JRY till then, being made independent schemes. The Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) was launched in October, 1993 in 1775 identified backward blocks situated in drought prone, desert, tribal, and hill areas. It was subsequently extended to additional blocks which included the newly identified Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP) /Desert Development Programme (DDP) blocks, Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) blocks having a larger concentration of tribals, and blocks in flood prone areas of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and Jammu & Kashmir.

NATIONAL RURAL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME (NREP)

The National Rural Employment Programme was launched in October 1980 and became a regular Plan Programme from April 1981. The Programme was expected to generate additional gainful employment in the rural areas, to the extent of 300-400 million man days per annum, create durable community assets, and improve nutritional status and living standards of the poor. An outlay of Rs. 1620 crores was provided under this programme out of which the outlay from 1980-81 onwards (Rs. 1280) was to be shared equally between the centre and the states. The year wise performance under the programme is indicated in table 1.3.

A major step was taken in 1983-84 when it was decided to subsidize the cost of the food grains to be distributed under this programme. The creation of durable assets was an important objective of this programme, and in fact, the real distinguishing feature between the Food for Work Programme and the NREP. With a view of ensuring the durability of assets created (social forestry, soil conservation, schools, tanks, etc.), a provision had been made allowing for expenditure on the materials to the extent of 40% of the total project cost which was revised in 1983-84 to 50%.

The employment generation target under the NREP has been constantly achieved, though it is not known as to how much of this has been directed towards those who are landless and the poorest among the poor. Even if the programme, lacks a

direct focus on the target group-population, it makes up with substantial impact in terms of stabilization of wages in the rural areas, containing prices of food grains and the creation of a wide variety of community assets which could be expected to help in raising the levels of living of the rural population.

Table 1.4 shows the performance of NREP in the Seventh Five Year Plan. A concurrent evaluation of the Programme revealed that several types of assets were created with 24.6% expenditure on rural roads and 19.1% on social forestry. Construction was a main activity with 11.9% spent on schools, 12.1% on houses and 6.4% on Panchayat Ghars; 6.5% was directed to minor irrigation and 3.3% to wells for drinking water.

RURAL LANDLESS EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE PROGRAMME (RLEGP)

Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) was introduced from 15th August 1983 with the objective of a) improving and expanding employment opportunities for the rural landless household upto 100 days in a year; and (b) creating durable assets for strengthening the infrastructure so as to meet the growing requirements of the rural economy. An outlay of Rs. 500 crores, to be fully financed by the central government was provided under this programme in the Sixth Plan. The implementation of the programme was entrusted to the States and UTs, but they were required to prepare specific projects for approval by a central committee. During 1983-85, the central committee approved 320 projects with an estimated cost of

Rs. 906.59 crores. The target for employment generation in 1983-84 and 84-85 was fixed at 360 million man-days against which 260.18 million man days of employment was actually generated. Moreover, there was earmarking of funds specifically for certain activities - 25% for social forestry, 10% for benefiting only SC/ STs and 20% for housing under Indira Awaas Yojana.

In the Seventh Plan, Rs. 2412 crore were spent and 115 crores mandays were generated with an average expenditure of Rs. 21 per manday. Only 16% had been spent on social forestry but 22% had been spent on housing, with over 5 lakh houses created for SC/STs and freed bonded labourers. Rural roads accounted for 22% while other construction, minor irrigation, soil consumption etc. each had a small share. Table 1.5 indicates the performance of RLEGP in the Seventh Plan.

This programme was expected to have resulted in the creation of a large number of durable community assets and economic infrastructure in the rural areas. However, a tendency to concentrate on assets creation on the basis of the requirements determined locally and the need to provide the requisite quantum of employment to the landless labourers has been noticed. Concentration on project was also initially observed which was later sought to be restricted to not more than 50% of the total outlay and also confined to the priorities arising out of the Minimum Needs Programme.

JAWAHAR ROZGAR YOJANA (JRY)

In the last year of the Seventh Plan, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) was launched with a total allocation of Rs. 2600 crores to generate 931 million mandays of employment. The primary objective of the programme is generation of additional employment on productive works, which would either be of sustained benefit to the poor or contribute to the creation of rural infrastructure. Under this programme, Center's contribution is 80% and the rest 20% is the States' share. The JRY is implemented in all villages in the country.

Central assistance is provided to the states on the basis of proportion of the rural poor in State/UT to the total rural poor in the country. From the states to the districts, the allocation are made as an index of backwardness which is formulated on the following basis:

- 1) 20% weightage for the proportion of agricultural labourers in the total workers in the rural areas:
- 2) 60% weightage to the proportion of rural scheduled castes and tribes population in relation to the total rural population; and
- 3) 20% weightage to the inverse of agricultural productivity.

Of the total allocation at the State Level, 6% of the total resources are earmarked for housing under the Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), additional 20% are

earmarked for Million Wells Scheme (MWS) launched in 1988-89 under both NREP and RLEGP with the objective of providing open wells. However, where such wells are not feasible, the amounts allotted may be utilised for other schemes of minor irrigation like tanks, water harvesting structures and also for development of land of SC/ STs and freed bonded labourers, including ceiling surplus and bhoodan lands. A evaluation of the JRY was conducted from June 1993 to May 1994 , which revealed that nearly 82.16% of the available funds were spend on community developments. Construction of rural link roads received the highest priority. Approximately 98% of the total funds released were utilised and in terms of physical performance, the achievement was 100.07%.

There are several shortcomings in the programme, one of the basic ones being that there is no sectoral earmarking of resources at the village Panchayat level except that 15% of the annual allocation must be spent on works directly beneficial to SC/ ST.

DROUGHT PRONE AREA PROGRAMME (DPAP)

A Rural Works Programme was started in 1970-71 in areas chronically affected by drought with the principal objective of organising permanent works to obviate scarcity relief and to generate adequate employment through labour intensive schemes such as major, medium and minor irrigation works, soil conservation, afforestation and village and district roads necessary to open up the area for agricultural production. In the Fourth Plan, after the mid term appraisal, this programme was re- designed as

Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP) and reoriented as an integrated area development programme with the objective of developing land, water, livestock and human resources of these areas. The programme which was in operation in 511 blocks of 70 districts in 13 states, had by the end of Seventh Plan, expanded to 615 blocks of 91 districts in as many as earlier states.

The Sixth Plan allocation to DPAP was Rs. 350 crores, as against which the actual expenditure amounted to Rs. 310 crores. The existing pattern of assistance and the funding norm per block per year continued during the Seventh Plan for which the outlay was Rs. 474 crores. The funds are allocated under this programme on the basis of the number of blocks covered under the programme in each district at the rate of Rs. 15 lakhs per block, having a geographical area up to 500 sq.kms, Rs. 16.5lakhs per block with an area between 500-1000 kms. and Rs. 18.5 lakhs for blocks with an area exceeding 1000 kms. the allocations are shared between the Centre and the States on a 50:50 basis:

These programmes have been running for many years and an evaluation fails to show any evidence that drought proofing has been achieved in any of the DPAP blocks. Yet there are cases where voluntary effort has succeeded in achieving this objective at a microlevel. To ensure participation of people in planning and implementation of the programme, various measures have been taken, such as preparation of Watershed Development Plan with the help of the people in the watershed itself under the guidance of technical experts, and adequate local

representation in the Watershed Development Committee set up for implementation of the project.

NEHRU ROZGAR YOJANA (NRY)

For the urban poor living below the poverty line, there are at present two schemes of self employment namely

- (i) the scheme of Urban Micro Enterprises (SUME) component under the Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY); and
- (ii) the Self Employment Component under Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme (PMIUPEP).

There is a need to rationalize these schemes into a single programme for self - employment targeted to people living below poverty line. The existing NRY should be suitably restructured and SUME should be the single scheme for self-employment in all urban areas and towns. This scheme should be reformulated on the lines of IRDP with similar norms of subsidy, project cost, training and proposal coverage of women on a group basis. The NRY has two other components:

- (a) Scheme of Urban Wage Employment (SUWE): and
- (b) Scheme of Housing and Shelter Upgradation (SHASU) which are to be delinked from NRY and made into separate schemes.

PRIME MINISTER'S INTEGRATED URBAN POVERTY ERADICATION PROGRAMME (PMIUPEP)

The self employment components of PMIUPEP is being implemented in over 345 urban agglomerates. This programme adopts a whole town and project approach, dovetailing all NRY components and the water supply and sanitation of the towns, within the ambit of the programme. One of the specific objectives under this programme is skill upgradation and employment generation for low income families through promotion of micro enterprises and other measures. It is targeted to the urban poor who have been educated upto Ninth Std. and are living below the urban poverty line with an annual household income below Rs. 11, 850.

The NRY and PMIUPEP were designed with a thrust towards illiterate or semi literate urban poor beneficiaries. The kind of self employment provided under these programmes at present does not in all cases, require formal training. Provision for training has to be made only where special skills have to be imparted, but the percentage of such self employment ventures is limited. Consequently, in the revised format, training would not be compulsory and where it has to be provided as a component of skill upgradation, it may be patterned on the lines of TRYSEM.

The other components of PMIUPEP could be subscribed under other existing programmes by enlarging their scope of coverage- like integrating the housing and

shelter upgradation components of PMIUPEP* with SHASU* component of NRY*. Thereafter, there would be no justification to continue with the PMIUPEP as a separate scheme for a specific size of towns.

PRIME MINISTER ROZGAR YOJANA (PMRY)

Prime Minister Rozgar Yojana is for the educated unemployed youth within the age group of 18-25 years with an annual income not exceeding double the poverty line, i.e., Rs. 24000/- per annum. An age relaxation up to 10 years for women, SC/STs, Ex- Servicemen and physically handicapped is recommended. The financing under the PMRY, so far has been limited to the industries, service and business sector with urban focus. The PMRY is now being implemented both in the rural and urban area. Accordingly, it is recommended that its scope should be widened to include activities in the agricultural and allied sectors. Infact, all viable economic activities should be financed under PMRY.

KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION (KVIC)

Khadi and Village Industries Commission is entrusted with development of Khadi and Village industries in rural areas. The Programme is focussed on creating jobs and doubling the production of Khadi in an effort at rural industrialization. The KVIC implements its programmes through a network of state KVI Boards, registered

* Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme
* Schemes of Housing and Shelter Upgradation.
* Nehru Rozgar Yojana.

institutions, Cooperative Societies, departmental units and sales outlets spread throughout the country. Though the KVIC has its establishment at the state and district levels it has no presence at the blocks or the taluka level, where they function through co-operative societies and non governmental organisations.

PROGRAMMES FOR WOMEN

In the DWCRA, there are specific schemes for training and employment of women, in addition to a large number of schemes aimed at creating a support structure for women.

A) Support to Training and Employment Programme (STEP)

This is a Central Sector Scheme intended to improve skill upgradation of women and consequent generation of employment in 10 identified rural activities namely agriculture, animal husbandry, dairying, fisheries, handlooms, handicrafts, KVIC, Sericulture, Social Forestry and Wasteland Development. This programme consists of action oriented projects focussing on the poorest assetless women with equal emphasis on training and employment by provision of required linkage.

B) Assistance for Setting Up Training- cum- Employment –cum-Production Units for Women (NORAD)

This programme is also focussed on the training of poor women both in Urban slums and in rural areas with the objective of providing them employment on a

sustained basis. The programme is being implemented through public sector undertakings, corporations, autonomous bodies and voluntary organisations.

C) Socio- Economic Programme (Central Social Welfare Board)

Under this scheme, financial assistance is given to voluntary organizations, for taking up a wide range of activities including the setting up of small industrial units, ancillaries to large industries, handlooms and handicrafts, and dairy units.

**D) Condensed Course of Education for Adult Women and Vocational Training
(Central Social Welfare Board)**

Under vocational training grants are provided to NGOs for giving training to women in selected vocations.

E) Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK)

Under the RMK, credit is provided to poor assetless women largely through voluntary organisations for self employment. However, in states where these are scarce, funding is done through Women's Development Corporations (WDCs) Cooperatives and other recognised agencies which are involved in disbursement of credit.

Under most of the aforementioned schemes, the coverage is limited and the allocations provided annually are fairly small. Broad structure is recognised and several suggestions are put forth:

- 1) All the schemes which create a support structure for women including creche, working women hostels, short stay homes, family counseling centres as well as those which impinge on awareness generation and advocacy should be sought under one canopy.
- 2) All the schemes which aim at credit for poor women should be under one umbrella, i.e., Rashtriya Mahila Kosh.
- 3) The training programme for income generation including NORAD, the training component of STEP and the vocational training under Central Social Welfare Board could be integrated into a single schemes on lines similar to TRYSEM.

The basic suggestion being the need to avoid duplication in schemes as well as target population which means avoiding overlap situations and also optimum utilisation of the funds allocated.

STRATEGY FOR THE NINTH PLAN

To make self - employment programmes more effective in the Ninth Plan, there will be a shift in strategy under IRDP, from an individual beneficiary approach to a group and / or cluster approach.

The Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) will be, revamped in its design, curriculum and method of training in order to improve the employment opportunities of the poor.

Under Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), a mechanism for replicating the successful DWCRA groups will be evolved. Thrift will be the starting point for the formation of Self Help Groups (SHGs).

