A MODEL FOR SECURING PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION
IN

JANMABHOOMI - RURAL DEVELOPMENT

By
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Foreword
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I would like to express my deep and profoundest gratitude and thanks to the Hon'ble Chief Minister Nara Chandrababu Naidu, for his kind Foreword to this volume. The inspiration and encouragement behind this publication is Sri P.V.R.K. Prasad, IAS, Director General, Dr.MCR HRD Institute of AP and Ex-Officio Special Chief Secretary to the Govt. of AP (GAD). Special thanks to Mrs. Urmila Subba Rao, IAS, Addl. Director General, Sri A. Chengappa, IAS (Rtd), Addl. Director General (Trg.), Mrs. Ranjana Sivasankar, IDAS, Joint Director General, and Mrs. Usha Ashok Kumar, IRAS, FA&CAO of Dr. MCR HRD Institute of AP. I would like to express my appreciation and thanks to Sri M. Yanadaiah, Senior Stenographer, Dr. MCR HRD Institute of AP for his excellent typing and preparation of the Manuscript of this volume.

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low-cost sewerage system; the Philippines case outlines the methods of working with farmers in farm technology development and the Sri Lanka case highlights how the poor betel growers were organized and how the intermediaries were eliminated and how they could relatively enrich themselves.

It may be pointed out here that the chapters are not uniform in size and this is due to limited or substantive subject matter covered in each chapter.

It is hoped that the book would be of some guidance and use to the policy makers, academics, planners, administrators, change agents and the general public who are associated in making JANMABHOOMI as an established tradition of development of rural and urban communities with an emphasis on people's participation.

Author

Preface

PARTICIPATORY development has gained currency and popularity and settled down as a principle and a slogan in developing the rural communities as well as the poor in the slums of the cities. With the advent of the state sponsored programmes under diverse nomenclature, JANMABHOOMI-Community Development, Integrated Rural Development, Programmes for Alleviating Poverty and Social Welfare, target population's involvement and participation in the development programmes is felt as a necessary component and complement to ensure success and enduring sustainability of the activities. There are a few books on popular participation in developmental activities. The uniqueness of the present volume lies in its coverage of all the facets of people's participation with a presentation of a **Model** for securing and sustaining their participation in JANMABHOOMI – Rural development activities. The first chapter deals with the imperatives of Janmabhoomi i.e., what is expected of Janmabhoomi as a movement for development. The second chapter brings out a brief review of Janmabhoomi programmes upto the 14th round of the programme. The third chapter which is an elaborate and comprehensive one deals with several significant areas of development in rural communities providing the state of affairs in re-

spect to each area of development and the systematic way one has to go about in improving the situation. Chapter four which is core of the book in brief covers the theoretical aspects with a presentation of a model for securing people's participation. Chapters 5 to 7 cover the characteristics of rural communities, development and organizing the community for its development with need and resource-oriented planning. Chapter 8 focuses on people's participation in upland conservation with an emphasis on ecology, topography and the culture of the inhabitants. Chapter 9 to 13 deal with social segmental and institutional representative participation covering the participation of women, youth, leaders and NGOs.

In Part II, Chapters 14 to 18 are case studies illustrating the issues, problems, and the mode of life of the poor and the way in which the development agencies have approached and analyzed the issues and the ways in which they have involved the beneficiary groups in their amelioration. These case studies cover Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. The case study from Bangladesh focuses on how Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) tries to alleviate the poverty of the landless poor. The Indian case points out the need to involve the poor in their housing; the Orangi Pilot Project details how the Orangi people were made self-supportive in respect to water supply, sanitation and

time. Finally on behalf of the institute the author would like to thank the Joy 'N' Joy Offset Printers, Hyderabad for their meticulous printing of the volume.

I would like to record here with warmth and thanks the assistance extended to me by my son Sri E. Ravi Shankar and his mother Mrs. E. Vishalakshi in preparing this volume.

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November 27, 2000
Dr. MCR HRD Institute of AP
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A MODEL FOR SECURING PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN JANMABHOOMI – RURAL DEVELOPMENT

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PART - 1

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION
IN
JANMABHOOMI - RURAL DEVELOPMENT

IMPERATIVES OF JANMABHOOMI

1

IMPERATIVES OF JANMABHOOMI

Our freedom struggle is an epic saga of unparalleled martyrdom and a relentless battle of truth and non-violence fought under the leadership of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. A non-violent struggle aimed at political freedom, reinforced by tireless effort at social reform, represented a defining moment in the annals of world history. The Vision of an independent India, a strong committed leadership, and the fusion of the masses were the unique characteristics of India's freedom movement. Our struggle for freedom was a true example of mass mobilization cutting across the barriers of class, community, caste, creed, or occupation.

The mass mobilization of the people in the freedom movement constituted only the first phase of democratic development. The founding fathers envisioned that democratic development has to bridge the gap between political equality and economic equality with social justice as mandated by the constitution.

What have we achieved?

While celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, we cannot but bow with gratitude and reverence to all those who fought selflessly and valiantly for our freedom. The leaders of the pre-independence

era believed that political freedom would herald economic and social emancipation. To what extent have we achieved these aims? Do we stand up to their expectations?

We can justifiably feel proud of having preserved the democratic framework, as also the unity and integrity of the country despite several threats. We have tripled our agricultural production which has made us self-sufficient in food despite the pressures of growing population. Industrial production has grown manifold. We have built up a vast reserve of scientific, technological and managerial skills. After Independence, we undertook planned economic development through the instrument of five-year plans to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the people. Many welfare schemes were introduced to improve the living conditions of the people. When the 'trickle down' effect of the overall growth of the economy did not benefit the disadvantaged, we made special efforts, in recent years, to formulate programmes specifically directed at them.

But, when we evaluate our achievements against our expectations, we realize, to our dismay, that despite notable successes in certain sectors we are still extremely backward in several areas like literacy, health, employment-generation, etc. Even in sectors where we have achieved a measure of success, the fruits of success have been uneven and have not been distributed

equitably. There is a wide gap between the aspirations of the people, particularly the poorest of the poor, and the achievements made so far.

The level of human development is an important indicator of the development of a Society. At the global level, the Human Development of the UNDP for the year 1996 ranks India as 138th out of 174 countries and classifies India as a country with "Low Human Development". This contrasts sharply with the remarkable progress made by and the enviable ranking of countries such as Japan (rank 7), South Korea (rank 32) and Malaysia (rank 61).

Countries that acquired independence around the same time as us have overtaken us in improving the living standards of their peoples. For example,

- Japan, which was reduced to shambles in the Second World War, has emerged as a premier world economic power by dint of hard work, discipline and by the innovative adoption of technologies. Through a strong sense of loyalty, devotion to the nation and a keen urge to excel, the Japanese have succeeded in making their country an economic dynamo and a byword for quality and 'values' in an age of technology.

- Malaysia, which is also an agro-based economy like ours and which became independent ten years

after us, has become an industrial giant in a span of 40 years mainly due to the team spirit of its people and a strong and visionary leadership.

- South Korea, which was backward and underdeveloped until the sixties, has been able to attain sustained economic growth through rapid strides in industry and exports. This was achieved through an innovative mass mobilization strategy that focused on internationalization of the core values of diligence, self-help and cooperation among the people and provision of intensive training.

- China, despite its large population, is poised to emerge as the economic giant of the 21st century, thanks to the spirit of hard work of its people and also the commitment of the Chinese Diaspora across the world.

- Israel, which is a small country, has successfully illustrated how innovative approaches and appropriate technology can contribute to progress even in the face of several natural and man-made adversities.

Within India, the position of Andhra Pradesh is unfortunately below the national average in several key development indicators such as per-capita income, literacy and health status. The brunt of poverty and adversity is

borne by our women and children and their condition continues to be a cause of serious concern for all of us. Environmental degradation has been posing a serious threat to sustainable development. Abysmal sanitation in the villages and towns is posing a serious threat to health.

This scenario in the human and physical development front is particularly distressing given that the State is endowed with rich natural and human resources. Our people, who have gone abroad, have achieved commendable success in their respective fields. However, here on native soil we have been unable to provide an environment whereby our people reach their full physical and intellectual potential.

What have we learnt?

What are the causes of this distressing scenario? Government institutions and local bodies could not succeed to the extent expected. The common man perceives the government as inaccessible. We have not succeeded in effectively harnessing the latent creativity of the people in formulating and implementing schemes for their own development. Instead of becoming 'partners in development', the people, particularly the poor, have become 'passive beneficiaries'. As the government acquired the role of 'doer' and 'direct provider', its paternalistic approach has driven people further towards dependency on government, even for small and sundry

interventions. Lack of information about government programmes and procedures has made people dependent on intermediaries to intercede on their behalf in the Government.

Even though a few government programmes have specifically sought to enlist people's participation, the effort got diluted in practice. The excessive centralization in planning and decision-making has dampened the initiative of the people. Access of people to government has been neither direct nor adequate. Government programmes and activities have remained largely ineffective in fostering the naturally positive elements of collective good, teamwork, honesty, dedication and hard work.

Values and principles, which once formed the core of the Indian ethos and which were so forcefully reflected in our freedom movement have got deeply eroded. The malaise we find ourselves in, today, is a result of this loss of values.

What should we do now?

The individual well-being of each one of us lies in restoring the health of the society and in promoting a healing process. No individual or group can prosper in the long run, at the expense of the society. As in the freedom struggle, each citizen is required to join hands with fellow citizens in finding a lasting solution to this crisis. The enemy is within. The fight should be directed at eradicating our internal enemies such as lethargy, despair,

dishonesty, corruption, inequality, and moral degradation. We need wage another freedom struggle. This is the time to liberate our people from morass and despair, restore the lost values and build an egalitarian society based on the principles of equity and sustainability.

Towards a people's movement

The struggle to be waged today by each one of us, individually and also collectively, is an important and perhaps more difficult than the freedom struggle. Janmabhoomi is a people's movement for reconstruction and revitalization of the society. It is aimed at helping each one of us internalize the time-tested values of sacrifice, hard work, diligence, discipline, honesty, self-respect and the quest for excellence. Through this movement, every institution internalizes the guiding principles of participation, equity and equality, transparency and accountability, organizational excellence and sustainability. These principles will guide the policies, programmes and the day-to-day activities of all institutions.

Janmabhoomi – Values

The effort to be made by each one of us, individually and collectively, should be for restoration of these timeless values and for internalization of these values by each of one of us. Rejuvenating these core values is the pre-requisite for succeeding in our quest for excellence. Let us see how these values assume critical importance in

our Janmabhoomi philosophy.

- **Spirit of Sacrifice**

The spirit of sacrifice, which was the dominant quality that spurred the people of our country during the freedom struggle, needs to be revived. The Gandhian thought of simple living and high thinking will help every individual to lead a happy life devoid of greed and also enthuse him to contribute to the welfare of his fellow beings. The idea of living for others and for a cause, by sacrificing the 'self' should be the guiding principle. It is through the spirit of sacrifice that team spirit is nurtured and teamwork built up.

- **Diligence**

Everybody should work hard. Anything is possible through hardwork, dedication, determination and consistent effort. Consistent effort leads to success and sustainable development. Diligence coupled with dedication plays an instrumental role in achieving one's goals and ideals in life.

- **Honesty**

Honesty and integrity are the two cardinal principles of life. Honesty means no contradictions or discrepancies in thought, word or deed. To be honest to one's self and to the purpose of a task earns trust and inspires faith in others. Honesty is the basis for cooperation between

individuals and institutions. It is also the basis for transparency.

- **Self-help**

The spirit of self-help enables one to solve one's own problems with one's own efforts. Solving problems with one's own efforts imbues one with a sense of pride and achievement. It also gives dignity of life.

- **Self-respect**

To know one's own worth and to honour the worth of others is the true meaning of self-respect. Self-respect and belief in one's own ability are essential for achieving one's goals. Self-respect also means respect for honest labour. Physical or manual labour should be looked up with respect.

- **Quest for excellence**

Quest for excellence should be the motto of every individual in his or her respective filed of activity. Only then will the society advance. One should never be satisfied with one's current standards of achievement but constantly strive for perfection. There should be pride in doing a job well. A scientific outlook can make a significant contribution towards our pursuit of excellence. Scientific progress is a harbinger of change in the modern world. Imbibing scientific temper promotes excellence.

- **Sense of fulfillment**

One can attain a sense of fulfillment through achieving something useful. A person with a sense of fulfillment is at peace with himself. Acquisition of wealth or achievements on the material plane does not necessarily lead to happiness. One should therefore aspire for spiritual fulfillment.

In addition to rejuvenating values, Janmabhoomi seeks to radically reorient the way we do things. Such a shift is essential not only to accelerate the pace of development but also to sustain the same through equitable distribution of benefits. Towards this end each one of our institutions should be restructured and realigned with the core principles of Janmabhoomi, namely, people's participation, equity & equality, transparency & accountability, innovation and sustainability. The institutions will then be able to promote Janmabhoomi values among every citizen in the Society. These basic principles have the potential to enrich the life of every citizen irrespective of gender, age, profession, status, caste, creed, community or location. Let us see how.

Operationalisation of Janmabhoomi

The conduct of Prajala Vaddaku Paalana, Sramadanam and Janmabhoomi has positively reaffirmed the power of these time tested values and basic principles.

Armed with exemplary grit, determination and commitment, our people have demonstrated the immense potential of Janmabhoomi.

Janmabhoomi essentially means a people centred participatory development process. The institutional framework for Janmabhoomi should therefore facilitate such a process wherein the Government, the democratic institutions of the people, the grassroots people's institutions, the facilitating agencies (including NGOs, academic institutions, etc.) and the people themselves can participate as equal partners. All these Institutions would be imbued with the core principles of Janmabhoomi to enable them to carry out their tasks effectively.

We are conscious that a movement of this magnitude would have wide ramifications for all of us. Accordingly we should gear ourselves through the following interventions:

- ❖ Environment building
- ❖ Promotion of grassroots people's institutions
- ❖ Strengthening local bodies
- ❖ Training and orientation
- ❖ Administrative reforms

- **Environment building**

A massive environment building will be one of the activities

for sensitization and for inculcating the values and principles of Janmabhoomi. The philosophy of Janmabhoomi would be widely disseminated, through all the institutions – academic, government institutions, youth associations, women's organizations, voluntary organizations, grassroots people's institution, local bodies, industrial establishments, etc. Eminent citizens, freedom fighters, professionals and experts in various fields will be requested to take an active part and lend their time and effort in this process. Voluntary Organizations will play an active role and their services will be fully utilized, particularly in training the grassroots people's institutions and community volunteers. The media, industrial establishments – private and public, financial institutions, research will be motivated to define a clear role for themselves and participate in the Janmabhoomi processes.

A Janmabhoomi flag, depicting the balanced growth of agriculture and industry through team spirit and hard work, with the rising sun indicating the establishment of an ideal society shall be unfurled in all public institutions. The Janmabhoomi song will be used as a prayer-cum-pledge in all educational institutions. The Janmabhoomi logo and slogans will be widely displayed.

- **Promotion of grassroots people's institutions**

Janmabhoomi will induce, develop and nurture social mobilization of people, particularly the poor,

organizing the community around specific interests such as women thrift and credit groups, youth groups (CMEY), Vana Samrakshana Samithis, water users associations, watershed development committees, village education committees, etc. This will be achieved through sensitization, awareness building, organizing grassroots people's institutions (GPIs), organizing women into thrift and credit groups (self help groups), building up the capability of the leaders of these people's institutions and promoting the consolidation of the groups on a sustained basis. Janmabhoomi will provide for capacity building of these groups to enable them to access and manage the resources, to articulate their requirements in the Gram Sabha, to sensitize them on issues affecting the people and to train them to take up participatory planning. Janmabhoomi will build up people's skills through intensive training. Janmabhoomi will foster leadership at the grassroots level and the grassroots people's institutions shall act as the nurseries for the growth of leadership.

Janmabhoomi will develop appropriate support structures for achieving social mobilization and capacity building. The support structures are intended to provide necessary training and technical guidance, exposure, as well as to develop suitable literature for different sectors. There will be a system of regular feedback and discussions in the workshops where the best experiences within and outside our State would be considered for adoption. At the State level, appropriate structures will be established

for overseeing this as well as to look after the training needs including development of literature.

- **Strengthening local bodies**

Janmabhoomi will strengthen local bodies through a policy of decentralization and develop a framework for a larger role for the local bodies. The guiding principle will be that what can be done at the grassroots level would be done only at that level. For this, each department will analyze and draw up a list of activities in each sector that can be decentralized, including the powers necessary at appropriate levels for effective decentralized decision-making. Necessary financial devolution will also be made. At the same time, full accountability to people will be ensured. Janmabhoomi will build up the mechanism of an active and vibrant Gram Sabha, which will not only decide on various issues but also monitor development programmes. Janmabhoomi will also develop a system by which information and knowledge are constantly made available to people.

Janmabhoomi will enable participatory planning at the grassroots level. Towards this end, individuals, members of the local bodies, representatives of the grassroots people's institutions will be sensitized about the significance and modalities of participatory planning. The Gram Panchayat would be the unit for planning in those sectors where it can act. For other sectors, the Mandal or the District will be the unit for planning. Suitable

units will be identified in the urban sector. Training would be provided to enable the grassroots level institutions to take up planning and preparation of action plans. These will be implemented by the people and monitored constantly by the Gram Sabha, which would also take up evaluation of the programmes at their level.

- **Training and orientation**

Training shall be organized for government functionaries, elected representatives, voluntary organizations, representatives of grassroots people's institutions, community volunteers and all those involved in the implementation of Janmabhoomi at various levels. Expert groups constituted at various levels shall prepare training modules. The existing training infrastructure available shall be utilized for providing training. Similar training programmes shall be organized at the village level in schools and colleges.

Academic institutions will participate in the Janmabhoomi movement, as part of socially useful and relevant work experience. It is proposed to integrate the Janmabhoomi experience into the academic programme by allotting a specific number of hours for this purpose. The Janmabhoomi philosophy will be incorporated in the curriculum. The daily Assembly time in schools and colleges will be utilized for inculcating the values of Janmabhoomi. Specialized training for staff and students will also be given.

• Administrative reforms

In contrast to its current role of a 'provider' and 'doer', the Government's role would be transformed into that of a 'facilitator' and enabler of self-governance. Towards that goal of a transparent and people friendly Government, administration would be simplified and demystified through a comprehensive set of reforms. This would include a thorough reorientation of the government functionaries to enable them to adopt their redefined roles and make the system service oriented. Janmabhoomi will institutionalize the process of the governmental actions being transparent and the government machinery being accountable to the people. All activities of public bodies shall be subjected to Social Audit. Each Department shall have a Citizen's Charter presenting the standards of services to be provided to the citizens.

Emphasis will be laid on building awareness among the people. Janmabhoomi will also develop a process by which information and knowledge are constantly made available to the people. Janmabhoomi will seek to provide the people with all the relevant information through appropriate channels.

The task ahead....

Janmabhoomi is a people-centred development process aimed at establishing an ideal society, which

embodies and cherishes the principles of people's participation, equality, transparency and accountability leading to sustained economic development and excellence in all walks of life. The goal is an enhanced quality of life for every man, woman and child in the State.

As the children of this beloved land, 'Janmabhoomi', it is our privilege to be proud of our heritage. At the same time, it is our responsibility to contribute our mite to enhance the glory of this land. Janmabhoomi is our collective effort for achieving and sustaining such a glory.

JANMABHOOMI - RURAL DEVELOPMENT

JANMABHOOMI as conceived and introduced by the Hon'ble Chief Minister Nara Chandra Babu Naidu, though primarily relates to Shramadan (Gift of Labour) on the part of the people, it is to be reckoned as significant movement with economic, social, cultural and psychological ingredients educating, appealing, inviting and encouraging people to plan, organize and develop in order to accomplish community needs and infrastructure on their own. It is not simply educating one individual but it is a very effective education to the entire community which is to become a tradition and value system of the community for its development. JANMABHOOMI as a movement goes with emotional tone instilling activity and pride on the part of the members of the community. In

the course of the last four years it has drawn the attention not only of the people but the entire administration, and the personnel at different levels. The JANMABHOOMI as a people's movement initiated and augmented by the Government is expected to be a continuous periodic movement towards development. The expectation is that this movement should become a part of the socio-cultural value system to be observed and carried on in action for all-round development in the rural and urban communities. It is envisaged that it should be something sacred as in the case of certain traditional and religious observances.

It is interesting to see that the concept of JANMABHOOMI is akin to 'SAEMAUL UNDONG' a South Korean model of community development. It may be relevant here to briefly look into SAEMAUL UNDONG as it was adopted by the South Korean Government. This has been a nation-wide development movement under the slogan of diligence, cooperation and self-help. The first nation-wide community development programme in Korea was launched in the late 1950s after the Korean War, another trial was made in 1960s under the name of National Reconstruction. But these two attempts were not much of success and so in 1970s SAEMAUL UNDONG succeeded in achieving the people's voluntary participation and active public support. The community development projects in Korea were carried out by community people themselves who were led by elected SAEMAUL leaders. Integrated planning (Bottom-up and

Top-down mixed) were made democratically. Adequate administrative and financial support and supervision were made with the priority of hardworking communities.

Generally speaking, integrated community development projects are designed to improve the standard of living and social welfare of people living in communities through effective cooperative utilization of all available physical and human resources. Every community has a different historical, social and economic background, which must be taken for project planning and implementation. The community development in the name of SAEMAUL UNDONG can be largely divided into three categories: spiritual reform, social development and economic development. SAEMAUL UNDONG based its action on the following principles: Firstly, the movement relied on integrated participation of the whole nation. Everyone in the community can take part in its development plans and programmes with common agreement by the community members. Secondly, the SAEMAUL spirit of diligence (self-help) and cooperation has to reflect people's aspirations and visible in the everyday life. Thirdly, all the activities must be undertaken in the interest and for the benefit of the community. The members of the community should be involved directly or indirectly in the increase of production and income. The Korean model of community development though emphasizes on community action it is always to be encouraged and supported by the State.

As one could see, in the case of JANMABHOOMI, it is being initiated by the State Government, mobilizing all the administrative resources and soliciting, motivating and encouraging the people to participate in the chosen programme. As mentioned earlier, the communities though they are interested in their development, may not maintain the same momentum of spirit and seriousness in their efforts to meet their needs. A constant and a periodic awakening of the community is essential to carry on self-help community development. More often, a community may not realize its own resources, the potential it has and the way in which the potential could be utilized for its development. There is need for some body like the State authority to remind the people what they could do for themselves with partial assistance from the government. In this kind of development, the people play a major role and the state a supportive role. It should become an established tradition of continuous improvement in the quality of life in rural and urban communities. The JANMABHOOMI as a popular and pragmatic movement is committed to generate enthusiasm and action on the part of the community for its overall and comprehensive development towards a richer life.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF JANMABHOOMI PROGRAMMES

2
A BRIEF REVIEW OF JANMABHOOMI PROGRAMMES

Rural development encompasses a Plethora of sectors, activities and some of them are of core and some of marginal nature. Some programmes of development are of perennial, never ending nature and some are recurring and periodic. It is a question of meeting, providing and facilitating basic needs and helping people solve some local problems. The programmes that have been sponsored in the last 14 rounds of Janmbhoomi in a sense focus on bettering living conditions of the people in rural communities. The individual, the family, the women, the aged, the disabled, the weaker sections, the artisans and the environment are the focal points of development. It is to facilitate, enable and empower people to move forward in the economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of their life. Ensuring a meaningful life to the rural people is a complex and challenging task which cannot be accomplished in one stroke and at one time. The Janmabhoomi Programme as a people's movement for development is highly imaginative in motivating and stimulating action on the part of the people towards betting their way of life. And thus for the following have been the focal areas:-

1. Micro Level Planning
2. Health and Sanitation

3. Education
4. Community Organization
5. Artisan Development
6. Empowerment of women.
7. Decentralization of Administration,
8. Development of Local Bodies,
9. Constitution of People's Functional Associations
10. The environmental protection
11. Upgrading of Artisans
12. Focus on aged and disabled and
13. The focus on Farm Development, in terms of increased production and profitable marketing of produce within and outside the country.

It is needless to say that all the programmes initiated thus far under Janmabhoomi are quite relevant for the overall development of rural communities. In one sense, some of them are initial motivating activities. As mentioned above, some try to meet solve certain local problems and local needs. Some needs are of a perennial nature. In a larger sense, the major objective of Janmabhoomi as a People's Movement is to build self-reliant, self-generating, progressive little dynamic, democratic communities.

In brief, the Janmabhoomi movement has created awareness among the people, it drew their attention to the basic minimum needs of life. And in a sense, made them aware of the physical, natural, material and human resources they are endowed with. It also made them feel

their own potential, what they could do and accomplish if want to. The periodic programmes to a considerable extent, tapped new human resources, talents of the leadership and initiative among the various age groups in the villages and organized several self-help associations to manage certain sectoral and segmental needs of the rural community. These are newly organized social, operational, functional sub-systems within the rural community. The credit goes to Janmabhoomi Programmes in motivating, mobilizing and organizing these individuals both men and women. The programmes have created social support systems, and social infrastructure to initiate and manage certain interests of the community. We may mention here the rejuvenation of the Grama Sabha by the Janmabhoomi movement. Though it has been the statutory, people's association at the community level, in many cases, the Grama Sabha has been dormant and non-functional. The Janmabhoomi movement through its stipulated programmes activated and regenerated the periodic assembly of the Grama Sabha. The Janmabhoomi programmes educated the people and drew their attention to the Grama Sabha, how it is the statutory fundamental forum of the community wherein the development ideas, needs, issues and problems could be discussed and to forward the needs and plans of action to the Grama Panchayat which may be described as the executive wing of the Grama Sabha. Further, interestingly and very importantly, Janmabhoomi drew the attention of the community and all wings of

administration at the state, district and mandal level to the primacy of women welfare. It does not mean women's development did not figure in the earlier movements but Janmabhoomi specifically devoted to what is called Mahila Janmabhoomi. Creation of awareness and reinforcement through motivation and practical programmes of action are necessary and this has appreciably manifested in the Mahila Janmabhoomi.

The officials operating at the village level promoting developmental activities may acquaint themselves with the indigenous knowledge system which has been developed over a period of time for meeting local needs and solving local problems. The indigenous knowledge system comprises the ways, the means, the methods and the techniques which the rural people have been using for decades in the past. At the operational level, one may make use of the indigenous knowledge system also along with new ways of development. Sometimes, in our enthusiasm we introduce new methods and technologies, ignoring the norms and the mechanisms, people have developed in solving their political, economical and social issues. By now, 14 rounds of Janmabhoomi programmes have been carried out and it has been recently decided by the Government that hereafter there will be 3 rounds, one devoted to Farmers, and the second one to Women, and the third one to the Minorities.

We may briefly focus on the 14th Janmabhoomi aptly called Rythu Janmabhoomi (Farmer's Janmabhoomi)

2-8, January, 2001, since the farmers and agriculture are the backbone of India or any other country.

The commitment, dedication and hard-work of the farmer who toils year-round in the field often does not get appropriately rewarded in the market. Farmers are not adequately compensated, and they do not get competitive prices for their produce.

Therefore, the government of Andhra Pradesh has stepped forward to strengthen the agricultural sector and empower farmers by helping them fetch the highest possible prices for their produce; and to also provide solutions to all their problems.

Since the farmer is the mainstay of progress of the State, the government has dedicated this Janmabhoomi to them.

To alleviate the hardships faced by the farmers during the summer season, the government has launched **Neeru Meeru** Programme. Despite cyclones and other natural calamities which befell Andhra Pradesh last year, it is creditable that the State nonetheless recorded an increase in agricultural production as a result of the previous Janmabhoomi's agriculture development programmes.

The government understands the needs, limitations, trials, and tribulations on the part of the farmers and the Government is with the farmers.

Rythu Janmabhoomi targeted on the following activities:

Improving the water levels of canals and ponds,

The use of dry crops during the Rabi Season

Keeping the shortage of electricity in mind.

Timely decisions to be taken in all related matters

Creating awareness about the harmful effects of using spurious pesticides.

The farmer is the base and the foundation, there will be no State, no progress, no promise for a better future without the farmer.

We may just mention here the priority issues that have been covered thus far during the past Janmabhoomi Programmes:

- Neeru Meeru
- Veterinary Camps
- Distribution of Revolving Fund to DWCRA Groups
- Eradication of Superstitions
- Health Camps – Special emphasis on Prevention of AIDS, Pulse Polio
- Awareness about sanitation
- Distribution of Pensions
- Akshara Sankranthi
- Distribution of Gas Connections

GRAMA SABHAS

- Grievance redressal
- Problem solving

The appreciable achievement up to the 14th round of the Janmabhoomi is quite encouraging.

ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE BEEN COVERED UP TO THE FOURTEENTH ROUND UNDER JANMABHOOMI PROGRAMMES

Round	*Period*	*Theme*
First Round	1-8 January, '97	Janmabhoomi Concept and Micro Level Planning.
Second Round		1-7 May, '97 Constitution of HLCs/ WLCs, Community Infrastructure Development Works.
Third Round	1-7 August, '97	Janmabhoomi Janachaitanyam – Immunization and Health Camps
Fourth Round	1-7 October, '97	Clean Village/Town Concept. Free Veterinary Camps, Campaign on Save Energy and Small Savings

Fifth Round	1-7 January, '98	Participation of Students and Lecturers along with the Habitation/Ward Level Committees and the people in activities promoting Clean Village/ Ward concept and creation of Community assets.
Sixth Round	1-7 May, '98	Free Health Camps with focus on TB and Blindness control. Works Programmes through Self-Help Groups.
Seventh Round	1-7 August, '98	"Cheyutha" for Disabled. Pollution Control in Urban Areas.
Eighth Round	3-9 October, '98	Free Health Camps with focus on AIDS, TB, Eye Care, Dental Care and Reproductive health care.
Ninth Round	2-8 January, '99	Micro Level Planning Free Health Camps with focus on curative and preventive aspects of AIDS, TB, Eye Care,

		Dental Care and Reproductive health care.
Tenth Round Eleventh Round	1-7 May, '99 3-11 Jan., 2000	Mahila Janmabhoomi Micro Level Planning & Evaluation of Gram Panchayats/ Wards and Nodal Officers.
Twelfth Round	1-7 May, 2000	Neeru – Meeru – Focus on Health Drought and Water Conservation.
Thirteenth Round	1-7August,2000	Mahila Janmabhoomi
Fourteenth Round	2-8January,2001	Rythu Janmabhoomi

*Note:-Please see Appendix 1(a) for Cumulative Achievements for 13 rounds of Janmabhoomi

The State of Andhra Pradesh has started the journey of comprehensive rural development. And it is a long way to go for accomplishing the overall development of rural communities wherein every individual is ensured the basic minimum needs and leads a happy life. In this context while we refer to the journey of development one could recall the famous lines of Robert Frost, the National Poet of the United States of America,

"The woods are lovely dark and deep
I have promises to keep
And miles to go before I sleep
And miles to go before I sleep".