A new initiative for social mobilisation will be taken up in the Sixth Plan for creating self managed institutions of the poor. The Plan would also introduce a country wide Employment Assurance Scheme. There are two major wage employment programmes namely the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) and the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) in operation but they provide employment only for a short duration. The JRY, is being implemented through the Panchayat with funds going to every village Panchayat for taking up small works according to the felt needs of the people. On the other hand under the EAS, which is a demand driven scheme, funds flow to the district administration and they are required to take up public works for generation of assured employment of upto 100 days in the lean agricultural season. Till 1996-97 the EAS was being implemented in 3206 blocks of the country but the Ninth Plan has universalized it since 1998. The scheme of Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) will receive a greater thrust in the Ninth Plan as it is one of the identified basic services for complete coverage in a time bound manner. The area development programmes of

DPAP and DDP will be based on the preparation of complete treatment plans along watershed lines.

Rural Poverty is largely among the landless and marginal farmers. Therefore access to land remains a key element of the anti-poverty strategy in rural areas. Therefore the plan has a programme of action chalked out for land reform which encompasses regular updating of land records, redistribution of ceiling surplus land etc.

Seven Basic Services have been identified for attention with an all out effort for their complete coverage in a time bound manner. These are safe drinking water, availability of primary education, provision of public housing assistance to all shelterless poor families, nutritional support to children, connectivity of all villages and habitations by roads and public distribution system targeted to the poor.

The Panchayati Raj Institutions will function as effective institutions of local self government and they would prepare plans for economic development and social justice and implement them.

During the Eighth Plan, a little less than 70% of the resources were allocated for major and medium irrigation works whereas, the remaining 30% was allocated for minor irrigation works, Command Area Development (CAD) and flood control. The Ninth Plan lays emphasis on recognizing water as a scarce resource to be utilized prudently and has put forth an eleven-point approach.

PROBLEMS OF EXTENSION AND FINANCE FOR ANTI POVERTY PROGRAMME

The approach to agriculture and rural development in India since we embarked upon the planned process of economic development in 1951 seems to have moved between two extremes. On one hand was the concentration of those who were likely to respond most and whose example was expected to provide leadership to the rest, while on the other, was preferential treatment to those, who need help most i.e., under privileged including the small and marginal farmers, landless and the rural artisans. With concentration on agriculture and progressive farmers, the setup of block development administration dismantled. The BDO (Block Development Officer) was left as a captain without a team.

When in the beginning of the 70s the anti-poverty programmes were introduced, it had to be entrusted to the machinery of block development administration, reinforced marginally by the staff of Small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDA) or Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour Agencies (MFALA) which were later merged in District Rural Development Administration (DRDAs).

Here we could note that the Review Committee also recommended that the IRDP would be implemented by the DRDAs. After the 73rd Amendment, the DRDA would be restructured to work under the overall control and supervision of the Zilla Parishad.

This machinery seems to be inadequate to deal with extremely difficult problem of converting families below the poverty line into viable self-reliant families. It does not seem to be adequately realised that to convert even a single poor family into a self-reliant viable family is a Herculean task. It cannot be accomplished through the simple act of giving a loan or a subsidy to that family and expecting that a single loan or subsidy by itself would convert the poor family into self-reliant family on an enduring basis. In fact, the implication of exterior services needed to convert a poor family into a self-reliant family has been little understood or analysed. The task has to begin with the lifting of hopelessly desperate poor family with not even a square meal a day, into a psychology of confidence, to induce it to take up a productive enterprise by linking it up with a larger productive enterprise. This is an indispensable support needed by a poor family whether in the field of agriculture, dairy, fishing, sericulture, poultry or any other small industry.

FINANCE FOR ANTI POVERTY PROGRAMME

At present, the finance is available in the shape of loans and subsidies or wages under programmes like Integrated Rural Development (IRDP) and National Rural Employment Programmes (NREP). More important is to ensure that the finance available under these schemes does reach the poor without leakages and further, this finance so made available does have the necessary impact. It has been found that in the absence of adequate organisation, there have been leakages and intermediaries have taken away a large chunk of assistance meant for the poor

classes. What is required, therefore, is an honest administration and close supervision as well as some grass root organisation of the poor themselves and greater consciousness on their part. Also are needed the various inter- linkages which will ensure that productive effort of a single poor family is linked to a large and more organized effort, which will take care of supply of inputs, technical supervision and marketing of outputs. Without such projects, organised ones at that, in which the poor are participants, it will be futile to expect a single poor family to make a permanent transition from deprivation to self reliance. In the Programmes, as now conceived, the approach is to give assistance to individual families rather than making them partners into a higher and well organized project. The organisation can be provided by various functional cooperatives. Unfortunately, these organizational and functional linkages which alone can give opportunities to the poor to participate in gainful production are not sufficiently taken care of.

What is required, is, therefore, on the one side, an extension services oriented to the poor and on the other side, project for productive organization in which the poor are partners. Then alone will finance available under the Anti Poverty Programme enable a poor family to make a permanent transition across the poverty line towards the stage of self- reliance.

EVALUATION

The Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission, RBI, NABRAD, Institute of Financial and Management Research, Madras, and a number of other institutions have conducted studies in respect of IRDP. As these were done in the early years of the programme, evaluation holds true for that period of time and care should be taken not to confuse issues. Though a broad look confirms that most of the lacunae in the programme have continued to plague it over the years, though the degrees may vary and hinder in its implementation and benefits accruing to it.

Some of the significant issues brought out by the evaluation studies are as follows:

1. The financial allocations and physical targets under the programme were determined on a uniform basis per block, without regard to incidence of poverty, or even the size of population which in some cases also, resulted in the situation of ineligible families:
2. The extent of wrong identification was quite high at around 15-20%.
3. There have also been complaints of outright leakages through corruption and malpractices which, however, have not been quantified by any of the studies.
4. The selection of schemes under the Programmes has shown an overwhelming bias towards animal husbandry, more particularly milch cattle.

5. While the Programmes guidelines stipulated that 33% of the beneficiaries should be from tertiary section, the actual percentage in earlier years was much lower. Viz..1981-4.1%; 1983-15%; 1985-27.9%.
6. Another major problem is the absence of forward and backward linkages. It appears that no real steps have been taken to provide institutional support for the supply of raw materials and more particularly, for marketing which is important for rural development.
7. Inadequacy of banking infrastructure in certain areas, specially in North East, has affected credit flow adversely, shortage of staff have resulted in insufficient scrutiny and delayed disposal of loan applications and absence of supervision; insistence on security inspite of instruction to the contrary, has resulted in the exclusion of the poorer among the target group.
8. An important bottleneck has also been found to lie in administrative weaknesses both in terms of qualified staff required at the block and district levels and in respect of vertical and horizontal coordination and integration between different departments.

AN OVERALL CRITIQUE

1. A sincere effort should be made to avoid duplication of schemes and Programmes. As far as possible, an overlap of schemes as well as the target population should be

checked so as to minimize unnecessary funding under different heads and in its place allocating a lumpsum for a specific scheme. Red tape and excessive bureaucratization coupled with corruption hinder proper implementation in so much as preventing a large portion of funds from reaching the intended beneficiaries.

2. Limited impact of land reform measures and efforts at land ceiling as well as redistribution of surplus land is another shortcoming. Ceilings legislations were enacted by all states except Goa and the North East region in accordance with the National guidelines of 1972. However, success has been limited due to poor enforcement of the 72.2 lakh acres of land declared surplus, 46.5 lakh acres has been distributed by 1990 and 25.7 lakh acres are still to be distributed. Consolidation of holdings had made limited progress contributing to reasons as to why these programmes have failed to make any significant headway.
3. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) have also not been able to make major dents in the lax nature of programmes in operation. The PRIs suffer from inadequate resources, both financial and technical. Most of the time, they are not entrusted with enough powers and financial responsibilities. Despite changes after 73rd Constitutional Amendment, the PRIs have not been sufficiently revitalized so as to spearhead the benefits from these programmes to the grass root level, to the needy and to the poorest of the poor.

4. Heavy reliance on the whittled down machinery of Block Development is a big minus / negative factor. It was entrusted to convert families below the poverty line into self-reliant viable families on an enduring or permanent basis which is a Herculean task in itself and was tantamount to expecting of miracle from such a machinery.
5. Poverty Alleviation has been extremely popular with the political parties both for attracting mass support as well as electoral gambits. In fact, focus on “Garibi Hatao” was largely responsible for Mrs. Gandhi’s re-election. Also, of late, Garib Rallies of erstwhile Bihar Chief Minister, Laloo Prasad Yadav have attracted a lot of attention. As a result, most parties that ascend to power formulate fresh schemes in this regard to show their pro-poor commitment without giving a thought to the fact that similar schemes aimed at the same target group is already operational, thereby enabling larger chunk of funds to end up in the pockets of the intermediaries. Notable are the several schemes started by different Prime Ministers, PMRY, PMIUPEP etc.
6. The excess money spent apart from the outlay set aside for the plan periods add to the deficit and hence results in added burden on the Exchequer.
7. At times the centrally sponsored schemes do not take into consideration the willingness or the ability (long term or otherwise) of the states to participate, cooperate or even lend their personnel for the implementation of the schemes.

Sometimes, recruitment of new personnel for implementation of a specific scheme, deputation of personnel from their present assignments and retrenchment after completion, not only increases discontent but also affects day-to-day affairs of the state.

The National Sample Survey (NSS) Organisation recently released its new nutritional data on the calorie intake per person per day in 17 most popular states in the country. As per the new figures, the average calorie intake at the All India level has declined steadily in rural and urban areas between 1972-73 and 1993-94. In rural India, average calorie intake fell from 2266 kilo calories (kcal) in 1972-73 to 2221 in 1983 to 2153 in 1993-94 and 1983, the only states in which average calorie intake per person in rural areas rose were Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Orissa and West Bengal.

Between 1983 to 1993, average calorie intake in rural areas rose in Kerala, West Bengal and Orissa. In rural areas, it rose in four states, namely Kerala, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Orissa between 1973 to 93. In West Bengal per person consumption between 1973 and 1983 was below the all India average of those years but moved above the all India average in 1993. The average intake in Kerala and Maharashtra, however, remained below the national average in all years. In the rural area of few states- Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir average nutritional intake fell by more than 6500 kcal per

person per day. Ironically, these are the states where initial level of calorie consumption were the highest in India.

In urban areas, the average calorie intake declined from 2107 kcal in 1973, to 2089 in 1983 to 2071 in 1993. Reduction in intake in urban areas was lower than that in rural areas. Between 1973 and 1983, average urban calorie intakes rose only in Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu. Between 1983 and 1993, the figures for the urban areas rose in more number of states, including Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, J & K, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Between 1973 and 1993 calorie intake per person in urban areas rose only in Kerala, Karnataka, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. The largest increase in calorie consumptions per day rose in Kerala (243 kcal), followed by Karnataka (101 Kcal) and West Bengal (51 kcal)

In Kerala and West Bengal, calorie intake per person increased between 1973 and 1993 and in both rural and urban areas.

The latest estimates of poverty indicates that in 1993-94 36% of the Indian population was below poverty line. At present the figure stands at 29.18% and is expected to decrease to 17.98% by the year 2002. The percentage of rural population below poverty line is 30.5 % and the figure with regard to the population in the urban areas is about 24%. The target is to bring down the levels

of poverty to 18.6% in the rural area and 16.4% in the urban areas by the year 2002.

To conclude, one could say that the Indian state definitely looks sincere towards its efforts for alleviation of poverty but the designed speed and targets have not been achieved to a commensurate extent.

TABLE 1.1
IRDP Performance in the Sixth Plan

S. No.	Items	Targets	Achievements					
			1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1986-87
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Total allocation (Rs crores)	1500.00	300.00	250.55	400.88	407.36	407.36	1766.00
2.	Central allocation (Rs. Crores)	750.00	127.80	153.36	204.48	207.72	207.72	901.00
3.	Central Release (Rs. Crores)		82.58	128.45	176.17	194.23	206.96	788.00
4.	Total expenditure (Rs. Crores)	1500.00	158.64	264.65	359.59	406.09	472.20	1661.17
5.	Total term credit mobilised (Rs. Crores)	3000.00	289.05	467.59	713.59	773.51	857.48	3101.61
6.	Total investment mobilised (Rs. Crores)	4500.00	447.69	732.24	1073.57	1179.60	1329.60	4762.78
7.	Total no. of beneficiaries covered (lakhs)	150.00	27.27	37.13	34.55	36.85	39.82	165.62
8.	No. of SC/ST beneficiaries covered (lakhs)	50.00	7.81	10.01	14.06	15.37	17.38	64.63
9.	Per capita subsidy (Rs.)	1000.00	582	975	1041	1102	1186	100
10.	Per capita credit (Rs.)	2000.00	1060	1723	2066	2099	2153	18733
11.	Percapita investment (Rs.)	3000.00	1642	2698	3107	3201	3339	2876
12.	Subsidy Credit Ratio	1:2	1:1.82	1:1.77	1:1.98	1:1.90	1:1.82	1:1.87
13.	Sectorwise coverage (%)							
	(a) Primary sector		93.56	83.02	68.7	58.9	54.5	
	(b) Secondary sector		2.32	4.92	15.7	13.2	15.7	
	(c) Tertiary sector		4.12	12.06	15.6	27.9	29.2	

TABLE 1.2

Integrated Rural Development Programme Performance in the Seventh Five Year Plan and 1990-91

S. No.	Items	Unit	7 th Plan Target	7 th Plan Achievements	1990-91 Achievement
1.	Total allocation	Rs. Crores	2358.81	3000.27	747.31
2.	Central allocation	-do-	1186.79	1513.84	374.56
3.	Central releases	-do-	-	1465.26	346.59
4.	Total expenditure	-do-	-	3315.81	809.49
5.	Total term credit mobilised	-do-	-	5372.53	1190.03
6.	Total investment	-do-	4000.00	8688.34	1999.52
7.	Total no. of families covered	-do-			
		Old Lakh Nos.	100.00	51.80	0.82
		New -do-	100.00	129.97	28.16
		Total -do-	200.00	181.77	28.98
8.	No. of SC/ST Beneficiaries			81.97	14.46
9.	Percentage of SC/ST total			45.10	49.90
10.	No of women beneficiaries covered			34.33	8.95
11.	Percentage of women to total			18.92	30.89
12.	Per capita subsidy (Gross)			1824	2793
13.	Per capita credit (Gross)			2956	4106
14.	Per capita investment (Gross)			4780	6900
15.	Subsidy credit ratio			1:1.98*	1:1.78
	Sector-wise coverage (%)				
16.	Primary sector			43.75	47.76
17.	Secondary sector			18.64	18.91
18.	Tertiary sector			37.61	33.33

TABLE 1.3**Performance of NREP in the Sixth Plan**

Year	Resource availability (Rs. Crores)	Expenditure(Rs. Crores)	Employment generation (in million mandays)	Man-day cost (Rs.)	Wage: Material ratio
1980-81*	346.32	219.03	413.58	5.25	
1981-82	460.37	317.63	354.52	9.04	62.38
1982-83	540.15	394.76	351.20	11.24	69.31
1983-84	535.59	393.22	302.76	13.08	62.38
1984-85	590.68	519.14	352.31	14.74	60.40

* For the first six months, the Food for Work Programme was in operation.

TABLE 1.4**Performance of RLEGP in the Seventh Plan**

Year	Resource availability (Rs. Crores)	Expenditure(Rs. Crores)	Employment generation (in million mandays)	Man-day cost (Rs.)	Wage: Material ratio
1985-86	580.35	453.17	247.58	18.30	57.43
1986-87	649.96	635.91	306.14	20.77	57.43
1987-88	648.41	653.53	304.11	21.49	58.42
1988-89	761.55	669.37	296.56	22.57	58.42

TABLE 1.5
PERFORMANCE OF RLEGP IN THE SEVENTH PLAN

Year	Resources availability (Rs. Crores)	Expenditure (Rs. Crores)	Employment Generation (in million mandays)	Manday Cost (Rs.)	Wage / Non Wage Ratio
1985-86	580.35	453.17	247.58	18.30	57:43
1986-87	649.96	635.91	306.14	20.77	57:43
1987-88	648.41	653.53	304.11	21.49	58:42
1988-89	761.55	669.37	296.56	22.57	58:42

ANNEXURE
**FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE UNDER INTEGRATED RURAL
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (IRDP) DURING EIGHTH
PLAN (1992-93 TO 1996-97)**

Year	Total Allocation	Expenditure	% age Expenditure
1992-93	662.22	693.08	104.66
1993-94	1093.43	956.65	87.49
1994-95	1098.22	1008.32	91.81
1995-96 (Prov)	1097.21	1077.16	98.17
1996-97 (Prov)	1097.21	1139.49	103.85
Total	5048.29	4874.70	96.56

**PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE UNDER IRDP DURING EIGHTH PLAN
(1992-93 TO 1996-97)**

Lakh Families			
Year	Target	Achievement	%age Ach.
1992-93	18-75	20.69	110.35
1993-94	25.70	25.39	98.79
1994-95	21.15	22.15	104.73
1995-96 (Prov)	No Target	20.89	--
1996-97 (Prov)	No Target	19.12	--
Total		108.24	

ANNEXURE
FINANCIAL AND PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE UNDER
TRAINING OF RURAL YOUTH FOR SELF EMPLOYMENT
(TRYSEM) DURING EIGHTH PLAN (1992-93 TO 1996-97) –
YEARWISE

(No. In Lakh)

Year	No. of Youth to be trained	No. of youth to trained	No. of youth self employed	No. of youth wage employed	Total youth employed	Recurring Expenses (Rs. In Crore)
1992-93	3.00	2.76	0.99	0.42	1.41	47.50
1993-94	3.50	3.04	1.08	0.43	1.51	55.02
1994-95	3.18	2.82	0.86	0.45	1.31	68.46
1995-96 (Prov)	--	3.02	0.98	0.48	1.46	98.83
1996-97 (Prov)	--	3.64	1.31	0.52	1.83	100.27
Total	--	15.28	5.22	2.30	7.52	370.08

**FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE UNDER SUPPLY FOR
IMPROVED TOOLKITS TO RURAL ARTISANS DURING
EIGHTH PLAN - YEARWISE**

(Rs. In Crore)

Year	Total Allocation	Expenditure	Percentage Expd.
1992-93	16.85	13.86	82.26
1993-94	23.22	18.60	80.10
1994-95	29.00	22.91	79.00
1995-96 (Prov)	40.00	28.69	71.73
1996-97 (Prov)	40.00	116.19	77.94
Total	149.07	116.19	77.94

**PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE UNDER SUPPLY OF IMPROVED
TOOLKITS TO RURAL ARTISANS DURING EIGHTH PLAN –
YEARWISE**

(toolkits distributed in lakhs)

Year	Target	Achievement	Percentage Ach.
1992-93	0.98	0.83	84.69
1993-94	1.29	1.09	84.50
1994-95	1.61	1.25	77.64
1995-96 (Prov)	2.22	1.53	68.92
1996-97 (Prov)	2.22	1.40	63.06
Total	8.32	6.10	73.32

**FINANCIAL AND PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE UNDER
DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN RURAL
AREAS (DWCRA) DURING EIGHTH PLAN (1992-93 TO 1996-
97) – YEARWISE**

Year	Target (no. of Groups)	Achievement (no. of groups formed)	Percentage achievement	No. of women benefited	Utilization of funds (Rs. In crore)
1992-93	7500	9029	120.39	128744	15.48
1993-94	11000	15483	140.75	268525	23.65
1994-95	13400	37964	183.31	592026	31.00
1995-96 (Prov)	30000	37565	125.22	697088	63.65
1996-97 (Prov)	30000	41345	137.82	580434	56.94
Total	91900	141386	153.85	2266817	190.72

**FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE UNDER JAWAHAR ROZGAR
YOJANA (JRY) DURING EIGHTH PLAN (1992-93 TO 1996-97) –
YEAR WISE**

(Rs. In crore)

Year	Total Allocation (Centre+State)			Total expenditure			Percentage expenditure
	Ist Stream	IInd Stream	Total JRY	Ist Stream	IInd Stream	Total JRY	
1992-93	3169.05	--	3169.05	2709.05	--	2709.59	85.50
1993-94	3181.22	878.20	4059.42	3590.21	288.50	3878.71	95.55
1994-95	3498.72	878.20	4376.92	3359.88	908.45	4268.33	97.52
1995-96 (Prov)	4348.70	500.00	4848.70	3966.08	493.41	4459.49	91.97
1996-97 (Prov)	2236.79	--	2236.79	2156.93	--	2156.93	96.43
Total	16434.048	2256.40	18690.88	15782.69	1690.36	17473.05	93.48

**PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE UNDER JAWAHAR ROZGAR
YOJANA (JRY) DURING EIGHTH PLAN
(1992-93 TO 1996-97) – YEAR WISE**

Year	Target			Achievement			Percentages achievement
	Ist Stream	IInd Stream	Total JRY	Ist Stream	IInd Stream	Total JRY	
1992-93	7537.95	---	7537.85	7821.02	--	7821.02	103.75
1993-94	10383.26	--	10383.26	9523.45	734.85	10258.4	98.88
1994-95	7997.26	1868.08	9865.45	7453.59	2063.48	9517.07	96.4
1995-96 (Prov)	8042.80	437.25	8480.05	7955.89	991.27	8947.16	105.51
1996-97 (Prov)	4141.37	--	4141.37	3819.14	--	3819.14	99.89
Total	38102.75	2305.33	40408.08	36573.09	3789.70	40362.79	99.89

ANNEXURE

FINANCIAL AND PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE UNDER EMPLOYMENT ASSURANCE SCHEME (EAS) DURING EIGHTH PLAN (1992-93 TO 1996-97) – YEARWISE

Year	Total Release (Centre + State)	Expenditure	Percentage Expd.	Physical Achievement (employment in Lakh Mandays)
1992-93	--	--	--	--
1993-94	548.77	183.75	33.48	494.74
1994-95	1410.25	1235.45	87.61	2739.56
1995-96 (Prov)	2131.64	1720.61	80.72	3465.27
1996-97 (Prov)	2423.99	2138.35	88.22	3986.45
Total	6514.65	5278.16	81.02	10686.45

EAS is a Demand Driven Scheme, therefore no prior Statewise allocation are made.

ESTIMATE OF POPULATION BELOW THE POVERTY LINE

Year	Total		Rural		Urban	
	Number (Million)	Percentage	Number (Million)	Percentage	Number (Million)	Percentage
1977-78	306.8	48.30	253.1	51.20	53.7	38.20
1984-85	272.7	36.90	222.2	39.90	50.5	57.70
1987-88	237.7	29.90	196.0	33.40	41.7	20.10
1989-90	210.8	25.80	168.6	28.20	42.2	19.30

Source : Based on NSSO, National Sample Survey rounds (Taken from CMIE, Basic Statistics Relating to Indian Economy. Aug – Sept. 1991, Bombay.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENT FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT : A REVIEW

Two alternative approaches have clearly emerged during the past decades of our experimentation with rural development administration. The first is the multi-purpose-integrated approach and the other is the specialized subject matter approach.

The first approach came in the wake of introduction of the programme of community development. The programme aimed at dealing with all aspects of rural life including agriculture, animal husbandry and allied occupations, rural industries, education, social education, rural engineering and development of Panchayats and cooperative institutions. Above all, it aimed at energizing the entire community in the process of aided self-help. Underlying the approach was the assumption that all aspects of community life are inextricably linked with each other and therefore only an integrated approach can deliver the goods.

In the wake of greater energy for increasing agricultural production, particularly food production, it came to be believed that the generalised community development approach was not adequate and specialised approach concentrating on the task of increasing agricultural production was inescapable. The approach was strongly advocated by the Ford Foundation team in 1959 and as a result, a specialised

machinery for agricultural development was created in the districts selected for intensive agricultural development programmes.

A further change towards specialised approach came about following the recommendations of the Ram Subhag Singh Committee Report (1963). On the basis of the recommendations of the Report the Development Commissioner was designated as the Agricultural Production Commissioner, the BDO (Block Development Officer) was selected from the cadre of Agricultural Officers, and the village level workers required to spend 80% of their time on agricultural work.

Then followed the introduction of the T and V (Training and Visit) system of agricultural extension, and consequently a further concentration on agricultural extension. Many of the village level workers were removed from the block administration and assigned to the Department of Agriculture for working in the TV system. Thus, progressively the integrated structure of rural development administration created in the wake of the programme of community development got eroded and the machinery of development was considerably weakened.

A new development took place in the seventies when it was realized that the approach for intensification and modernization of agriculture had led to the neglect of small and marginal farmers and landless labourers. It was decided to set up a special machinery to cater to pay attention to their needs in the shape of new organisations like Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmer and Agricultural

Labour Agencies (MFALA). These agencies were registered societies but they consisted of officers and some non-officials and were presided over by the Collector or the Commissioner. They had a limited nucleus staff, which was only to serve as a catalytic agent and get assistance of the staff of various departments like agriculture and cooperation for the implementation of their programmes. With the introduction of the integrated rural development programme in which were merged SFDA and MFALA programmes, a new agency called District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) was set up replacing the earlier agencies.

Thus we have today three elements in the set up of rural development administration namely, the departmental setup, the attenuated development block setup and the DRDA setup. The departmental approach is not often linked with the integrated approach which was adopted first by the community development block and later on by the DRDA. The DRDA is entrusted with the task of dealing with problems of poverty. This requires cooperation and coordination amongst several departments, which is often not forthcoming. As was the experience in the days of the community development, the traditional departments do not take kindly and do not lend full support to catalytic or coordinating mechanisms such as those of development block or DRDAs. Unfortunately, the departmental approach with limited objectives is not always consistent with the integrated approach and the problem has arisen as how to combine specialised approach of the departments with the integrated approach of community development or the anti-poverty programme approach. Studies of the anti-

poverty programmes have shown that they would not succeed without a full back-up support of the entire administration machinery concerned with rural development. They cannot be the concern of an adhoc agency like DRDA often looked upon as outside the mainstream of departmental administration. Indeed the entire rural and agricultural development machinery needs to be reoriented and geared to the complex, difficult and gigantic task of raising fifty percent of the rural people above poverty line.

Obviously, a new attempt is required to evolve a new machinery of rural development administration, which can combine accomplishment of overall tasks and the discharge of specialized functions. Rural development approach has also to be combined with the approach of district and block level planning to which renewed attention is now being paid.

Then there is the question of the relationship between the machinery of rural development administration and the democratic institutions of rural local government. On the basis of the recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta study team, a three tier set up of Panchayati Raj institutions was brought into being consisting of village Panchayat, Panchayat Samitis at block level and Zilla Parishad at District level and the Block Development Machinery was placed under the control of Panchayat Samiti. In states of Maharashtra and Gujarat even district rural development machinery was made responsible to Zilla Parishad. But soon enthusiasm for Panchayati Raj Institutions waned. Anti-poverty programmes and district planning were placed outside the pale of Panchayati Raj Institutions. Thus a chasm has developed between Panchayati Raj and

the Rural Development machinery of administration, a development which furthers the hurdles in the path towards poverty alleviation.

What is required is to set up a comprehensive machinery for rural development administration which could incorporate within it the DRDA and the block Organisation, which would have a greater weight so as to be able to coordinate the efforts of various development departments as well as agencies like Banks and cooperatives and which would be linked up with Panchayati Raj institutions and mechanisms and processes of decentralized planning.