GUIDES FOR THE MANDAL PARISHAD STAFF IN ASSISTING THE MANDAL PARISHAD AND THE VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN DIAGNOSING VILLAGE PROBLEMS AND IN DEVELOPING PLANS AND PROGRAMMES FOR VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT

3
GUIDES FOR THE MANDAL PARISHAD STAFF IN ASSISTING THE MANDAL PARISHAD AND THE VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN DIAGNOSING VILLAGE PROBLEMS AND IN DEVELOPING PLANS AND PROGRAMMES FOR VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT

For the Mandal Parishad and the Village Panchayats to be effective in helping the people find solutions to their problems, all programmes taken up by the Mandal Parishad and the Village Panchayats must be related to solving problems which the people themselves have participated in identifying and have expressed a desire to work together to solve. This being true there are no alternatives to having the Mandal Parishad each year assist each village panchayat systematically: (1) identify their village problems; (2) understand what cause the problems; (3) know what steps are required to solve the problems; (4) be concerned and eager to solve the problems; and finally (5) to decide which of the specific problems they wish to tackle for the coming year. For each village panchayat to take all its village people through these steps each year will make it possible for each village panchayat to have before it a realistic village development programme. Only as each village panchayat completes this kind of systematic analysis will it be possible for the Mandal Parishad to put together a Mandal Parishad

programme. Until there is a Mandal Parishad programme which is a composite of these village programmes, the Mandal Parishad cannot intelligently allocate staff and financial resources to the village panchayats. It will be absolutely imperative for the Mandal Parishad to have such a realistic programme if the Mandal Parishad staff is to be effective in carrying out an extension educational programme in each village as a sponsored specific panchayat programme.

A prerequisite to the Mandal Parishad staff's effective working relationship with village people through the Mandal Parishad and the village panchayat, the cooperative and other village institutions and organizations is that they themselves be clear about the village problems. Each member of the Mandal Parishad staff – the VDO, the technical specialist and the Mandal Parishad Development Officer – should be able to help village people identify their key problems. While it should be the responsibility of each subject-matter technical specialist to guide the staff in an analysis of the village problems which fall within their respective fields, all members of the Mandal Parishad staff should know the most important things that cause the problem, and the basic action steps each specialist recommends if village people are to solve their problems themselves.

Village life is lived first in integrated families and second in a complex set of village relations. Only as each member of the Mandal Parishad development staff

assumes that he is, first, a generalized development and extension officer, and second, a staff member with a specialized function to perform, will he be able to make his maximum contribution to helping the village people in solving their many problems largely through the own efforts, utilizing to the fullest any and all technical help which can be interpreted to them in meaningful and understanding terms. This means, for example, that before the animal husbandry technical specialist can make a significant contribution to improving the cattle, goats, sheep, swine and poultry, he must know the important place each has in the lives of the families. He must know the nature and depth of family and village attitudes and practices with respect to the animals and poultry. He must know which members of the family are responsible for carrying out each individual practice. He must know, in relationship to the many village problems, the relative importance villagers will place on improving their livestock and poultry in contrast to improving their crops. He must know the religious significance the village places on the livestock and what may be involved and implied if he makes specific recommendations about how to improve the livestock and poultry. He must know the place village families assign to livestock in their total village economy. As a basis for finalizing his recommendations he should know why the villagers follow their current practices and what other practices they have followed over the years.

The Mandal Parishad development staff must, as

a development team, forever accept the principle that the emphasis for development in each village must be centred on the problems the village panchayats are at that moment ready to recognize and to give a position of prominence in terms of devoting time and effort to their solution. To accept this position does not mean a de-emphasis on educating the village people to the existence of problems which the Mandal Parishad staff may feel to be of urgent importance. What it does mean, however, is that programmes for correction or for the solution of village problems must wait until the staff can, through education, demonstration, and persuasion, bring the village people working, their panchayat to be enough concerned about the problems to want to accept technical help and guidance in their solution. Any other approach is more-or-less wasted effort, in that it takes up a lot of staff time without enlisting village action.

A wise Mandal Parishad development staff will learn the priorities each village panchayat places on its many problems, and will at first concentrate its own limited resources on helping the village panchayat solve the problems it has concluded to be important at the moment. A wise staff will also know, however, that one of its basic continuing functions is to educate the village panchayat to the existence of problems it may not at the moment consider important.

This chapter devotes lengthy treatment of village problems so as to guide the Mandal Parishad development

staff in its working relationships with Mandal Parishad and the village panchayats within the Mandal Parishad. For each significant village problem listed, there follows first a list of generalized conditions which cause the problem, and second, a list of generalized steps which, if taken, would contribute toward the solution of the problem. Each Mandal Parishad staff will need to prepare a similar list for its respective Mandal Parishad, if it is a wise staff and is to make the maximum contribution toward helping village panchayats identify, become concerned about, and take steps to solve, village problems. This generalized list of problems for the Mandal Parishad should then be broken down and developed for each village. Each village list must be refined with experience and understanding.

A valuable educational experience for each village panchayat would be for the panchayat to develop a large poster on which they would list their problems as they became recognized as significant and meaningful. This would become especially valuable as the panchayats learned to associate with a problem the things which contribute to it, and as they come to know what steps should be taken to solve the problem. The village-by-village definition of problems, the detailing of the things that cause the problems, and step-by-step recommendations should in the first instance be developed jointly by the respective technical specialist, the VDO, and the panchayat.

Diagnosing and prescribing for village problems

requires three steps. First, the many individual village problems must be identified; second, the thing which causes village problems must be known; third, action steps should be recommended to solve each village problem. This is an essential process of getting the village people through their panchayats to look searchingly at themselves, and is the only basis on which the village panchayat can take intelligent decisions as to what they want to do, when they want to do it, how they want to do it, and who is to take the initiative.

This process of village-by-village definition of problems and agreement on action steps is also essential for the Mandal Parishad staff as a team, if it is to have a purposeful working relationship with each village panchayat. With this kind of village-by-village analysis and planning, all members of the Mandal Parishad staff can and should take an interest in all phases or village activity as they visit the villages to work systematically with the VDOs there, the panchayats on their respective subject-matter fields.

Without this individual problem analysis and later putting together of a village's diagnosis of its many problems and suggested action steps, the VDO and extension specialist cannot possibly be effective. The VDO must always see the village as a whole, as well as seeing and understanding its many individual problems. Only with this kind of analysis and village planning can the VDO make the maximum use of his individual village

visits.

One and all should understand that, as the Rural Development staff gains experience and as Village people respond and themselves change with the changes they bring about in the villages, the village problems will be defined and the priorities panchayats give to taking action steps will change. This simply means that the definition of village problems, the detailing of the causes of the problems, and the outlining of action steps should be a more or less continuous process. As a minimum these village-by-village analyses should be updated once a year.

We come now to a detailing of the generalized village problems. For each problem a generalized analysis is given of the things which cause the problem and the recommended action steps to correct the problem.

I. *Low Crop Yields* is a village problem.

Low crop yields are caused by some or all the following conditions:

1. Following traditional farming methods and using primitive tools.
2. Lack of knowledge about superior yields possible from improved seeds, use of commercial fertilizers, improved agricultural implements and better tillage practices.
3. Lack of understanding about importance of making

compost manure and of proper application of compost manure.

4. Lack of enough sure water and improper use of available water.
5. Lack of understanding about the importance of soil testing as a basis for determining the kind and amount of commercial fertilizer to use.
6. Lack of knowledge about the need for growing and ploughing under green manure crops.
7. Fragmented land-holding works against better use of water and use of improved tillage practices.
8. Lack of desirable tenure arrangements, providing security of tenure and appropriate redistribution of land holdings.
9. Lack of credit, at reasonable interest and available as needed, prevents many cultivators from being able to purchase improved seed, improved implements, better bullocks, and fertilizer.
10. Lack of adequate power to quickly prepare the soil, plant the crops, and harvest them.
11. Insufficient plant protection measures against insects, rodents, and other pests.
12. Shortage of pure seed.

13. While increasing number of village cultivators are taking up one or more improved agricultural methods, the need is for more and more of the cultivators to apply as many as possible of the improved practices as a "package".

Crop yields can without much extra expense be substantially increased as the Mandal Parishad staff, working through the village panchayats, succeeds in getting village cultivators to recognize that their yields are low; to understand the things which contribute to low yield; to want to increase their yields; to know the specific things they as cultivators can do to increase their yields; and as the cultivators are helped through demonstrations and educational guidance in gaining successful experience with the new practices and methods.

Action Steps For Increasing Agricultural Yields

1. The village extension worker with the advice of the Mandal Parishad extension staff should, working through the panchayat, keep all village cultivators informed about improved agricultural practices for all the major agricultural crops grown in the village.

For each of the major crops, the practices recommended to the village should be a package and cover all phases of the crops life cycle, e.g., cultural practices, improved seeds, fertilizers – kind and application, insecticides – kind and application, agricultural

implements, water use, etc.

2. Under village conditions test, through well organized result demonstrations, a package of technical recommendations made by the VDOs. Once these improved agricultural practices and methods have been adequately tested under village conditions, then and only then should the recommendations be made on a village and Mandal Parishad-wide basis and intense educational programmes be organized to get widespread acceptance of the proven recommendations.

3. If the village people are to follow through and themselves adopt the improved practices and methods which have through village demonstrations proven to be superior to the traditional practices, the Mandal Parishad staff must then turn to the cooperatives and help the cooperatives become effective in making available the needed supplies (seed, fertilizers, implements, insecticides, etc.). The cooperatives must assure that these supplies will be available when they are needed, in sufficient quantity and in close proximity to all villages, and at prices the villagers can afford. If the villagers are to purchase these supplies credit must through the cooperative be readily available on terms and conditions appropriate to all classes of cultivators.

4. Assuming the population base is adequate to organize a cooperative in sufficient size to provide volume and quality service and support competent business

management, the Mandal Parishad staff should educate the village people to understand how a well-run cooperative could assist them in at least three important ways:

(a) The cooperative must provide the credit required for villagers to be able to purchase the recommended improved seed, the improved implements, required bullocks, needed fertilizer and insecticides.

(b) The cooperative must be the distributing organization for stocking and selling to the cultivators the required and recommended improved seed and implements, fertilizers and insecticides.

(c) The cooperative must assist the villagers in the marketing of their products – essential if the cultivators are to realize the maximum net return on the products sold.

5. While the actual improved agricultural practices can only be carried out by the individual cultivators, the village panchayat can and must take the leadership in assisting the village community to do many things together. It is the combination activity by the individual cultivator and the village community which will be necessary to step up crop yields.

II. *Fragmentized Land holdings* is a village problem.

Fragmentized land holdings in the villages is primarily associated with population pressure on the land. This along with limited out migration, decay in handicraft economy, and limited employment opportunities in village industries has forced village families to follow the practice of sub-division of land holdings as the only means of providing economic opportunity, though meager, to the oncoming generations.

Since India's immediate need is substantial increased agricultural production, it is imperative for the panchayats and Mandal Parishad staff to give the highest priority to village programmes which will result in increased agricultural production. It is a well-known fact that the present scattered, small and unevenly shaped fragments of land holding prevent cultivators from adopting many of the improved agricultural practices essential for agricultural development. Putting first things first means the panchayats should under the guidance of the Mandal Parishad early develop far-reaching programmes to bring the present fragmented land holdings into rectangular consolidated holdings and do so within the shortest possible period of time. To be effective, this programme of consolidation should be taken up and sponsored by the District Zilla Parishad and the Mandal Parishad.

Action Steps for Consolidation

1. Experience with land consolidation in many states

clearly indicates that village people are themselves concerned about their fragmentized land holdings and will with the intelligent guidance of the Zilla Parishad and the Mandal Parishad give full cooperation in working up village consolidation programmes.

2. Facts about how other villages have gone about and benefited from consolidating their land holdings should be presented to village people, through the panchayats.

3. Individual villagers – panchayat members and others – who are interested in land consolidation might be taken to villages where land consolidation has been completed so they can make first-hand observations about the programme.

4. As a means of developing villager interest and guiding the village through a land consolidation programme, the village panchayat should be encouraged to establish a land consolidation committee to deal with this specific problem.

5. As a village panchayat's interest is aroused in the problem of fragmentized land holding, steps can and should be taken to prepare an up-to-date map giving precise measurements of all land holdings.

6. When the majority of villagers are ready to cooperate in a village-wide land consolidation programme, a plan should be agreed to for determining the land

classification values of each strip of land. These land classification values may be based on any one of the following:

(a) Valuation on the basis of market value.

(b) Valuation on the basis of productivity.

(c) Valuation on the basis of rental value.

The finalized programme for land consolidation should give to each land holder a rectangular piece of land having the total value of his various strips.

7. In finalizing the village land consolidation the panchayat should be encouraged to integrate this programme with all round village development. This means in the final land consolidation plan particular attention should be paid to the following:

(a) Setting aside appropriate land for village roads, drainage, irrigation, etc.

(b) Providing land for such community purposes as pasture lands, fuel plantations, schools, panchayat ghars, play grounds, etc.

(c) Valuation on the basis of rental value of village site or a new piece of land so the entire village lay out may be modernized to permit wide, drained streets, adequate space for houses with latrines, etc.

(d) Setting aside a part of the land for cultivation through the village community, the income from such land being utilized to augment the village panchayat funds.

(e) Development of schemes for more intensive cultivation by improvement of land, adoption of improved techniques and conservation of soil.

III. *Limited Employment Opportunities* is a village problem.

Limited employment opportunities are the result of at least the following conditions:

1. The population is increasing faster than production resources and new work opportunities are presently being organized.

2. Lack of planned cottage and village industries keyed to market demand, available raw materials and technical resources.

3. Lack of financial help for small industries –

   (a) to modernize existing industries,

   (b) to procure raw materials,

   (c) to market products,

   (d) to organize new industries.

4. Lack of adequate technical research and training programmes to help cottage and village industries keep up-to-date on scientific and industrial development.

5. Lack of organized village initiative for improving existing cottage and village industries and establishing new ones.

6. Since many village industry products are of inferior quality and not keyed to market demand, they are not able to successfully compete with similar products produced by larger, more modern industries.

7. Educational institutions are not providing adequate technical training to prepare village boys for useful service in cottage and village industries.

8. Arable land for new workers in agriculture is definitely limited.

9. Too much village emphasis is currently placed on crops which required limited labour – thus definitely limiting the motivations to push up production of commercial crops which may require more labour and investment, but are more profitable.

10. Because of lack of emphasis on water use much land is only partially used and therefore,

has limited labour requirements.

11. Until recently little has been done to frame a systematic plan to counteract the growing unemployment in the villages.

As the agricultural segment of the village economy begins to respond, pushing up production and income, and the village people become alert to their new opportunities and express new needs, there will develop in the villages new market demand which can be met through locally produced and marked products. To meet these rising expectations of village people, the Mandal Parishad should develop as a priority programme the provision of educational guidance and technical assistance to the present and potential cottage and village industries within the Mandal.

Action Steps for Increasing the Employment Opportunities of Village People.

Following are the more important and feasible action steps which, if taken jointly by the cottage and village industrialists and the Mandal Parishad Parishad, should increase employment opportunities in the Mandal Parishads.

1. Collect data about existing whole-time, part-time and subsidiary occupations.
2. Conduct industrial and marketing surveys of the

Mandal Parishad to determine the present and potential market demands and to give guidance about what types of industries have a good chance of succeeding in the area.

3. Through education and demonstrations, help the village artisans and village industrialists realize the need for assistance and recognize that through the Rural Development programme, technical service programmes will be organized to assist them in at least the following ways:

(a) Determine consumer needs, including design and quality preference.

(b) Establish working contacts with agencies set up for helping the development of rural industries, including the village and small industries technical-research-training-service institute or their branches to help village artisans keep current on processing methods.

(c) Obtain required low-cost financing.

(d) Secure essential good-quality raw materials at a reasonable price.

(e) Move their products into marketing channels.

4. Wherever feasible, modest industrial estates should be organized in selected villages – to provide power, improved working conditions, and better concentration of technical services.

5. Careful study should be made of the slack work seasons to determine the types of cottage and village industries which best lend themselves to spare-time work.

6. The village industries should be actively assisted to reach the minimum strength required for establishment of sound cooperatives with full-time competent business management. The organization of such cooperatives should be encouraged to take over a three-fold service:

   (a) Provide the required credit.

   (b) Assist in the procurement of raw materials, machines and tools.

   (c) Assist in marketing products.

7. Programmes for the re-building of villages offer great scope for increased employment. Building materials can be produced by cooperatives which in turn can provide employment.

8. Public works programmes should be organized

to take up economic producing programmes such as digging irrigation and drainage channels, leveling of land, contour bunding, planting of trees, and the construction of farm—to-market roads.

IV. ***Lack of village schools,*** poorly trained and inadequately paid teachers, a school programme unrelated to village life and development, and high illiteracy among teen-age youth and adults, constitute major educational problems for the villages of India.

Some of the more important things which have contributed, and still do contribute, to the educational problems of the villages are listed as follows:

1. Because of the economic pressures on the village families to earn and produce the base essentials for survival, children have of necessity had to remain out of school and go to work.

2. Much as they value education for their children, the villagers look at their past experience and conclude, with some at least of the actual facts on their side, that the youth who have gone to school have become dissatisfied with village life and have moved on to the larger towns and cities.

3. The village school, the village teacher, and the

school programme are not effectively related to village within the village and to earn an effective living either as a cultivator, artisan, or village industrialist.

4. Many villages are without schools.

5. Many villages are without teachers.

6. Because, the villages of India pay such low salaries to teachers and have such limited facilities for their effective living, including meager recreation and health services, the better trained teachers who have other opportunities avoid going to the villages where they are so sorely needed.

7. Until we gained independence and new opportunities arose for all to contribute to the nation's development and to their own personal economic and social advancement, being literate held no particular attraction for the masses of village people, for it could not convincingly demonstrate that to be literate would result in their advancement.

8. Now that it can be demonstrated that being literate is essential if all are to fully profit from independence and are to make their maximum contribution to the building of New India, there are limited facilities and too few teachers trained

in the modern techniques of literacy education.

9. There is a great scarcity, of good reading material, readily available at a reasonable price for the neo-literate.

One has only to exercise his mind to understand that, in the building of New India through the process of re-building each of our 558,000 villages as significant cultural units, effective education for all is essential. The study of world history and of the rise and fall of great civilizations supports the conclusion that a nation's greatness is dependent upon the importance the nation places on education, and upon the effectiveness of the education institutions in training people with creative, reflective minds capable of guiding the nation's growth and sustaining a great and significant culture. It is, therefore, of great importance that the Mandal Parishad and village panchayats accept the challenge which is theirs to help all villages in the process of Rural Development and tackle the village educational problems, bringing to this task the forthright leadership the people deserve and must receive if India is to again grow into a great nation.

Action Steps for Improving the Status, Services and Facilities of Education in the Villages

1. Through various educational media, demonstrate to the people the importance of all being literate in order

to take advantage of the benefits of science and technology and all children having an opportunity to attend a school taught by a competent, well-trained teacher adequately paid.

2. As the village grows in its interest in having a village school, help the village organize itself to contribute its labor and as much material as possible toward the construction of a school.

3. Assist the village in organizing literacy classes. Whenever literate local people are available, they should be trained and assisted in conducting the literacy classes. When local literacy instructors are not available plans should be worked out for outside instructors systematically to visit the village to conduct the literacy classes.

4. To assist in the socio-economic upgrading of the village teacher and thus in enabling the village to secure and keep a competent teacher, the panchayats should be encouraged to see the importance of the village providing the teacher with a house and an adequate vegetable garden. Panchayats should also be encouraged to develop plans for self-taxation to contribute towards increasing the salary of the village teacher.

5. So that the village school can increasingly become an effective village institution and the teacher can play a more prominent role in village development, the Mandal Parishad should in the first instance organize a ten-day

training camp for all the village teachers in the Mandal Parishad. The purpose of this training should be to train the village teacher to serve as a village leader, assisting in stimulating the entire village to be interested in all-round development. Following the first camp, yearly refresher camps of a week should be organized.

6. Continue to emphasize to the village people that, while in the past they have survived with limited or no education, in the future education will become more and more important for success as a cultivator, artisan or industrialist, and for participation in village and state affairs. Point out that, whereas in the past survival was based on familiarity with traditional methods, the future will require familiarity with and understanding of the application of science.

V. *Poor Health* is a major village problem.

Some of the more important things which contribute to poor health in the villages are listed as follows:

1. The villages have all too few medical services and facilities.
2. Lack of family planning, spacing of children, contributes to poor health of the mother and children and intensifies the problem of inadequate food.
3. Village people have deep-seated religious and

traditional attitudes and biases in favour of traditional remedies and health practices.

4. The following types of poor environmental sanitation contribute to poor health:

   (a) contaminated drinking water,

   (b) pollution of tanks, soil and surroundings with night soil and animal dung,

   (c) smoke-filled and poorly ventilated houses,

   (d) inadequately cleaned and drained village streets.

5. Insect and rodent are carriers of diseases – flies, mosquitoes, fleas, rats, etc. – contribute directly to poor village health.

6. Lack of adequate and nutritious diet contributes to poor health.

7. Lack of protection from certain preventable disease through immunization causes poor health.

Regardless of what programmes the Mandal Parishad may feel demand priority attention, developmental experience all over the world supports the conclusion that the response of village people and their participation in sustained development is closely related to their physical and mental health. Because this is so, it

does not follow that the lock staff should be expected to impose a health programme on the people before they are ready to accept such a programme and to provide the required leadership to make good health a village goal. The implication and strong recommendation, however, is that the Mandal Parishad staff should early and continuously use all effective media for educating and guiding the Mandal Parishad and the village panchayats toward improvement of all phases of village health.

Action Steps for Improving Village Health

Following are some of the more important action steps involving both the Mandal Parishad and the village panchayats in improving village health –

1. Because village people have for so many years learned to live with poor health, the Mandal Parishad staff should devote its best efforts to a village-by-village health education programme that will awaken the village people to want better health, and will aid them in understanding
2. Minimum adequate health service and facilities should be provided for each Mandal Parishad, and continuous health education programmes should be carried on to guide the village people to make appropriate use of the newly provided services and facilities.
3. Each village panchayat should be encouraged to

want and should be helped to provide and protect a safe drinking water supply for the village. Arrangements should be made for maintaining the pump and keeping the area near the well drained and clean.

4. Special attention should be concentrated on educating the people to construct and use suitable latrines. Villagers should be told that the diarrhoea and dysentries which kill about twenty lakhs of persons every year in India and make about five crore ill are due to improper disposal of human excreta.

5. Educate the villagers to see the relationship between many of the common diseases and insects and rodents, and then assist the village panchayats in organizing programmes to eliminate these disease-carrying insects and rodents.

6. Through education, assist the village people to understand the relation between the food they eat and their health, and then assist them in raising more varieties of vegetables and fruits to broaden their diet, and in following methods of food preparation which will give them a more nutritious diet.

7. Educate villagers to see that many of the deaths in the village could have been prevented if all were

protected by immunization against certain diseases common to the village such as smallpox, cholera, typhoid, tetanus, and diphtheria. Encourage those who want protection from these diseases to get their inoculations regularly at the health centre.

8. As the village health programme takes shape, the panchayat should be encouraged to involve the village school in order to assure that all phases of the village health programme are taught and practised in the school programme.

9. Educate villagers to understand that a village house which is fully protected against rain and cold, and which permits entrance of sunlight and fresh air, is a healthier house for the family. As village people express interest in ventilation, guide them in installing protective windows and smokeless chulhas.

10. Through education, continue to impress on the village people that is much easier to prevent disease by following protective health programmes than it is to cure disease.

11. The Mandal Parishad staff should know the religious and traditional village attitudes toward present and recommended health practices. The staff should seek guidance as to appropriate approaches directed toward changing these religious and traditional attitudes.

12. Get the village panchayat to understand that a village with clean, well-drained, paved streets will also be a healthier village.

13. Through educational programmes, village panchayats should awaken the village people to the importance of family planning in relation to the health of the mother and the children and the social and economic well-being of the family. The Mandal Parishad health centre should be the distribution point for information on the recommended family planning methods and their application.

14. The village extension workers and the entire Mandal Parishad staff should set an example by their own housing, sanitary facilities and health practices.

VI. *Poor Family Living* is a universal problem of all villages.

Poor family living is caused by some or all of the following conditions:

1. Until Independence and the organization of the Rural Development programme, village families had generally neither the means nor the incentives to live better, thus producing attitudes of indifference toward all aspects of family living conditions.

2. Throughout the villages most families do not always fully appreciate the full importance of –

   (a) Personal body cleanliness and clean clothing;

   (b) Clean food;

   (c) Clean, attractive, ventilated homes;

   (d) Clean, drained streets;

   (e) Clean courtyards;

   (f) Destruction of pests;

   (g) Beauty in their surroundings;

   (h) Using a sanitary latrine;

   (i) Having pure water to drink;

   (j) Sheltering cattle away from the house;

   (k) All members of the family knowing how to read and write.

3. Village people live as they do partly because they lack knowledge of the following things:

   (a) The importance of growing and eating fruit and vegetables essential for a nutritionally healthy diet;

   (b) How to make such simple improvements

in their homes as building smokeless chulha;

(c) How to care for children;

(d) How to get family planning information about appropriate methods of spacing the children born in the family;

(e) How to make and mend clothing;

(f) How to preserve fruits and vegetables;

(g) How to store and care for clothing and bedding;

(h) How to provide more recreation.

The building of New India must start by kindling within the families of village India a desire for a better way of life. Through the Rural Development Mandal agencies, programmes will be organized to make possible a gradual and sustained rise in the level of family and village living. If the programmes which the Mandal Parishad emphasizes and the various services available are to make their maximum contribution, *it is essential for all having a responsibility for the programme to understand that the manner in which the services will be used, and the ultimate success of the entire programme, will rest upon the rising expectations of the families for a higher standard of living and upon the motivations from within these families to achieve and sustain such a higher*

standard.

Those who plan administer and serve the Mandal Parishad programmes must understand that broadly defined village problems and needs take on significance only as they find expression within the family. As a problem takes on significance to the family the motivation for its solution also takes new shape. To illustrate – as the family builds up a desire for better family living expressed in a desire for better housing, clothing, health, education, food and recreation, the motivation for increasing agricultural production becomes a family motivation and therefore, a purposeful one commanding sustained family effort.

In using the terms levels and standards of living the reader should understand that *level of living* is used to mean the things village people now have and the way now live and *standard of living* is used to mean the things the people express as new wants and the way they wish they could live, and are willing to strive to attain.

Following are Some Suggested Action Steps for Improving Family Living:

1. The first essential step in improving family living is, through education, to create an earnest desire on the part of the families for attaining a standard of living, i.e., more and better food, clothing, shelter, health, education, recreation – which is higher than

their present level of living – i.e., the things they now have and the way they now live.

2. Three new values which should, through education, become important family and village values are orderliness, cleanliness and beauty. These can best be developed by the Mandal Parishad staff taking an active interest in encouraging village after village in the Mandal Parishad to plan new village, providing for straight, wide, drained and paved streets, space between houses, sanitary latrines, a village park, flower-beds, a school, a community-cum-panchayat hall, and attractive well-ventilated village houses.

3. As the interest of village women is developed, they should be given training and guidance in the following activities and programmes -

   (a) Sewing, knitting, embroidery and care of clothing and bedding;

   (b) Learning the nutritional importance of different foods;

   (c) Learning how to prepare, cook and serve foods in ways that will preserve the maximum nutritional value and ensure clean handling of the food;

   (d) Understanding the importance of more

milk in the family diet;

(e) Learning how to plan, plant and care for a family vegetable garden;

(f) Learning how to preserve fruits and vegetables;

(g) Learning how to store food.

4. Encourage interest in and use of recommended family planning methods.

5. Using carefully selected, influential families demonstrate how to build and use the smokeless chulha, showing how it saves fuel and removes smoke from the house. Then encourage all families to construct and learn the proper use of a smokeless chulha.

6. Demonstrate the importance of providing appropriate storage space for utensils, and the simple construction necessary for this.

7. Demonstrate the desirability of each family having a sanitary place to wash dishes and utensils, and aid in developing simple plans for this.

8. Create interest in and organize group programme to train women in better care of children.

9. Develop family plans for construction of a sanitary latrine adapted to the village, and demonstrate in

family group meetings how to build a latrine. Through education, build up village social pressure for each family to have and use a sanitary latrine.

10. Develop village plans for housing the animals away from the family living quarters. These plans may be either for housing the animals in a separate shed in the compound, or for the villagers working together to construct a village cattle shed near the edge of the village, in which each villager would have his unit of stalls.

11. Encourage families who would be expected to have a good following in the village to clean up their courtyards and keep them clean, and to plant shrubs, trees, and flowers. Encourage the entire village to adopt "clean attractive courtyards" as a village programme.

12. Demonstrate plans for getting more sunlight and fresh air into the homes.

13. Create an interest in and get the village panchayats to organize campaigns for continuous destruction of flies, mosquitoes, rodents, etc.

14. Create an interest in the family having and using pure water for all household purposes.

15. Provide and demonstrate improved plans for family grain storage.

16. Demonstrate and create an interest in washing clothes often and properly and in storing them properly.

17. Create a desire on the part of all members of the family to learn to read and write – pointing out through case illustrations how families have profited and been aided in their business transactions by being literate. Great emphasis should be placed on the fact that the Community programmes are family and village programmes, and on the fact that those who are literate can both participate and contribute to the maximum.

VII. *Dirty, Cluttered Villages and Poor Housing* are village problems.

Dirty, cluttered villages and poor housing are the results of some or all of the following conditions:

1. Poorly planned villages with narrow, crooked, and inadequately drained streets.
2. Lack of appreciation of importance of cleanliness of orderliness.
3. Acceptance of present conditions.
4. Failure to see the need for better houses.
5. Designs for better homes using indigenous materials not available.

6. Lack of community planning.
7. Simple, inexpensive improvements in homes have not been demonstrated.
8. Local readily available building materials have not been used effectively.
9. Better construction methods have not been demonstrated.
10. Needed rural credit for home improvement is not available.
11. There are too many houses on too little land.
12. Animals are housed under the same roof with the family.
13. Grain is stored in the same space the family lives in.
14. Space for family and village latrines is lacking.

In the building of New India village people must be educated to have a new outlook and assisted in achieving a higher level of living. They must see themselves as self-respecting citizens, capable of planning for their future, and must learn through experience that they possess within themselves the resources to solve most of their problems. They must, through education and extension education programmes, develop new values and new attitudes which motivate them to want a better standard

of living. They must through experience learn that only as they apply themselves and take full advantage of science and technology in improving their agriculture, industries and cooperatives can they achieve their new desires for better living, expressed in improved house, improved water supply, improved sanitation, better schools, and recreational facilities.

Today village people live in crowded, dirty villages which in and of themselves produce a "cow-dung psychology".

What is needed is a Mandal Parishad programme, underpinned by village panchayat plans to rebuild the villages. Such a programme will go a long way towards creating the "New –village" outlook that is so essential in making village development a continuous dynamic force. In this new outlook which can flow from the physical rebuilding of our villages, two new values – *Orderliness and Cleanliness* – can be expected to emerge.

Furthermore, village families will become concerned about wanting to live better. As they move into new and improved houses in new villages with wide, paved streets; with drains; with houses spaced to permit sanitary latrines and planting of flowers and shrubs; with playgrounds, village schools and community buildings; and with pure water – as they learn to want to live better – they will be motivated to exert greater effort toward learning how to improve their agricultural and industrial

production, which will provide them the additional resources required to meet their growing demands for better living. As the villagers' desires and needs multiply, the basis for an expanding village industries programme can be fostered through the creation of community workshops.

Such an approach would stimulate, at one end and at the same time an increasing demand for goods and an increasing capacity to produce the wanted goods. The growing village market for bricks, tiles, simple home furnishings, locks, hinges, window-frames, and soon would make it much more feasible than otherwise to foster new village industries.

A Mandal Parishad programme for the planning and physical rebuilding of our villages need not be approached as requiring large expenditures of funds. The immediate need is for an educational approach to the village panchayats to awaken in them the desire to rebuild their village, either by expanding the present site or on an adjoining piece of land. Once the interest is created the village panchayats will require help in laying out a new village, including land allocation for each type of building, location of wells, playgrounds, community hall, latrines, schools and a modest village community workshop. There will also be a need for help in learning about improved building plans.

Perhaps the greater need will be to help the village

panchayat develop a village plan for the building of new houses or the rebuilding of existing ones, development of streets, wells, schools, and community halls and community workshops. It is here that village cooperatives can play a significant part. A cooperative brick kiln may be appropriate, likewise cooperatives to provide other building materials, such as a carpenter shop to produce doors and windows and a pottery to provide tiles for the roofs. A cooperative to manage a community workshop should have a prominent place. By working together the villagers can on a five to ten-year programme basis build for themselves new villages – without requiring much outside capital.

Once new village plans have been laid out in Mandal Parishads, under the sponsorship of the Mandal Parishads, the resources allocated for wells, paving of streets, and building of schools, should be applied to the new village as an added incentive for the villagers to take up the building of new houses.

In arousing the villagers' interest in moving the village to a nearby site, a search should first be made to find a piece of land. Wherever possible an effort should be made to have the new site contributed through Bhoodan. Where a land gift is not possible then plans for the panchayat to purchase a new site should be worked out. In some cases government grants will be required for the purchase of a new village site.

Action Steps for Planning and Rebuilding our Villages

1. Stimulate the panchayats to take up the rebuilding of their village, either by expanding acreage of present site or moving to a new site.
2. Create panchayat interest in wanting the village to be clean and orderly.
3. Develop panchayat interest in desirable sanitary practices essential for better health.
4. Take influential villagers to adjoining areas to see how villagers have worked together in rebuilding or improving their village.
5. Demonstrate:
   - the advantages of improved housing design;
   - the better use of local and inexpensive building material;
   - improved construction methods;
   - various types of latrines.
6. Emphasize simple improvements:
   - smokeless chulha;
   - sanitary place for washing utensils;
   - adequate, well-ventilated space for family members;

- storage for clothing, bedding and cooking utensils.

7. Recommended:
   - village and family latrine areas;
   - animal shelters away from family living area;
   - safe storage space;
   - courtyards with gardens;
   - planting of trees, flowers and shrubs;
   - paving of village streets;
   - drains for village streets;
   - sanitary bathing areas;
   - windows for home to permit sunlight and fresh air.

VIII. *Too Many Poor Cattle* is village problem.

Some of the causes of too many poor cattle are the following:

1. Limited area for grazing.
2. Limited fodder for feeding.
3. Poor breeding practices.
4. Restraints against killing useless cattle.

5. Diseased cattle left unattended.
6. Scrub bulls allowed to run free in villages.
7. Prejudice against artificial insemination.
8. Limited veterinary services.

Common sense dictates that village people cannot and must not continue their current practice of keeping a large number of unproductive and useless cattle which compete heavily with village people for the all-too limited food and fibre.

Action Steps for Improving Village Cattle

1. Through soil and water conservation practices increase grass yields from grazing area.
2. Encourage practice of tying cattle and cutting and feeding forage and fodder.
3. Intensify education and services of artificial insemination centers.
4. Encourage panchayats to sponsor programmes for castration of all bull calves not planned for later use in artificial insemination centre.
5. Discourage practice of allowing stray cattle free movement in village area.
6. Educate people to the importance of fewer but better cattle for both milk and work.

IX. *Poor Roads* is village problem.

Poor village roads are caused by the following:

1. Failure to see that village panchayats have a responsibility for constructing and maintaining good roads.
2. Roads are frequently made without information on proper construction and drainage methods.
3. Monsoons are heavy destroyers of roads.
4. Failure to appreciate the need for multi-purpose roads.
5. Failure to see the importance of clean, well-drained village streets.

If our village people are to remove themselves from their traditional isolation and participate effectively in purchasing essential supplies and in marketing their products they must have approach roads which are kept in good repair all year round.

Action Steps for Improving Village Roads

Following are some of the important things which can be done to assist panchayats to provide for and maintain improved roads.

1. Demonstrate the importance of good roads:
   - easier and faster procurement of supplies and

marketing goods;

- easier and faster communication with other areas.

2. Showing well constructed and maintained roads:

   - well drained;
   - usable in all seasons;
   - adequate for village-to-market use.

3. Encourage the panchayat to organize a "better road" committee that will:

   - help village people understand the importance of good roads;
   - obtain the advice of a good road engineer;
   - stimulate the village people to build roads with their own labour;
   - encourage village people to work together to maintain roads.

4. Impress on the village people the importance of clean, well-drained village streets.

5. As a means of providing employment for those either partially or entirely unemployed and to assure the construction and maintenance of needed good farm-to-market roads, the Mandal Parishad should

organize and have each village panchayat participate in carrying out a public works programmes for the construction of roads.

X. *Lack of Recreation Programmes and Facilities* is a village problem.

Following are some of the more important reasons why our village people have little recreation life:

1. Failure to understand the importance of recreation.
2. Limited experience in assuming initiative for organizing recreational programmes.
3. Training on recreational leadership is lacking.
4. Facilities for recreation are lacking.
5. Youth's energy and enthusiasm are not channeled into healthy and constructive activities.
6. Cultural folk art is being forgotten.

The villagers must through the panchayat's leadership be awakened from their slumber and put to work making village life attractive and stimulating. A full recreation programme for all age groups, both men and women, and all classes of village life will do much to bring new satisfaction and create a healthy atmosphere for village cooperation in all phases of development.

Action Steps for Improving Recreational Programmes and Facilities

1. Creating a desire for a well-planned village recreation programme.
2. Encouraging the panchayat to organize a village committee responsible for a recreation programme, and assisting villagers in:
   - planning for recreational activities;
   - finding and training recreational leaders and recreational talent;
   - establishing places for recreational activities;
   - obtaining recreational equipment.
3. Encouraging village people to keep alive the best of their folk art in:
   - dramas;
   - songs;
   - poetry;
   - puppets;
   - dances;
   - bhajans.
4. Encouraging the panchayat to take the leadership

in organizing youth clubs for both boys and girls.

XI. *Lack of Youth Participation in all Phases of Village Life* is a village problem.

Some of the explanations for limited youth participation are the following:

1. Village traditions have in the past ruled out consideration of youth's:
   - ideas;
   - enthusiasm and energy;
   - cooperative spirit;
   - sincerity and readiness to participate in development programmes.
2. Lack of youth organizations.

It is as certain as night follows day that the youth of today will be the men and women of tomorrow. The surest way to guarantee that the village of tomorrow will be better than the village of today is to start today working with and training the youth in effective citizenship by providing them with a variety of opportunities to participate in youth programmes and activities.

Action Steps to Improve Youth's Participation in Village Life

Following are some of the action steps for

improving youth's participation in village life:

1. Through education change traditional village attitudes to make it possible for youth to assist in decisions in regard to family, village, and national problems. This can best be done by having the panchayats sponsor youth clubs.

2. Helping panchayats secure better teachers and provide schools for girls and boys.

3. Helping all village youth become literate.

4. Promoting better health.

5. providing wholesome recreation programmes and activities.

6. Demonstrating home improvements to make the home more livable and attractive.

7. Encourage village panchayats to early bring young people into village panchayats.

8. Through youth clubs encourage youth to take the lead in demonstrating new agricultural practices.

9. Training youth leaders.

10. Encourage village elders to give youth greater leadership responsibilities.

XII. *Lack of Voluntary Village Organizations* is a village problem.

Some of the more important factors which contribute to the lack of voluntary village organizations are the following:

1. Traditional dependency on outside agencies for both aid and decisions.
2. Organizations for self-help village work only recently encouraged.
3. Cooperative organizations have in the past tended to be operated organizations and not people's cooperatives which have come up from the people's understanding, interest and leadership.
4. Few people trained in group organization to guide and encourage village people in setting up their own organizations.
5. Caste prejudice divides people.
6. Group factions tend to be interested in the welfare of limited groups only.
7. Village people tend to shy away from formal organizations.
8. Conflicts persist between present elected panchayats and village-organized informal panchayats of the past.

To assure the full, effective and sustained participation of village people in making the community programme a people's programme, intense effort must be given to encouraging a wide variety of voluntary non-government organizations and institutions.

Following are some suggested action steps for encouraging and nurturing the growth of voluntary village organizations:

1. Panchayats must play an effective role in all round village development.
2. Encourage the organization of people's cooperatives which have their roots deep in the villages.
3. Encourage present leaders to expand their scope and help new leaders develop.
4. Develop self-help activities for the entire community.
5. Encourage panchayats to sponsor the organization of :

- farmers' forums and associations;
- women's clubs;
- youth clubs;
- boys' clubs;

- girls' clubs;
- recreation clubs.

6. Train leaders in group methods.

Once the village panchayats have, with the active assistance of the Mandal Parishad staff, completed the village by village diagnosis of their problems, and decided on the programmes they wish to emphasize, the next step will be for the Mandal Parishad to consolidate these village plans into a Mandal Parishad programme. When this is completed, the sarpanches and the village extension workers will have common objectives in stimulating village panchayat activities and the Mandal Parishad technical staff will have clearly defined objectives and work assignments as they move into the villages.

Note:- Partially adopted from Dr. Douglas Ensminger's "A Guide to Community Development" (Revised) 1962, Ministry of Community Development & Cooperation, Government of India.

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION – A FUNCTIONAL MODEL

4
PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION – A FUNCTIONAL MODEL

PEOPLE'S participation is a central feature of present thinking about rural development. There appears to be an increasing consensus that participation is essential for any effective development. From this pre-supposition arise the attendant questions of how best it can be operationalised on the assumed grounds that more of it is beneficial. In what activities, in what manner and shape, can the participation be maximized? Can participation be perceived in this way, as an ingredient to be injected into target groups as though they were ill and, as though, this was somehow the panacea? Can participation even be institutionalized? Or legalized? Or must be perhaps be forever on the margins of official policy prescriptions and in that way provide a vehicle for countervailing explanations and organizations that are so necessary in the struggle against entrenched orthodoxy.

In these latter terms, participation provides a potentially powerful tool, together with communication, education and conscientisation. Present concerns with participation are rooted in a complex historical context. People's participation has been a constant theme since the beginning of rural development in all the Asian and African countries that have emerged free from the colonial powers.

Further, we need to ask ourselves a few basic questions and lay emphasis on some aspects of people's participation in rural development. They are:

1. What constitutes rural development?
2. What is people's participation?
3. Objectives of people's participation.
4. Why should people participate? (the philosophy and assumptions behind people's participation)
5. The range and variety of participation
6. Why people fail to participate?
7. Magnitude of people's participation.
8. The mockery of people's participation.
9. Enabling and facilitating people's participation in multiple ways in organizing the community and through decentralization, extension educational process and statutory measures.

In the analysis that follows, the terms "rural" and "community" are used in the same sense, denoting a rural settlement as distinct from towns and urban centers with large population and diversity in social structure and social and economic interactions.

Before we look into the various aspects of people's participation in Janmabhoomi-rural development, there is a need for a definition of what constitutes rural development which would indicate the scope, the limitations and the manner in which people could participate in their development. As detailed in chapters-1&2, almost all the programmes in Janmabhoomi relate to a comprehensive development of rural areas. The terms rural development and Janmabhoomi in this particular context may be considered synonymous. Whether we speak of rural development or Janmabhoomi the model that is suggested here is quite applicable. Earlier we have explained as to the imperatives of Janmabhoomi movement. Since rural development is synonymous with Janmabhoomi of Andhra Pradesh, we may briefly look into as to what constitute rural development in a generic sense.

Rural development, in general, is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of people in a rural settlement and, in particular, it focuses on the rural poor comprising the small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless. Since rural development is intended to reduce poverty, it must be clearly designed to increase production and raise productivity.

Rural development recognizes, however, that improved food supplies and nutrition, together with basic services such as health and education, cannot only directly

improve the physical well-being and quality of life of the rural poor, but can also indirectly enhance their productivity and their ability to contribute to the national economy. It is concerned with the modernization and monetization of rural society, and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy (World Bank, 1975).

The objectives of rural development, therefore, extend beyond any particular sector. They encompass improved productivity and increased employment, and thus, higher incomes for target groups, as well as minimum acceptable levels of food, shelter, education and health.

Rural development, in a comprehensive sense, is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action, define their common and individual needs and problems make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems, execute these plans with maximum of reliance upon community resources, and supplement these resources, when necessary, with services and material from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community. Thus, we see that rural development is focused on the development of the people. It is a dynamic, unified problem-solving approach and the education of the people could be said to be one of the end products of rural development. It is recognized as a social process of directed change.

Further, the essentials of the rural development process are the stimulation of local initiative, location and development of local leadership, and fuller utilization of local resources. In addition to these, self-help and self-reliance, sustained interest and co-operation are other aspects of significance in the concept of rural development. The thrust in rural development is people's participation in the total process and in the entire gamut of rural development, and simultaneous development of people, their conditions and quality of life.

WHAT IS PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION?

People and their participation. Who are the people? The people in general comprise the target population, the clientele, the beneficiaries, the men and women, the old and the young, the formal and informal leaders in the community, people of different segments and strata of the community, depending upon the specific development programmes and activities.

Rural development programmes comprise: agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperation, rural industries, rural engineering consisting of minor irrigation, roads, buildings, health and sanitation including family welfare, family planning, women's welfare, child care and nutrition, education including adult education/social education and adult literacy, youth welfare and community organization. In each of these areas of development, there are several programmes, schemes and activities which

are additive, expanding and tapering off, covering the total community, some segments, or specific target populations such as small and marginal farmers, artisans, women and, in general, people designated as weaker sections – the people living below the poverty line.

The programmes or the activities, by their nature, determine or limit the scope, shape and manner of people's participation. The development progarmmes could be classified into three broad categories: 1. individual-based wherein the target or the beneficiary is the individual and the participation is restricted to the individual (e.g. agriculture, livestock, poultry, family planning, nutrition, adult literacy); 2. community-based, the projects or programmes that cover the total community or some segments of the community (e.g., irrigation, plant protection, contour bunding, roads, buildings, schools, community centres, mid-day meal programmes, environmental sanitation and activities of community-wide nature; and 3. individual-cum-community based programmes. Some of the programmes mentioned above, fall both under individual and community categories. Such programmes cannot be successfully initiated and accomplished without the response and support from the individuals and the community at large.

The question that arises at the outset is who participates with whom? And for what purpose? All development plans and all strategies for assisting the poor

and the needy necessarily should have the community as its central focus and starting point. All other resources, techniques and expertise are of relative importance compared to the community. Begin with the community and build with them. In the context of development programmes, the agencies and institutions cannot be the prime factors in the dynamics of participation. If community's growth and development is the vital and ultimate concern then the community necessarily assumes the prime status in the relationship between community and agency. The healthier and meaningful approach would then be not people's participation in agency's programmes but agency's participation in people's programmes. It has to be remembered that agencies, programmes, expertise are all secondary resources restricted to the role of assisting the community, they do not form in any way the major content in the development process.

The ultimate goal of providing for people's participation in the programmes is imparting the community with skills, strategies, opportunities and support to enhance its own functioning towards self-sufficiency and self-development. In concrete terms, the goal of people's participation in programmes could be helping people to build their own organization and institutions equipped with and capable of accelerating their own development. This implies that the community which is continuously being provided with opportunities for

participation in the programmes will one day take on itself the role hitherto played by the agency of enhancing its own capacities to meet its needs. Further, it follows that all agencies and their programmes have a time-bound role in their intervention for the development of the vulnerable sections.

People's participation is a challenging concept; a review of its understanding, use and practice by numerous agencies often betrays a superficial commitment to it. The agencies and development workers who are seriously concerned about the development of the community need to do a thorough heart searching to find out whether there is a feeling of insecurity preventing them from expressing and demonstrating their real concern for people's participation. It could be like a leader who enjoys leading, though expressing concern for the development and progress of his followers, frequently experiences insecurity of being overtaken by the ones whom he leads. People's participation, if it achieves its desired goal, would necessarily make the patron agency obsolete beyond a given point of time. Of course, the agency can still renew its relevance and role if it identifies new areas to continue in its helping intervention. An attempt is made in this chapter to critically look into the various facets of people's participation in development activities not as an embellishment but as a functionally necessary component to build a healthy, egalitarian, democratic society.

CONCEPT AND OBJECTIVES OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

People's participation, in a broader sense, means their total involvement with development agencies in deciding the programmes and activities, fixing up of priorities, taking initiative and carrying out the projects as partners by the contributing of their ideas, interest, material, labour and time. The scope of people's participation depends upon the nature of the activity, the duration of its execution, its technical nature, the clientele it covers, whether it is an individual project or concerns the total or some segments of the community, its location, the amount of funds it involves and, above all, what the development agency stipulates about the kind of participation at different stages of activity and the quantity and quality of participation it expects from the people.

Of late, several terms have come into development terminology in respect to involving people for their betterment. Terms like people's participation, popular participation, community participation, target group participation, public community participation, citizen's participation and so on are in current use meaning almost the same thing that people as partners in their development. Participation is a comprehensive concept embracing all the facets and phases of development beginning with people's initiative and unto their sustaining the activity.

In view of the nature of rural development programmes, most of them initiated by the development agencies, the participation of people could be as diverse as follows:

1. Responding to the programme, accepting the process and adopting technology and innovations;
2. Extending moral support;
3. Participation in decision-making, cooperating in implementation;
4. Contribution of money, material and labour;
5. Taking initiative, mobilizing people and resources; and
6. Assuming leadership and ownership of projects.

People's physical and monetary contributions also irrespective of the nature and degree of people's involvement in the development programmes are recognized as people's participation. This kind of contribution of material, money and labour, rather modest in quantitative and qualitative terms depends on the affordability on the part of the people. In other words, people's economic participation depends upon their affordability.

People's participation is a question of values, giving importance and recognizing individuals and groups in communities as equally important and significant in the overall development and welfare of the total community. People's participation is not just complementary to what the development agency does, allocates, spends, but it is more than that. Social participation in terms of policy support in decision-making, adoption of strategies and implementation of development programmes depends on the social structure, social status, traditional role expectations and role boundaries of members in a rural community.

Participation is a process and it could be viewed as a means to an end and in one sense as an end in itself. In a broader sense, people's participation is beyond rural or urban development. It is organizing, building responsive, active and democratic communities. Participation is a learning process. It is transferring knowledge and skills to the people while they participate in development activities. It is a non-formal education and education through activity. Participation is a democratic process and it provides equal opportunities and strengthens democracy.

Participation of the clientele in the development activities throughout the life of a project will prepare people knowledge-wise and skill-wise to sustain the activity after the development agency withdrew from the scene of

action. Participation is people's response, a matching support from the people and their local institutions. It is activating dormant groups, enabling them discover their talent, potential, capabilities, resources and strengths. It is participative planning, development and management of development activities. Rural development is instrumental to people's participation. Community organization is a means and a measure to facilitate and secure people's participation. Participation is a contributing and stabilizing factor to community organization and its strength.

People's participation in activities that concern them, is providing them equal opportunity to share their ideas, views, plans and other material and non-material resources. Most of the developing societies are ridden with economic and social disparities, racial, ethnic and religious. They stand stratified with graded inequalities and suffer from social and cultural communication and restrictions. Some of these graded social structures with privileges and denial of these privileges are centuries and decades old. In such a social structure wherein economic and social inequalities operate in varied degrees, people of all segments participating in the individual and community promotional activities would work against social and ethnic barriers and rigidity gradually breaking down the graded compartmentalized sanctions for and against participation.

Enabling and encouraging the disadvantaged and

the poor people to participate in the programmes that affect them and the local community at large is one way of empowering them. It is legitimizing the diverse roles that may be played by different groups standing at different distances in respect to social positions and interactions. People's participation is bringing people together functionally. It is physical, psychic and emotional involvement of the clientele with the development activities. It is training and organizing the community for self-reliance, responsiveness and leadership. Process-wise, people's participation is drawing people from periphery to the center of action, widening their sphere of thinking, contacts and contributions. It is bringing people from relative to total isolation to mutual interaction.

OBJECTIVES OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

As mentioned earlier, people's participation in rural development is an educational process. It is a training for development involving people in the projects, making them their own. It is to create a sense of awareness, a sense of participation, a sense of belonging, a sense of possession and ownership. It is to develop self-reliance, self-confidence, competence and managerial capacity. It is to train people to take initiative, accomplish and sustain their activities. It is to build up and reinvigorate communities and generate social action. It is to enable people to discover their strength, increase their aspiration level, mobilize and channelize their resources for productive purposes. Participation is bringing people to

the core from the periphery, to activeness from passiveness, and to be thinkers, decision makers, doers and implementers from acceptors.

Further, participation facilitates discovery, promotion and encouragement and utilization of new ideas, views, talents and new resources. It is sensitizing the people. Participation creates a sense of individual and group worth, creating awareness of rights, duties and obligations on the part of the members in a community. In a larger sense, society with its culture and civilization is a product of people's social, economic and politic participation.

People's participation is not restricted to rural development but it has far greater implications. It is building a new social order, wherein every individual and group will be active participant in community-wide activities, and thus contributing to a certain degree of minimization in social distinctions and differences. Paradoxically, though caste differences and social distance are apparent in the Hindu society, there is to a larger extent smooth running of family and community affairs at the village level.

One could go at length speaking of the objectives and effects of people's participation. It creates *esprit de corps* and ensures dignity of labour when it is labour contribution by the people. It is a means to foster social responsibility and community ownership among the

people, and it is organizing and reorganizing groups and community. As a human resource development, people's participation facilitates utilizing and adopting indigenous knowledge system for new programmes. It is a measure to understand people's interests their nexus of relationship with other groups in the community and it also functions as an aperture to understand the ethos, the strengths and limitations on the part of the clientele community. Involving people in development activities is a kind of political education.

To participate is to identify with a cause, purpose, self-interest and interest in the good of the larger community. It is to legitimize, he or she being a member of a group, to make one's presence felt, his or her contribution recognized. It is common interest and common concern that bring people together fostering collective social action especially at the grassroots level. In people's participation, in several of the development activities, new grouping and new alignment emerge and the participants are to learn new ways of adjustment, contribution and coordination which may be termed as re-socialization or neo-socialization.

Some of the development projects on their completion are to be taken over and sustained by the people and so there is a need to involve them in the project activity all through or at crucial stages, so that there is a smooth change over of management of such projects to the people from the development agency (e.g., roads,

school buildings, community toilets, minor irrigation projects).

In the ultimate sense, the whole purpose and process of people's participation is Human Resource Development (HRD) – the development of human and inner material resources, with stimulus and support external to the community. Unless we create this culture of people's participation, democracy will not grow.

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

Why should People Participate?

There is no controversy as to whether there should be people's participation in the development programmes designed to meet the basic needs of the people. In fact, governments and development agencies have learnt at a great price as to what happens when programmes have overlooked this important factor of "People's Participation" in their planning and implementation. The *postmortem* of many unsuccessful programmes has shown that they have invariably failed when they failed to provide an adequate place and importance to people's/ target group's role at various stages of implementation.

We are all aware today that there are no plans which do not allot a role to people's participation. In fact, all agencies involved in the field take great care to speak about people's participation repeatedly in all their project

plans, annual reports and periodic meetings. It is an all too frequent fact that this term has received abundant lip service rather than convinced practitioners.

There is a body of philosophy and a set of assumptions behind people's participation in rural development. We may briefly look into them.

1. The whole philosophy of rural development is based on one very simple and apparent assumption that the government machinery, however big and efficient it might be, is grossly inadequate by itself to achieve the economic and social revolution needed for ensuring a better and richer life for the vast masses of humanity living in the rural areas. The rural development personnel were to function merely as "catalytic agents". The idea was that a programme started as a government programme with people's participation should gradually and eventually shape itself into people's programme with government's participation.

2. Communities can develop their own capacity to deal with their problems (we assume that people do want and can change).

3. People participate in giving direction to social change in their communities. Change which is

brought about by sharing of an effort and social participation, possesses democratic vitality and is also realistic. Self-imposed changes have permanence as compared to those imposed from outside and above.

4. Holistic approach is better than fragmented approach, because the life of a community is itself a whole and any attempt to tackle one aspect of the whole is bound to affect others.

5. People must learn participative skills in democracy because, unless they themselves share responsibilities and participate in fulfilling them, they do not strengthen the democratic structure of their society. Democracy will weaken, if not perish, unless the supporting institutions are created. The basic plank of community development is the growth of the democratic idea. Democracy does not function unless there is a decentralization of power to be shared very widely at various levels of the social strata.

6. People need help in solving their new problems. External help provides stimulus to inner resources of the community. Communities are like infants who need a prop while they learn to walk. This is rationale for agency functioning and agency support.

7. The tendency of sub-groups, developing themselves as separate entities inside a community, produces social tension and has, therefore, to be channelized and their energies to be diverted to common initiatives.

8. The barriers that prevent active participation by individuals in the direction of social change inhibit personal development. The process of community development is, therefore, to be so organized that the community functions for the good of the individual and the growth of the community. The communities have to be so organized that they promote the growth of individuals.

9. The process of urbanization has destroyed the feeling of belonging to a community and it is necessary to revive this feeling in rural area where the masses of agricultural populations of the developing nations dwell. The contractual relations of an urban society do not work well in a rural society. The problem of developing and maintaining common and shared values, which form the basis of cohesion in a community, is made vastly more difficult by industrialization (Setty, 1970).

10. Beneficiary or target community consists of people who are adults and thinking human

beings. They are also intelligent and pragmatic in their own way just as the patron or the helping agency.

11. If given the opportunity, people can organize and draw out solutions to the problems.

12. The community is in the best position to understand its own problems in all their dimensions and complexity.

13. The best resources for their progress and development are they themselves who, if assisted and supported, could be the vital and effective inputs for their own growth and development.

14. Outside assistance, support and expertise are only secondary though important resources provided within time-bound frame.

15. The role of the community cannot be substituted or taken away, however great the vulnerability of the community may be.

16. The apparently most helpless community can be an active factor in helping itself.

17. People always have their own wisdom of meeting their basic needs, however antique and tedious the mechanism of doing so appears to be.

The above assumptions need to be convictions of all those agencies and people who believe in people's participation in development programmes, lacking which no agency can meaningfully provide for the participation of people in any venture (Pinto, 1982).

Further, in a historical perspective, in ancient times, the primary face-to-face group of the communities were knit in a close everyday relationship of togetherness with one another. The "we" feeling was dominant. In the social structure of the rural communities of ancient times, depending upon the value systems of those days, the individual sub-served the needs of the community and the community, in turn, gave him services, environmental freedom, and congeniality to grow to his maximum stature. It was out of this concept of mutual interdependence of the community, the individual and the state, that the welfare of the subject was considered as a primary function of the state. Like two halves of an arch the citizens and the state were supported by and supported each other. The ancient village communities, relatively speaking, had more harmony and community cohesiveness.

By passage of time, the village communities tended to become closed, isolated and limited in functioning, having little intercommunication among them. For instance in India, in medieval times, the Moguls developed a system of feudalism, which increased the distance and tended to diminish the close contact between the ruler

and the ruled. The intermediaries acquired symbols of authority in their status and roles, and applied sanctions according to the delegations of authority operating in the system.

In the colonial regimes which most developing nations have passed through, the emphasis shifted to urban centres of trade and it suited the colonial powers to evolve a system of administration which bestowed patronage on certain classes. This naturally ignored a bulk of the villagers and their participation in the administration and their development.

A witness to this fact is the colonial past, the civilizing efforts of the colonizers, the dependency psychology they have created and the legacy they have left behind. The self-centred, urban and elite-oriented administration and development created a sense of alienation among the rural communities. They tended to withdraw. Sometimes, the natives were bewildered, frightened, awestruck, unwilling, uninvolved spectators of the civilizing efforts, and schemes of the colonial administration and the so-called development. In the name of humanitarian work and to serve his purpose, the master did attempt to improve the imagined facilities and needs of his subjects. But the subjects were seldom involved. It was not their programme. They did not and could not appreciate the purpose behind them and so they were not involved and were not participants in the programmes meant for them. This tendency of

uninvolvement in government initiated and sponsored programmes continued even after the people became free. The sense of alienation and un-involvement, looking to the government initiative and action, and a tendency to underestimate their abilities, capacities and inner resources, grew over the centuries and decades. These trends had to be remedied, reversed, and a need arose to make people enlightened and full-fledged participants in their development.

In a large sense, the whole civilization and culture of a society, its social organization and institutional apparatus are the product of people's participation. When the people are convinced that a project or a programme is beneficial to them, they are likely to participate and involve themselves in the activity. People more often look for immediate material/tangible benefits. The gestation period for the programmes to yield results tangible or intangible varies depending upon the nature of the programme. The onus of carrying conviction to the people for their involvement depends on the development personnel and the local leadership, and the way people's participation is facilitated and received. Motivation is a factor in participation.