A good and effective network of organisations at the grass roots is necessary for the success of planning at those levels. It is through decentralization that the purpose of planning and its execution can be better achieved in the sphere of local activities through local initiatives and effort within the overall objectives of national planning.

Over the period of last four decades of planned development, significant changes have taken place in the administrative set-up at the district level and below. It was the 'Grow More Food' Enquiry Committee which stressed the need for an integrated organisational structure for rural development and recommended the establishment of a Development Block over 100-200 villages under the charge of a Block Development Officer (BDO), assisted by technical officers in disciplines such as agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperation and engineering and village level workers (VLWs) at the rate of one for 5-10 villages.

Recommendations were made by that Committee for an integrated structure at the District level under the Collector and at the state level under a Development Commissioner, to be supervised and advised by a Cabinet Committee headed by the Chief Minister.

This blue print was given concrete shape with the launching of the Community Development programme, followed by the National Extension Scheme, which covered the entire country. The Development Block was created as the basic unit of planning and integrated rural development, comprising agriculture and allied Activities, Education, Health, Social Welfare, Communications, Supplementary Employment, etc. with special emphasis on self-help and public participation. A schematic budget was indicated and a staffing pattern, comprising the BDO, 8 Extension officers (in Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation, Panchayats, Rural Industries, Engineering, Social Education, and Programmes for Women and Children), 10 Gram Sevaks or Village Level Workers (VLW), 2 Gram Sevikas (LadyVLWs), Programme Assistant, a Storekeeper-cum-Accountant and some support staff on the ministerial side, was prescribed for a standard block. For the District level, provision was made for a District Planning Committee under the Chairmanship of the Collector, consisting of a District Planning Officer and other officers of technical and development departments and some non-official members.

At the state level there was the office of the Development Commissioner, who was incharge of all the Development work under the supervision of the Development

Committee, usually chaired by the Chief Minister. The Community Development Programme was reviewed by the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee in the year 1957 to assess the extent of people's participation and to recommend the creation of Institutions through which such participation could be achieved.

The integrated approach to rural development however, got gradually diluted mainly on account of two factors. All the work relating to village industries was handed over to the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) as early as 1953. And more importantly with the growing need for self reliance in food, the emphasis of rural development shifted almost exclusively to increasing agricultural production. This resulted in the launching of the intensive Agriculture District Programme (IADP) in 1960 in selected districts followed by the Intensive Agriculture Areas Programme (IAAP), and the High Yielding Varieties Programme (HYVP) in 1965. This had two simultaneous results: (a) The Community Development Programme itself lost much of its earlier cohesive force and yielded to what may be called a conscious disintegration which was accompanied by falling budgets and the take over of much of the staff by the respective line agencies; and (b) even though the intensive efforts in agriculture led to the 'Green Revolution', the benefits of this remained largely confined to the larger farmers and areas which were better placed to receive the benefits of the HYV technology package.

By the early seventies the need to take special measures for benefiting the poor sections of the population and for development of backward and disadvantaged areas, was sharply felt. Four categories of programmes were launched;

- a) individual beneficiary oriented programme aimed at Small and Marginal Farmers (SFDA/MFAL) later supplemented by the Integrated Rural Development (IRDP);
- b) programmes for additional wage employment opportunities – Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE), Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Programme (PIREP), and the food for work programme, and
- c) programmes for development of ecologically disadvantaged areas, where unemployment and poverty are markedly present apart from their low productivity – the Drought Prone Areas Programme and Desert Development Programme (DPAP and DDP); and
- d) Minimum Needs Programme aimed at raising the level of living of the people in the rural areas through the provision of some basic social consumption inputs and vital components of rural economic infrastructure. Separately, a Training and Visit Programme was started for ensuring increased agriculture production.

The launching of some of these programmes was accompanied by the creation of new programme-oriented and often over-lapping structural mechanisms, while others resulted in strengthening the tendency for independent line- functioning as opposed to integration. Thus SFDA were created in the form of Registered societies in the Districts covered by the SFDA/MFAL programme. Similar agencies were also created for the Drought Prone Areas and Desert Development Programmes. In the late seventies, the need to give a greater thrust to the development of cottage and village

industries as well as small scale industries led to the creation of District Industries Centres (DIC) in each District. While in SFDA/MFAL Blocks it was attempted to increase the number of VLWs, in some states 70-80% of the VLWs and other Extension personnel were taken away from the control of the BDO, under the T & V system of extension. With the growing and almost exclusive emphasis on Agriculture, the block budgets in respect of other sectoral activities dwindled and were replaced by special programme budgets in the concerned blocks. This was accompanied by many of the posts of specialist extension officers being either withdrawn or kept vacant for long periods, and where they continued, they were brought under direct departmental control.

The Community Development Programme itself had virtually shrunk into a kind of residuary sector with budgets confined in many cases to meeting the staff expenditure. In the case of some states where there were larger outlays, they comprised a number of activities which were overlapping with normal sectoral activities. Thus, by the late Seventies, the block machinery was, by and large, in shambles and at the District level, there was a multiplicity of institutions, special and sectoral competing to serve essentially the same target group.

District Level

A major step was taken with the amalgamation of the different agencies existing hitherto for different programmes into a single 'District Rural Development

Agency'. During the Sixth Five Year Plan period, Ministry of Rural Development of the Government of India decided to merge SFDA and IRDP in 1980 and set up District Rural Development Agency (DRDA). It is essentially an attempt at decentralization and implementation of anti-poverty programmes. These were created in areas where no agencies existed earlier and has been made responsible for the implementation of the IRDP, TRYSEM, SLPP, NREP/RLEGP, DPAP, DDP and the programme of Assistance to Small and Marginal Farmers. DRDA functions on the basis of annual action plans drawn up at village, block and district levels. Coordination at the top is achieved through the Collector, who has the power to write annual reports about each departmental officer. The targeted clientele are identified through the village panchayats/Gram Sabhas. There was a major emphasis on using various Committees; groups and task forces for inter-level and inter-agency coordination. Special linkages were established with financial institutions for delivery of credit. At the village level, consultations were held with village council, local government institutions and people's representatives for implementation of programmes. By the creation of the DRDA, some of the works were streamlined with clear delegation of financial powers for quick approval of projects.

A staffing pattern has been laid down for the DRDAs and upto 10 percent of the IRDP outlays per district can be spent on establishment expenses. Over and above, the 2-3 APOs provided in earlier SFDAs, provision has been made for an Economist/Statistician, Credit Planning Officer and a Rural Industries Officer who are

together said to constitute the planning team of the DRDA. All these officers are responsible for planning, project formulation as well as implementation in their respective sectors. A hierarchy of local level officials including Village Development Officer (VDO), Assistant Development Officer, Block Development Officer (BDO), Project Director and District Collector was responsible for monitoring. Besides, provision has also been made for a monitoring cell under an APO and additional staff has been provided on the accounts side. The APO, industries, is also supposed to look after TRYSEM. In addition, instructions have been issued that DICs would act as the technical arm of the DRDA and perform functions relating to identification of investment opportunities, preparation of bankable projects, provision of expert service to beneficiaries, designing of training programmes and identification of training centres. For the NREP, initially one post of an officer of the rank of an Assistant Engineer with a supporting post of an accountant had been approved. With the launching of the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), however, it was felt that this would not be enough and further strengthening would be required on the engineering side. The form of this could vary from State to State, in view of the fact that for RLEGP, the states have been expressly permitted to take up works directly through the line departments.

However, there is no uniformity in the actual staffing pattern at the DRDA level and an overall picture of staff in position under IRDP, NREP OR DPAP and the Small and Marginal Farmers Assistance Programme is not available. Provisions have

also been made in certain other schemes like Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Scheme for Rural Godowns etc. for strengthening of staff. Besides the provision with respect to staff in relation to the Special Programme of Rural Development, it would be pertinent to mention that there are two other schemes for providing staff and institutional support at the district level, viz.,

- a) The Planning Commission scheme to provide a planning team at the district level, comprising a Chief Planning Officer and 5 specialists in different disciplines including one for specific programmes; and
- b) District Manpower Planning and Employment Generation Councils (DMPEGCs) have been set up for work relating to district employment, budgeting, identification of opportunities for self-employment and providing assistance to work seekers.

For the Block Level, a Central Scheme for strengthening of staff is in operation, which generally aims to restore the earlier CD* staffing pattern by filling up the gaps created by transfer of Extension Officers/VLWs to line departments, with provision for an additional post of an Extension Officer-Credit while efforts have been made to strengthen the delivery mechanism for Rural Development Programme. The earlier tendency to have Programme wise staff, if not structures, continues, if anything on a larger scale than earlier. A quantification of the provisions for staff provided in this

* Community Development.

way indeed show staggering results. Moreover, in such a situation there is every possibility of administrative costs rising, while vital gaps may still remain and there may be a substantial element of overlap and duplication instead of integration in the total system. Some examples of such overlap are :

- i) Identification of self-employment opportunities is supposed to be done by the Manpower Planning and Employment Generation Councils (DMPEGCs), the DICs and the DRDAs and employment budgeting is mentioned as a function both of the DMPEGCs and the employment expert on the District Planning Team.
- ii) The function of preparing a district plan is simultaneously vested in the planning team under the Chief Planning Officer and in the DRDA. Both of these bodies operate under centrally sponsored schemes but without any reference to each other.
- iii) Self-employment ventures are being concurrently promoted and implemented by the DMPEGCs, KVIC, DICs and the DRDAs under different schemes with differences in critical parameters like loan amounts and rates of interest, subsidy etc., although the target group of beneficiaries remains substantially the same.
- iv) Afforestation, land development, minor irrigation etc. are being simultaneously carried out through the NREP, RLEGP, DPAP and the

normal sectoral programmes with uniform monitoring parameters related essentially to expenditure and physical coverage but without reference to any common master plan.

- v) Roads are being constructed under the MNP^{**}, NREP[♦], RLEGP[•] and in some cases, even through the CD budgets but the criteria of selection are not always uniform, and in the absence of integrated planning there is no effective prioritisation and even monitoring.

The objectives of decentralisation are closely related to the policy of promoting planning and management of rural development. To this end, the functional importance of the Panchayati Raj Institution in the preparation of plan relating to agricultural and rural development programmes, still exists. The demand of decentralised administration creates problems regarding exercise of power and authority by newly created agencies and organisations.

The traditionally administrative structure of development both at district and block levels is totally engrossed in operating the departmental and Centrally Sponsored Schemes. Thus, in the existing environment, delegation of responsibility without giving power and authority to field agencies seems to be uncondusive for the growth of decentralisation. Operationally, for creating of comprehensive and integrated system of

^{**} Minimum Needs Programme

♦ National Rural Employment Programme.

• Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme.

administration, DRDA often encountered many dysfunctionalities in the existing administrative sanctioning of works as well as supervision and control of activities of different departments and field agencies.

Weaknesses of the Arrangement:

At the central level the machinery that existed for rural development has been modified and reorganised several times and yet, there are a number of incongruities to be rectified at the central government and there is abundant overlapping and multiplicity of agencies involved in rural development administration. There also existed dysfunctionalities in the administrative arrangements in the area of planning, implementation and monitoring etc. along with the problem supervision which became increasingly difficult with rapid expansion of the anti-poverty programmes. Swaminathan Committee (1982) reported about the coordination being weak “at the district and weaker still at the block level”¹ which was a result of lack of coordination and cooperation from all Departmental functionaries, thereby compartmentalising rather than integrating the functions that needed to be performed.

Most of the development schemes introduced at the district level come with their own institutional arrangements which are added to the district administrative arrangements, increasing the multiplicity of institutions of development under the very broad umbrella of District Collector. Then ensues the expansion of personnel working

1. Tiwari R K (1984), Existing Administrative Arrangements in Rural Development.

at the district level and below thereby overcrowding the District Level Coordination Committee.

Institutional expansion has lengthened the vertical linkages between district and the state or centre giving rise to departmental loyalties and functional specialisation not conducive for smooth coordination of developmental efforts. There are no coordination mechanisms at the District level whereby the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) can actually discharge its intended role. Little attention is paid to develop horizontal relationships among departments to develop linkages among the multifarious departmental schemes and plans. Despite recommendations, few efforts at systematising planning at the district level have succeeded. There is a perceptible deficiency on the monitoring side and even the post sanctioned do not get filled up in many places thereby adversely affecting efficiency.

Moreover, the provision of one APO each in certain disciplines, even for specific programmes being dealt by the DRDA, hardly equips it with the wherewithal for planning, project formulation and implementation in their respective sectors. There is virtually no arrangement for identification and registration of those who require employment and monitoring of the actual employment provided which results in the failure to gauge the impact of programmes like NREP etc.

At the Block level also, there are some major deficiencies. There is a major problem of the BDO no longer having effective control over the Extension Officers

because of the latter's own line of hierarchies. Even if the line of control were to be appropriately corrected, the sheer volume of work and funds now flowing in at the Block level would necessitate a second look at the earlier schematic pattern evolved for the CD programmes, assuming that even this has been fully restored.

Criticism

The administrative arrangements for rural development, as it exist today, needs more than cosmetic changes to make it conducive to respond to the felt needs of the rural poor. What we see of the government at the village level is perhaps the worst personification of greed, self-interest, parochialism, nepotism, corruption, one-upmanship and callousness and to think that the government hopes to implement some of their anti-poverty programmes through these people "only illustrates the level of bankruptcy- we have reached"². The task of implementing development programmes is difficult and time consuming and requires dedication, hard work, patience, tact and foresightedness which is sorely and conspicuously lacking in our concerned officials. Moreover, development workers are not given the freedom and opportunity to carry on their own programme without interference or dominance by personnel traditionally associated with power to govern rather than the obligation to serve.