Participation may sometimes decide your social status – high, middle or low – or your status or rank will influence the nature of participation. Asking for participation is recognizing one's (individual or group)

existence and importance. One gets recognition by participation. For instance, when we approach marginal people in the economic and social sense, and women in some communities who are seldom consulted for their ideas, views and opinions, for their participation in planning and implementing any development activity, there would be a gradual transformation in their behaviour. They feel important. It is according recognition and dignity to them. On the other hand, you cannot ignore the elite in the community, who normally (in some programmes which would benefit them and enhance in their eyes their prestige and status) expect the development agency invite them to participate in the programme. Their participation, as we shall discuss further, may be in terms of policy decisions and monetary support.

People tend to participate (take part) as a social conformity, not to stand excluded from community activity. Prestige is a factor both for participation and non-participation. Participation in a group comprising general, social and economic strata, engaged in a development activity reduces individual and group prejudices. In a philosophical and psychological sense, people's participation in development programmes, meant for the people, is endowed with several virtues, economic development, optimal utilization of human resources, healthy environment and social harmony.

FAILURE, ABUSE AND MOCKERY OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Why People Fail to Participate?

People's participation, as we have observed earlier, depends upon the social and class structure of the rural community, the patterns and traditions of decision-making and carrying out communal and individual activities, the way people perceive the programmes and projects initiated by the development agencies, and people's own ability. Further, and importantly it depends upon what the development agencies expect from the people with respect to participation, the stipulations they make and the manner in which the agencies mobilize, motivate, encourage and facilitate people's participation.

People's participation sounds like begging the question. When programmes are meant for people, for their benefit, welfare and advantage, the paradox is why people fail to participate. Ignorance and lack of motivation is a factor of non or negligible participation. When matters are of technical nature beyond the understanding and outside the experience of the people, participation is less. People look for immediate and tangible benefits. For instance, the problem of population explosion and, consequently, the need for the family to participate in family planning programmes, is a distant cry for the individual or the family. The individual does not feel the urgency of it, its immediacy, and he or she does not

visualize the magnitude of the problem, does not see the population explosion within the family and so does not respond. The tendency is to accept a situation as given and live with it.

Sometimes, group rivalry, cliques, conflicts within the community, vested interests, conflict in values, opposition to the programmes, resistance to change and poor local leadership are factors as to why people fail to participate. We just cannot blame the people for their poor response or their failure to participate in rural development activities. The responsibility lies equally on the part of the personnel of the development agencies. Centralization of authority weakens popular participation. Effective implementation of rural development programmes could not be achieved so long as decision on matters concerning them are taken by a super agency. A decentralized system, which allows participatory development from below, is necessary for a healthy society. Sometimes, you have to sacrifice the quality in the works (e.g., roads or buildings) that are accomplished through people's participation, mostly in terms of labour and unskilled work.

We do not question the enthusiasm and good intentions of the planners, administrators and field personnel in rural development but, at the same time, we have to appreciate the fact that people are not ready to tune in to our development programmes, our expectations,

and targets in terms of their participation. Often, participation sounds like a rare material, ethereal in nature, difficult to grasp to have a strong grip on, or to secure enough of it and blend it with government initiated programmes. Despite limitations, and though poor in quality and quantity, instances of people's participation abound in number. It provided the impetus to popular enthusiasm, channeled their ideas and energies and brought in an element of sense of integration in rural development activities.

When it comes to participatory planning and development, people are to be placed first. It is not as a political slogan, but as an indispensable factor of real, acceptable and sustainable development. People for whom all the development is meant may not be all wise but they are important. Sarvodaya leader Vinobha Bhave likened the people to numeral '1' (one) while the government is '0' (zero). The values of zeros, he said, placed after 1 increases but no value for the zeros without numeral '1'. Vinobha stressed the importance of people through this analogy.

When it comes to the poor in community for their participating when the programmes affect them or the programmes are of general nature covering the entire local community, they lack affordability for economic participation and at the same time do suffer in the social sphere, since they are marginalized socially and hence not invited and involved in participation. Another

paradoxical and unfortunate situation often is, even in areas where the poor could decide for themselves they leave the decision-making to the elite in the community, ethnically and economically so-called superior and dominant groups. Though the poor are the beneficiaries, sometimes, the choices and decisions for them are made by the development personnel or the local elite or the two groups together. In such instances, the poor out of respect or fear or being uninformed or unaccustomed to such decision-making and exercising their freedom of choice, give the decision-making unto the elite and the development personnel or the latter arrogate to themselves what the poor should be doing at their end.

Often we come across situations in the rural communities where the elite's stand runs as follows:

"We take decisions on our behalf and on behalf of the poor in our community. We expect and let the poor to be silent and just contribute labour to projects where it is required. The poor are an ignorant lot; they have no ideas. We have to think and act for them".

Similarly, if the development agency is more bureaucratic in its style of functioning, there is likely to be less involvement of the people and their participation, especially of non-material nature will be less. The "after all" attitude and notion on the part of the development personnel in respect to the villagers, meaning that people do not matter much, is highly regrettable. We are to

seriously ponder over questions like : What prevents people from participation? Who prevents people from participation? What are the issues to participate? What are the opportunities to participate?

The responses to these questions would aid in mobilizing and motivating people to participate. One has to look into the poor or negligible participation and the problems and barriers thereof and whether the poor participation is an internal problem or related to the way development agency has operated the project. Participation should not only be a nexus of relationship between the target population and the development agency, but it should be the responsibility of the client system (target population plus the larger community) in securing and ensuring people's participation. It should become an internal affair and responsibility of the clientele. Such a response and responsibility on the part of the clientele would be an hallmark of real people's participation.

People's participation in terms of their giving ideas, opinions, methods and solutions to certain problems may indicate their status, rank and intellectual capacity; material and monetary contributions, their economic status and affordability and mere physical labour contribution, people's economic poverty. It is a rough kind of categorizing the people based on the type of their participation. It is a common phenomenon to observe in rural communities that factions, cliques, rivalry and group

hostility are the factors obstructing participation. Interestingly, pride and status both operate as barriers and stimulants to participation. When people sense that they are brushed aside by the development agency and / or the elite in the community; when their material and non-material contributions are treated as inconsequential, when they had negative experience at the hands of the development agency, when they have not been accorded any recognition by the development agency, when people's requests for help were not properly responded to, there is all likelihood of people not coming forward to participate.

In the name of "participation" often the rich and the powerful in the local rural communities exploit the poor in labour contribution. There have been instances wherein contractors of roads, culverts, school buildings, and other kinds of earthwork exploit the local community in the name and guise of people's contribution, make profit, showing on records, that they have spent money on those parts of the work which were accomplished by people's contribution, in terms of labour and material.

It is not sometimes, the poverty of ideas that prevents the poor from participation, but it is the social distance, isolation from decision-making, and a notion that their ideas, views may not be worthy of consideration, the poor holding a low image of themselves and their ideas, the decay and death of initiative among the people,

in general, especially among the weaker section. No attempt is made here to generalize the situation. The upsurge of initiative and action for progress among the poor on the other hand, is quite evident. The presence or absence of initiative and action, the degree to which it obtains, depends on the social composition and economic levels of the people in the rural communities.

Another social phenomenon of interest is the old and the youth playing leadership and influence roles. In a group where old age is respected, experience and wisdom associated with or attributed to the old, the old dominate and the youth are deprived of participation in discussions pertaining to development issues and on the other hand, during recent times, in some communities, as a result of education, urbanization, change in the values, the youth dominate and the old are relegated to the background. Whether it is the old or young, men or women, the barriers to participation are cultural, social, psychological, religious and political. There are many genuine reasons why a lot of agencies and people do not actually provide for people's participation in their programmes.

(a). Some development workers, agencies, planners and experts do not seriously believe that the beneficiaries of the programmes have anything important to contribute. They think that the clientele are

people who need to be helped but cannot help themselves. Thus being ignorant and incapable how can they contribute to or participate in plans aimed at helping themselves?

(b). Some believe that programmes that are minutely drawn up by experts and planners cannot be exposed to the risk of being messed up by the beneficiaries. They feel that the agencies know best what their beneficiaries need.

(c). Others feel that once access is left open to the beneficiary community to participate in planning and implementation of the programmes, then results will take too long to come. It is very tedious to work with unqualified people. Agencies want to see material results in the quickest possible time.

(d). Allowing for people's participation necessarily implies complex dynamics and a readiness to be very flexible. It also implies getting down to the beneficiaries' level and following their pace to develop. Agencies often experience a cross-culture conflict in this regard and ultimately circumvent involvement of the beneficiaries.

Some organizations and workers who claim their belief in people's participation have their own way of expressing it in practice. It is obvious that in spite of their supposed motivation and efforts, their kind of expression of people's participation is far from what it should be. There are reasons why agencies and people shy away from the genuine practice of people's participation. If one understands the dynamics which controls the operation and functioning of these agencies, it could possibly point out to the reasons why people's participation in its true sense is not within the capacity of these agencies.

People's participation is differently understood and implemented in as many different ways. It is also a fact that all those who claim to value people's participation in programmes and services do not always mean it seriously. Fortunately however, there are numerous agencies who are genuine believers in the need for emphasizing people's participation in programmes and are as serious to give scope to this in their actual operations.

THE MOCKERY OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Since it was stipulated and emphasized as a necessary component (on the material and monetary side), people's participation led to blowing and boosting up of figures under people's contribution to community projects. In cases such as approach roads, culverts, irrigation works, school buildings, and community centres, the people were

expected to contribute to the extent of 25 percent of the estimated cost of the project. In the absence of such a contribution or when it was only a part of the stipulated amount, the personnel at the mandal and district level had the works executed within the 75 per cent of the government grant, and the local contractors who were entrusted with these works managed to have their profit too. In realistic terms, the works were executed within fifty to sixty per cent of the estimated cost. In such cases, the quality of work suffered. The roads, culverts and tank bunds were washed away and the buildings collapsed. It was not only a physical loss and damage but it created a bad image among the rural people and it became increasingly difficult to get their involvement in newer projects.

The tendency to manimpulate and blow up figures under people's contribution (as symbolic of people's participation) in order to show achievement of the targets, and to satisfy the higher-ups in the hierarchy, corrupted the people. The morale of the officials was affected and the people's participation was not taken seriously. With a nod, it was accepted, it was taken for granted. It became nominal. It lost its significance.

In some instances, people's participation meant and was taken to be the physical kind such as labour, and monetary contribution while the people's involvement in the choices, decision-making and programme planning

was lost sight of by the development agencies. It became a mockery. There were several instances wherein the community toilets and bathrooms constructed were a total failure, for, in these cases, the local people were not involved, they were not consulted, their habits were not taken into account, the availability and supply of water was not given any thought, and the people were not educated and motivated to use the toilets and bathrooms. The whole project was unimaginative and was carried out in a mechanical way. We took the needs of the people for granted. We never bothered to know the people's views, and the way they would like to have things. We were under the pressure of heavy and unrealistic targets; we were in a hurry to accomplish the targets. The casualty in this hasty process (pursued, of course, with all good intentions) was people's involvement and their participation.

THE RANGE AND VARIETY OF PARTICIPATION

A village community consisting of men, women and children of the village, is the best agency for organizing people's participation, on a systematic basis, for working on projects of common benefit. As mentioned earlier, participation is at various levels and it is of various kinds and modes. It is at the people's level at the grassroots, and it is through people's representative leaders from the village council to the parliament, and through voluntary organizations, advisory bodies, consultative committees,

seminars, workshops, conferences held at various levels. The formal and informal organizations at various levels that function as machinery and instruments of rural development, are expected to facilitate and increase people's participation.

Participation at the village level depends upon the social structure of the community, the class composition, social stratification and status hierarchy of groups, the distribution of power and authority, and traditionally determined decision-making patterns and participation. In some groups, women and children are excluded. In some decisions, that concern the total community (community projects), the weaker sections and the less influential are ignored or left out. When participation is voluntary, it depends upon self-interest, obligations to the community and socio-economic conditions of the family. Sometimes, the participation, mostly in terms of labour, material or money, is compulsory or is done under social pressure. In such cases, the individuals have no choice and they have to meet the social expectations or the obligations. Outwardly there will be participation but without the psychological and emotional involvement. It may happen when a programme is not apparently of interest to some individuals and groups, or if the programme does not show any immediate benefit, or meet their needs, or solve their problems.

When we look at people's participation at the rural

community level, the following common pattern emergences (refer Fig. 1.1.). The pattern of participation shown in Fig. 1.1 is illustrative of the kind that generally obtains in rural communities.

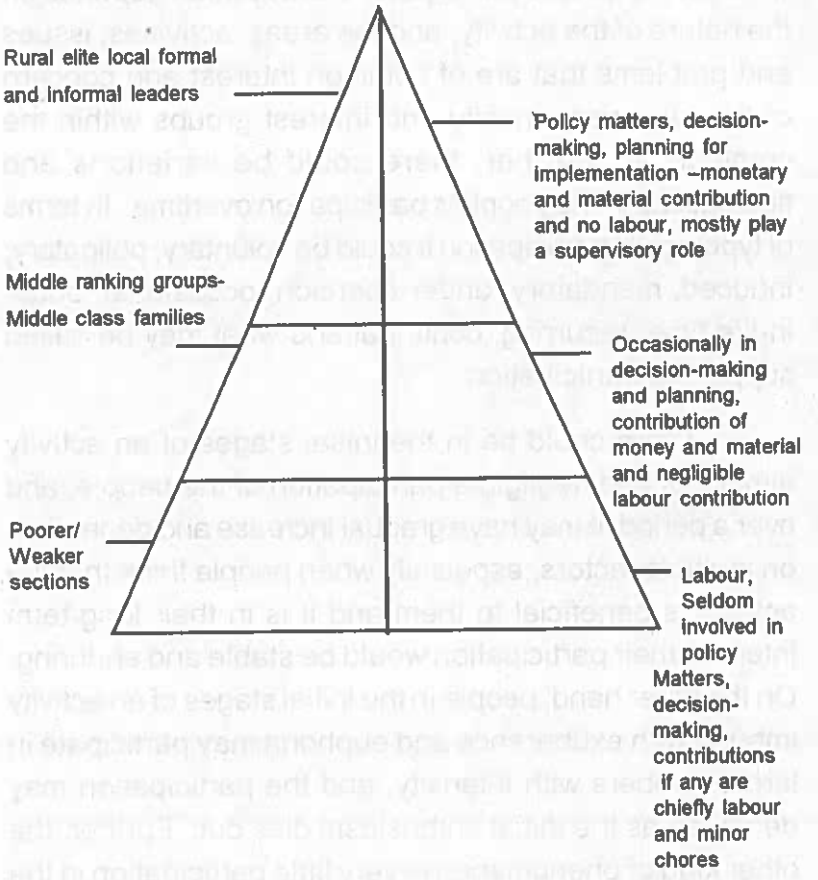

Fig. 1.1 Pattern of Participation

Participation of the people in the programmes could be right from the formative stage or at some point in the course of the life of an activity. The question is how important or significant is that stage in the life of the project wherein the people participate. Participation depends on the nature of the activity, and the areas, activities, issues and problems that are of common interest and concern of the larger community and interest groups within the community. Further, there could be variations and fluctuations in the people's participation overtime. In terms of typology of participation it could be voluntary, obligatory, induced, mandatory, under coercion, occasional, once-in-life time, recurring, continual and what may be called supportive participation.

There could be in the initial stages of an activity almost nil and negligible participation of the people, and over a period, it may have gradual increase and depending on multiple factors, especially when people think that the activity is beneficial to them and it is in their long-term interest, their participation would be stable and enduring. On the other hand, people in the initial stages of an activity imbued with exuberance and euphoria may participate in large numbers with intensity, and the participation may decrease as the initial enthusiasm dies out. Further, the other kind of phenomenon is very little participation in the beginning, its significant increase for some time and then its tapering off. These fluctuations in participation could be in terms of number of people participating at a particular

stage of the project and the kind and intensity of their participation. You may call them as tides of participation with ebb and flow.

The motivating factors for participation could be self-interest, concern for others, concern for environment and a sense of common cause and public good. The participation further is of two kinds: participation in the programmes initiated by the people within the community and in the ones introduced by the external development agencies. People to people participation and people to development personnel. In terms of activities, people's participation could range from sanitation to disaster management, from irrigation to immunization and from pest-control to poultry rearing. This is just illustrative.

MAGNITUDE OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

In many instances (related to India) the people's participation in terms of cash, kind and *shramadan* (gift or contribution of labour) has exceeded the share of the government. While there is no limit to people's maximum contribution, a rough scale has been prescribed, the scale being flexible in exceptional cases e.g., in its application to the scheduled and tribal groups. In over fifty years of rural development in India, hundreds of miles of roads, and a number of school buildings, community centres, parks, drinking water wells, water sheds and several other community projects, or assets, have been accomplished, in full and part, by the villagers by dint of their labour and

contribution in cash and kind.

The other aspect is people's direct participation at the operational level and the participation of people's representative leaders at various levels in the hierarchy of rural development set-up, in formulating policies, in decision-making and in the implementation of the programmes. Above all, people's participation, as a necessary component of rural development, has created an awareness, provided an opportunity and made people think, realize that they have ideas, they can mobilize themselves, mobilize their scarce material resources, and can build their homes and communities. The real measure of people's participation is their involvement in development activities, which has not been in a desired measure earlier. While we should give credit to the personnel of the rural development agencies for their accomplishment in securing people's participation, we cannot ignore the negative side of it.

In a broader sense, there is no realm in the life of the community wherein people's participation does not arise. It is energy and technique with massive potential to build healthy societies.

ENABLING AND FACILITATING PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

People's participation in rural development has short-term and long-term goals. The former deals with

the involvement of people in the current programmes and development activities, and the utilization of local material and human resources, while the latter aims at building self-initiating, self-reliant and self-managing rural communities. It is a continuous process of democratization. In this process, two basic things draw our attention: community mobilization and group formation. At the rural community level, two human groups that are universal in all societies and which have been and still are the generators and preservers of primary group, are families and the local communities themselves.

We need to have trust and faith in the ability of the people in rural communities, provide them with the opportunity for participation, however humble and insignificant it may be, respect their ideas and views; channelize and integrate their energies and resources for improving the quality of their life. Even at the cost of repetition, it may be mentioned that the process of working with people demands understanding, appreciation, respect, patience and, above all, wisdom. One effective methodology for channelizing people's participation is through community organization and, cooperative development. Participation shows the ethos and the pattern of behaviour on the part of the people. We may think of several core and marginal factors in a contextual sense either facilitating or inhibiting participation.

FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

1. Awareness on the part of the individual as to the nature and details of the activity and his own abilities to take part in the activity.
2. Self-interest.
3. Motivation to participate.
4. Encouragement provided by the people, leaders in the community and personnel in the development.
5. Authority vested in the individual and exercised by the individual and individual's response to authority within and outside the community.
6. Knowledge and skills on the part of the individual or group which are relevant to the activity.
7. Attitude on the part of the individual or group vis-à-vis the activity and the sponsors of the activity.
8. Ideas that people think which would enrich or improve the activity.
9. Availability of time, money and materials.
10. A felt-need.
11. Interest in the welfare of the community.

12. The cost of participation i.e., how much does the participation cost people.

13. The monetary and non-monetary value of participation.

14. The extent to which individuals and small groups are answerable to the community than to external development agencies.

15. The extent to which the client community is cohesive and organized.

16. The nature and quality of the client community.

17. Internal nexus of relationship and social structure of the community.

18. Easy implementability of the programme.

19. Uniformity.

20. Absence of social, cultural, physical and psychological barriers.

21. Easy to monitor.

22. Within the economic, social and cultural framework and capabilities of the target population.

23. The programme having a good demonstrative effect.

24. Quick results.
25. People could easily understand, respond and adopt.
26. Effective local leadership and leadership on the part of the development agency.
27. The kind of approach made by the development agency.
28. When people are recognized.
29. When you have started the programmes from where people are.
30. Individual/family/ethnic status and prestige.
31. Sex and age.
32. Division of labour in various functions in the community.
33. Hereditarily and traditionally assigned roles to individuals and social groups in the community.
34. Traditionally ascribed/expected participation in social, religious and secular activities.
35. Primary group values.
36. Role of functional specialists in the community.
37. Pattern of local internal communication.
38. Influence of culture and religion.

The above list of factors and situations in a community either facilitating or inhibiting people's participation is only illustrative but not exhaustive.

AN OPERATIONAL MODEL FOR SECURING AND ENRICHING PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Participation as such is not new in any community. There is always certain kind and degree of participation at certain levels in certain activities. Participation takes place as an economic, social, cultural and psychological functional necessity but participating in activities introduced by development agencies is new. Principally, this was because the government and the bureaucracy have distanced themselves from the people and so the emphasis on encouraging and securing people's participation in the activities that are meant for their welfare and progress. The model that is presented here is a series of methods, measures and approaches based on physico-economic and socio-psycho-cultural factors and characteristics of the client community.

1. Identify the target population and their views on the project.
2. Appraise them of: the nature and details of the project, the benefits they would have from the project, the role of development agency in the project, the kind of participation expected from

the client group.

3. Assess what the people could contribute towards the project.

4. Motivate, encourage and facilitate and utilize people's participation (material and non-material).

5. Provide space for participation.

6. See at what stage and in what manner the people can participate in the project now and in the future.

7. Identify the leadership behind the target groups.

8. Assign the responsibility to the groups/leaders.

9. Gradually institutionalize people's participation.

10. Develop channels and channelize people's participation.

11. Gradually delegate and transfer the management of the project to the people/their local institutions.

12. Organize people into groups, assign roles and responsibilities to the existing groups. Organize new groups based on knowledge, skills, affordability and capability and based on residential locality and interests and prepare

them to be active participants in the project. Build up a sense of responsibility and accountability on the part of the client community.

13. Let the people come up with their ideas, solutions and strategies.

14. Allow people to work initially on their own and having accomplished that, come up with your improved ways and methods and throw them up as a challenge to the people.

15. Make people's participation their responsibility.

16. Start with initially responsive individuals and/ or groups however small and modest their participation may be. Later, people including the recalcitrant individuals and groups will come to know why they should participate and the manner in which they could do it.

17. Create a sense of pride and competition among the individuals and groups in their participation and contribution to and accomplishment of projects. This could be among various age groups, residential groups and even between men and women.

18. Demarcate the respective functional jurisdictions of individuals/groups for them to

play their respective roles.

19. Draw in and legitimize the participation of non-participating and seldom participating groups such as women and weaker sections.

20. Encourage participation in the programmes and issues that arise from within the community so that it may become easy and set a pattern for people to take part and contribute to the programmes initiated by the external development agencies.

21. Make people literate so that you can increase their participation.

ROLE OF A DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

The onus of providing space, encouraging and facilitating people's participation lies on the part of development agency. The development agency (multiple agencies in the field for that matter) may have to indicate, open up, solicit and encourage people to participate in large number of programmes at different stages in the process of development activity. It may be a school lunch programme, adult literacy, an approach road or provision of drinking water facilities.

The right attitude and orientation is required on the part of the development personnel, people's elected and informal leaders and the dominant groups in the

community. There are some programmes which are pre-determined and in such cases, there is no question of people participating in policy or decision-making and so the programme by its nature and the type of clientele determine the quantity and quality of participation. Sometimes sacrifices are to be made in terms of time and quality of people's participation, especially in terms of skilled labour and material contribution. Getting labour, money and material symbolizing people's participation towards a project is one thing, but involving people in the process of identifying, formulating and implementing a project is another. The material contribution is for a specific project, but the non-material participation is of far more great significance.

WORKING WITH THE PEOPLE

In order to involve people, we should work with the people. It is the field level functionaries in the filed of rural development, agriculture, livestock, public health and medicare, education etc., who are supposed to have more close and frequent contact with the community. People's participation depends to a large degree on how the field level personnel manage the involvement of the people in the development activities. Involving people and securing their participation depends on the attitude, patience, skills, wisdom, commitment and leadership on the part of the development personnel. Working with people is an art and it is human relations and it is an essential part of

human development.

In order to maximize people's participation in rural development and build strong, viable rural communities, the following ten questions may be borne in mind:

1. How can the maximum number of villagers be mobilized for undertaking both village and national improvement projects?
2. How can village communities be helped to develop into self-perpetuative units of social action, many of which will become permanent units of local governments?
3. How can solidarity of, and loyalty to, local groups and local communities be developed without developing resistance to outside guidance and possible resistance to outside assistance?
4. How can old established local groups be used to further the prescribed objectives of national development?
5. How can the levels of aspiration (the standard of living) of both individuals and local groups be raised?
6. How can the local group participation of traditionally low-status persons be increased in undertaking local improvement?

7. How to dissolve, or in some way make constructive use of, local factions or other divisive local community groups?

8. How to develop hundreds of thousands of local small groups and leaders who can help develop local responsibility and initiative?

9. How can overhead (Center and State) governments make maximum contributions of money and personnel to local group undertakings without diluting local group initiative and responsibility?

10. To what extent, and by what means and methods, can the highest degree of traditional "village culture" be preserved, and at the same time, a concern on the part of the villagers be developed for problems and issues which, in the past, have been beyond their social and mental horizons (Taylor).

The knowledge about group and community processes cannot be passed down to others in terms of gadgets, which they can use like material tools. The only common denominators to various and varying types of groups are the social processes of group formation and group functioning. In the use of technical, sociological knowledge, each person, who attempts to catalyze and guide group behaviour, must understand these processes. Elton Mayo, a great production efficiency expert, describes

the capacity to apply sociological knowledge as a "social skill". Each director of a programme who works with and through human groups, should possess this skill. He cannot, as is done with scientific material knowledge, depend on engineers. He must himself be a social engineer.

The use of these social skills is needed in all societies, because in no country is it the solution to the problem of preserving community values to let, or help, local communities to revert to their old isolated local community self-sufficiency. The solution is to understand and use the known methods by which people who live and work in small communities can, by organized effort, exercise responsibility for the improvement of every aspect of personal and community living. If encouraged and assisted to do so, local leaders will emerge effective; purposeful regrouping of local residents will occur; and communities will grow rather than stagnate or be completely lost in secular organizations and interests. In this process of working with people, organizing, encouraging and enabling them to participate in their development, their participation occupies a place of pride in rural development.

CONCLUSION

People's participation is a necessary component in rural development. Its essence lies in the proper coordination of individual and group efforts, in fully utilizing

the potential of the local institutions, the higher level statutory bodies, the village cooperatives, the village school and other associate organizations such as farmers' forums, youth clubs, women's clubs, and in proper harmonization of individual needs with group needs and group needs with national needs.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

5
CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

THE process of organizing rural communities for their participation in development involves working and interacting with the people in the communities. The prerequisite for effective interaction with the people in the rural communities is a knowledge of the characteristics of the rural communities, their way of life, the value systems, traditions and customs, the network or relationships and the kind of changes taking place among them. In this chapter we will briefly look into the characteristics of the rural communities.

Rural communities are not identical in every respect. There is a considerable diversity among them. They could be ranged along a continuum. At one end, we have the sacred-folk societies and at the other end the secular ones, varying in terms of simplicity and complexity. In folk-sacred societies, established practices and ideas are taken for granted. There are few contacts with persons outside of the local geographic areas. Kinship relations are dominant. There is little formalized education; teaching is by means of family training, conversation, preaching and ceremonial. Occupations are learned by apprenticeship. The older men, who have lived longest and whose experiences and memories reach back farthest, are respected and relied upon for advice

and guidance. Such societies are relatively changeless; they, in fact, quite generally resist change.

In a highly secular society, means and methods of communication and transportation are ample and ready. Persons are highly mobile both physically and mentally. Formal education is universal occupations and professions are learned as technical sciences. Most social relations are impersonal. Even kinship relations are loose in terms of duties and obligations. Changes of all kinds are prevalent, rapid, and generally welcome. Individuals are members of many groups and live by a number of different value systems.

To be completely bound by folk customs and traditions would mean stagnation. To be completely secular would be inhuman or non-social. No present day society is completely either of them. Those which are nearer the folk end of this continuum are working, some rapidly, toward the secular end of the continuum. The results of too rapid a movement in this direction have been discovered by the study of the most mobile part of the people who live in large cities. The results of little or no movement in this direction are illustrated in a number of countries where a thin layer of wealthy, educated, elite at the top of the social and political structure purposely sabotage change in the large folk segments of their society.

CONCEPT OF COMMUNITIES

Territorial boundary and the sentimental bindings are the essential factors in a community. The group of people that live within a geographic region have the uniformity or similarity in many customs and habits, such as food, clothing, occupation etc. These matters depend upon the availability of material, climatic conditions, nature of soil, etc. The above factors bind the people together.

Another factor, which is the outcome of face-to-face, intensive functional interaction, is the community sentiment. This sentiment, that makes them feel that they are one, or the "we" feeling is the life of the community. The sentiment gives rise to responsibility, makes the members of the communities conscious of their rights and duties. Rights and obligations implicate inter-dependence of the members.

A community then means a group of people living in a given area with common interests, bound by a sense of and common mode of living. A village satisfies the requisite to form a community. It gives the inhabitants a common area of land, common past that brings about a sharing of experience and standard of behaviour and attitudes. They share some degree of common activities or some degree of common life, irrespective of their social and religious differences. It is not confined to any of the various restricted fields of community life on the basis of religion, caste, race, language or profession but one that

envelops the whole life of the total community. Whatever affects the villages, affects the whole population. A community may be settled or an unsettled one. It may be migratory having come from another area in search of livelihood or it may belong to the new village where they live for centuries, or they might be newcomers.

Some of the distinguishing features of rural community are:

1. Occupation is mainly agriculture and/ or allied professions.
2. People live closer together and closer to the natural environment. This makes their life and attitude simpler and unaffected.
3. Smallness of the size of the community brings the members closer together in everyday life. This and the common occupational interest make the people know each other better than the urban people do.
4. Lesser density of population is caused by the nature of occupation. People in the rural areas can move more freely.
5. There is greater homogeneity of life than in urban areas; because the people are bound not only by common occupation, but also are

bound by common traditions, customs and common heritage.

6. Relatively, there is very little social mobility in the community. They live in the same land generation after generation, by the same occupation, follow the same old customs and habits and maintain the purity of their ethnic identity by avoiding inter-caste and communal marriage or any other type of social intercourse.