The experience of Panchayati Raj over the last decade suggests that instead of being a people's programme implemented with the assistance of government, it became

2. Roy, S. (Bunker), 'Administrative Arrangement for Rural Development', in Proceedings of the National Workshop held at National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad, 1985.

government's programme with very little people's participation. Panchayati Raj leaders, by and large, are of the higher castes, socially influential and end up dominating these institutions. Power politics becomes the watchword of these bodies and real work of rural development becomes secondary.

Land reform lands have not been effectively implemented thereby highlighting the schism that exists between formulation of programmes and policies and their actual implementation.

The Collector, who has been designated as the district development officer and under whose administrative control are all functionaries engaged in rural development work at or below the district level, is an over burdened official whose workload has increased to such an extent that he is unable to balance his time and energies between regulatory and development administration. As a result, the development work suffers.

Creations of new organisations and autonomous agencies, away and apart from the regular administrative apparatus does not help in achieving results due to its restricted scope, recruitment and training problems, financial inviability etc.

Wasteful expenditure is a foregone conclusion in the current rural development administration following the logic of farther the source of funds the less will be the inclination to utilise it economically and effectively. Apart from this, multiplicity of departments and their lack of coordination with regard to funds allotted for programmes of rural development, leads to overlapping of benefits of an individual

who gets multi-fold benefits which limits the expansion of programmes. For instance, loans to tribals for milch cattle are provided by

- a) Banks,
- b) Tribal Development Corporation,
- c) IRDP through Banks. Loans for housing are provided by

- a) Social Welfare,
- b) Landless housing programme under twenty-point programme,
- c) Housing under special programme,
- d) Housing for primitive groups. It also amounts to higher rate of administrative expenditure. Staffing pattern involved also overlaps to a great extent. Control over staff is also multi-fold which does hamper the outcome in rural development.

Conflict of ideas and attitudes, of opinions and strategies that are absolutely essential for bringing about change is not regarded as constructive by the immature bureaucrats, instead they confuse it with violence. They identify development with paved roads, clean streets and the like, hence, not taking initiatives towards developmental goals. To compound matters, there is very little accountability and accessibility in the system. On paper the village level worker may be accountable to his superior in the hierarchy but in practice he is accountable to none. The rural poor,

therefore, are not benefitting despite the vast network that has been created by the state for this purpose.

The rural poor do not have access to technical and socio-economic services, to information, to expertise and skills and to technology they understand, appreciate and be able to use without support from outside their immediate area. The administrative machinery in the name of rural development is geared to make the farmer, rural artisan, scheduled caste/tribe, rural women and Harijan dependent, not independent. What is tragic is the infinite faith the rural poor still has on the system in spite of the fact that they have been let down by the administrative machinery time and again. He fails to understand that the rural-based institutions meant for his welfare and development are actually his worst exploiters.

The attempt should, therefore, be to overhaul the regular administrative machinery, simplify the control systems and change the attitudes of the civil servants through training and orientation programmes, rather than looking for escapist solutions. Today, the cards are heavily stacked against the rural poor getting anything out of the system for their own development. Unless there are suitable checks and balances introduced at the administrative and political levels, the first casualty would be the rural development programmes, and in turn the rural poor who constitute a sizeable chunk of the Indian population.

Panchayati Raj Institutions and Rural Development

With the commencement of the seventy-third and seventy-fourth amendments to the constitutions, the structure of administration at district and sub-district levels would undergo substantial change. However, change for the sake of change alone would not be helpful. Though Panchayati Raj bodies are in existence for decades, yet, the past experiences have shown that they have more often remained as showpieces of democratic decentralisation. The states have generally created parallel institutions for implementation and monitoring of development programmes, leaving the PR bodies as a notional entity. In many cases the PRI s have been reduced to the status of a glorified petitioner, representing the cause of their constituency before even petty government officials³. The Constitutional Amendments do not necessarily provide for change of this scenario even though it endows the state with the power to make laws containing provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon panchayats at appropriate level with respect to,

- a) the preparation of plans for economic development and social justice;
- b) the implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them in relation to matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.⁴

3. Sudhir Krishna, 'Restructuring the Institutional Arrangement to Strengthen the Panchayati Raj' in Mukherjee, A (ed.) (1994).

4. Eleventh Schedule cited here as annexure to the chapter.

Though the institutional arrangements for the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) depends on the extent to which these bodies are provided the roles and responsibilities by the respective State Legislatures, one could, however, be optimistic and presume that the PRIs would be vested with all the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule to the Constitution. Proceeding with the assumption that these matters would stand transferred from the State List to the PRI list, a series of changes would be required in the arrangements for programme planning, implementation, monitoring and review, at least in respect of schemes and programmes relating to these 29 matters. Broadly, these arrangements may be classified as follows:

1. Departments to be brought under the full control of the PRIs.⁵
2. Reconstitution of certain committees at district and sub-district levels.
3. Arrangements for interaction of non-PRI departments with the PRIs.
4. Arrangements for monitoring by the State Government of the performance of the PRIs.
5. Arrangements for interaction of members of the State and Union Legislatures with the PRIs.

5. These departments would be of two kinds, those funded wholly by the State Government (Category 1) and those which are funded jointly by the State and the Union Government (Category 2). The list as annexure to this chapter.

Introduction of Panchayati Raj does not remove or reduce State intervention in public life and administration *per se*. What it aims at doing is to involve the people in the business of public administration. With increasing intervention of state in these areas, more and more departments have been created, which in turn has necessitated the need for greater co-ordination at all levels of administration. To achieve this coordination, one of the prominent methods utilised is that of having different committees for specific purposes with District Collector as the Chairman. This is necessary because there was no nodal department or official at the district level to arrange for interdepartmental coordination and all the departments were functionally independent of each other at the district level. However, once these departments are transferred under the common umbrella of the PRIs, such as the Zilla Parishad, the need to involve the District Magistrates would cease.

There are institutions such as the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) and the District Industries Centres (DICs) which are funded jointly by the Central and State Governments. When the functions of these bodies (DRDA and DICs) start getting discharged by the PRIs as per the Eleventh Schedule, the need for their existence, too, would cease. The PRIs at various levels would have Standing Committees, an arrangement which would provide a sense of involvement and commitment to the functionaries of the PRIs in implementing the programmes aimed at rural development. Over and above this, provision has also been made for a District Planning Committee (DPC) to consolidate the plans prepared by the panchayats and

the municipalities in the district and to prepare a draft development plan for the district as a whole.

Implementation of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment

Even though it was expected that within two years of the Constitutional Amendment⁶ i.e.1994, Panchayati Raj in its new avatar would take shape in all the states, it was not to be. Even today, a clear picture is yet to emerge of the structure after the implementation of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, so much so that several scholars^{are} of the opinion that expecting a final result by the year 2000 is also an optimistic estimation.

Although the system of Panchayati Raj is characterised by a common organisational structure in different states, a quick appraisal of different aspects of the actual operationalisation clearly indicates an absence of an identical framework. This is essentially due to the fact that each of the states in the country has its distinct politico-administrative arrangement vis-à-vis Panchayati Raj system⁷. For example, while some of the states have regarded the system essentially as an organisational set-up emanating from the concept of 'democratic decentralisation', others have treated them merely as 'agencies' for the implementation of rural development programmes. Also, it has been found that the steps required to initiate the changes required after the 73rd Amendment have been taken in most of the states on piece-meal basis. For instance, while states

6. 73rd Constitutional Amendment in 1992.

7. This is because of different State (Panchayati Raj), Acts.

such as Karnataka, Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal where some of the departments had already been brought under the administrative control of the Panchayati Raj earlier continue to function as before, whereas others, namely, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala and Himachal Pradesh have issued orders to transfer some of the departments to PRIs. Moreover, monitoring of the work of the PRIs is not systematic relying only on monthly progress reports submitted by lower tiers to higher tiers.

An illustrative look at the action taken in some selected states reveals that the contours of devolution under the new Panchayati Raj administration are shaping up differently in different states.

In conformity with the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992, Gujarat revised its earlier Panchayati Raj Act 1963, and promulgated the new Gujarat Panchayat Act 1993 where the three-tier structure of Panchayats has been retained. In Gujarat, devolution of powers and functions on the Panchayats has been carried out in a noteworthy way. The district Panchayat has been vested with a variety of powers and functions in relation to the 29 subjects. Similarly, the Zilla Panchayat has devolved a number of functions on the taluka Panchayats. Significantly, the entire development machinery has been transferred to the PRIs by the State Government. All officials belonging to development departments, whether drawn on deputation from the sectoral departments of the state government or recruited by the PRIs themselves, have been placed under the control of the Zilla Parishad.

Karnataka was one of the first states to have merged District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) into Zilla Parishad way back in 1987. The Gram Panchayat is concerned only with the part of poverty alleviation programmes by performing roles such as the identification of beneficiaries for the poverty alleviation programmes. The taluka Panchayat is concerned mainly with poverty alleviation programmes, roads, and women and child development. All the remaining subjects (included in the eleventh schedule of the Indian constitution) are with Zilla Parishad except public distribution system, rural electrification and rural housing. The State had, in 1987, given 25 percent of reservations to women at all levels and has, in the post-73rd amendment-phase, even reserved the posts of adhyakshas at all levels. The PRIs in Karnataka have had a chequered career which signifies not only the importance accorded to these institutions but also the manner in which they were looked upon. The new reform measures to give people's representatives the much needed access to membership and authority positions, have kindled the hopes of the weaker sections by enabling them to participate in the decision making process.

In Maharashtra, the district has been accepted as the unit of devolution of powers by making the Panchayat Samiti (PS) as an executive arm of the Zilla Parishad. The Government has already transferred a number of district-level schemes to Zilla Parishads.

In Tamil Nadu, the gram sabha, the Block officials and village Panchayat have been made responsible for selection of beneficiaries for various poverty alleviation

programmes. The DRDA and its project director functions under the control of Collector who has been designated as the Inspector of Panchayats.

The State of Haryana has circulated a list of 16 subjects to be transferred to PRIs. Interestingly, some of the items are new as these have not been covered under the 11th schedule. But, the development machinery has not been brought under the administrative control of PRIs. The DRDA still remains a separate entity and even the district Panchayat and development officer of DRDA, who is supposed to function directly under the chairman, Zilla Parishad continues to function under CEO, which has a parallel situation as existing in Tamil Nadu.

In Madhya Pradesh, the administrative wings concerned with the implementation of schemes, projects, programmes have been placed under the functional control of the PRIs. The district collector is the chief executive officer of the Zilla Panchayat and the project officer of DRDA has been entrusted with the job of Additional Chief Executive Officer to assist the CEO.

In Uttar Pradesh, the Zilla Panchayats have not been assigned specific roles for important subjects such as agriculture, minor irrigation, animal husbandry, rural housing, drinking water, poverty alleviation etc. Programmes, except Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, are implemented by different departments under the respective schemes and involvement of PRIs continue to be minimal.

In West Bengal, the DRDA has been set up in each district to coordinate the implementation of poverty alleviation programmes at different levels.

One of the important aspects of the administrative restructuring process is the merger of the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) with the Zilla Parishad. It was expected that the State Governments will initiate steps in this regard to help strengthen the elected body. Only the state of Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal have taken concrete action in this regard while other states have not done anything noteworthy on this score. Though the merger of DRDA with ZP is not a constitutional requirement, it does have functional utility in bringing about better coordination at the district level, particularly in the implementation of various rural development programmes and also in avoiding duplication of development initiatives.

ANNEXURE

ELEVENTH SCHEDULED

(Article 243 G)

1. Agriculture, including agricultural extension
2. Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation
3. Minor irrigation, water management and watershed development
4. Animal husbandry, dairying and poultry.
5. Fisheries
6. Social forestry and farm forestry
7. Minor forest produce
8. Small scale industries including food processing industries.
9. Khadi, village and cottage industries
10. Rural housing
11. Drinking water
12. Fuel and fodder
13. Roads, culverts, bridges, ferries, waterways and other means of communication
14. Rural electrification, including distribution of electricity
15. Non-conventional energy sources
16. Poverty Alleviation Programme
17. Education, including primary and secondary schools
18. Technical training and vocational education.
19. Adult and non formal education

20. Libraries
21. Cultural activities
22. Markets and fairs
23. Health and sanitation, including hospitals, primary health centres and dispensaries.
24. Family welfare
25. Women and child development
26. Social Welfare, including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded
27. Welfare of the weaker sections and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
28. Public distribution system
29. Maintenance of community assets

DEPARTMENTS TO BE BROUGHT UNDER PRIs

- 1a. District Agricultural Officer
- 1b. District Horticulture Officer
2. District Officer for Land Reforms (usually an Additional or a Deputy Collector)
3. District Soil Conservation Officer
- 4a. District Officer for Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Services
- 4b. District veterinary dispensaries along with their staff
5. District Fisheries Officer
6. Deputy Conservator of Forests, in-charge of Social forestry
7. Assistant Conservator of Forests (in-charge of MFP), in the Territorial Forest Division
8. District Industries Officer
9. District Officer for Khadi and Village Industries.
10. Executive Engineer of Rural Housing (or Rural Engineering) Division.
11. Executive Engineer, of Public Health Engineering Division
12. Section or Unit Officer of State Forest Corporation or Department handling fuelwood supply.
13. Executive Engineer , PWD, in-charge of Roads and Buildings
14. Executive Engineer of State Electricity Board, in charge of Power Supply and Maintenance.
15. Project Officer, Bio-gas, in charge of the district
16. All Block Development Officers.
17. District Education Officer, in charge of Primary and Secondary Education.

18. All Polytechnics and Industrial Training Institutes, with staff.
19. District Adult Education Officer
20. District Librarian
21. District Officer for Language and Culture
22. District Marketing Officer, in charge of Regulated Markets
23. District Health Officer
24. District Family Welfare Officer
25. District Officer for Women and Child Welfare
26. District Social Welfare Officer
27. District Officer for Backward Classes and Minorities
28. District Food and Civil Supplies Officer

Category 2.

1. District Rural Development Agency (DRDA)
2. District Industries Centre (DIC)
3. District Informatics Officer (of NIC)

NEED FOR PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AND THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES AND NGOS

Need for People's Participation

From the very inception of the rural development programmes introduced in the country after the attainment of Independence, great importance was attached to people's participation in these programmes. Indeed, the Community Development Programme introduced in 1952, went to the extent of announcing that the goal was to develop the programme from the stage of people's participation in governmental programmes to that of governmental participation in the people's programmes. The very concept of community development was based on the idea of people's participation. It meant that the community itself must be able to identify its felt needs and work out programmes and projects through which it could meet its felt needs. The community should be able to evolve its own mechanism and techniques of development.

In actual fact, however, the concept of participation had a much more limited connotation. In the early years of community development, the emphasis was on construction of school buildings, dispensaries,

panchayatghars, open drainage, approach etc. and the concept of people's participation in relation to these brick and mortar programmes took the form of "shramdan". Though the concept of shramdan as a method of people's participation in community projects evoked great degree of enthusiasm in the initial years and provided many examples of popular enthusiasm and participation, soon the initial enthusiasm gave way to scepticism and even cynicism as it led to several abuses.

The concept of popular participation in development has, however, undergone a change over the first three decades of planning in our country. In the 50s, in the context of newly introduced community development programme, popular participation meant that the rural people would bear a share of the cost of local development projects. In the 60s, popular participation came to be associated with the participation of the rural people in institutions such as Panchayati Raj and co-operative institutions. In the 70s, there was a change in the approach to development. It was realised that the benefits of development in the past occurred to the more well-to-do sections of the community and a large majority of the underprivileged in the small and marginal farmers, landless labourers and artisans were not able to participate either in the development programmes or in the institutions and benefits of development did not accrue to them.

There was yet another fundamental concept of popular participation which was germane throughout the three decades of development planning. That concept was the participation of the people in the formulation of the five

year plans. However, this was far short of the concept of the formulation of grass root plans by the people or any consultations with the people. At the grass root level, planning still means the implementation of stereo-type schemes with uniform features with limited scope for adaptation or modification. A local plan taking into account local resources, local needs and local popular opinion has yet to become operational. Efforts, therefore, need to be made for providing active scope for popular participation in development planning in our country. Popular involvement in development planning is not possible unless the developmental programmes are such that people feel that they would benefit by participating in them. Communication, too, is a vital pre-condition for popular participation in development. Grass root institutions, the Panchayati Raj and cooperative institutions and voluntary associations are of course excellent media for popular participation. But these institutions need to be nursed and nurtured for long periods of time.

The original concept which was that of evolving people's participation in a general way in rural development has given way to devising specific programmes for different sections of the rural society to enable them to participate in programmes of rural development. The need has now come to make a definite attempt to see that the well-to-do sections in the rural society not only do not try to grab the benefit of government schemes meant for the rural poor but themselves constitute their share to the development of those

people in rural areas who are below the poverty line. There are many who feel that such a voluntary self-denying ordinance can hardly be passed by the affluent sections of the rural society. They feel that the only way of ensuring the participation of the poor in the rural development programmes is to organise them on a militant basis so that they will assert and get their legitimate share in the additional incomes generated in the rural areas, the rural people could be organised in the shape of militant trade unions. However, such militant organisations would create social conflicts in the rural communities and would give a setback to the task at hand.

The Panchayati Raj Institutions conceived as principal agencies of rural development were set up at three tiers in the year 1959 following the recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee Report. In the initial years there was a euphoria in favour of these institutions. It was felt that the elected representatives of the people in the Panchayati Raj Institutions namely village Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads would kindle popular enthusiasm and participation in rural development. These earlier expectations, however, soon gave way to frustrations when Panchayati Raj Institutions were seemed to be involved in local factions and became centres of power struggle rather than instrument of rural development.

There is no doubt that in a large country like India, rural local government institutions have to emerge as the institutions of grass root planning

and development. One significant approach of the Eighth Plan is that “the people’s involvement in the process of nation building, create an environment which will promote people’s initiative rather than their dependence on the Government” This calls for a change in organisational structure from capital to village and greater involvement of villagers in assessing their needs, designing own well-being, preparation of programmes, implementing and monitoring rural developmental programmes. All these have necessitated the Government’s move to revitalize the Panchayati Raj Institutions. This new approach demands rethinking or functional approach of administrative machinery vis-à-vis the Gram Panchayats.

The present system of preparation and finalisation of rural development programmes is impractical and it needs to be realised that the local developmental needs, existing infrastructure and priority based programmes should come under the Panchayati Raj. The Gram Panchayats should assess the local needs and the existing infrastructure and on the basis of local importance and people’s desire, the programmes should be finalised. This will directly involve the villagers, creating their interest in discussing and deciding the priority. It would throw responsibility on them in implementing the programmes so as to utilise resources properly and ensure optimum results and least wastage. The direct interest of villagers would automatically eliminate middlemen and self-interested persons.

There is need of rapport building, the latest technique in the field of rural development called RRA/PRA (Rapid Rural Appraisal/Participatory, Rural Appraisal). It forms a sound basis for demystification of villages for the official planning and implementing the rural development programmes and help in reducing fallacies about villages, which is vital for understanding the real village issues and undertake proper remedial actions. The present practice of endorsement of the rural development programmes by the local legislators is another problem (eg. Orissa) which inevitably leads to tussle of interest between the planners, the local legislators, the members of Parliament and the villagers. In such cases, the Gram Panchayat must be entrusted the task of preparing as well as implementing local developmental plans so as to create responsibility consciousness amongst the villagers so as to have full concept of 'Self-Government'. It calls for effective local leadership to participate and shoulder responsibility for economic development. The village level leaders can arouse popular enthusiasm for undertaking the responsibility in rural infrastructure, maintenance and development. Looking after the existing rural situation-the infrastructure should be given top priority for creating developmental base.

The need, today, is to give a new fillip to planning and development at grass root level through revival and strengthening of Panchayati Raj Institutions, to revive the old spirit of rural development as the voluntary and

spontaneous movement of the people, but this time people, essentially in the sense of the poorer sections of the rural society.

During the past few decades, there has been glaring deterioration in the social and political ethos in India. Its pervasive repercussions on public behaviour are evident in all walks of life. No effective solutions to these problems seem to be in the sight. Yet there is reason to believe that voluntary action can be a potent instrument for bringing about social transformation and building an egalitarian and humane society. It may be only a protest forum in the short run, but over time, it has considerable potential for effective social change.

In the absence of a sound base of social awareness and a vigilant society that values its freedom and shares certain ideals, the potential system may become authoritarian and even oppressive. Besides, as Gandhiji had demonstrated, his constructive programme provided a strong support base for mass political movement. Thus, while not ruling out other courses of action for social transformation, it would be foolhardy to underestimate the effectiveness of voluntary social action.

There is a good deal of voluntary effort in India, especially in the field of social welfare. The tendency so far has been to equate the work of voluntary agencies with only welfare activities and charity work. Involvement of other

agencies in the non-government sector, such as trade unions, cooperatives and Panchayati Raj bodies has tended to blur the identity of those which can be strictly defined as voluntary organisations. There has been inadequate recognition of their role in accelerating the process of social and economic development. These agencies have been known to play an important role by providing a basis for innovations with new models and approaches, ensuring feedback and securing the involvement of families living below the poverty line. Serious efforts need to be made to involve voluntary agencies in various development programmes, particularly in the planning and implementation of programmes of rural development.

Voluntary Organisations in India : An Overview

India has had a long and chequered history of voluntary work. In the early years after independence many social workers went into rural areas to live and work among the people and the country was dotted with small groups involved in genuine voluntary welfare and reform work. The late 1970's popularly referred to as the post-emergency era, saw a sudden spurt of social activism leading to mushrooming of new organisations as a direct result of the euphoria of restoration of democracy, the need for political parties to accommodate the concerns of the poor and the realisation that the State alone cannot deliver. To traditional concerns of welfare, relief, charity and development were added concerns about gender, environment and human rights

aimed much more at securing entitlements through organisations and empowerment. Along with growing numbers, funding and actors has also come a drive towards professionalisation. Thus the political tendency of reaching downwards and actively involving the poor has been combined with activities like research, training, communication, advocacy, using public interest law and networking, across space and greater spaces for citizens' initiative in development (Sethi, 1997).¹

The early 1980's saw the emergence of a wide range of intermediary organisations due to the widespread disillusionment with mainstream structures and institutions and the increasing alienation of socially committed researchers, lawyers and scientists. During this period, government resources and foreign aid to voluntary groups increased significantly. Around the same time, political activists who had become disillusioned with parties and with 'armed struggles' started rural groups which focussed on people's mobilisation instead of development projects. The Seventh Five Year Plan formally recognised the Non-Governmental Organisations and emphasised the need to professionalise volunteerism by introducing simple professional and managerial expertise in keeping with the resources and capabilities of voluntary agencies so as to be in a position to meet with the basic public requirement of accountability. The Eighth Plan too reiterated the importance of voluntary organisations in rural

1. op. cit Ramachandran V , p.166.

development. The plan document states, "A nationwide network of NGOs will be created. In order to facilitate the working of this network, three schemes relating to the creation, replication, multiplication and consultancy development have been worked out by the Planning Commission." (8th Five Year Plan 1992-1997). The People's Action for Development India (PADI) was entrusted with the task of assisting in the implementation of anti-poverty and minimum needs programmes through voluntary agencies.

However, by late 1980's the situation underwent a change again. While some groups consolidated their work and grew into large well-funded organisations, others mainly small groups faced enormous problems. The international development climate and growing professionalism created a demand for organisations that could provide professional support to grassroot groups. As a result, the new genre of agencies specialising in training, documentation, research, evaluation and other forms of resource support became more popular. Those with the capacity to absorb and manage enormous resources and a wide basket of activities grew at a fast pace, leaving others behind who were rendered incapable of participating in popular struggles, thereby becoming alienated from the very people who were their strength.

Need and Relevance of Voluntary Organisations

The voluntary agencies reflect the needs as well as the aspirations, of the people who are poor and exploited, and they are destined to play a myriad role in the reconstruction and transformation of India, more particularly in the rural areas where they are needed most. The rural backwardness is aptly said to be in the rural minds, which have to be trained and educated to improve the people's skills, technologies and resourcefulness, and cultivate consciousness in order to fight for their rightful opportunities. As such, Indian countryside requires millions of trainers and technicians, social engineers and leaders, with technical expertise and wherewithal to improve and modernise the techniques of rural productions, diversify the resource and activity structures, forge social organisation befitting the modern way of life and give back the human dignity, self respect and purpose of life to millions, who have been denied these basic human rights as well as the opportunities fulfilling the basic needs of life.

No government, howsoever benevolent, and expansive in its coverage in governance, welfare and development it could be, could cope with the myriad of hydra-headed problems faced by rural Indian masses under a hardened, hierarchical, archaic and basically exploitative socio-economic structure. As Adiseshiah has aptly remarked, the voluntary organisations can ill-afford to take the governmental jobs in development, yet they can do the job of "stimulating, organising, involving and delivering action types of

performance,” which aim at eradicating poverty which is the priority programme of the Indian State.(Adiseshiah, 1954)². In fact, the government and its agencies themselves realise their own limitations as also the relevance and significance of voluntary organisations at various junctures of the delivery system of the programmes and projects of the Government and their agencies. For instance, the Union Ministry of Education and State Governments mobilised over 1000 voluntary agencies in adult education and other programmes. The voluntary agencies play a crucial role in the local level planning. This can be attributed to:

- i) the need to help a specific target group, e.g. women, children and the landless;
- ii) imparting certain skills through training to augment the income of the target groups, e.g. handicrafts, new varieties of seeds or crops;
- iii) to popularise social activities aimed at improving the quality of life for the disadvantaged groups, e.g. adult literacy, nutrition, education, basic health and sanitation and family planning;and
- iv) to popularise appropriate technologies by improving indigenous machines, tools, artifacts and demonstrating their superiority e.g.

2. Singh K N and Madhuri Singh, “Voluntary Agencies and Rural Development” in Singh K N and D N Singh (ed.) (1985).

Dhenki (rice-pounding mortar) with ball-bearing, solar drier, improved bullock-cart etc.

Governmental Agencies and Voluntary Agencies

Thousands of voluntary organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other action groups of numerous political, non political, non party, social, religious and other organisations have been working in modern India. Most of them are small and weak and no more than “shed light in a small area without overcoming the darkness”, yet they are now realising their relevance and potential and the fact that their individual, isolated, discrete efforts “ have no more than symbolic relevance” unless they make joint efforts. The inherent weaknesses in the government-operated development system, especially at the execution level, more particularly at the village or family level, being well known, it is no use dilating upon these weaknesses; rather the voluntary agencies could contribute massively at these lower tail end levels of the delivery system and energisation of the peoples’ efforts. The voluntary organisations have to focus especially on the underprivileged and improve their resource-creating skills and their opportunities of gaining access to the government-sponsored programmes and assets like land, house sites etc. Voluntary efforts act as catalysts to “energise the backward sections’ dominant articulation and mobilisation potential for development.”