Hundreds of local communities in folk societies have been studied by anthropologists. Based on these studies, the characteristics of communities of folk societies can be broadly generalized as follows:

1. Each community is something approximating a complete society in terms of both geography and people.

2. No external forces other than the physical environment enter the community. Few strangers ever come to the community.

3. Each community is composed of families and other kinship groups, the systematic relations between which constitute the social structure of the community.

4. The rights and duties of these groups are passed down from generation to generation and

maintained by a value system which consists of the mores of the community. They are accepted by everyone.

5. There are no written constitutions or contracts. Relations between groups are monitored and even enforced by the elders of the group.

6. The community perpetuates itself by teaching each on-coming generations its old way of doing and thinking. Apprenticeship in occupations and initiation into each age group by various types of ceremonial guarantees that each new generation shall know and do as the old generation did.

7. The natural resources with which the people used to sustain their economic life are generally owned by the whole community. Each family sustains itself economically by participating in the development and utilization of these resources, and participates in the economic returns from the resources.

8. The economic relations of the community are the accepted division of labour between groups rather than by trade or even by barter. The economic and social security of all is, therefore, a total community responsibility.

9. There is thus less possibility of change in the

status of groups, much less of individuals in the community.

To the degree that simple communities manifest these characteristics, they are whole societies, in terms not only of social, economic and political structures, but in terms of value systems. Each person growing up in one of these communities believes and practices these values, plays his assigned roles without questioning, and as a person is pretty much a complete reflection of the community as a whole.

In the present societies some new types of behaviour develop, but by no means do all the old characteristics of folk society disappear. The total or relative social and cultural isolation of the peasant communities is on the decline. The outside world has moved in on them. Due to multiple factors of influence such as, planned and guided community development efforts on the part of the government, increase in transport and communication, the gradual process of urbanization and industrialization, the emergence of new political and economic institutions, the rural communities in general are in the process of change and the situation in the past few decades may be summarized as follows:

1. The first thing was that trade and commerce entered the village.

2. As contact with trade centers, either with

merchants located in the village or with trade towns, developed, at least on the part of a few of the village people there, a knowledge of the outside world in terms of activities about which they had previously known very little. What they learned naturally became matters of gossip within the village and, therefore, some understanding of marketing , prices, and things of that kind developed on the part of all village people.

3. Government had entered all of these villages many years back, but modern government of the type which brings services and assistance to villagers was fairly new in all of the villages. Agents of the government had come in and promoted development and welfare activities. When this once began there was a new basis for forming new parties, and often new factions developed.

4. Government servants, located in or serving the village were seldom local villagers themselves, therefore, new persons, generally persons with more education and receiving higher incomes than the villagers, introduced a new type of person and, in some ways, tended to introduce new social status among the other statuses of the village.

5. Government made incursions in all cases, sooner or later, in terms of establishing and helping to maintain schools. School teachers were new citizens of the community and in some cases, played quite different roles than any outsider ever played in the village.

6. As some youth of the village received considerable education, they became capable of making contacts and did make contact outside the village and thus became a channel of cultural traffic in and out of the village.

7. In a few cases, persons with a degree of education took up new occupations different from those which they had traditionally followed, and moved away from the village. This has led to occupational and territorial mobility.

8. As the price and market economy entered the village, some persons began making more money. Those who had made more money or had better contacts with outside agencies became money-lenders. Some of them began purchasing land previously owned by peasants who now lost the ownership of their land. Thus a whole new elite developed in the village, sometimes quite a powerful group.

9. In the case of contacts with the market town or

with outside sources of income, some of the villages began to attend picture shows and other recreational events outside the village.

10. A new kind of formal and informal leaders emerged. The youth or the younger generation began influencing the developmental activities in the village. In some cases, government servants began to be looked up to rather than feared.

11. In most villages a degree of individualism developed. Some persons were paid special attention by the development agencies. They gained new importance and they tended to form a group which protected the group against the large owners.

12. In most villages, the lower classes, that is, the lower income people, were paid special attention by the development agencies. They gained new importance and they tended to form a group which protected the group against the large owners.

13. It may be stated here, that the same old reverence for elders, and for the set class structure, and even for the villagers' values, had been considerably diluted.

The rural communities are, however, far from having

lost all their old folk characteristics. The following such characteristics, though some what modified, are still maintained, (Taylor).

(a). The elders, while they no longer constitute the village government, are highly respected and are still counselors in many types of issue.

(b). The village community's organization is perpetuated by each new generation tending to follow the family occupations of previous generations.

(c). There is in all of the villages some division of labour between the families, this division being fixed by the traditions of the community.

(d). Families, generally extended families, are more integral social groups than are the villages as a whole.

(e). Sentiment for the land, pride and tenacity in the ownership of the land, is still very strong.

(f). There is relatively little tolerance for new ways of thinking and doing. If the people were asked to choose between tradition and progress, tradition

would perhaps be their instinctive choice although a second choice might induce them to take a few hesitating steps in the direction of change.

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PEOPLE'S IMAGE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT: DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS

6
PEOPLE'S IMAGE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT: DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS

MANY things can be said about various approaches to rural development in developing countries. It is interesting to note that any approach to rural development in developing countries can be described as a process of change from the traditional ways of living of rural communities to progressive ways of living; as a method by which people can be assisted to develop themselves on their own capacity and resources; as a programme for accomplishing certain activities in fields concerning the welfare of the rural people.

All the efforts, under the nomenclature "rural development" can be categorized as a method, as a programme, as a movement and as a process. When viewed as a process, the objective of such efforts becomes the change that takes place in the people socially and psychologically. As such, the fact as to what people think about development, that is, their vision, imagination and their perception of the development activity becomes quite important.

As it is well known the whole attempt in rural development is to introduce something new in the life of the people or bring about some modification in the way of

life of people. It amounts to a basic process of change, introducing change and people accepting the change and the change that is introduced is expected to be sustained and internalized by the individual and the group (Setty, 1988a). In view of such a change to be accepted and internalized by the community, the image of development based on the perception of the people as regards the change to be introduced assumes importance. In our discussion of the proposed change and the people accepting the change, two terms need to be understood clearly. These are, "perception" and "image".

PERCEPTION AND IMAGE

Perception is the phase of operations that takes place after receiving information but one that is well-nigh distinguishable from it. It refers basically to the manner in which a person experiences the world. Information receiving is only the beginning of the functioning of the part of the sub-system we refer to as the organism. Something must happen to the inputs as they are received, altered, and then sent along to other central information processing phases. The organization of inputs into an arrangement that has meaning for the person is the experience called perception.

What we perceive depends a great deal on not what is out there but what we ourselves bring to the situation – our own needs, drives, or predispositions. The process of selection is present, but this is very much a

changing one; it is very creative and dynamic.

Our perception proceeds along established lines, along a rut that has been pretty well fixed in our past. I this sense, a biased perception of people and events has been called a stereo-type. Stereotypes is a term first used by Walter Lippmann, who wrote about them as being "pictures in people's heads". These pictures determine the perception of others in ways that may vary widely. The prejudgment of others based on their membership in certain groups is a common example, for instance, "Japanese are industrious and Americans are free-lancers".

Stereotypes are nothing but generalized impressions of others that become rigid and laden with negative values. They cause difficulties and misunderstanding when they lead us to ignore behaviour of others that is inconsistent with our expectations for them. They may be corrected by exposing them to reality, but finding that reality is often a problem. Learning what members of the target group think about themselves is one way of correcting our stereotypes about them, although we should recognize that self-percepts (autostereotypes) also have their biases.

As it is well known, the human organism is able to interpret and react to patterns of stimuli; it is able to extract information from the changing array of stimulation provided by the environment. As such, what becomes important

for a planner or an agency engaged in developing a rural community is to consider, respect, value and learn from what people think about development. Kenneth Boulding defined this process as Image — "the sum of what we think we know and what makes us behave the way we do". Miller, Galanter and Pribram (1971) structured the concept of "image" for their major contribution on 'Plans and the Structure of Behaviour' (1960), with a recognition as to the fact that "the image (is a man's) knowledge of the world. His behaviour depends upon the image. Meaningful messages change the image".

Chadwick (1978) provides us with an explanation of planning behaviour in the most general sense. This is also the most basic explanation of planning in relation to the nature of a human-being and environment.

He starts his argument by pointing out how important communication between man and his fellow citizens and, between man and his environment is for daily survival. Information communicated to fellow men and the environment provides the basis to react against unfavourable conditions threatening man's existence. This knowledge of the world results in an image of it and ultimately in a plan to act upon expected threats. Since such plan depends on an image of the world, i.e., an accumulation of knowledge that the organism has learned about itself and its world including values as well as factual materials organized by concepts and relationships, it

changes also the content of the image through action upon specific elements of this image. There is an interdependence of plan and image. Plans must be included in the image before we can decide which plans can be implemented. Changes in the image we hold of the world, result from plan implementation. Images of the world are, of course, part of our plans because they provide the basis to plan. According to Chadwick planning is a process, a process of human thought and action based upon that thought. This is a very general human activity.

Chadwick made a pertinent statement that planning is done by human-beings for human-beings. To understand this we must first refer to the limitations of the human mind insofar the storage of learned experiences, i.e., assimilated information, is concerned. Information that is screened by the human mind is evaluated against a set of parameters to sieve relevant from irrelevant or non-sense information. This process is, of course, again determined by previous experience that may be acquired or culturally inherited (i.e., through the school system presented as relevant to the society of this particular individual). Secondly, information may only be acceptable against a rather short term planning horizon: in other words daily needs may prevail over long term considerations in accepting information and thus building the image.

The human mind basically works through a process of abstraction, analogy and comparison. Abstracting from

details and case-specific characteristics, an analogy between phenomena is accepted through comparison, and actions are based on plans that have yielded favourable results in the past when applied to these comparable problems, to tackle new problems.

But as it should commonly be known, human beings are not always and not in all situations acting in the described rational manner. Chadwick rightly pinpoints how "the discursive mind that is orderly, intellective, calculating, is the same mind that is intuitive, disorderly, non-intellective, incalculable". Thus, the human mind is capable of creating images that are not found in his environment.

Therefore, it is not necessary to go always by what people think since, their image of development may be at times, unrealistic, too narrow or too ambitious. However, when one looks at different components which together form people's image of development, one can visualize the fruits that the "image" may bear. The possible contents of people's image of development may be economic, social and political elements. The sources of image maturing and development may be (i). Information, (ii). Observation, (iii). Intuition, (iv). What people were told or promised to expect, (v). what people perceive as desirable in their life, occupation or profession, or a matter of social or political right, (vi). People's own defining of a decent, meaningful life, (vii). The successful/rewarding or

unsuccessful/ unrewarding experiences of the immediate neighbourhood. Such images are then dependent on age, sex, knowledge levels, the kind of job people are engaged in as well as, social interaction.

We plan to meet common felt-needs. However, in reality, hardly any attention is paid to what is the image of development on the part of the people. Thus, there is always a gap between what people got and the shape in which they got. The usual tendency of the people is to simply accept whatever comes forth from the development agency or the change agent. They may accept such things with reluctance, but they may not be happy about them. Seldom do they express their dissent. Seldom does the agency attempt to go indepth to find as to what people really want, what is their image of growth and development. The vast majority of rural people still constitute to some extent, Freire's (1972) "culture of silence", with no voice, no access and no involvement.

Why Image Is so Sacrosanct

The people in any rural community are the basic or primary resource in rural development. Every thing centres around the people in any effort to develop the community. The people in general comprise the target population, the clientele, the beneficiaries, the men and women, the old and the young, the formal and informal leaders in the community, people of different segments and strata of the community, depending upon the specific development

programmes and activities (Setty, 1988b).

Assessment of people's needs, identification of the problems and the study of the physical and natural resources and the extent to which the available resources have been exhausted – all form the initial steps to be taken while preparing a programme for developing such a community. The change agent must determine to what extent people on their own can meet their basic needs.

It follows that an assessment of the natural resources that the community is endowed with and a study of human resources, existing skills and the potential to be developed, has to go along with the assessment of people's needs.

Planning for rural development in developing countries in the true sense consists of two interdependent phases. One is the setting of overall rural targets for the production of different commodities according to the primary consumption needs of the rural people, of agriculture, or industries, or building up of stocks of exports, etc., and the national capacity for outlay needed for achieving these targets. The second phase emphasizes the careful laying down of the tasks to be carried out by the production units according to their own requirements, potentialities, and the specific environmental and economic situation in which they are located, in order to ensure that the plan resources will be

utilized with maximum efficiency towards the achievement of the targets (Bhattacharya, 1983).

In order to understand how all this is operationalised, a country illustration is immediately called for. India serves as an appropriate illustration.

After independence in 1947, India adopted a Federal Constitution. There are at present 25 States and 7 Union Territories. The system of national planning for economic and social development was adopted in the early 1950s. The Planning Commission prepares blueprints of plans and programmes in consultation with the State Governments and the Central Ministries. A time-frame of five years has been adopted for concrete plans for the long term projections. The Five-Year Plans are broken up into annual action programmes for implementation. In so far as the programmes of rural development are concerned, the primary responsibility for implementation is with the State Governments. The Central Government provides coordination, technical guidance, training and research inputs, in addition to monitoring the progress of implementation and evaluating the impact of major programmes. The Central Government also extends financial support to all-important programmes. In recent years, the Government of India has geared its efforts towards maximizing people's participation in the development process.

People's participation, in a broader sense is viewed as people's total involvement with development agencies in deciding the programmes and activities, fixing up of priorities, taking initiative and carrying out the projects as partners with the contribution of their ideas, interest, material, money, labour and time. In this context, people's image of development becomes quite important. In order to secure maximum participation of the people in carrying out a programme or a particular activity, it becomes quite imperative for any development agency to seek answers to the following questions, namely:

(1). What do the people think about development?

(2). What kind of development they want or anticipate?

(3). What do they know about the resources, they are endowed with?

(4). In what way do the people intend to make use of such resources?

(5). What do the people think that their community can do?

(6). What do the people expect from the development agency?

The answers to these and similar other questions will bring out objective facts that are important and must

be treated so; though they are not the whole story. "Attitudes and opinions are facts too, and so are the emotions and values of people" – observes Raper (1953) in case of rural Taiwan. It is in the realm of these more subjective phases of life that the greatest opportunities lie for the furtherance of development activities. For, it is within these aspects of life that may be found the best understanding of what the people really want, and the best guidance for developing programmes that will secure their fullest cooperation.

Following four illustrations would substantiate our argument for people's image vis-à-vis rural development. Considering agricultural development as a key to rural community development in India, many innovations regarding improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and advanced farm implements were introduced during past few decades, through a number of development programmes aimed particularly at the village people. However, since most of such programmes failed to meet what people precisely wanted, the innovations proposed to them were not accepted by the village people. The gap between what people wanted and what they got was so wide that it reduced the efforts of the development agencies to merely futile attempts. The illustrations that follow reflect upon the incongruence over the "want: get" ratio in the development process.

Illustration One

The village people may acquire additional bits of information through communication, however, they may not be able to relate them to any of their felt-needs. Water-sealed latrines, smokeless ovens, and sanitary wells with attached bathing enclosures have been demonstrated to the village people often enough, but a serious and sustained effort has not yet been made to convince them that these should be adopted in the villages. Similarly, in the case of agricultural development, awareness of the farmers in respect of several improved implements and practices has been considerably increased, but their adoption has been marginal, for the village agriculturist has not yet identified them with his requirements.

Illustration Two

The concept and mode of communication under certain development programmes may be such that it would fail to convince the village people of the advantages of an innovation (perceived in terms of economy, efficiency, and ease of mastery), of its feasibility (viewed with reference to their resources and needs), and of its cultural compatibility. For example, agriculturists are conscious of the desirability of using only good and healthy seed. With a view to facilitating multiplication of good seed, a simple implement – the dibbler – was introduced by the agricultural extension agents in India (IADS, 1981).

Although, its efficiency was demonstrated adequately, the dibbler did not gain wide acceptance as envisaged. One need not have to make much of an investment in acquiring this implement, for it could be made locally and was relatively inexpensive. However, it required heavy investment in labour and time; the method of its use being slow and labour-consuming, it was given up as uneconomical.

Illustration Three

Frequently we come across an unhappy history of similar developmental activity. This naturally makes the people cautious-if not suspicious – in trying the innovation proposed under a programme again. In some part of India there is a prejudice against chemical fertilizers, because, in the first instance, either the wrong fertilizer was recommended (without any consideration of soil or crop) be its correct dose and proper application were not clearly explained or demonstrated to the village people. Extension workers returned to the village with more fertilizer and better information regarding its proper application only to find that in view of the earlier failures the village people were extremely reluctant to try it again. This story was repeated in some parts of the country when the extension agents recommended an improved seed that was not suitable for the soil or climate of a particular area.

Illustration Four

The timing of carrying out certain activities under particular programmes is important. In one development block of the State of Bihar, India, as a part of the malaria eradication programme, all the houses were sprayed with DDT. This was a well-intentioned step, but its timing was unfortunate. Spraying was done early in October, and soon after, according to local custom, the houses were whitewashed for the Deepavali festival (Hindu festival of lights). In the process, the efficacy of DDT was substantially lost. Naturally, the experiment did not succeed in eradicating mosquitoes from the houses (Lerner, 1972).

In all the four cases cited above, the picture would certainly have been different and better had the development agencies listened to the people, shared their views, before launching respective activities.

Image-led Participation

The standard approaches to rural organizations and development have left increasing number of people outside or clinging desperately to the margins of segments of local and national economies. Human welfare has too often been considered as either an autocratic side-effect or as charity, competing with development investments for productive resources. Thus, development analysts

and planners have been reluctant to provide for more than a minimum of rural people's participation, and governments and inter-governmental organizations have been loathe to consider structural and process changes required in existing socio-economic systems for effective participation to be possible.

Thus, in many countries, increasing number of rural people are found to be without any secure means of livelihood. Yet many national cases and innumerable micro-development projects for agricultural and rural development, bear witness to the important role of people's organizations to successfully mobilize continuous, intelligent and productive efforts of rural people. They also reveal that growing mass poverty is simply the result of lack of access to opportunities to participate in development.

The 16-country study attempted by FAO and Rural Organizations Action Programme (ROAP) for the involvement of the poor in development (1979) bears a testimony to the fact that development-oriented systems have too frequently concentrated exclusively on economic growth and the skills and knowledge required by managers of that growth. Many essential human dimensions of development have been neglected i.e., those of people's organizations and "human capital" development in the form of people's knowledge and skills required for masses of people to participate.

Drawing from development as essentially a humanizing process, participatory development must be consciously based on people, their needs, their analysis of issues and their decisions. In other words, participatory development must rely on people's own image of development. It also implies an implicit faith that people, whatever the condition of their poverty and oppression, can progressively transform their environment with the help of, but not dominated by, external agents. In essence, participatory development demands that rural people move from being objects to becoming subjects of development projects (Oakley, 1991).

The underlying assumption is that rural people are able to initiate development but that the very nature of development interventions to date has denied a practical opportunity for them to do so. While few would disagree with these sentiments, the implications for project practice are profound. Chambers'(1983) suggestion of "putting the last first" aptly sums up what is required and he rightly points to the major transformation that would be required on the part of "development professionals" to pursue a participatory approach. Tilakaratna (1987), in his impressive work on the role of the development worker in participatory rural development, argues that these workers can become the major stumbling-blocks to authentic people-led development because of their tendency to impose their "own biases, values, visions and attitudes on the poor". This important principle of people-led

development calls the attention of the rural development professionals to rural people's own ideas about development, their values, attitudes, their own vision of the world.

Rural people are not normally constrained from participating in development simply through apathy or inertia; hence the importance of studying the forces which prevent their participation. In this respect, Cernea's (1985) study of the sociological dimension of development projects illustrates clearly how a lack of understanding of these dimensions frustrated projects' efforts to involve rural people. Of particular importance is the need to understand possible reactions on the part of the elite groups which may wish to see project participation on a broader basis (Paul, 1987).

Development projects normally proceed through a pre-established sequence of stages around which different objectives and inputs are correspondingly organized (Oakley, 1991). The experience of participatory projects suggests that this sequence needs to be re-examined. Projects with economic or other material objectives invariably place these objectives in the forefront and trust that people's participation will ensue; other projects, however, see participation as an objective in itself and, in the sequence of project activities, give initial and equal emphasis to the activities designed to strengthen the basis of this participation. In a review of rural public works

projects in Nepal, Pradhan (1979) recognized the importance of this sequence of activities and showed how a lack of attention to developing the basis for people's participation caused these projects to fail to involve the local people. Rahman's (1989) review of a number of participatory projects in Africa similarly confirmed the importance of starting a project by building up people's confidence and abilities as the basis for their participation.

As Tilakaratna (1987) observes, an outsider who comes with ready-made solutions is worse than useless. He must first understand from the community people what their questions are and help them articulate the questions better, and then help them find solutions. Outsiders also have to change. He alone is a friend who helps them think about their problems on their own. Tilakaratna's observation can be best construed with an explanation to people's image of development.

The critique of Sen and Das (1987) on social forestry in India is a pointer to our present argument on people's image of development. The present practice of planning and management of community forestry in the States of India hardly fulfills the conditions of participatory programmes. Villagers are rarely consulted at the preplanning stage, and the preparation of a feasibility report, and selection of site and species is generally done by the local forest officials. The village Panchayat or similar agencies offer the land (often with no or half information to their members) for plantation activities by

the forest department. During the initial years till its handover to the Panchayat, the villagers do not have any responsibility but to remain as passive spectators.

To continue with the forestry illustration, Romm's (1986) hypothetical illustration of community forestry project emphasizes our line of argument that the people themselves are the key factors in a village system and their aspirations, beliefs, knowledge of resources, their expectations – all need to be valued for the success of any development effort.

Talagune's description of the "type" of dialogue between the change agent and the community people supports the claim to reverse the traditional style of project implementation. In the traditional approach to development it is well known that the administrators of development projects and the beneficiaries do not sit on the same side of the table. In fact, they sit at different levels, the former being always at a higher level. What follows, therefore, is quite inevitable. Each looks at each other with suspicion. To the official, the villager is lazy, ignorant, un-resourceful and irresponsible. To the villager, the official is conceited, unsympathetic, unconcerned and corrupt. Each does not take the other into his confidence. Instead of getting together they continue to stay apart (Talagune, 1985).

Nyerere's vision of the development of rural people also emphasizes the need to value people's own image

of development. As Nyerere views, rural development is the participation of people in a mutual learning experience involving themselves, their local resources, external change agents and outside resources. People cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves by participation in indecision and cooperative activities which affect their well-being. People are not being developed when they are herded like animals into new ventures (Nyerere, 1968).

Very close to "people's image of development" is the newly emerging concept of Farmer Participatory Research (FPR). Farrington and Martin's (1987) review of this concept and its practice sees FPR as helping both to build farmers' knowledge into research activities and to ensure that new farming technologies are relevant to farmers' needs and their own ideas.

When we look at Bruneau's definition of a community, the need to understand people's image of development becomes further clear. Bruneau (1986) views community as primary groups associated because of class or territorial proximity. In these groups the people meet, exchange ideas and support one another. The groups offer their members the possibility to interact, discuss and in fact become communities. The members speak in their own words, using their own terms to express their own ideas and interests. By so doing they eliminate the need for spokesmen with different class and

educational backgrounds who have traditionally represented the people. Following from this and because of the focus by the members on their own interests expressed in their own words, the possibility for critical reflection on their environment is encouraged, which in turn may lead to an understanding of the deeper causes of poverty and inequality. The change agent then, can certainly rely on and draw from this strength of the community.

Following case study on Malaysia's Price Subsidy Scheme for Padi (Abbas, 1984) using coupons supports our arguments for people's image of development.

Padi is the Malay word for unhusked rice. The Price Subsidy Scheme for *Padi* (PSSP) was a part of a broader national agricultural development programme of Malaysia. The major policy adopted by the government was (a) *Padi* prices be increased without increasing the price of rice; and (b) *padi* price increases be given in the form of subsidies for production inputs, and on actual increase in the prices of *padi*. The overall objective of the PSSP was to increase the income of the *padi* farmers so that it was at lest on par with the National Poverty Line of $ 270 per month. The scheme was officially launched by the government on January 10, 1980.

On January 23, 1980, just two weeks after the launching of the PSSP, a large crowd of *padi* farmers and their supporters gathered in front of the State

Secretariat Building of Kedah to express their dissatisfaction with the PSSP, *Padi* prices and other related things.

A look at the *padi* planters' views provides the explanation as to what went wrong. While the government correctly identified the urgent need to increase *padi* prices, it did not ascertain the level of prices that the farmers felt desirable. As it was, the government decided on a top price of $ 30 per *pikul* (1 *pikul* = 605 kilograms) for long grain *padi* plus $ 2.00 subsidy whereas what the farmers wanted was a top price of between $ 36 and $ 40 for long grain *padi*.

The farmers felt that these prices were justified. They said that what they were asking for was not much. In their experience, the question was, one *"kati"* (one hundredth of a *pikul*) of "*taugeh*" (bean sprouts) which takes about four days to produce costs about 40 cents a "*kati*" (or $ 40 a pikul). So why cannot *padi* which takes about six months of continuous labour and care to produce be priced at 40 cents a "*kati*" also?

The farmers also could not comprehend the reasons for introducing the coupons. They were told that it was to teach them the value of thrift, i.e., to save some of their income. But they said that they needed all the money they could get from their labour to pay for their daily needs. With the income that they were getting, they

could not afford to save. The majority of them preferred cash. The farmers also preferred to here news about PSSP or for that matter, news about any government project affecting their lives, directly from government officers or Members of Parliament and State Assembly men, or, if possible, Ministers, rather than from their village heads and other local leaders. To them the government officers and elected representatives had more credibility. Also they could get immediate clarification about anything that they found vague or confusing from the decision makers. The implementation of the PSSP did not take cognizance of this preference. The Malay case thus proves that farmers' choice, preferences and expectations demand attention of the policy makers, planners and administrators.

In changing rural socio-economic environment new technologies may play a vital role through developing new ideas and attitudes. However, anything new, being new alone, may not be appropriate to the local circumstances. The introduction of new technologies generates new types of expectations and attitudes among the community people. If these technological innovations introduced are not in line with the community's needs, expectations and at the same time not related to the local situation then they are not well received and the objectives behind their promotion stand defeated. Amatya (1987) demonstrates the importance of understanding the implications of such new technological adoptions to local communities. His

illustration of mechanization of farming operations such as use of tractor in land preparation by large number of farmers in rural Nepal, is a pointer to the planning based on local needs.

Mayfield (1986) documents Dr. Y.C. James Yen's work with the illiterate poor of China to illustrate "rural people development". In this regard, Dr. Yen's words, "Go to the people, live among the people, learn from the people, and plan with the people", are taken seriously. The people's school approach proposed by Mayfield makes the point that government must come to accept the fundamental importance of true local political expression as essential to the development process. He concludes that "rural development is people development". Its sources are found within the cultural sinews, the religious traditions, and the sacred values of people. Such values are often articulated by men and women who have looked beyond the flickering shadows of Plato's cave and are unique in their ability to convey to their fellows new meaning and purpose.

Weitz's study (1971) challenges many of the plans and priorities that have characterized development efforts over past few decades. In doing so, it prescribes a new and revolutionary approach with a concern for the attitudes, customs and values of people in the developing world.

Fugui (1981) goes a step further and singles out people as the masters of development. Natural resources

are only useful because people are there to use them. People have the ultimate power to choose the kind of development they want. People can reason out what is good in their environment and what is bad. As discussed earlier, it is not necessary to go always by what people think, since their image may be at times, unrealistic, too narrow or too ambitious. Laksono (1988) illustrates this arguments well with the help of an anthropological study of the hamlet of Gimbal on southwestern slope of Mount Merapi volcano in Central Java. He compares and assesses responses to the volcanic threat to Gimbal by two different parties, the national government and the villagers themselves. The government's response has consisted primarily of attempts to resettle the villagers on one of Indonesia's outer islands. The villagers' response has consisted of trying to remain on the volcano and adapt to its hazards, using local systems of knowledge to both monitor (empirically) and explain (ontologically) the volcanic activity. These differences in the perception of the same problem as illustrated by Laksona show that each view has its own validity. Under such circumstances a compromise is to be reached. This certainly is not an easy task for the planners.

When people are forgotten, things go wrong. When people's needs and demands are neglected or forgotten, the resources, promotional organizations, physical and economic infrastructure – all are reduced to ineffective energies. Thus, apparently there may be development –

tangible substantive achievement as a result of the amount of money spent, but it may be miles away from what the people really want. The villagers of Vemandampalayam, a South Indian village, present the best case of the people forgotten (The Hindu: 18 November, 1989, news item with heading "21-year wait for a pucca road", as reported from Erode, dated 7 November, 1989).

The villagers of Vemandampalayam Panchayat under the Nambiyur Panchayat Union in Gobi Taluk of Erode District in Tamil Nadu, presented a petition in 1968 to the Collector of the undivided Coimbatore District, for laying of a road between two villages covering a distance of two kilometers. This was requested because the existing road was very narrow and not even fit for pedestrians use. Thus, the villagers were required to walk a distance of five kilometers to reach another village via Vemandampalayam. The request for laying of the said road was honoured only after 21 years, a number of reasons might have caused this delay, but no doubt, neglect is the major one.

It is worthy to note how development agencies, by listening to people, by watching and observing them can learn lessons that rural people have learned for themselves, often as the result of painful experience, as to how best to organize themselves to manage their resources. It helps the agency recognize the range of local conditions to which it must be able to adjust its intervention.

The potential for increased crop production from the use of irrigation water has motivated groups of farmers in different societies to cooperatively find the means to bring water from streams to their fields. Utilizing their intimate knowledge of the local terrain, they locate the most appropriate site for diverting water from a steam and the routes for delivering the water to their fields. Because construction of the irrigation infrastructure often relies fully on manual labour, this usually extends to over a few years.

In the Philippines, communal systems exemplify the indigenously developed irrigation systems. These farmer-owned and managed systems individually serve less than 1,000 hectares, but as a group they irrigate about half of the total irrigated lands in the country, or about the same area of land covered by systems owned and operated by the government. The prevalence of communal systems throughout the country indicates that farmers in widely dispersed communities have worked out similar solutions for managing a critical resource.

The management of irrigation confronts farmers with a variety of questions regarding water distribution, system maintenance, paying for operating costs, and conflict management. In many communal systems the farmers have evolved answers to these questions over several decades. In the process they have developed many management methods well suited to the constraints

of their particular system and its environment. It is documented how public irrigation programmes in the Philippines benefited from studying how self-formed irrigator groups organize themselves for system operation and maintenance.

How Rewarding is the Image

In the past decade or so, there has been a growing interest and concern, especially in the developing countries about the need for popular participation in planning and development. It has been realized and widely accepted that a better dialogue needs to be created between the planner and the planned and this is possible only if the planners go to the people, creep into their proclivities and find out about their wants and needs.

Knowing people's ideas, opinions, attitudes, solutions is providing them an opportunity to secure their involvement. It may not always be possible to act according to the people's image of development, but to know it is necessary.

The knowledge as to the ways in which people want to develop their community will reveal the possibilities as to whether the proposed change shall be sustained and internalized by the community or not. Their expectations in seeking help or assistance from the external agencies and their faith as to what they think they can accomplish shall expose the strengths and limitations of the community. Appel (1988) illustrates how

planners may utilize the strengths of the local community including its knowledge of the local ecosystem and its potential for adaptation for the management of social change.

As Dube (1958) points out, it is necessary to consider the village people's view of change. Do they consider it necessary and desirable? Then it is useful to find out their attitudes toward the promoters of change. Do the people trust them? Or do they have misgivings about their motivations?

As the present day technology becomes increasingly complex, it depends more and more upon accurate perceptual discriminations by human beings. Here is the need for applied research.

The radar operator must be able to distinguish the brief visual blips on the radar screen that indicate the approach of aircraft. The sonar operator must discriminate between the echoes returning from a school of fish and those from a submarine. The pilot monitors an elaborate panel of instruments and makes appropriate adjustments. The astronaut must make countless acceleration that alter his normal functioning. Similarly, a rural development planner must know what people think of development, what way they want things to be done and what the development agencies think what people need, should have and should do. Rural development professional expertise calls for an understanding of the clientele

system, involving and working with them for their sustained development.

Accepting local residents as collaborators in order to be able to make use of the reservoir of knowledge and skills which have evolved to ensure survivability in the local environment with all its cycles, fluctuations and recurring catastrophes, is an important and rarely taken step. Contact with locals cannot be confined to elite. This is because elite are themselves buffered from the consequences of environmental fluctuations which impact their poorer neighbours so severely, and may not have the detailed knowledge those poorer sectors of the population if the full range of survival skills is to be tapped (Boulding, 1989). This is quite a job for the change agent.

The human resources of a particular rural community are the energies, skills, talent and knowledge of people which potentially can or should be applied to production of goods and rendering of service. Thoughts, motives, beliefs, feelings, aspirations and culture of people can be taken as the components of such human resources. In this context, the analysis of people's likely attitudes to development would help in solving the human resource problems for rural communities. For an understanding of the people within their culture, within their context of opportunities and for knowing the flexibility of their thinking and their capacity to exercise initiative, their image of development is expected to serve as a guide for the planners. However, in reality this "people's image"

of development has always been neglected so far.

In this context, it is interesting to note what Schumacher (1973) observes on development:

"Development does not start with goods, it starts with people, and their education, organization and discipline... An entirely new system of thought is needed, a system based on attention to people, and not primarily on attention to goods", for goods will look after themselves. Schumacher's observation can only be construed at best with an explanation of people's image of development.

Implementation of any development programme is like organizing a symphony. Many instruments play a part. Failure of any one instrument creates a discordant note. Similarly, when things go wrong with people or when planning goes astray from the client group's perception, the costs are higher and the objectives defeated.

IMAGE AND THE LOGISTICS OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

There is no denying of the fact that the success of a development project often depends on local participation. Familiarity with indigenous knowledge can help change agents understand and communicate with local people. The indigenous knowledge system has an important bearing on the images that people carry in their heads. What is this indigenous knowledge?

Indigenous knowledge is local knowledge. It is the knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society. This knowledge is the information base for a society (Warren, 1989). It is dynamic, changing through indigenous creativity and innovativeness as well as through contact with other knowledge systems. Such knowledge is passed down from generation to generation, usually by word of mouth. Such a knowledge system represents successful ways in which people have dealt with their environment. Indigenous knowledge thus serves as a guiding force for the local community's behaviour and helps in shaping the mental maps in the heads of the members of the group.

Anthropological studies not only help identify community patterns of dealing with conservation and change, they also identify the kinds of mental maps with which individuals in households in particular communities work. The Para-scientific knowledge about local soil variation and local ecosystems already inside the heads of traditional farmers, the knowledge of how certain types of inter-planting can serve the functions both of protection from parasites and of soil building, of how multi-year crop cycles can rebuild exhausted soil, is very important for technologists to learn about and take account of in considering the introduction of productivity-enhancing technologies. The same applies to the general understanding of the problem of resource degradation on the part of agricultural societies in general. The health-

maintaining knowledge of local healing herbs carried in the heads of rural women is important for health specialists to know, as are the mutual aid networks known primarily to women which enable household crises to be managed.

In relation to population policy, the complex household calculations about trade-offs between "quantity" and "quality" of children, about extended-family investment in migrant labour to ensure diversification of economic resources, and about extended family resource allocation in terms of land and other forms of capital, that go on inside the heads of the uneducated poor, rural or urban, need to be understood before effective assistance with population control can be designed. It is for example clear that historically societies have managed to control population size when there was a clear perception of the need to do so, long before modern fertility control technology was introduced.

There have been several non-documented instances wherein the shepherds or the herdsmen who trod miles and miles in search of pastures in particular regions have proven more knowledgeable than the overseers, surveyors and engineers in understanding the slope, variations in soil types, growth of vegetation, availability of ground-water and so on in a given region.

The anthropological development literature is full of case histories of how community structures have

operated to initiate innovations in the context of community perception of advantageous opportunities, and also full of case histories of how community structures have operated to oppose innovation proposed by outsiders when community perception has been that the innovation would be disadvantageous.

Since most of the new technologies which come from the laboratories of the scientist and the technologist must by definition, be introduced by outsiders to the community in question or the client community so to say, understanding the criteria that communities bring to the evaluation of innovations, and the processes by which those criteria are utilized by the community in making action decisions, can be very important and rewarding.

The shared mental maps of men, women, children and the elderly in each household need to be included as variables along with individual mental maps, since many significant behaviours and action choices take place at the level of the household.

A major corollary to the people-led nature of participatory development is the principle that people's knowledge is as appropriate a basis for development actions as that knowledge brought in by professionals (Oakley, 1991). This assertion has given rise to reorientation of some development practice and the incorporation of local knowledge into development projects. For too long, it is argued external forces have

not only controlled the means of material production, but also the means of knowledge production and, in particular, the power to determine what is valid or useful knowledge. While in certain fields such as health care, artisan production and irrigation control, local knowledge has to a limited extent been recognized, until recently development projects have rarely sought deliberately to incorporate people's knowledge into project design and planning. Intellectually there are arguments to establish the scientific basis of people's knowledge just as professionals bring scientific knowledge to rural areas; there are even arguments that rural people should be "intellectually self-reliant" from outside experts. Certainly, as Oakley remarks, participatory development argues for the recognition of the creative tension between two knowledge streams, namely rural people's essential knowledge and the formal knowledge introduced from outside.

CONCLUSION

Since its historical evolution dating back to the seventeenth century when voluntary efforts were initiated to serve the mankind, the term rural development has undergone several vicissitudes and continues to be a debatable subject of strategic importance. We have not yet reached a satisfactory stage. Much remains to be done.

The expertise inside the heads of target

populations, particularly when they are uneducated and poor, is continually underestimated, resulting in a failure to build up resources already available for innovation, and a futile offering of resources that cannot be utilized under local conditions.

The need is to get down to the people, get into their frame of thinking, understand their priorities, formulate programmes and projects congruent and inconsonance with their image of development, of course with an injection of innovations and technologies that would accelerate people's development in the real sense. Such an approach would give planners a direction for planning. Planning then can be expected to be closer to reality, closer to what people think and want.

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAMME PLANNING

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7
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IN this chapter, we may look into community organization as a process, social structure and functional grouping of people and programme planning which are germane to people's participation in rural development.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Organizing the target Community is a prerequisite and a concomitant activity in securing its involvement in any development or service functions. All rural communities have certain levels and kinds of organization. Community organization is a continuous process with birth, growth, decay and disappearance of social and cultural institutions of diverse nature. It is a dynamic social process with changing patterns and institutions in the life of a community.

The organization and management of any developmental activity at the community level is dependent upon and influenced by the following aspects of the community.

(a). Awareness,

(b). Pressure of the need,

(c). Resources-material, human,

(d). Composition of the group,

(e). Size of the group,

(f). Social structure,

(g). Structure of power and authority,

(h). Kind and strength of existing organizations/ institutions in the community,

(i). The kind and strength of local-institutional leadership,

(j). The degree of influence from outside the community,

(k). Channels and pattern of inward and outward communications,

(l). Cultural orientations, values, attitudes of people towards certain development initiatives and aspects,

(m). Economic level and affordability, and

(n). Occupations and professions of the group.

We may briefly look into community organization, the concept, objectives, benefits and some of the organizations at the rural community level. We may remember that an existing organization may be utilized for a specific new activity. An organized community, in terms of groups, institutions, functions and responsibility

is a machinery that may be used for diverse purposes. It does not deny the need for a specific organization or special organizing for a specific activity. The thrust of the question is on organizing the community and revitalizing the existing institutional infrastructure at the rural community level.

(i). Community Organization

It is important for a worker to have a complete understanding about the community with which he works. By making a sociogram of the community, he can work out the pattern of communication and then understand who influences whom and to what extent. The question is often raised as to how best agency workers can assist the people in dealing with recalcitrant individuals and groups whose sole purpose is to block progress. This needs a careful examination and it brings us to the question of skills involved in working with groups and communities. The worker has to understand what exactly is the cause and the real cause may be different from what appears on the surface. The worker may have preconceived notions. He can look for the answer by studying the power structure within the community and the vested interests it upholds. It has also its processes such as decision-making, communication, social and cultural linkage and boundary maintenance. A social compass would provide valuable guidance to the extension worker and if he understands the elements and processes operating in it, he will very easily map out the

interrelations of various factors. The components of the social compass comprising of such things as community, governmental structures, education, religion, family, social class, health, communication, etc., can be analyzed in terms of its elements and processes.

Community organization is a method by which an individual is influenced through the group in which he works. This group provides him the "fields" and it is by understanding the "field forces" that affiliations and alignments of individual members are identified and interpreted.

(ii). Community Concepts

The word community signifies different things to different people according to their interpretation. In some places ethnicity and religion may come to the mind whereas in other countries various social communities are mentioned. Community refers to a group of people inhabiting a given geographical area and having some kind of common activities or some degree of common life, irrespective of their social, religious or social differences. It is not confined to any of the various restricted fields of community life on the basis of religion, caste, race, language or profession but one that envelops the whole life of the whole community.

(iii). Definition

Community organization has been defined as a

process initiated to bring about and maintain an adjustment between social welfare needs and social welfare resources in a given geographical area. As a disciplined method "community organization seeks to bring about a social climate in which it is easier to resolve group conflicts and initiate cooperative activity for the common good of the community".

Community organization work concentrates its efforts in narrowing down the areas of conflict and enlarging the areas of cooperation. In short, the negative and destructive aspects of competition is sought to be replaced by the positive and constructive aspects of cooperation.

(iv). Central Objective

The objective of "community organization" as a method of social work activity is, one of helping the communities to recognize and realize their needs and aspirations. First, there has to be an awareness about their problems and secondly there must be willingness to work together towards these common objectives.

In any area, there will be problems of some sort and resources both in men and materials and "community organization" seeks to rouse the latter for the solution of the former. There is invariably a gap between what facilities a community has and what it would like to have, in other words, between achievements and aspiration. It

is the task of "community organizations" to narrow down and bridge this gap between social welfare needs and social welfare resources of a community.

(v). Specific Objectives

(a) *To obtain consciousness of community:* For harmony and progress of the community, a sense of "we" feeling, a sense of belongingness is to be fostered among the members of a given community. Such a sense of "we" feeling and interrelatedness make the members feel that they constitute a unit by themselves, a social entity as distinct from other communities. Just as self-consciousness is essential for the individual so its importance to the community. The process of integration rests primarily upon definite self-consciousness of the community.

(b) *To Satisfy unmet needs:* Common needs which individuals and groups are unable to satisfy for themselves could be met by the collective action of the community. It may be in any sphere, political, economic, social or cultural. Collective action is the basis for community integration and community mobilization. Determination of the needs of the community is therefore one of the first steps.

(c) *To obtain social participation as a means to socialization:* The ultimate goal of all human

association is the development of better personalities by the individuals concerned. A community is composed of various groups in which its people associate. One of the chief handicaps to community action is the number of families and individuals who do not belong to any formal organization, who live a relatively isolated social life associating with their own families and neighbours. The best index of the socialization of the members of a community is the degree of their participation in its oranizations.

(d) *To obtain social control:* Community organization is to obtain social control through community spirit and loyalty. Social control becomes possible by the development of community spirit, by loyalty to the community and by symbols which express the common objective of community activity. Sociologists have called these three factors – morale, collective representations and *esprit de corps* (common spirit pervading the group).

(e) *To Coordinate groups and activities:* In a given community there may be several interest groups and their interests and activities may come in conflict. Community organization is necessary in order to prevent conflict and promote efficiency, cooperation and coordination. This is important in a small community. Proper adjustments are

necessary. Efficiency may be promoted and ends attained if coordination can be carried out to the point of active cooperation.

(f) *To prevent the community from the introduction of undesirable influences and conditions:* It is not enough to promote community betterment from within, for the community must be able to defend itself from the aggression of undesirable influences. Many a community has found that it can work together for the elimination of a drinking place or any other nuisance to the physical and social health of the community.

(g) *To cooperate with other communities and agencies to obtain common needs:* Frequently, the community is too small a unit to achieve certain desired ends on its own. To obtain them, it is necessary to cooperate with neighbouring communities to obtain a bus line, water facilities, schools colleges, etc.

(h) *To establish a means of obtaining consensus:* As for having their needs accomplished, it is easily done by coming to a common understanding. In a small rural community, it is obtained by gradual crystallization of public opinion through casual conversation at any shop or public place where people gather usually. Sometimes hearsay, gossiping distort the facts and promote

disagreement rather than consensus.

(i) *To develop leadership:* Leadership for any group or collective activity is a must. Potential leaders in the community are to be identified, their talent recognized and developed. Local initiative and local leadership are essential for building up a self-reliant and self-confident community. It is not a question of spoon-feeding, the external agency alone functioning, but creating opportunities so that the local leadership is fully developed and employed for the growth of the community.

Benefits of Community Organization

(a). Group thinking and common good,

(b). Division of labour and responsibility,

(c). Recognition of individual merit,

(d). Community work, and

(e). Group efforts are more effective than individual efforts.

A Measure of Community Organization

Community organization should not be conceived as a relationship which can be set up and which can be abolished. It is rather a process of establishing relationships which will always be in a state of becoming analogous to the growth of personality or character in the

individual. One measure of community organization is the degree to which organizations and interests are willing to cooperate in activities or objectives for the betterment of the common welfare, for which they are not primarily responsible and in which others will take the lead.

Another measure is the ability to have competition in politics or business without conflict and the ability to discuss matters with a division of opinion but with tolerance and with united support for the objectives sought.

The degree of socialization of the community is the best measure of its organization. The better a community is organized the more it serves the needs not only of its adult individuals but also of its potential members.

It has been very well summarized that the goal of community organization is enlisting everyone in the community activities so that each individual shall register effectively, that is, shall achieve self-expression and status in community service.

From a behaviouristic standpoint the measure of community organization is the degree to which the members, individuals or groups of the community act collectively for common welfare.

Statutory organizations like village councils and non-statutory organizations like cooperative societies, special interest organizations like farmers forums, youth

clubs, recreation clubs, dramatic associations, women's clubs etc., constitute some of the community organizations.

Statutory Village Council

A village-statutory body may go under different names-village council, village development committee and so on. For instance, in India, the village panchayat functions as a statutory body at the village level. The members of the panchayat are elected by the adults of the panchayat area. It is one of the three basic institutions at the village level (the other two being the village cooperative and the village school). It is the lowerst tier in the three-tier structure of the Panchayati Raj. Being the basic unit of democracy at the village level, the panchayat will mobilize all the available human resources for works of community benefit, mobilize savings for development work, in addition to discharging administrative and judicial duties.

It is through this institution, therefore, that the socio-economic programme of the village is to be achieved, through agricultural production plans and other general plans. The panchayat will thus not only be the self-governing body at the village level but also the principal institution for self-development. It will organize through cooperatives, the development of necessary credit and supplies, arrange for the education and cultural needs of

the village through the village school.

The village panchayat will broadly attend to the (a) drawing up of plans in keeping with people's aspirations and wishes; (b) executing approved plans; (c) mobilizing local resources, human and material, to supplement whatever resources may become available from the state and other sources; (d) bringing about a progressive increase in people's participation and (e). arranging constant evaluation of its own work by way of stock-taking.

The Village Cooperative

The cooperative is the basic economic institution at the village level. The principles underlying the cooperative movement are implied in the objectives of the community development programme. In fact, from the very beginning of the community development programme, due emphasis has been placed on the application of cooperation to various aspects of rural life.

A cooperative society, it may be pointed out, is a union of persons, voluntarily united for utilizing reciprocally their own resources for their common benefit. Its basis is an association of persons and not capital. The emphasis of the cooperative movement thus is on the character of man and not on his property. By its very definition, a cooperative organization must be open to everybody desirous of becoming a member and must work on democratic lines at all levels.

Formed on voluntary basis and on the principles of equality, the cooperative movement promotes mostly the economic interests. Its pivotal point is the principle of self-help and thrift, which means making the best use of time, energy and wealth.

There are several types of cooperatives:

(a). Credit cooperatives,

(b). Service Cooperatives,

(c). Joint Farming cooperatives,

(d). Tenant farming cooperatives,

(e). Better farming cooperatives,

(f). Collective farming cooperatives,

(g). Purchase cooperatives,

(h). Production and sale cooperatives,

(I). Insurance cooperatives, and

(j). Marketing cooperatives.

Every form of human economic activity and any collective function where the individual or a few individuals or a few sections of the community alone cannot accomplish the task, a cooperative does the job. It ensures individual's growth and the welfare of the community not the one at the cost of the other.

The Village School

The village school is an important institution, through which the community could be organized for meeting its educational and intellectual needs. The village school has to play a significant role of providing leadership for the community; for a school becomes a community school in as much as it derives its programmes from the problems of the people whom it serves, and draws upon all the available resources in an attempt to solve them. It is also to be a community center for the village as a whole and render assistance in the establishment of adult courses including adult literacy, provide recreational programmes, help in the improvement of health and sanitary conditions and introduce all other measures which are conducive to inspire the community and thus contribute to a better living.

A school must function as a miniature community- a community within a community reflecting almost all the facets of the community life. The idea is to organize the community's civic life inside the school, trying to correlate the classroom instruction with that of the community activities.

The school, in addition to being linked with the community in general, should also be closely associated with other community associations, organizations and agencies, particularly the panchayat and the cooperative and other associate organizations such as the Youth

Clubs, Women's Clubs, etc.

To enable the village school to be a vital link in the life of the community, the leaders of the community have to take active interest and become involved in the programmes of the school. Participation by the community leaders in the programme of village school is very vital.

Youth Clubs

The Youth Club is an associate organization at the village level. The purpose of organizing such Youth Clubs in the villages is to develop young people into better farmers and citizens by equipping them with best skills, attitudes, habits and values of life as to make them intelligent, well-informed and useful citizens at whatever level they function.

In the community development movement, the youth organization can be a living force only if the youth become active agents in carrying out the community development activities in their areas.

Objectives of Youth Clubs

The specific objective of Youth Clubs is to develop the youth in physical, mental, moral, spiritual and social aspects of life and to channel their energies in the right way for the balanced development of the individual and the welfare of the community. The specific objectives can be:

1. Developing the qualities and skills of leadership so that they may be helpful in the development of the community,
2. Providing them with opportunities for building up their character and health,
3. Providing them with technical information about improved practices in agriculture, home economics, so that they may become leaders for others,
4. Teaching them the value of research and developing in them the scientific attitudes towards the problem confronted at the individual and community level, and
5. Inculcating in them the cooperative way of life and social responsibility.

These objectives are to be achieved on the principle of learning by doing and earning while learning. There are individual and group projects the individual and community interests are met.

Farmers Forums, Women's clubs etc.

As in the case of Youth Clubs, the Farmers Forums and Women's Clubs are associate organizations at the village (they could be at higher levels also) level fulfilling the needs of farmers and the women-folk. Dissemination of scientific farming practices among the farmers is an important function of the Farmers' Forums. The Women's

Clubs strive to make the women-folk understand the outside world better and arouse interest and initiative in them to take active part in the affairs of the community and the nation. The activities of the Women's Clubs of literacy, social education, home management, childcare, kitchen gardening, sewing and other economic activities centre around better homes, better farms and better communities.

Local Social Institutions

Sometimes organizations and institutions are used inter-changeably. Institutions are a resource and a means to understand, interact and involve people in any development activity. We have to see how best the institutions could be utilized for the development of the client community. It is interesting to think for a moment how a society has emerged over a period of time and how it functions at a given moment of time. Society, in one sense, consists of individuals as aggregate units and, on the other hand, it speaks of the network of enduring relationships that exist among the individuals. A society has devised certain ways and means for meeting the individual and the collective needs and wants of the group. Institutions in the sociological sense are patterns of behaviour often accumulated over generations. These patterned ways of living or institutionalized ways of behaviour meet the physical, biological, social and psychological needs of people. The norms in the group

over a period of time get established as enduring patterns of living. These institutions provide the guidelines which facilitate the life of the group. The institutions are the lubricants of the human collectivity.

Member of Several Groups

The individual is developed by the group and it is the individual who forms the group. Every man is bound into a family and will belong to a family throughout his life. An individual is a member of several groups at a given moment of time; member in the family, office, club, friendship circle, and political party. A man becomes a group member without deliberations or he joins a group by choice or he is forced to be a group member in some situation.

An individual influences and he is influenced by several groups. He is held by several institutions and he is obligated to several groups or associations. It is the institutions which guide, promote or protect the interests of the individual and the group. In a given community, we may come across different types of institutions and groups. They are: family, race, sex and age-groups, various nationalities, political, economic, occupational, artistic, ethical, religious, educational, scientific, philosophical, philanthropic, recreational etc. One such resource that could be utilized to involve the community and introduce and sustain any kind of change is the network of local institutions. Earlier, we have looked into some of the

political and economic institutions. We may look into some more social institutions. These institutions constitute the fabric of community organization.

Social Institutions

Under social institutions come the family, the kinship circle, the caste, the tribe and various sects among the castes and tribes; under the religious institutions come the church, the temple, the mosque and the other religious organizations which have some enduring influence on the behaviour of people; under educational institutions come the school, college or university. We may likewise think of different associations or organizations which are related to recreational, political and other aspects of life.

The whole attempt in rural development is to introduce something new in the life of the people or bring about some modification in the way of life of people. It amounts to a basic process of change, introducing change and people accepting the change and the change that is introduced and the group. An individual may react to change in two ways: he may accept or reject it. The individual or the given local community has learnt to live certain pattern of life over a period of time and has tried to maintain an equilibrium however inadequate it is. Once it is used to a particular pattern of life it will have the tendency to continue the *status quo*. Anything new that is attempted will be a disturbing factor to the individual or the group.

In view of the ways in which an individual has been socialized in group-living as a part carrier of culture, he is obliged to several individuals in decision-making or in his accepting a new idea. Whether it is a question of change in dress, food, a new practice, a school or career, shifting from one area to another, whatever may be the activity, the individual does not always decide for himself and he depends on several individuals within the family, the kinship circle and the community. He looks for the approval or appreciation of the members of the group in which he lives. Even though he is convinced of the change suggested to him by the change agency, he seeks the approval or the support of the people within his social sphere. Unless we influence his social environment, secure him the support that he is looking for, it would be difficult for him to accept the change. On the other hand, the power to influence people in decision-making or in modifying their behaviour whether this power is power of legitimate authority, power of influence or power through coercion, it is the institutional leaders in a given community who function as gate keepers and regulators of the group ethos. It is imperative on the local institutional leadership behind these institutions. He may have to work through these institutions and institutional leaders in order to introduce a change and make the change adopted and sustained by the group.

Institutions and organizations in the community may or may not have a direct bearing on or a functional

relationship to an economic or social activity in question. The tribal council, the caste/ethnic council, the religious institutions, for example, deal mostly with social aspects of the community, but as traditional and deeply rooted institutions, they influence and control the behaviour of people. The change agent may try to make use of these existing institutions and customs to communicate to the people.

A well-organized community promises better and effective participation in development activities and an important prerequisite to increase, secure and sustain people's participation in any realm of development is community organization.

Against this background of community and its organization which provides the arena and milieu for any development planning at the community level we may look briefly into some salient aspects of programme planning in rural development.

PROGRAMME PLANNING

The central objective of rural development is to develop in the people the ability to make a better living and to live a more satisfying life. This implies a series of changes in the ways of the people, their practices and methods. These different changes to be introduced in the clientele communities should be properly planned, executed and evaluated, so that they are in the desired

direction and meet the needs of the people. In developing countries the needs of the people and their problems far outweigh their capacities and the resources. Therefore, the best use of men, materials and resources is necessary to achieve quick and lasting results. This requires careful planning.

Planning is the systematic way of assessing the existing situation i.e., identifying the needs and interests of the people, appraising the available manpower and material resources, setting of general and specific objectives, fixing priorities and targets, working out sound procedures and proposing solutions to meet the needs of the people on the basis of the people's experience and results of scientific studies and research.

A plan of work is thus an outline of activity so arranged as to enable efficient execution of the programmes. It tells what, when, where and by whom the programme shall be carried out. The term programme indicates focus, priority, and design.

Any sound programme has as its basis the needs of the people for whom the programme is meant. The needs of the people constitute the core around which successful programmes are built. The needs are those which fill the gap between the existing situation and the desired situation. The existing situation can be determined by the conduct of a study or a survey of the field. The study should reveal facts about the clientele group, their

attitudes and outlook, their level of information and progress, to whom the clientele look for leadership and what they think their needs are. The desired situation can be decided on the basis of research finding, functional and official leaders. Determining what ought to be or what the desired situation is, is the process of consciously deciding the objectives or programme targets. This work must be a cooperative venture of all concerned.

We may say that designing programmes for rural development is one of the most difficult tasks confronting RD workers. This is so because planners must avoid programming that has super-imposed characteristics and instead, assure programmes that have roots among the people. Programme planning is basically a process of making decisions that will carry into the future. Decisions have to be made about what the present situation is, how it could and ought to be changed and what means can be used to accomplish the new and more desirable situation. Good planning for social development requires the ability to sound decision-making about the objectives the programmes should seek to attain, and what courses of action are most likely to achieve them. The ability to plan requires:

1. an understanding of the nature and function of planning,
2. skill in formulating planning procedures,
3. skill in identifying problems and needs,

4. ability to decide on significant objectives and goals,
5. skill in formulating means and wise courses of action to attain objectives, and
6. skill in involving key leaders in the planning process.

Some guides to planning:

1. Effective rural development programmes must have clear and significant objectives.
2. To achieve the broad purposes of socio-economic development requires planning at the top level and also at lower levels.
3. A number of crucial questions about programming must be asked and their answers taken into account in the planning process.

These questions are:

(a) To whom and to how many people is the programme important?

(b) In what way is the programme significant to people-economically, socially, morally?

(c) What is the relative importance of programme objectives?

(d) Who thinks the programme is important-

the nation, State, catalyst agency, clientele community?

(e) Who arrived at the programme objectives?

(f) On what amounts and kinds of information is the programme based?

(g) Who is acquainted with the programme and its purpose?

4. The most effective social development programme result when there is general agreement among the clientele group, catalyst institution and other liaison agencies on three important items. They are:

   (i). a basic philosophy regarding programme development,

   (ii). A clear policy that reflects the basic philosophy, and

   (iii) a workable procedure that gives general direction but provides ample latitude for adjustments needed to meet local situations.

5. Programmes are most effective when based on adequate and current facts pertaining to local conditions as well as those related to national and regional situations.

6. Selection of a relatively small number of the most

significant needs singled out for major attention contributes to the effectiveness of socio-economic development programmes.

7. Skilful involvement of progressive community leaders is fundamental in planning social development programmes.

8. Programmes that are planned for longer periods of time than one or two years tend toward greater effectiveness.

9. Programmes in social welfare programming that assure fairly close integration of problems related to the occupation/profession, the home and the community appear to contribute to their soundness and effectiveness.

10. Programme planning must take into account cultural values and the social system.

11. Programme content must be determined with care and preciseness.

12. The interpretation of the programme to officials and non-officials and to the general public is an essential step in successful programme planning.

Professional Abilities Needed by Planners

Planning effective programmes for community

development requires a number of high-level professional skills. Needed abilities include understanding and skill, in at least the following broad areas of competency:

1. Understanding of the nature and role of the national and state level/rural development organizations.
2. Knowledge and understanding of technology related to subjects with which the programme is to deal.
3. Ability to clarify the objectives of a programme and to take them so that they are useful in guiding its execution.
4. Ability to organize activities.
5. Skill at seeing the relationship between principles and practices.
6. Skill at enquiry.
7. Skill in human relations.

In sum, the measure of success achieved in free-choice societies by public programmes to promote social development is in direct ratio to the extent to which the programme is built around people's needs and consequently, is an effective influence in helping meet their needs.

To accomplish these desirable ends effectively requires a carefully structured programme at all levels that

meets the following criteria:

1. It must focus on the felt-needs and interests of the people.
2. It must be developed through joint participation of village leaders, catalyst institutions, taking into account the recommendations of the rural development organizations at the State and National levels.
3. It must focus on problems that are most important since it cannot be all things to all people at the same time.
4. It must be flexible, but with a "backbone" that gives it stability and continuity.
5. It must provide for a system of priorities in line with local needs, interest and resources.
6. It must be balanced that is, it contains items of assistance for all major social, economic, age and sex status groups.
7. It must have objectives that are attainable within the economic, social and mental capacities of the people through education with a minimum government aid.
8. It must be developed, understood, conducted and judged as an educational instrument for helping

people learn how to help themselves.

9. It must be highly significant economically, socially and morally to a relatively large number of people in the clientele community.

10. It must provide satisfaction for the people who participate. The central objective of rural development may be stated as one that helps each individual, each family and each local community achieve the highest level of living that it is capable of economically, socially and culturally by means of aided self-help through education.