Instead of undue dependence on governmental assistance, the people through voluntary actions should develop the will and the capacity to effectively solve their own problems and build up their resources and potential. Unlike governmental agencies, voluntary agencies tend to be highly motivated and are prepared to accept hardship as challenge than as a punishment. With comparatively small size, selective tasks, personal leadership and flexible structures, voluntary agencies can innovate and adapt themselves to new circumstances, experiment and face risks.

The significance of voluntary agencies lie in their capacity to understand local needs, problems and resources, their capacity to involve local people and secure their cooperation and participation; and their desire to experiment new programmes, strategies and approaches for rural development without incurring large expenditures. As Prof. Kabra warns, “voluntary action does not have to move totally along lines parallel to plan programmes; but it must not merge with them or become dependent on them. As watchdog and corrective, it has to build alternative fact of power so that politics of planning changes in favour of the poor.” (Kabra, 1985: 11).³

Rural power-structure of both the traditional cadre as well as that of modern development-generated brand, can be reformed only through the organisation of the poor, down trodden, the resourceless, uneducated masses

3. op cit. Singh KN and Madhuri Singh, p.141.

through the conjoint hands of an enlightened rural leadership and concerted and committed social policy. This is because, even if the voluntary agencies help the poor organise, and if government's social policy is against it, overtly or covertly, it is rendered futile and leads to frustration. The poor have neither the knowledge nor the means to act in their own best interest. The Approach Paper of the Seventh Five Year Plan rightly observes in connection with anti-poverty programmes, "in the ultimate analysis, the objective of removal of poverty can be fulfilled in the measure in which the poor themselves become conscious, improve their education and capabilities and become organised and assert themselves". However, the government could only legislate or pass an executive order in this regard, while the actual as well as the bulk of the work towards breaking the unjust status quo and organising the poor to fight for their rights is done by the voluntary agencies.

Moreover, working with the poor, especially organising them to struggle for rights, requires persistent work, and only voluntary agencies have this type of persistence. Government officials, howsoever committed they could be, are vulnerable to transfers and thus continuous contact and negotiation is not possible for them.

Criticism

With the changing face of voluntary organisations, several problems have been plaguing these organisations and weakening their degree of effectiveness. With increased fundings and instant results being desired, the non governmental organisations today are under tremendous pressure to become service providers over a wide terrain. In order to do so, they have to either form networks or expand their scale of operation. Those who respond to the changing scenario gradually lose their ability to be in touch with the people. Territorial expansion, coupled with diversification into multiple sectors in order to survive frequent change in donor priorities, have robbed many NGOs of their unique selling proposition: accountability, quality, cost effectiveness, and closeness to the ground. They also fall prey to the danger of being over funded. As 'success' is measured by size and scale, they gradually become big and hierarchical. The voluntary groups should not just be agents of service delivery but act as key players to resuscitate civil society, empower the poor and impose new standards of accountability - a goal they have lost sight of at present.

Along with growing numbers and extreme heterogeneity of voluntary organisations, scholars argue that a major weakness and limitation of voluntary groups is their localism, small size, fragmentation and transience as they fail to institutionalise themselves.

Compared to the early years when the organisational group was more democratic and enjoyed a sense of togetherness, today the personal factor has got diluted due to increase in the size of these organisations. The gap between the middle-class urban professionals and the fieldworkers have increased. Many organisations have become extensions of the leader's personality, leading to splits, resignations and expulsions. Gradually, survival, which demanded aggressive networking, publicity and establishing national and international contacts, became the key objective. Furthermore, some organisations became family enterprises with leadership passing from parent to offspring, organisational assets, patronage networks and power became an end in itself in many cases. Some leaders became power centres in their own right, moving out of one area to establish patronage networks in others.

Shortage of qualified and trained personnel who can effectively deal with the multiple demands of the community and also organise activities in a variety of sectors limit the efficacy of the voluntary organisations.

Ramachandran⁴ points out that not only has the paperwork increased due to the accountability to the donor for every penny received, the voluntary organisations have now to adapt themselves to their everchanging priorities. As a result, a sort of dependency syndrome has set in. An NGO leader today, because of links to the global market, is no longer an independent player, rather

4. op. cit, Ramachandran V, p. 167

has turned into a development contractor who either adapts or opts out, thereby shrinking his choices.

Under the new liberalisation and structural adjustment thrust, there are serious apprehensions about severe cut-backs in official funding for the social sector. As survival pressures mount on communities, grassroots organisations are likely to face a deteriorating environment, particularly if they are involved in mobilising the poor. These new strains would create increased conflicts with the government, particularly at the local level, a set of developments that would hinder the very purpose of voluntary organisations.

The need for quick results and visible impact has gripped the NGO world—both donors and governments alike. Grassroot groups and organisations planning a steady long term strategy are seen as being old fashioned and ineffective. The buzzword today is not sustainable development but ‘dazzling’ development.

The seriousness of the crisis became apparent when in November 1996, Bunker Roy described many of his compatriots in the NGO sector as “non gazetted officers’ with minds like babus, selfish to the core and careful to say the right thing.”⁵ He also called them ‘power brokers who live entirely off foreign money with no independent source, who would like to have all the

5. Sethi H, “Evolving Accountability of Voluntary Organisations” in Dantwala ML, H. Sethi and P. Visaria (eds.) (1998)

money for themselves and then dish some of it out to others as patronage, using foreign money as a means to coopt, control, discipline and dump.’⁶ He further compared them to ‘Uriah Heeps’ – hypocrites who perform activist roles with no activists present. Referring to these voluntary sector power brokers as ‘scum’⁷, Roy also demanded a more stringent application of the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA).

Although beset with many problems the contribution of NGOs in India has been substantial in the areas of education, health, medical services, social welfare services, youth development etc. The NGOs have been known for their virtues of human touch, dedication, flexibility, self reliance and nearness to the community. However, because of interaction with the government and introduction of professionalism in their services, these virtues have, to a large extent, eroded. With government funds, NGO’s flexibility of operations also diminished along with the added burden of maintaining records and paperwork.

As a result, the tremendous expectations from the voluntary agencies have not had desired results. The need is for the Non Governmental Organisations to make a conscientious retrospection of performance and reorient themselves to emerge as a viable sector making inroads towards poverty alleviation and rural development.

6. *ibid.*

7. *ibid.*

Voluntary Agencies: Examples of Field Performance

Two examples of field performance are being cited with a view to measure and assess the effectiveness and capability of the voluntary organisations as well as to highlight their relevance and increasing importance.

Pani Panchayat : Water for All

V.B. Salunke, who was involved in relief work in 1971-72 famine period, set up the Gram Gaurav Pratisthan Trust at Naigaon, a village in Purandhar taluka in Pune district. He employed a simple, cheap and viable water harvesting technique and launched a programme of group irrigation in 1978 through people's participation in Purandhar block comprising 100 drought-prone villages. Thus was the Pani Panchayat born; it adopted four cardinal principles which have proved to be of vital significance.

First, the water must be shared equitably on the basis of half an acre per capita per family within the command area and not in relation to the size of land holdings. A family of five, thus, entitled to bring 2.5 acres of land under irrigation. This is to provide benefit of a scarce resource to the maximum number of farm families.

Second, the cultivation of sugarcane is barred on account of its very high water requirements. The object is to maximise productivity per unit of water rather than per unit of land.

Third, each beneficiary must contribute 20 percent of the cost of the project, which normally works out to about Rs. 400 per acre. 40 percent of the outlay is obtained as government subsidy and remaining 40 percent is provided by the 'Pratisthan Trust' itself.

Fourth, irrigation water rights are conferred on the farmer and not on the land; if the land is sold, water rights revert to the Trust. The chief objective is to prevent land sales to wealthier peasants and outsiders and to build communities of sturdy farming families who are enabled to rise permanently above the poverty line.

There are several socio-economic, political, moral, educative, perceptual and integrative lessons going through the minds of the villagers as a fall-out of this amply successful organisation.

The beneficiaries themselves administer and operate each project and maintain accounts.

The trust has trained local youths and school dropouts with elementary technical and maintenance skills.

Farmers participate in the Pani Panchayat programme. With an investment of Rs.5 crores, in a phased period, 25,000 acres of land will be irrigated under 600 schemes providing employment to 25,000 persons at the rate of one person per irrigated acre.

Cropping pattern will diversify to prop up horticulture, animal husbandry, and a host of others. Labour intensity on the farm front has already increased.

Confidence is built up among the lowliest of the low i.e, communities of cobblers, ex-criminal tribes and nomadic shepherds, who among others, have joined Pani Panchayat.

The beneficiaries have raised their own funds and decided to divert a part of available water for piped water supply which have resulted in kitchen gardens and trees, liberation of women from routine drudgery and fetching water from distant sources, thereby improving their health etc.

There is evidence of reverse migration of textile and other workers from the Bombay slums.

The socialisation of water (by consent, not by law) has created a basis for community building and organisation of the rural poor around an emerging local leadership. This combination of organisation and leadership provides an

instrument for purposeful attack on poverty and a focus for motivation to accept and work for relevant modernisation and meaningful change.

People's Participation: Saga of Ralegansiddhi

Ralegansiddhi, 75 km. from Pune in Parner tehsil of Ahmednagar district has come to be known all over the country as a model village. It lies in a drought prone area with scanty annual rainfall of 10'' to 12''. In this village reconstruction programme Shri Hazare gave the highest priority to the work of conservation of water through systematic water shed management on all lands-private, common as well as government land through a series of check dams and bunds. The intention is to conserve every drop of water. The result has been dramatic. The underground level of water has gone up. This has facilitated sinking of community wells. Water from these wells supplied at a moderate rate has enabled the villagers to grow two or three crops every year. The village has strictly eschewed growing of sugarcane which is so water-intensive that large quantities of water are inevitably consumed.

The conservation of moisture on hill slopes and stoppage of indiscriminate grazing has rapidly covered the barren hills with abundant grass which is now available for feeding goats and sheep.

The same approach of conserving and using nature's gift as the basis of rural development is seen in promotion of community bio-gas plants. These

together with solar and wind energy are used for lighting and cooking. These water, soil and energy conservation projects are built through community action. With the support of the entire village, the Harijan families improved the productivity of their land, increased their earnings and repaid their loans.

There is a moral dimension to development work in this village. Politics is strictly eschewed. There is no crime and no drinking. The villagers have shunned court litigation. All marriages are group marriages so as to avoid extravagant expenditure.

The whole basis of the development work in this village is self reliance. This is not achieved by coercion but by creation of social awareness and the realisation that purpose of life is to work for others and not for oneself. This is the philosophy of life deeply rooted in Indian cultural tradition. What makes the development process of Ralegansiddhi a model for rural India are its outstanding basic features. First, the development is self-sustaining because it is based on conservation and enhancement of natural resources and not their exploitation and denudation. Second, it is based on self-reliance. The village has accepted no gifts or subsidies. Third, it is imbued with deep philosophy of life based on mutual help and cooperation and not self-indulgence and selfish pursuit of material possessions.

The transformation brought about in Ralegansiddhi can be replicated in other villages in other parts of the country given proper leadership.

CONCLUSION

Poverty alleviation has long been an overarching concern of the Indian State. It is frustrating, not to mention disappointing, to note that five decades of development efforts have not had noteworthy results. It is even more disheartening to know that India's conceptualization of poverty which takes into account only income and consumption deprivation, primarily the latter, is an extremely narrow one and fails to reflect the reality through statistics, a fact made more glaring with the conflicting reports /figures of decline in poverty along side the decreasing calorie consumption of the Indian masses. The inadequacies are several and the recognised indices of poverty in India do not encompass the much needed and important/essential parameters of health, education etc. which are now accepted and included in the poverty measurement indices the world over. Little wonder then that a large chunk of the Indian population continues to languish in pathetic living conditions despite being technically/statistically above the 'Poverty Line'.

A look at the Poverty Alleviation Programme reveals a seemingly endless list of acronyms that are a part of the State's strategy for reducing the incidence of poverty in the country. Despite an enviable array of policies and programmes for poverty alleviation and rural development and enormous amount of funds allocated by the government, the backwardness of our rural population has persisted and the progress seems to slow, albeit steady. A relentless pursuit of the same is required for several more years or shall we say decades, before we can

really and truly claim about the entire population being above the 'Poverty Line'. However, to be fair, the blame cannot solely be put at the government's door. The system, in itself, is at fault, with rampant corruption and endemic inefficiency making a mockery of the well meant efforts, not to mention the criminal waste of resources. The moral fabric of our society is under stress and innumerable scams involving development resources of the government and the non-government sector, failure of our judicial system to punish the culprits, legitimacy and acceptance of 'scamsters' by our society, lack of employment opportunities for the middle class, and acceptance of development work as viable career paths as also a route to secure employment in international and multilateral organizations have changed the very face of development. An appraisal of the Poverty Alleviation Programmes reveals that even though they seem to have achieved a measure of success, we have 'miles to go before we sleep' and simply cannot afford to sit and celebrate the minor victories when the war against poverty is far from over.

To combat this hydra headed problem, we must take advantage of latest research and technological innovations, as we have done in the past. Technology provides a myriad of emancipative measures for mankind from resource constraints, inadequacies and sources of drudgery and no society can afford to resist its benefits. India's limited Green Revolution was possible with the new technology of assured irrigation water, fertilizers, the miracle HYV seeds, pesticides, tractorisation, credit, services and a host of other attendant measures, inputs and factors. Agricultural research has brought out great possibilities and potentialities for dryland farming also, which India should adopt with its ever increasing needs for irrigation farming.