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN UPLAND CONSERVATION

8
PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN UPLAND CONSERVATION

PEOPLE's participation as we have discussed earlier is pervasive and a highly desirable political and social component in all spheres of community development. In this chapter, as an illustration, we shall look into people's participation in upland conservation.[1]

UPLANDS AND UPLANDERS: PREVAILING SITUATION

All lands which have slopes exceeding 3 per cent and which generally occur at elevations of more than 600 metres could be regarded as "up-lands": These so-called upland areas are characterized by a mosaic of diverse micro-environments. Soil types, slope, drainage, and even rainfall vary within each of them. This mosaic of land resources is matched by equally similarly varied cultures of people who occupy such lands.

Upland conservation, thus, deals with two interlocking or complex systems: the forest ecosystem and the human social system. Interactions between these two systems largely determine the success or the failure of upland conservation projects. An understanding of people and how they behave in relation to trees is a requisite to rational utilization of uplands. No sensible

forester would initiate a tree planting programme without first assessing such ecological factors as soil, climate, topography before choosing the species to be planted, the spacing etc. Similarly it is necessary to assess the human factors in seeking people's participation in upland conservation as this affects programme implementation.

There are two principal types of upland inhabitants: those who belong to tribal or ethnic communities, and low-landers who have migrated into the mountains. This distinction is important because of essential differences between the two communities, especially in terms of environmental attitudes and behaviour, and values regarding land ownership and use.

An increasing number of lowlanders have turned to upland forests, as a result of population growth in the lowlands, economic dislocation, or because large-scale development projects required their dislocation. They also have relatively greater access to education, health and governmental bodies, and to the marketplace. These make them more visible as well as more open to development programmes compared with indigenous ethnic groups.

When competition over resources is among groups of different ethnic backgrounds- say, lowland migrant groups versus indigenous hill tribes- it is not unusual that staking of claims are done with intimidation and coercion. The history of the upland community is replete with cases

where indigenous occupants have been victims of manipulation by powerful outsiders seeking cheap labour, land, minerals and timber resources.

Farming is the primary occupation of uplanders. For almost all upland farmers, however, production of the main food crops typically rice, corn and / or root crops is subsistence-oriented. Periodic surpluses are bartered or sold, especially during lean months when prices rise. Multiple cropping is practiced, with crops grown either in series or in combination, again for subsistence purposes. Depending on climate, ruggedness of terrain, length of farmland use, these secondary crops commonly consist of fruits (bananas, mangoes, citrus, etc.), coffee, tobacco, abaca and coconut.

Nutrition researchers agree the typical upland diet is inadequate. Malnutrition is thus a problem. Protein from animal sources is also deficient, among many tribes, because of the scarcity of forest game; pigs, cows, chicken, and other domestic animals. As a whole, then, upland diets are inadequate in both quality and quantity.

Given the subsistence nature of upland farming and the farmers' need for additional income (particularly cash), it is not surprising that upland farmers engage in a variety of secondary economic activities. Livestock and poultry is common with a few household animals reserved for home consumption during rituals, feasts and other special occasions. The rest are traded or sold. Handicraft

products, formerly used exclusively in households, are now also sold to itinerant traders or in lowland markets. These include: blankets, pottery, brooms, beadwork, carvings, baskets, and mats. Forest products such as fuel wood, ferns, orchids, mushrooms, and honey may also be sold to lowlanders.

To sum up, the prevailing situation of uplanders is characterized by several inter-related factors. Among them are:

(a) lack of secure land tenure;

(b) low productivity of land due to soil degradation;

(c) inadequate access to upland technology (lowland technology is often super-imposed on upland settings e.g., tribal people now opt for mono-crop grain production, never a part of their tradition);

(d) inadequate infrastructure;

(e) lack of marketing experience and inadequate distribution systems (most uplanders end up exploited as their produce is often under priced and consumer items overpriced);

(f) lack of credit access to production;

(g) weak community organizations and willingness to take risks;

(h) increased population pressures;

(i) traditional imbalance in resource distribution; and

(j) natural calamities.

Deforestation and Degradation of Uplands and the Consequences

There is now evidence available quantifying the extent of deforestation and its consequences. Studies by FAO pinpoint the current rate of tropical deforestation in the region at around 2 million hectares per annum. If this trend persists, more than 20 million hectares of forest cover could disappear between now and 2000.

Annual rates of deforestation are the highest in Indonesia (over half a million ha); followed by Thailand (400,000 ha); Malaysia (230,000 ha); India (150,000); Laos (125,000 ha); Burma (100,000); Nepal (84,000 ha); Vietnam (65,000 ha) etc. Deforestation in these countries has occurred due to a multiplicity of reasons including shifting cultivation. Among the causes are:

(i) *Unorganized and spontaneous encroachments:* These are by low-landers. They manifest the relentless build-up in demand for cultivable land, by increasing numbers of landless and

unemployed rural poor. This form of deforestation is most prevalent in Thailand and Philippines. In Nepal, population pressure in the hills is force-feeding migration streams to the "Terai" areas and encroachment into forestlands.

(ii). *Organized forms of settlement:* Generally government sponsored, these are more common in Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and, to a lesser extent, in Nepal. Examples: Indonesia's transmigration programmes and conversion of forestland into oil palm and rubber plantations in Malaysia.

(iii). *Loss of forest land for other uses:* Construction of irrigation and hydro-electric projects (observed in almost every country) claim forest land, and often displace upland communities on a significant scale.

"Deforestation" is defined as removal of forest cover followed by changes in land use from "forest" to other uses. "Degradation" is the phenomenon where the "forest use" is maintained but the vegetation is despoiled and the soil badly affected.

Improper methods used in exploitation of forests and excessive removals result in degradation. Forest roads represent forest areas taken out of production either

permanently or temporarily. Studies in Sarawak established that temporary open space and bare soil (skid trails, roads, landings etc) could be as high as 40 percent of logged-over area. In varying intensities, this type of degradation appears in some 44 million ha. Of logged-over forests of insular Southeast Asia.

Degradation of tropical forests is accelerated by the demand for fuel wood. Nepal provides a typical example of degradation due to excessive fuel wood and fodder harvesting. This process has lead to severe soil erosion and deterioration of forested areas into wasteland. Destructive landslides and flash floods, exemplified by the Bangladesh deluge of 1988, are the stark result of a problem that cannot be contained within national borders.

In farming system of tropical Asia, particularly of South Asia, animals provide food and draught power. These are essential to the functioning and stability of rural economies. But they also overgraze. The problem is specially acute in India which is estimated to have 15 percent of the World's cattle, 46 percent of its buffaloes, 17 percent of its goats and 4 percent of its sheep. Grazing intensity is high in most of the upland forest areas of India.

Incessant lopping of trees by grazier, with no time allowed for regeneration of lopped trees, has reduced vast forested areas to an unstable low scrub in the Himalayan zone. In Nepal, leaves make up about 40 percent of the annual feed of a buffalo and about 25 per cent for a cow.

In addition to depletion of vegetative cover, trampling by cattle hardens the soil. This prevents forest regeneration, and causes soil erosion in several parts of the Indian subcontinent. Fire is another agent of forest degradation in the Asian region. Most forest fires are set off by man; to clear land for shifting cultivation, to facilitate collection of minor forest produce, to smoke out bees and rats, etc.

In South Asia, forest fires are generally started by grazier to burn the tough old grass and induce fresh shoots when the first rains fall. Forest fires degrade existing assets, inhibit regeneration that bring on soil erosion. In the tropical high forest areas repeated forest fires induce far-reaching ecological changes. Hence the dominance of *Imperata cylindrical, Thema triandra, Chrysopogon aciculatus and Capillipedium parviflorum* due to frequent occurrence of fires and overgrazing. This perpetuates a grass-fire-grass cycle. In certain parts of the Philippines, this cycle prevents any plant succession.

As a consequence of deforestation and degradation, the biological system is at the threshold of collapse in some parts of the region. Water and soil conservation problems are growing in severity. Human beings searching for arable land, fodder and fuel wood have stripped much of the protective cover over land in catchment areas of rivers. The result is silt-laden rivers with their capacity for providing irrigation water seriously impaired. The Yellow River of China, for example, sweeps

away 1.6 billion tons of soil into the ocean each year. The Ganges disgorges 1.5 billion tons of soil into the Bay of Bengal, and the Brahmaputra carries 726 million tons of soil each year. The Indus river is laden with 435 million tons of soil.

The list is long and the end is not in sight. Rehabilitation of upland areas should, therefore, be at the top of the agenda of most developing countries in the region.

To help rehabilitate degraded upland areas, strategies should be pursued which ensure that poverty alleviation and environmental protection complement each other. To this end, increased investments, incentive mechanisms, environmental awareness programmes and measures to identify target populations and seek their full participation, deserve highest priority.

CURRENT APPROACHES TO UPLAND CONSERVATION : AN OVERVIEW

The degree to which individual upland communities depend upon forests varies greatly. In some communities the dependence of people on forests for fodder, energy, shelter, employment and income is almost total. This is the case with traditional tribal communities in parts of India, Indonesia, Laos, Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Sarawak etc. Other communities use trees simply as a source of fuel and fodder and protect the land to maintain

environmental stability on which continued food production depends. This is predominantly the case in the mountainous areas of Bhutan, China, Nepal, Pakistan etc.

No matter what the perceived needs are, it is now well recognized that forests play a vital role in determining the total productivity and living standards of upland communities. Consequent upon this recognition was born the need to find new ways to satisfy the urgent requirements of the rural people for the goods and services of forestry sector.

However, any new system must first give due recognition to the prevailing life styles of upland communities. New measures that ignore these life styles invite failure. In fact, many forms of upland conservation introduced in some countries of the region, often lacked this focus.

In China, mass reafforestation in mountain areas was taken up under the "three norths" programme involving food for work. In India, various soil conservation measures, integrated watershed management, establishment of village woodlot, strip plantations, social security forestry, school nurseries, and raising of nurseries by school children were among the programmes carried out. In Indonesia, intensified system of soil conservation and agro-forestry are being practiced. Such income-generating activities as bee-keeping, raising of fodder grasses, and medicinal plants were encouraged. In Laos,

through a package of food, tools and technology, shifting cultivators in Laung Probang province are being taught of terrace uplands. In Nepal, the conservation activities were carried out mainly through local bodies (Panchayats). In the Philippines, major projects undertaken in uplands were: forest occupancy management projects; communal tree farm projects; and the family approach to reforestation projects. In the Republic of Korea village forestry associations were constituted to implement forestry programmes.

In Northern Thailand, the Royal Watershed Management Projects initiated by His Majesty the King of Thailand, is an example of an integrated approach to upland conservation. To understand the complexity of this approach, some details of this project are given here.

This Royal Project seeks to promote the economic growth of Isu, Karen and Haw hill tribes by organizing permanent settlements for them. Activities, are carried out by several government agencies in a coordinated manner, among them the Royal Forest Department; Narcotics Suppression Committee; Ministry of Interior; Public Welfare Department; Department of Education; Department of Agriculture; Department of Livestock Development; Border Patrol Police, and the National Economic and Social Development Board. All these agencies have one common objective: to stimulate environmentally sound and proper land use and improve

living standards of forest communities practicing shifting cultivation. These activities include: resettlement, agricultural development, and in particular diversification of crops, housing improvements, medical programmes, family planning, rehabilitation of addicts, education for children and adults, vocational training such as cottage industry training, and infrastructure development like road construction and water resources management. Together, these activities allow the hill tribes to diversify the product mix, raise livestock, and engage in side-line occupations. In an attempt to discourage the hill tribes from cultivating opium, the project introduced the growing of commercial crops, such as flowers and vegetables. A well-organized delivery and marketing system was set up.

The project also trains farmers in correct land use practices. They are taught, for instance, that only lands with gentle slopes should be used for annual crops. Steeply slopping lands are to be used for tree cash crops, such as tea, coffee and for fruit or trees. Areas with over 50 per cent slope should be used for forest plantations or should be kept permanently under forest cover. Farmers learn to take soil conservation measures, set up small irrigation schemes, improve agricultural practices, select crops to be planted and engage in agro-forestry. Forestry field workers developed a number of conservation practices to prevent soil erosion. The most effective but most expensive of this is complete bench terracing. Simpler and less expensive methods have also been

introduced such as intermittent or convertible terraces, hill ditches and contour bunding. For tree crops, orchard terracing was introduced.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN ENHANCING PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Several measures on a broad front-institutional; technological and economic-need to be initiated and continued with increasing momentum to ensure that people's participation becomes reality.

Institutional Measures

The more important institutional measures required to accelerate the process of people's participation deal with:

(i) training of staff;

(ii) informal and formal education and re-education;

(iii) extension services;

(iv) security of land tenure;

(v) a system of incentives;

(vi) promotion of local organizations;

(vii) decentralized decisions;

(viii) appropriate linking mechanisms; and

(ix) government policies and legal instruments;

Training of Staff

Upland conservation programmes, based on people's participation, are in some ways a fundamental departure from conventional forestry. To execute these programmes successfully the staff involved should be trained to develop, not only expertise in the most appropriate forestry technology, but more important correct attitudes and skills to communicate with the people. Education and training received by the foresters should be specially designed and re-oriented. If a forester is to play a significant role in serving people's participation, he will need:

(i) Knowledge, insight, and understanding of rural structures, culture and needs and aspirations of rural societies;

(ii) Knowledge of the nature and extent of available natural resources, their alternative uses, and availability of indigenous technologies to develop them;

(iii) Knowledge of forestry technologies as applied to upland conservation, and ability to disseminate this knowledge to rural people;

(iv) Knowledge of interactions between social systems and forest ecosystems and consequences of those interactions;

(v) Ability to work as a team member, accept group responsibility and accountability, and capacity to listen and accept ideas of others;

(vi) Ability to lead, motivate, innovate, and to solve problems;

(vii) Ability to cooperate and work with horizontal organizations in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding;

(viii) Ability to monitor and evaluate programmes and to obtain feedback; and

(ix) Ability to collect data and keep records and to use them effectively.

Upland conservation programmes are notoriously difficult to implement. Achieving people's participation is easier said than done. Therefore, in designing a national programme the best choice may be to start small and expand with experience. Initially the focus should be on demonstrating the approach, utilizing services of staff with outstanding personal qualities and technical abilities.

Education

Informal or formal education and re-education are important for creating awareness, positive attitudes, values and motivation; stimulating self-confidence and self-reliance; expanding "aspiration frontiers" of the rural poor; improving participation capabilities of target groups

through generating respect for, and faith in, people's power. Re-education is also relevant for government officials, politicians, and social leaders for acquiring new skills and orientations.

Education /re-education processes involve inclusion of forestry in school curricula; leadership training to enable people to take their own initiatives; non-formal education for women; field level workshops and seminars for farmers and community members to encourage articulation of their problems; a system of social communication and campaigns for effective dissemination of information; forestry education and demonstration centers for imparting skills of management to the community.

Extension Services

Governments in the region are now generally aware of and accept the need for promoting upland conservation. But many countries do not have well-organized forestry extension systems. For the success of upland conservation programmes it is crucial to constitute separate functional units for carrying out forestry extension activities. Forestry extension activities should be integrated into the general rural extension services wherever possible.

Extension agents are to help local communities take the greatest possible advantage of opportunities for

high productivity so as to augment family income. They pave way to introducing government services in an integrated manner. Adviser, teacher, analyzer and organizer, these are the essential roles of an effective forestry extension agent. He may not perform all of them in all situations, but each role is a legitimate and interlocking part of his task. In the final analysis, the work of the extension agent has a human dimension: it is to enrich the lives of people.

Security of Land Tenure

Security of land tenure and right to the use of trees are important to promote people's participation in upland conservation. Unless the farmer is assured that the trees will remain his property at harvest time, he is unlikely to cooperate. In many situations, therefore, it may be difficult to introduce forestry/agro-forestry on uplands prior to a more far-reaching reform of land tenure or change in land use.

Where landless people have already occupied and are using common lands, governments can encourage more productive use of land by assuring security of tenure. Where people have doubts over the ownership and control of the land they farm, they will withhold the long term commitment necessary to promote upland conservation.

Even if land tenure is secure, forestry legislation in several countries prescribe procedures involving prior

permission for transport and marketing of forest products. These often act as a disincentive to growing trees by farmers. Laws, therefore, need to be re-examined and, where necessary, appropriately modified.

A System of Incentives

When available land is needed for producing food and/ or cash crops, many farmers do not see any reason for planting trees, particularly when returns can be expected only some years into the future. Introduction of packages of incentives, allowing farmers to benefit more from trees, would be needed. Some of the incentives that can be considered are:

(i) Supply of seeds and seedlings, including transport cost either free of charge during the initial period or charging a nominal fee;

(ii) Allocation of land and an assured title or guarantee of tenure;

(iii) Provision of tools and equipment and supply of fertilizers;

(iv) Credit on liberal terms;

(v) Guaranteed markets;

(vi) Food aid such as the "food for work" programme under the World Food Programme;

(vii) Provision of infrastructure like village roads,

schools and dispensaries, water supply etc;

(viii) Facilities to enable women to participate in the work (i.e., child care centres).

Promotion of Local organizations

Promotion of local organizations, as well as improving the effectiveness of existing self-help organizations, is vital for sustainable participation. These would enable local people to reach out and effectively use services that are delivered. The existence of a delivery system to provide incentives is not adequate by itself. It has been demonstrated, time and again, that because of their influence and access, rich farmers tend to monopolize benefits provided by delivery systems. The weak and the poor are bypassed.

Therefore, there is a need for local level organizations to strengthen the capacity of the poor farmers to take advantage of incentives provided by governments. Strengthening of receiving systems can best be achieved through promoting local level organizations and associations in which, through united action, small farmers and disadvantaged groups can gain access to services provided by government.

Experience in small farmer development work shows that a trigger for development, at village level, is organization into small homogeneous groups of about 10-15 farmers or heads of families. These informal groups

with similarity of income, problems and aspiration, organized from below, can better receive government services.

Local institution-building is a lengthy and complex process which must take into full account the real distribution of social, economic, and political power at local levels. A long and careful sequence of steps, designed to build the capabilities of local institutions and confidence of people in them, may be necessary before effective devolution of programmes can take place. Some of the local level organizations involved in forestry in the region are: the Panchayats in India and Nepal; the Village Forestry Associations of the Republic of Korea; the Tree Farmers' Associations of the Philippines; the Tree Cooperatives in parts of Pakistan; the Forest Villages of Thailand etc.

Decentralized Decisions

Decentralization of decisions- especially financial decision-by government agencies will reinforce local level participation. At the same time, unnecessary proliferation of local branches of central bureaucracy are avoided. Responsibility for projects should be delegated to local organizations, wherever feasible.

Appropriate Linking Mechanisms

Appropriate linking mechanisms, such as joint councils of government and community representatives

enable governments to share responsibility with people's organizations and NGOs in such activities as monitoring and evaluation of programmes and assessment of the viability of proposed activities. Consultation with people may take more time. In many countries, uplanders lack political support. They are the "voiceless" people. In a variety of ways they are disadvantaged and are left out of the mainstream. Despite all plans to the contrary, it is commonly observed that policies tend to favour the already-advantaged; stress urban over rural areas, flood plains over uplands; concentrate rather than redistribute income and use external resources and benefit external parties.

Very often there is a surface hum of development activity. Superficial sings of growth are in evidence in uplands. Because the investment is from outside, and "developers" also from elsewhere, returns also leave the area. Little benefit accrues locally. Policies that allow local communities to retain a share of forest revenues and vest them with authority to spend such revenues on local development can help build participatory activities rapidly. Legal instruments for resource control and conservation need to be realistic. Procedure related to implementation of policies should be simple, and clearly understandable to the people.

Technological Measures

These measures involve generation of new and

improved technology and its use for development. Technology should be appropriate and adequate to attract people's participation including innovations to overcome physical constraints.

Applied research with active involvement of farmers can focus on pressing problems related to species, sites, plant mixtures, planting, tending and tree management. These help integration of forestry with other forms of land use for obtaining best possible results.

Economic Measures

Economic measures are those meant to ensure adequate incentives, credit facilities, delivery of inputs, markets and marketing arrangements. Availability of credit or other financing facilities, such as rural banks with a flexible system of collateral requirement or revolving funds for collateral free loans for groups, is crucial in meaningful participation. A system of price supports for wood, as is done for certain agricultural products will be needed in some cases to encourage tree planting.

There are often no local markets for wood and wood products. While planning tree-planting projects, it is therefore necessary to analyze the market situation and explore new markets so that investment involved is assured of adequate returns. Another possibility, in favourable situations, is to link wood production with processing industries through appropriate integration. It

may also be possible to capture far-away markets through organized cooperative marketing.

ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORANIZATIONS (NGOs)

Experience shows that upland conservation programmes fail due largely to rural people's inherent mistrust of governments. There are very real and deeply-embedded community-government barriers. Thus, rural communities develop defence mechanisms to ward off external intrusions.

In the past, there were virtually no upland-farmer government interactions at the local level. Relations of forestry services with local people were mostly authoritarian in nature. In this context, NGOs can help bridge the government on the one hand and the rural people on the other. Many changes will certainly be brought about by the governments themselves. But NGO action can reinforce official action and hasten changes that governments to see and countries so desperately need.

In Asia, hundreds of NGOs are operating at the local levels dedicated to constructive action. Their operations are generally limited in scope. But they are usually carried out by a core of adherents who live among people. A serious weakness with many NGOs is the *ad-hocism* associated with their work. To some extent, this

seems unavoidable, as it stems from an uncertainty in their resource position (funds, men and materials). NGOs also have a tendency to work in isolation from each other. This results not only in wastage and duplication but also in the failure to conceive the effort as a movement. External factors have also limited functioning of these organizations. Resistance from vested groups is a major hurdle. When any voluntary effort meets some success, it also meets with opposition from those who wield some power, as they feel that their own power base is being eroded. Another limitation which organizations face is the apathetic attitude or lack of cooperation from the local government officers concerned with development.

Programmes of NGOs in the Asia-Pacific Region cover a wide spectrum of activities: agriculture, health, construction of wells, developing village and cottage industries, dairy farming, spinning and weaving, adult education etc. Forestry is a late entrant into this list. Nevertheless, in recent years there has been a surge of NGO activities in the fields of environment and forestry.

An internationally known example of an NGO campaign to protect the forests of Himalayas is the *Chipko* (hug the trees) movement. Dasholi Gram Swaraj Mandal (DGSM) is the NGO behind this movement. Over the past 18 years, the Mandal, spread the message of forest conservation through innumerable foot marches, meetings and discussions. They gained widespread public support,

specially that of women in the hill districts. The *Chipko* movement has spawned in its wake several NGOs in India who are engaged, not only in environmental awareness campaigns, but also in constructive action to rebuild forest resources with people's participation. Eco-development camps and afforestation camps, conducted by NGOs, are now a common feature in the Himalayan region of India.

CONCLUSION

To win and retain people's participation, it is essential for upland to be seen as central to human interests and aspirations. As a dynamic concept, it can incorporate different social, institutional and land ownership systems wherein people come forward to cooperate in an organized manner in conserving and sharing the benefits from forests.

Much theoretical knowledge on people's participation in upland conservation exists. However, practical measures needed to promote participation still lack definition and widespread acceptance. There is a greater need to look into the following aspects:

(i) The ways in which consequences of upstream degradation/ conservation can be expressed in terms of productivity of land, rural employment, income generation, energy production, water supply, and social welfare and stability;

(ii) The required capability, content and the techniques

of conservation extension needed to mobilize people's participation; and

(iii) The incentives which can trigger people's participation leading to greater local control over natural resource management and conservation, security of tenure and increased productivity.

NOTE

1. The material in this Chapter is adopted from *"People's participation in Upland Conservation"* by late Y.S. Rao, Senior Programme Adviser (Forestry), FAO, Bangkok; undated mimeograph. The author gratefully acknowledges the source. Dr. Rao died in the Bombay bomb blast on March, 12, 1993.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

9
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

THERE are two issues of global nature or call them problems or challenges, one currently facing the entire mankind and the other a few societies or distinct cultures; environment and gender development. Environment encompasses what man has done to nature, the way he has exploited, fouled and abused it resulting in threats to the health and survival of future generations of mankind and other species – plants and animals which have been a source of man's survival thus far. The gender question revolves around what man has done or doing to woman, the other half of the mankind. The environment problem is physical, economic, industrial, technological, avarice and senseless short-sightedness on the part of the modern man whereas the gender question is complex steeped deep in history influenced by prejudices, discriminatory religious and social codes of behaviour imposed on women, and man's audacity in arrogating to himself a superior status and treating the woman his subordinate. The status, freedom and respectability accorded to and enjoyed by women in society is a mark of wisdom and civilization of that particular society. We can conceive of a continuum wherein at one end of the continuum women enjoy equal rights, respectability and are equal partners in economic pursuits and social positions and at the other end, one finds women treated inferior to man, deprived of freedom as enjoyed by man. The gender question is a

perennial question. The world body may declare equal opportunities and rights for women and men but it is the nation states and the religious and ethnic groups that have to translate such a principle into reality. One is forced to come up with a statement that so long a man does not treat a woman his equal, he is not civilized. Looked at from any angle, political, economic, social, religious, spiritual or moral, woman is an equal partner and should be an equal partner in all pursuits of life.

The purpose here is not to carry on the debate over feminine rights but to look into women's participation in development activities. Their participation, the variety, extent, and mode of participation and the activities in which they participate is influenced by religious sanctions (mostly mistaken and misinterpreted by ignorant and selfish men), economic conditions, ethnicity, occupations, professions, social status and personal endowments like literacy, knowledge and skills. Of all the forces that keep women off the economic and social activities as equal partners is religion. Unfortunately and lamentably sanctions and tenets of some religions are unquestionable. That is, you cannot question the logical inconsistency and irrationality in those sanctions and tenets. It is highly sensitive and explosive.

The women in such religious groups, in most of the cases are confined to their homes just to carry their housekeeping, child-bearing and child rearing roles. Quite

lamentable, what forces, what authority, what revolution would emancipate the women in these groups so that they contribute economically, benefit socially, grow individually and advance spiritually?

In order to make women as equal participants in all development activities, it is not enough that you bring in constitutional and legislative measures ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women, but what is wanted is creating a right type of awareness and change of attitude both on the part of men and women, and dissolving of age-old arbitrary, deeply crusted prejudices and biases against women.

As democracy is a desirable system of government, women's participation in all development activities is a desirable thing. Everything about women is not dark and dismal. They have been in the forefront in several fields and emerging as substantive partners in economic and social activities. Woman has been an economic, political and ritual partner with man, only in certain designated activities which vary from society to society. We may have a brief historical perspective of women and society.

WOMEN AND SOCIETY

In the historical evolution of mankind, woman has been an economic partner to man, besides her biological and social roles. It is said that it was the woman who discovered the possibility of domesticating plants for food

and beginning the rudiments of hoe-culture. It was so when man was in the hunting and gathering stage. Since then, through agricultural and industrial revolutions, she has been an economic partner in the family of man. She started the enterprise of food cultivation and later adopted bartering the food articles for other necessities of life.

Over a period of time, certain patterns of life and the division of labour changed. She worked on the farm, kept the house and reared the children. Further, in the Indian (Hindu) context, when social stratification (caste-system) and occupations became institutionalized, the womenfolk confined themselves to the chores assigned to them and assumed by themselves in their respective occupations or professions. Again over a period of time, class distinctions emerged, accompanied with restrictions, norms or social sanctions and certain freedoms enjoyed by women. In the general society, high and middle class women tended to confine themselves to the biological and social roles of rearing children and keeping the house. But in the case of economically lower class women, besides their bio-social roles, they had equal or more than equal share in the economic activities of the family.

In the recent past, the increase in women's education, industrialization, urbanization, social and occupational mobility, the emergence of nuclear families, westernization, politico-social movements and changes in the value system, some educated women have taken

to certain careers. Some compelled by economic necessity, have taken to small business and trade (Setty, 1985).

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

Importance and Role

Historically, women have at all times and in all types of economies made a substantial contribution to the production and distribution of their community's resources. The role of women in the development process has been widely investigated in different cultures of varicus countries. By now, it has become an established fact that women have been stepping out of their traditional status of being confined to the environment of their homes. They perform dynamic roles in enabling their society to advance towards development and prosperity. Women's productive efforts and their capability to shape family life and thus society have convinced more and more men of the need to recognize women's equal right and status (Shahand *et at.*, 1986).

In an ESCAP document (1989) containing an analysis of the women's contributions to the economy, it is stated that:

"Women's participation" in so-called informal sector activities such as petty trade, brokering, shop-keeping and other small-scale enterprises help to lubricate the

developing commercial market economy, performing many functions which are not profitable enough to attract or support larger modern businesses, yet are necessary to serve the local consumption needs of the population at large, particularly lower income groups. It is significant that women are frequently the only members of the indigenous population who can compete with minority immigrant groups in such activities.

Thus women's employment or self-employment in market production makes an important direct contribution to economic growth, and particularly to the development of certain "modern sectors" and industries which could not survive without them and have proved especially important to the balance of payments. But women's non-market activities also play an important though largely unrecognized and unrewarded role.

Women's subsistence agricultural production, for example, subsidizes many rural workers' families and thus lowers the real wage that employers have to pay them, increasing the surplus available for reinvestment and growth. It includes not-only the cultivation of staple grains, but also poultry rearing, vegetable farming, collection of forest products and other supplementary activities. Women's craft production for the household use has the same effect. And in many areas, the time-consuming and backbreaking tasks of fetching and carrying water, and gathering firewood, are assigned to women, as is

household marketing and the transport of goods often for considerable distances on foot. Child rearing, including the teaching of household and farm production tasks, which largely devolves on women, daily housekeeping and cooking, and general household management, including budgeting and financial management, complete the wide range of activities which comprise women's reproductive duties.

It has become common to describe women as invisible to depict a situation in which planners of development strategies have failed to pay serious attention to the differential roles and functions of women. The differentiation between men and women's role and work may be classified as follows (ESCAP, 1989).

(a). *In agricultural process:* A sexual division of labour assigns to women specific tasks. For instance, in rice cultivation, women are involved to a greater extent than men in transplanting, weeding, harvesting and in some post-harvesting process.

(b). *In industry:* Women have provided the bulk of the labour force in light industries which in many developing countries have spearheaded industrialization programmes, eg., industries such as electronics, textiles and garments, food processing and pharmaceutical. Within this industry there is an uneven distribution of sexes

within employment hierarchies, women dominating the lower wage, unskilled or semi-skilled production process. This means that women are vulnerable to particular occupational hazards in the operations in which they are concentrated.

(c). *In domestic roles :* In addition to the unsubstitutable function of child bearing, women are the main providers of basic family needs: food, water, clothing, domestic energy and maintenance of family shelters. They bear the major responsibility of child-care, thus functioning as the principal transmitters to future generations of attitudes and values. In their hands is the burden of the health and well-being of present, past and future generations of the enumerated labour force. The performance of these tasks, particularly in rural areas, is inefficient in the use of resources of time, labour and energy. It is these talks which account for much of women's labour, resulting in an imbalance in which women's work-hours exceed those of men.