With increasing population, dependence of people on agriculture has increased, thereby increasing the burden on land. If poverty has to be checked, it is imperative to control population which is growing unabated, having already reached the billion mark and over 100 million jobseekers. It is absolutely essential to move away from a poverty generating to poverty eradicating system. For this end, there is an urgent need for, if not a complete overhauling, then at least serious modifications in the system, to make a significant difference in the present state of affairs. Adaptation of administrative set up to Indian Rural Development is a pre-condition for success in poverty alleviation efforts.

The framework responsible for implementing the government programmes for ensuring the reach of its benefits to the intended beneficiaries and target groups is an arrangement which looks impressive, but sadly, only on paper and reveals several shortcomings and lacunae that add to the reasons for the snail pace progress with all the development efforts. The administrative arrangement that unfolds is an unending list of departments and committees without a clear demarcation of powers, functions and authority leading not only to confusion and confrontations but also delay in implementing the various programmes and policies. Absence of a body that could foster coordination and cooperation among the various departments is also responsible for the inefficiency that plagues the entire governmental machinery. What is required is to bring not just the innumerable programmes for poverty alleviation but also the haphazard network of administrative institutions under a single controlling umbrella thereby facilitating smoother operations. Also, the state must realize that it alone cannot counter the widespread poverty in the

country and acknowledge the presence of voluntary organizations as a partner against the menace.

Participation of voluntary actions in the process of rural transformation in post independence era has been an accepted part in the concerned efforts and they have emerged as the most striking feature of contemporary social reality. These action activist groups are working mostly at the micro level, associating and identifying themselves with the weaker sections and are contributing in their way to the process of rural development. These groups have created their own spaces mostly outside the sphere of organized political parties i.e. outside the structure of power politics and also outside the institutional framework of the state.

There is an urgent need for accepting the changing role of voluntary organisations in the implementation of anti-poverty and Minimum Need Programmes. While the role of voluntary agencies has been accepted in supplementing government effort, there is still general confusion and lack of understanding on how best to involve them directly. It must be recognized that there are many economically and socially vulnerable groups like small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, scheduled castes and tribes, bonded labourers, rural artisans and rural women who need to be reached. Expertise of a different kind is required, strategies of a different nature need to be designed and personnel with different attitudes and orientation will need to be mobilized to reach these target groups. If the government's approach to Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) aimed at re-orienting the national development policies towards social transformation and

recognizing that meaningful development consists in mobilizing the skills, strength and creature capabilities of the masses of the people and securing their active participation. The approach paper goes further and speaks of people centered development ensuring growth equity and sustainability like NGOs have been doing. More grass-root voluntary agencies need to be identified to help perform this gigantic task and it has been generally accepted that the government cannot do it alone. They should both, make an attempt to pool in their resources and strengths- financial, organizational as well as physical- so as to facilitate the emergence of a setup that would economically and effectively check and reduce poverty in the country. There is scope for trying alternatives where decades of people's participation has resulted in many village level groups in the non-governmental sector, both formal and informal in nature. Where small groups have been working for years in non-traditional areas of development work, it is necessary to locate and identify them and see how best state governments can use their expertise and experience in more effective implementation of anti-poverty programmes.

Of late, one has witnessed the mushrooming of non governmental organizations as also the waning of their earlier altruistic and philanthropic concerns. With increasing professionalism in the NGO sector along with enormous foreign funding, there has been a shift in priorities with people playing second fiddle, to paperwork and image building. Instant results seem to be the order of the day – a fact that does not bode well as poverty alleviation requires a sustained effort and long term support system so as to transform the people into self reliant families on an enduring basis.

A balance needs to be struck with both the set ups striving to exclude themselves with minimum loopholes so as to make a marked difference towards their shared objective – eradication of poverty.

While the situation may be grim, there is, however, a silver lining. Many possibilities have opened up as a result of the 73rd and 74th amendments to the constitution devolving greater resources and authority to local government. A host of states have already initiated steps concerning this so as to deepen the process of democratic decentralization and bring development closer to people, thus increasing transparency.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reports and Documents

Ninth Five Year Plan, 1997-2002, Government of India.

Eighth Five year Plan, 1992-1997, Government of India.

Seventh Five Year Plan, 1985-1990, Government of India.

Approach Paper to the Ninth Five Year Plan, 1997-2002, Government of India.

Report of the Task Force on Urban Poverty Alleviation in the Eighth Five year Plan, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, New Delhi, May 1991.

Report of the Committee to Review and Rationalise Centrally Sponsored Schemes for Poverty Alleviation and Employment Generation, Planning Commission, Government of India, April, 1997.

Report of the Committee to Review the Existing Administrative Arrangements for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation Programmes (CAARD), Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, 1985.

India Development Report, 1997 : Kirit S. Parikh.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Poverty Report 1998.

Poverty Reduction and the World Bank 1999

Progress in Fiscal 1998

The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Poverty Reduction and the World Bank 1998

Progress in Fiscal 1997

The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Poverty Reduction and the World Bank 1997

Progress in Fiscal 1996

The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Proceedings of the National Workshop held at National Institute of Rural Development (July 9-11), 1985, 'Administrative Arrangements for Rural Development'. Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD).

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report, 2000.

Books

- Anker R and Rolph, van der Hoefer (eds.) (1994), *Poverty Monitoring :An International Concern*. London : St. Martin's Press.
- Amarendra (1998), *Poverty, Rural Development and Public Policy*. New Delhi : Deep and Deep Publications.
- Arora RK and Rakesh Hooja (eds.) (1996), *Adminsitration of Rural Development : Indian and Comparative Perspectives*. Jaipur: Arihant Publishing House.
- Bajpai A. (1997), *Panchayati Raj and Rural Development*. Delhi : Sahitya Prakashan.
- Bava N (ed.) (1997), *Non Governmental Organisations in Development : Theory and Practice*. New Delhi : Kanishka Publishers.
- Bhayana SS and S Chiraya (1989), *Rural Development and Local Administration*. Jalandhar : New Academic Publishing Co.
- Billis D (1993), *Organising Public and Voluntary Agencies*. London : Routledge.
- Burkey S. (1993), *People First : A Guide to Self Reliant Participatory Rural Development*. London : Zed Books.
- Chawdhari T.P.S. (1967), *Selected Readings on Community Development*. Hyderabad : National Institute of Community Development.
- Choudhury RC and S.P.Jain, *Patterns of Decentralised Governance in Rural India, Vol. I*. Hyderabad : National Institute of Rural Development.
- Choudhury RC and S. Rajakutty, (1988), *Fifty Years of Rural Development in India : Retrospect and Prospect, Vol. II*. Hyderabad : National Institute of Rural Development.
- Chowdhry DP (1981), *Profile of Voluntary Action in Social Welfare and Development*. New Delhi : Siddhartha Publishers.
- Craig G and Marjorie Mayo (ed.) (1995), *Community Empowerment : A Reader in Participation and Development*. London : Zed Books.
- Dandekar VM and Nilakantha Rath (1970), *Poverty in India*. New Delhi : The Ford Foundation.
- Dantwala ML, Harsh Sethi and Pravin Visaria (eds.) (1998), *Social Change Through Voluntary Action*. New Delhi : Sage Publications.

- Dharmarajan S (1998), *NGO Development Initiative and Public Policy*. New Delhi : Kanishka Publishers.
- Dréze J and Amartya Sen (1995), *India : Economic Development and Social Opportunity*. Delhi : Oxford University Press.
- Dréze J and Amartya Sen (1989), *Hunger and Public Action*. Oxford : Clarendon
- Dréze J and Amartya Sen (1999), *Omnibus : Comprising Poverty and Famines, Hunger and Public Action in India*. Oxford : OUP.
- Dubey A and Shubhashis Gangopadhyay, *Counting the Poor : Where are the Poor in India*. Govt. of India : Deptt. of Statistics, Sarvekshana Analytical Report No. 1.
- Dubhashi PR (1996), *Essays on Rural Development*. New Delhi : Kaveri Books.
- Fisher J (1998), *Non Governments – NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World*. Connecticut, USA : Kumarian Press.
- Gangrade KD (1971), *Community Organisation in India*. Bombay : Popular Prakashan.
- Giriappa S (1998), *Evaluation of Rural Development Programmes*. New Delhi : Mohit Publications.
- Haragopal G (1980), *Administrative Leadership and Rural Development in India*. New Delhi : Light and Life Publishers.
- Harris B., S. Guhan and R.H. Cassen (eds.) (1992), *Poverty in India : Research and Policy*. Bombay : Oxford University Press.
- Hundekar SG (1915), *Management of Rural Sector*. New Delhi : Mittal Publications.
- Jain A, M.A. Qureshi and Subhan Khan (eds.) (1995), *CSIR and Rural Development*. New Delhi : Deep Publications. .
- Jain R.B. (ed.) (1995), *NGOs in Development Perspective*. Delhi : Vivek Prakashan.
- Jha UM (ed.) (1995), *Rural Development in India : Problems and Prospects*. New Delhi : Anmol Publications.
- Johnston B.F. and William C. Clark (1982), *Redesigning Rural Development : A Strategic Perspective*. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Joshi S (2000), *Panchayati Raj Institutions and Poverty Alleviation*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

- Shama Bhat, UK (1995), *New Panchayati Raj System: A Study of Politico-Administrative Dynamics*. Jaipur: Rupa Publishing House.
- Sharma A. and Rajgopal (1995), *Planning for Rural Development Administration*. New Delhi and Jaipur : Rawat Publications.
- Singh J and R.K. Tiwari (eds.) (1988), *Managing Poverty Alleviation: Insights from the Field*. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration.
- Singh K (1999), *Rural Development: Principles, Policies and Management*. New Delhi : Sage Publications.
- Singh K N and D.N. Singh (ed.) (1985), *Rural Development in India : Problems, Strategies and Approaches*. Varanasi : Banaras Hindu University, National Geographical Society of India.
- Singh R P, J.P. Mishra and P.L. Mishra (eds.) (1993), *Rural Development in India*. New Delhi: Radha Publications.
- Srivastava N and A.K. Singh (1987), *Rural Development in India*. New Delhi : Deep and Deep Publications.
- Tiwary JK (1984), *Rural Development Administration*. Allahabad : Chugh Publications.
- Tiwari RK (1984), *Existing Administrative Arrangements in Rural Development, A Status Paper Submitted to the Planning Commission, Government of India*. New Delhi : Centre for Rural Development Administration, Indian Institute of Public Administration.
- Tiwari RK (1990), *Rural Employment Programmes in India : The Implementation Process*. New Delhi : Indian Institute of Public Administration.
- Uphoff NT, Milton J. Esman and Aniruddha Krishna (1998), *Reasons for Success : Learning from Instructive Experiences in Rural Development*. New Delhi : Vistaar Publications.
- Veerashekharappa (1997), *Institutional Finance for Rural Development*. New Delhi and Jaipur : Rawat Publications.
- Verma BM (1990), *Decentralisation in Administration*. New Delhi : Uppal Publishing House.
- Vettivel SK (1992), *Community Participation Empowering the Poorest : Roles of Non Governmental Organisations*. New Delhi : Vetri Publishers.

- Kapoor AK and Dharamvir Singh (1977), *Rural Development Through NGOs*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Mahajan V.S (ed.) (1996), *Agriculture, Rural Development and Panchayati Raj*. New Delhi : Deep and Deep Publications.
- Mathur K (ed.) (1996), *Development Policy and Administration*. New Delhi : Sage Publications
- Mittal M (ed.) (1995), *Rural Development in India*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
- Mukherjee A (ed.) (1994), *Decentralisation : Panchayats in the Nineties*. New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House.
- Mukherjee A (ed.) (1995), *Participatory Rural Appraisal : Methods and Applications in Rural Appraisal : Methods and Applications in Rural Planning*. New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House.
- Nandini D (1992), *Rural Development Administration*. New Delhi and Jaipur : Rawat Publications.
- Palanithurai G (1999), *New Panchayati Raj System at Work : An Evaluation*. New Delhi: Concept Publications.
- Pawar SN and R.B. Patil (eds.) (1994), *Problems and Prospects of Development : Cooperation, Voluntaryism, Communication, Social Tensions and Weaker Sections in Rural India*. New Delhi : Mittal Publications.
- Prasad K, (1988), *Planning at the Gross Roots*. New Delhi : Sterling Publishers.
- Prasad K (1985), *Planning for Poverty Alleviation*. New Delhi : Agricole Publishing Academy.
- Quibria MG (ed.) (1993), *Rural Poverty in Asia: Priority Issues and Policy Options*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press for Asian Development Bank.
- Radhey Shyam (1989), *India's Framework for Rural Development: Myth and Reality*. New Delhi : Commonwealth Publishers.
- Sau S (ed.) (1998), *Rural Development : Theories and Experiences*. New Delhi : Allied Publishers.
- Seetharam M (1990), *Citizen Participation in Rural Development*. New Delhi : Mittal Publications.

Articles and Journals

Mathur, Kuldeep, *Politics and Implementation of IRDP*; Economic and Political Weekly: 1995, Oct. 14-21; 2703-2708.

Sen, Abhijit, *Economic Reforms, Employment and Poverty Trends and Options*; Khadi Gramodyog, 43(5), Feb. 1997.

Ravallion, M and G. Datt, *India's Checkered History in Fight Against Poverty*; Economic and Political Weekly : Special Number, Sep. 1996.

Vohra, B.B., *Better Resource Management for Poverty Alleviation*; Economic and Political Weekly: 1996, June 8, 1397-1404.