In maintaining and nurturing the family, women frequently find ways to add to household income. Their entry or exist from market activities are sometimes flexible, dependent on contingency. This activity occurs mostly in the "informal sector" and is commonly small-scale, requiring low levels of skills, and earning low returns.

In most parts of the developing world, the major benefits of economic growth have failed to reach women. Women have also paid a steep price for the modest glimmerings of modernity that have reached them. In different places around the world, women's labour obligations have multiplied, their independent resources have shrunk, and their autonomy and cultural worth have often diminished as development has unfolded.

Failure to develop women's resources and skills undermines development as a whole. Women's labour, whether paid or unpaid, is essential. Women everywhere are primary care-givers for their families and children. Decisions women make and skills women have materially affect the health, nutrition, attire, cleanliness and emotional equanimity of all family members. With the sharpening recognition that development hinges on the fulfillment of basic human needs and the quality of life, as well as on the transfer of capital and technology, women have at last found their way onto the international development agenda, though the resolution of these problems has barely taken shape (March and Taqqu, 1986).

Manifestation of Women's Problems

Women's special problems manifest themselves across the board but can in large measure be traced to three main areas: the data base for development planning; education and training including extension services; and

technological change, not least its social implication.

In the book-keeping system of development plans, women (and girls) have generally been seen as consumers, not as producers. Moreover, women's work in particular rural women's work, is often not counted statistically.

A primary reason for not including women's work in the computation of the gross national product (GNP) is that so much of it is performed in the family setting. Additionally, it is often of a subsistence nature. On both counts such work, when performed by women, tends to be excluded from official statistics. In many countries such work is recorded, in many others it is not fully recorded or omitted entirely. The reason for non-recording is usually that the societal ideal is that women should not perform such work, in particular, not field work. It should be done by men or, in parts of India e.g., by hired lower-caste women (UNDP, 1980).

Because so much of development efforts has been deficient in its attempts to reach the common people, there is now wide spread agreement that the revised development strategies need to be broad-based and people-oriented. For such strategies to succeed, they must combine two basic principles. On the one hand they must provide for a wide distribution of benefits and services like health care, education and training, productive

employment, credit, marketing, fuel, water, sanitation and protection against environmental degradation, in particular the loss of cultivable land through erosion. On the other hand, to make such policies a realistic alternative, a greater mobilization of people as productive agents must be achieved. Their labour, capability, motivation and enterprise in bettering their own conditions must be stimulated. In both respects, women's role in development, not least in rural areas, deserves special attention (UN, 1982).

UNDP (1980) summarized its evaluation of the rural women's participation in development reaching the conclusion:

"If the poor are to be given a fair opportunity to participate in the development effort, there is every reason to consider the participation by women as full and equal partners as a major factor in this effort. In other words, as there are two systems of social stratification, there are two problems of integration, that of the poor and, especially within but also beyond this problem, that of women. No strategy is going to succeed within the foreseeable future".

In India, it has been observed that in Kaira district of Gujarat, where the cooperative movement started, women's status has not improved as a result. While in the past, production and marketing were in women's hands, in the new modern dairy industry management its

rewards have been taken over by men.

"Of the more than 2000 persons employed in the Amul (Anand Milk Union Limited) complex, there is only one woman veterinarian and a few telephone operators and secretaries. Not even one woman has been given the mastery over the new technology that has taken over the women's traditional tasks of making butter and cheese". (Brandtzaeg, 1979).

With respect to membership in the cooperative, data from 481 societies show that women only constitute from 2 to 15 per cent of the members. Moreover, the majority of woman members are successors to husbands who have died or are dummy members to enable individual families to control a larger number of shares. With the exception of one all-women society, all the other societies are run by men (Brandtzaeg, 1979).

In the less developed countries the labour force is more evenly distributed among the three categories of workers : employers and own-account workers (self-employed), employees (wage labourers) and unpaid family workers. The distribution of female workers tended to follow this pattern, with the notable variation of a larger proportion of women than of men being employed as unpaid family workers. Indeed, in most cases, including in the more developed countries, females accounted for disproportionate share, often a large majority of the unpaid family workers. Conversely, they accounted for a

disproportionately small share of employers and own-account workers. In short, women tend to be under-represented at the higher and over-represented at the lower levels of the labour force (ESCAP, 1989). Let us look at the situation in India as an illustration.

Experience of Women's Participation in Development in India

India's economy and also the status of her women remained stagnant for a long time. They started to change for the better slowly with the advent of the British education system but women are still victims of the basically exploitative mechanism operating against them. In fact, like the resulting development pattern of the Indian economy, the Indian woman has suffered a dualism in status on her way to play effectively her economic and social role (Sen, 1989).

Shyam (1989) in his study of the India framework for Rural Development stated that:

> "Women labour force constitutes about half of the unorganized labourers in rural areas. In addition to their 10-12 hours per day engagement in household work, women's role in agriculture, animal husbandry and other allied activities is very important. A large number of women labourers are engaged in marginal occupations to supplement the family income. Their contribution,

> however, is yet to be quantified in terms of working hours as well as in terms of income generated. The green revolution has aggravated the plight of woman labourers in rural areas".

In the history of the country's planned development, women have remained invisible except for the Sixth Plan in which for the first item, a chapter was devoted to the integration of women into the development process. The main challenge in women's development has been the means of mainstreaming women into the development process.

Indian planners (Planning Commission, 1985) have recognized the fact that:

> "The Green Revolution has led to increased demands for casual labour, dispossession of small land holders from their land and consequently, pushing out women from such small land holdings to become wage earners. Though many of the tasks performed by males are mechanized, women continue to toil in labour intensive jobs like rice plantation, cleaning and storage of grain in post-harvest operations, picking of leaves, fruits and hand shelling of groundnut and picking of seeds etc. Women got limited job opportunities in modern occupations / trade as they do not have access to the training required for new technologies. In many areas where multiple crops are grown, the workload

of women has increased. In industry, women continue to be employed mostly on unskilled jobs. The average earning of a regular salaried woman worker continues to be less than that of a man".

CONCLUSION

Empowering, enabling and facilitating women to participate in all development programmes is a stupendous task in view of differential freedom and status enjoyed and the roles performed by women and the importance accorded to them across the diverse societies in the world. It is a task so massive and the efforts should also be multi-dimensional and at multi-level wherein the educational institutions, the media, the writers, leaders of all description, the extension personnel and above all the enlightened public should carry on the job of bringing about a change in the value orientations and the psyche of both men and women that the women are not only biological partners in procreation, but equal partners in social and economic development.

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YOUTH'S PARTICIPATION

10
YOUTH'S PARTICIPATION

YOUTH constitute a potential and a rich human resource in any community. The youth with the vigour of their age, most often bubbling with enthusiasm for change for better ways of life look for opportunities to fulfill their psychic, social and economic needs. It depends on how the youth is motivated, mobilized, organized, facilitated and utilized in building newer and progressive communities. The programmes should satisfy them and should also be contributory to community development.

When we speak of the rural youth, we meet with a diversity in their case, literate, illiterate, people with some social and technical skills, rich and poor, employed and unemployed. And so the rural development programmes are to be satisfying and challenging to them so that we can secure and ensure their participation. The youth are involved in development programmes as adults in general and there are special schemes like the National Service Scheme (NSS) in India wherein the students of colleges and universities, volunteer and contribute their labour in forming approach roads, digging irrigation canals, and other kinds of manual work beneficial to rural communities.

Youth development or involvement of the youth in development forms a department in the ministry of

Education, Human Resources Development in some countries (e.g., India) or a separate ministry as in the case of Bangladesh. We may focus on twin objectives in this chapter-developing the youth and the youth developing the family and the community which may be called "Family-based Integrated Youth Development".

FAMILY-BASED INTEGRATED YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Developing the youth is of prime importance in all societies. Ministries of Youth Development and in some cases the Departments of Youth Development have been attempting the development of youth in creative, constructive and productive activities. But it has been realized that by focusing on youth alone, the desired kind of development changes among the youth are not encouraging and commensurate with the efforts made. It is found necessary that youth development should be an integral part of family and community development. At least in the initial stages, there is a need for an intensive coordinated approach and effort in developing the youth and their families simultaneously- the youth contributing to the parents and the family and the parents and the larger community guiding, helping and giving moral and socio-economic support to the youth and involving them in constructive and productive activities.

Such a desirable youth-family development could be achieved only through a systematic approach which

may be termed as "Family-based Integrated Youth Development".

Objectives

The main objective of family-based integrated youth development is to take each family as a unit of development, study its material and human resources and help the members in the family in their developmental pursuits and assist them in utilizing their physical, material and human resources for increased productive activities. In other words, in the programme, we look at each family, take stock of what its resources are, how the resources are utilized today, how best they could be utilized, the kind of support they need, develop initiative and motivation among the youth and the adults in the family in order that they mobilize their own resources. In addition, technical and managerial guidance and marginal monetary assistance is extended to them so that each family attempts a maximum level of resource utilization, physical as well as human.

Programme Content

In the proposed scheme, the activities will comprise moral, spiritual, social and economic programmes for the youth for their own progress and for the betterment of their families and their communities. The on-going programmes in the Ministry or Department of Youth Development will be carried out intensively involving each

family as a unit of development.

Basically the scheme will comprise social and economic components. The emphasis in the scheme is maximal utilization of the internal resources of the family and the community, mobilizing the youth as instruments of change.

The programme may comprise:

1. Collection and processing of family-community data.
2. Identification of small enterprises, self-employment avenues which may be taken up by the youth ad their families.
3. Preparation of feasibility studies on small enterprises.
4. Training of the youth to take to small entrepreneurial activities.
5. Organizing the youth into viable associations.
6. Involvement of the youth in community development activities.

Coverage of the Pilot Scheme

In view of the clinical-family community-intensive

integrated youth development, initially as a pilot measure two units each comprising 5-8 villages may be taken up under the pilot scheme. Preferably one pilot project may be selected in a better off area and another in a backward region. The two pilot project schemes will lend themselves for comparison and future replication of the programme. The criteria for selecting the pilot project areas may comprise:

(a) The cluster of villages or the blocks/unions selected for the pilot project are neither too close to an urban center nor too isolated.

(b) The units selected currently carry on satisfactory youth development activities and have the response and immediate potential for intensive development; and

(c) The units enjoy minimum transport and communication facilities and some infrastructure for small enterprise development.

Institutional Arrangements

The existing organizational set-up of the Ministry or Department of Youth Development at the district level may be utilized for planning and implementing the programme in the pilot area with a small staff to keep in touch with and monitor the youth and a small staff to keep

in touch with and monitor the youth and family development activities. A small information-monitoring center in each village of the pilot area may be established which will have in its office the family resource and development cards pertaining to all the families in the communities. In addition to the youth development agency, the other promotional agencies may be involved in planning and implementing the activities. The data and information system will be maintained at the pilot project headquarters concerning all the villages in the area. It can be envisaged that each family will have a "Family-Resource and Development Card". This card will contain basic data about the family; its members, their age, educational attainment, how they are occupied, means of livelihood, how their present assets are utilized, their income and expenditure, their needs, the way they would like to improve their conditions and potential and scope for further development with external guidance and assistance. The data from the family cards will be aggregated both at the community level and pilot project level. The data could be classified in different ways both at the village and the project levels for purposes of planning and implementation of programme.

Organizational Set-up

The overall functioning and administration of the pilot project will be under a "pilot project committee" comprising elected or nominated youth representatives

from each village in the pilot project area. There may be one or two representatives from each village and wherever there is response, women also may serve on the committee. The committee will elect a chairman from amongst themselves to head the committee.

The committee will be entrusted with powers to decide, formulate, implement and monitor all activities under the "Family-based Integrated Youth Development". The committee will be assisted by an executive wing consisting of an executive officer and field and secretarial staff. The executive officer may be the Assistant Director of Department of Youth Development or any officer with a different title but with a similar function. He will guide and assist the committee in its deliberations and decision-making. It is envisaged that the pilot project committee and the executive wing are complementary to each other and they are to work in unison.

Staff of the Pilot Project

1. *Project Executive Officer:* He will be in overall charge of the project.

2. *Rural Social Analyst:* A qualified person in social sciences with experience in social surveys and human resource development. He will be responsible in assisting data collection, processing of data etc.

3. *Field Investigators (two):* They will assist the Rural Social Analyst and most importantly the youth volunteer investigators who will collect data pertaining to families and the community.

4. *A Secretarial Assistant:* A steno-typist-cum-cashier.

5. *An Office Attendant.*

It is envisaged that the secretarial and transport assistance will be provided by the Department of Youth Development.

Approach to the Implementation of Pilot Project

To begin with, detailed data as mentioned above, in respect of each family will be collected by the youth in the community as volunteers with the assistance of the project officials. The *Family resource and Development Card* will be so designed that it will contain basic data about the family and also will have provision to record subsequent development activities etc. A copy of this *Family Resource and Development Card* as mentioned earlier will be with each family and one at the village center and another at the project headquarters At any given time it is possible for the family, community and project to know the present position and what is happening and what should be done at three levels; family, community and project. A monitoring system of to and from informal

dissemination will be developed, sometimes using computer facilities where necessary. The *Family Resource and Development Card* will serve as a reminder and as a progress card of the youth and family developmental activities. It involves initial information gathering and recording of the data and coding the families, the activities and the communities in the project area. In the monitoring system, there will be regular and periodical feed-back and evaluation in respect of each family and community. In the total process of planning, implementing and evaluating the activities, the youth will be the principal participants.

Time Frame

The first cycle of the two pilot projects will have a two-year period. During this period the basic data of the families and the community will be prepared and aggregated at the community and project levels. Programmes of action will be formulated. Youth organization and other institutional arrangements will be made. Programmes of immediate and long-range activities will be planned and scheduled for implementation.

The pilot scheme suggested above could be extended to all the rural areas depending on the success gained in the pilot schemes and with improvements too. The youth involved in the programme could be those

educated, high school dropouts looking for employment or self-employment and those who are still doing their studies in secondary schools and colleges. The objective is to benefit the youth and at the same time make them active participants in rural development.

LEADERSHIP AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

11
LEADERSHIP AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

THERE is a close relationship between the leadership in a rural community and the nature and degree of people's participation in rural development activities. The local leaders may be instrumental in mobilizing, and motivating people to participate in development activities or they may sometimes be barriers inhibiting and subtly or deliberately discouraging participation for their selfish ends and or do so out of ignorance, misinformation, avarice, or trying to keep their followers as marginal and occasional beneficiaries of development programmes and not as active participants in decision-making or authors of any policy issues.

People's participation as a product or function depends on the structure and type of leadership and the ethnic, social and class composition of the rural community. Sometimes, the numerical strength of the ethnic, occupational and professional groups are factors to be reckoned with when we speak of local leaders as stimulants or barriers to people's participation in development programmes.

We may have a brief look at the rural leadership and some instances wherein local leadership was a deciding factor for any initiative for promotional or

and some instances wherein local leadership was a deciding factor for any initiative for promotional or developmental programme or the local people accepting a project, innovation or participating in a communal activity.

The village community world over, despite its social, ethnic, religious and lingual composition, is a social entity. It has its structure and traditions. The diverse activities of the community, both individual and communal are carried on and regulated by some individuals from within and outside the community. The individuals who guide, who are sought after to guide and shoulder the affairs of the people in the village may be called leaders. Sometimes, the pattern of leadership and its functions vary from community to community. It is interesting to look into the principles that control human relations and how a social group organizes and lives its life. More often, the burden of village responsibility rests on the leaders just as family responsibility rests on the head of the household.

AREAS OF LEADERSHIP

Leaders emerge and function in diverse fields. The areas of leadership and the number of leadership and the number of leaders functioning in each area and one leader functioning in several areas depend on the size and social structure of the rural community and, as mentioned earlier, on the occupations and profession of the population, their literacy and intellectual levels, and

also on the degree of their interaction with the outside world.

In a broad sense, when we think of rural-traditional communities, the following activities may be considered as areas wherein the question of guidance and consulting arise and the local leadership centre around these functions.

1. Coordination of village communal undertakings.
2. Liaison between the people and governmental personnel.
3. Guidance in times of epidemics.
4. Guidance in religious magical matters.
5. Financial problems – monetary matters.
6. Political matters.
7. Guidance in legal matters.
8. Financial help for marriage and death ceremonies.
9. Settling quarrels-disputes outside the village.
10. Settling quarrels-disputes inside the village.

11. Agricultural matters.

12. Guidance in educational matters.

13. Guidance in warding off the effects of witchery and sorcery.

14. Guidance in employment opportunities.

As communities progress, with the increase in skills and literacy rate and change in the value system the nature of needs, degree of dependency and also leadership change. Leadership is a social phenomenon and it is subject to change and will in some measure, in some areas persist forever.

Leaders as Facilitators and Blockers

One comes across innumerable instances in rural communities and equally in urban settlements too wherein local leaders function as motivators and facilitators encouraging and enthusing people to participate in development activities concerning their community and as blockers discouraging the people in participation. The local leaders have been instrumental in accomplishing several projects for their communities. Participation by significant individuals in the community secures the projects as a sanctity, approval and acceptance by the generality of the community. We may look into a few cases wherein the weight and significance of local leaders manifest itself.

PARTICIPATION FOR A NATIONAL CAUSE

During the Indo-China War in the last quarter of 1962, over the border dispute which lasted for a short period, the Government of India had to mobilize its resources and a fund raising campaign was started all over the country. It was called "War Fund". The State Governments were asked to raise funds from the people and they acted through several of their line and development agencies. During this period what were then called Community Development Blocks were given each a certain target of amount to be raised from People's Contributions towards the War Fund. As usual (we mean the target distribution downward in the hierarchy) the Block Development Officer (BDO) assigned each Village Level Worker (VLW) a certain target of amount to be raised in his circle comprising households ranging from 1,500 to 1,800.

During this period the author happened to be a VLW and the target of raising money for the War Fund fell on him. Inclusive of hamlets he had around twenty villages under his jurisdiction. Indo-China war was a distant cry for the people in the area. Many of the villagers had no idea of China, its geographic location and its borders with India and the disputed borders. It became a big problem to explain the situation to the simple but intelligent villagers. We had to approach the local leaders for help in raising the amount. Through the initiative taken by the local leaders, we were able to raise small amounts

of money ranging from one to twenty rupees or so, from each household.

In this context the author would like to cite one instance pertaining to a community of shepherds in one village, most of them poor and landless, mainly thriving on rearing sheep and goats. We told them that the millionaire-farmer and politically influential leader of a higher caste community from the neighbouring village was visiting their village on such and such a day and he expected them to contribute their mite for the War Fund.

The day the leader visited the shepherd community, one could see the spontaneous and enthusiastic presenting of old silver bangles, rings, waist-strings made of silver, the only valuable ornaments some of the families possessed. Most of them had no money to give. Some of the silver ornaments given by them can be considered antics, for they were of old-fashioned and some may be called of tribal-wear. Later, we sold the silver ornaments to some well-to-do families and passed on the proceeds to the BDO. The participation of the people in this instance was overwhelming and largely it was to be attributed to the respect the villagers had for the leader and his very visit to them seeking their humble contribution. As mentioned earlier, to a large measure, the people's response and their contribution, as a symbol of their participation for a national cause was not a response to Government nor to those skirmishes taking places at the international border between India and

China, but for the influence and initiative of the local, small leaders and the big wealthy leader from the neighbouring village.

The following two cases reflect the spirit of healthy competition amongst the rural communities and the significant and appreciable role played by both, by the formal and small informal leaders in effecting popular participation in mobilizing resources to start a high school and forming of approach roads to the villages.

Small Informal Leaders Collecting Contributions from the Villagers for a Large Educational Project

Rampur* is a fairly big village with a population of around three thousand at the time of this incidence and is located in Chittoor district, South India. It is a multi-caste community. It is a market center for the main villages and hamlets within a radius of 15 km. The population of the cluster of villages around Rampur in 1960s, was around 30,000, but there was no high school in the whole area. The majority of the population comprised small farmers, landless labourers, artisans and petty traders. Since there was no high school within the walkable distance and many families could not afford sending their children to distantly located high schools and keep them in hostels, many children had no chance of going beyond primary education.

As a contrast to the conditions of the commonality of the communities under reference, one family of the

dominant caste-Hindus in Rampur was rich. This family and its clanfolk and kin in the neighbouring couple of villages and other districts were traditionally affluent. The head of the rich family in Rampur is a graduate, well-informed, with high connections, wielding influence with the administration at the district and at the State level too. He is a big farmer, moneylender and most of the farmers in the neighbouring villages were to borrow money from him and so they were captive sellers of their groundnut produce to him only. He was politically powerful and whether the people like it or not he had a sway over them and there was no opposition to him. He could send his children to expensive public schools and colleges and so he had no felt-need for a high school in the village. The neighbouring villagers felt an acute need for a high school in their area. It was reported that some of the important people in the area approached this rich man and raised the question of a high school for the area. His response was evasive, with excuses and explanations of impractibility of opening a high school in the village to serve the village and the neighbouring communities. A high school was a long felt-need. The neighbouring villagers sensed and realized that the big man was not interested in a high school in his area, may be thinking that if the children of poor families received higher education, his importance and his family status will go down, when poor get educated and become rich it is a threat to the already rich.

A few leaders in the neighbouring villages took initiative, went around the villages, discussed with local leaders the prospect of raising money from each family after the harvest of paddy and groundnut, the principal crops in the area. This silent campaign for raising contributions was done without the knowledge and approval of the big man of Rampur. It was a successful fund raising campaign. Obviously, the message of popular concerted efforts, mobilization of small resources in cash and kind and the community's solid social action reached the big man as a shock and threat to his eminent position. He realized that he could not stall the starting of a high school for the area, for the people were determined, have raised considerable amount from the people to approach the government for sanctioning for opening a high school in their area. They were to offer their collections as a matching contribution to government's grant. The big man realized that it was already too late and even if he opposed subtlety or diplomatically the opening of the educational institution, it would come with the popular force. And so, not to be left behind and side-tracked he sent invitation for a grand feast to all important leaders in the neighbouring villages. Some of the invitees knew that it was a face saving mechanism. A large group gathered on his spacious mango garden and after treating them with a rich feast, he gave a small speech, how, for a long time, he had been pondering over the need for a high school for their area and that he was glad that some initiative was taken by the local leaders and the people in

the area and announced with a flourish that he was donating three acres of prime land close to the main road in his village for the high school and certain amount in thousands and wished that the high school may be named after his late father.

After a few months the high school was sanctioned by the government. From then on the big man assumed the lead position. The buildings came up. The high school was opened and for the past forrty years now the children of this area have access to higher education. It is the small informal and formal leaders in the rural communities, who initiated the movement and secured popular participation. We should acknowledge the help rendered and boost given by the big man in Rampur whatever might have been his initial attitude and intentions for a high school to serve the needs of the common people in the area.

Participation is Contagious

When an occasion arises, when proper climate is created, when people's competitive spirit is kindled, when people perceive the tangible benefit for them and when properly guided by the local leaders people's participation in promotional and development activities becomes contagious. The term "contagious" is used here in the sense of exciting enthusiasm from one to the other for a positive course of action.

It was Andhra Pradesh in India which was the first State to introduce Panchayati Raj system in September 1958, in the Community Development Blocks that were in operation during this period. In order to celebrate the first anniversary of the Panchayati Raj system in the State, a grand programme of multiple development activities viz., kitchen gardens, soak pits, drainage, mass environmental sanitation and formation of earthen approach roads to the villages where they did not exist then was initiated. Of all the above programmes, the formation of cartable and suitable approach roads to villages was given the place of primacy.

The pres ent case refers to the former Chowdepalle Community Development Block in Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh. The approach road campaign in particular was carried on for a couple of weeks by the Community Development Workers and local leaders. Prizes were established for the best people's participation in terms of their labour contribution in forming the roads. For a few weeks it looked like a massive festive activity in dozens of villages, people engaged in cutting, digging, forming and aligning the earthen approach roads to their villages. One could see the spontaneity and enthusiasm among the people. It was really contagious. Later, the VLW circles which had the best performance were selected and the concerned Village Level Workers were awarded the prizes by the Block Agency. Here the credit goes to the people and their leaders.

What happens when a Leader is Ignored.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, participation by significant individuals in the community secures the projects a sanctity, approval and a legitimacy. The local leaders are the gate keepers and one can visualize the role of these gate keepers in rural communities. We may look into the case wherein an educational institute as a development agency failed to contact a local leader and solicit his involvement in a housing project for the cobbler community, a constituent of the village. The failure to contact the leader by the development agency was not deliberate or negligence, but it was out of ignorance of the personnel of the development agency, and local communal dynamics and the leader's influence over the cobblers. The non-involvement of the local leaders of different caste and religion acted as a stalemate to the project in the beginning.

Servaipuram

Servaipuram is one of the villages in what is called Achampatti complex of villages, close to Dindugal town in Tamil Nadu. The complex comprises around ten villages which used to be the service area of Gandhigram Rural Institute. The institute had several extension and service activities such as pre-school education, women's clubs, agricultural societies (for access to credit), leather tanning and housing for the weaker sections. The institute

was receiving funds from a German voluntary agency and this was the only source of funds for the institute for its extension service activities. These activities served as a field orientation to the students of the institute.

Servaipuram is fairly a large village with a population of 2,500 persons. The majority comprised of Servai Christians and there is a church in the village with a priest who was an outsider and a local leader as the manager of the church. Obviously, the manager of the church was a Christian and was religious and secular leader in the village. Nothing in the village should happen outside his knowledge. He had a grip over the Hindu minority groups in the village.

The Cobblers

One such minority group was cobblers, the leather workers comprising 45 households. All these families were living in hovel like huts, crowded in a small area outside the main settlement of Servaipuram. The most immediate need for the cobbler community was housing. The institute's faculty (the author was one of the faculty) on deliberations with the cobbler community arrived at this priority of housing for them. The housing project required acquiring of land for house sites and building the houses for the 45 families. The leaders in the cobbler community were asked to choose some land around the

village (private or government land) so that preparations may be made for formal acquisition of land for housing.

The faculty from the institute used to meet the cobblers periodically in order to know the progress in their selection of land. Thus, the faculty spent ten months without getting any indication from the cobblers. Whenever the faculty assembled the cobbler leaders and discussed the question of their choice of house-site, the response was silence or some vague and evasive answers. The faculty were at a loss as to why the cobblers were not coming forward with any indication of their choice of land for their new houses. After ten months of futile meetings with this clientele group, the faculty at one point asked them as to what was holding them in making a decision. The leader of the cobblers came out in an hesitant way and in a faltered tone informed the faculty that they better consult the manager of the local church. Later, it surfaced that the manager of the church felt that he was not consulted by the institute's faculty and he was ignored though he was also a secular leader of all segments in Servaipuram. He had kept vigilance on what was going on between the cobblers and the service agency. It came to be known that he mildly and indirectly warned the cobblers that he was not happy about what was going on between the cobblers and the service agency. The cobbler leader threw a hint at the faculty that better they discussed the house site affair with the manager. The faculty realized the lapse on their part that they have failed and did not bother to know the nexus of

relationship between the cobblers and the majority Servai Christian community and more importantly the influence of the church manager. He blocked the activity, since he felt that his importance was not recognized and the programme did not go through him.

After a few days this lapse was remedied. The faculty went to the manager, apologised for having been ignorant of his status and his importance as a local leader and arranged a big meeting of the community including the cobblers and the manager was requested to preside over the meeting wherein the housing for the cobblers and other programmes (a community hall, loans for draught bullocks, a kindergarten) were discussed. Later on, the housing project for the cobblers was routed through the manager. We cite this case in order to emphasize as to what happens to development programmes in rural communities, when individuals do not participate in the development activities.

Further, it is not only a question of enthusing, motivating the existing local leaders to encourage and induce participation among the people, but it is also cultivating new leadership in the local communities to generate and institutionalize more and more of people's participation in development activities. Activities or programmes are the means to build new leadership and strengthen the existing leadership. Local leadership is an invaluable human resource and energy to build up healthy rural communities on the plank of participation.

INSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVE PARTICIPATION

12
INSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVE PARTICIPATION

PEOPLE'S participation in the sense of sharing their ideas, interests, needs and views with the development agencies could be direct and indirect. Direct people's participation in any development activity is constrained, besides other community factors like its size, its geographical spread, and in other words the population in the community and its social composition. One logical, practical and simple mechanism for people's participation is institutional representative participation wherein people's elected, selected, nominated representatives, of diverse people's bodies (organizations/institutions) from the village to national level participate on behalf of people and for expressing their views. These are formal statutory bodies like village panchayats (India, Nepal), Tambon Committees, Mandals, Samithis, Unions (Thailand and India) and Upazillas in Bangladesh (suspended after General Ershad's exit) and Zilla Parishads in India. Apart from the above statutory bodies which are the administrative and institutional products of decentralization we may also cite voluntary and feeder organizations such as Youth Clubs, Women's Clubs, Farmer's Forums and all forms of cooperative societies facilitating institutional representative participation of the people in the promotional and developmental activities.

Decentralization at the district and sub-district level in terms of policy formulation, planning, resource mobilization, allocation of resources and implementing development programmes is a measure and a means to bring down development administration close to the people for their active involvement. Democratic decentralization is a facilitating factor in representative people's participation and this takes us to look into the various facets and dimensions of decentralization.

Decentralization means decreasing the role of central government, and augmenting the authority of responsive local institutions. It is concerned with increasing accountability between people who provide local services, and the people who use these services. Above all, it is about the improved management of some of the development activities in the rural area. There are many forms that decentralization can take, including transfer of authority from central to local government, from provincial government to community and non-governmental organizations, and to the private sector. It is a tool for better rural management, by changing the institutional framework to include a significantly greater role for local and community institutions. Decentralization is official policy in many countries of the region. It is no longer an issue whether local governments will assume

greater responsibility, but how they will perform the functions statutorily devolved and entrusted to them.

Whether the formal or constitutional structure of the state is federal or unitary, governmental functions are performed in most countries at several levels. While responsibilities for some of the crucial functions such as defence, external relations and macro-management of the economy rests with the national government, several other functional and technical services in agriculture, education, health care and social welfare are usually the responsibility of the administration at the sub-national or local levels. In some Asian countries, the administrative structure is made up of more than two tiers, with the second tier looking after subjects like law and order and justice, and the planning and execution of development programmes at the regional or provincial level, while government bodies below them are entrusted with the responsibility for providing basic civic services. In developing countries, although forces favouring centralization have usually been strong, a common tenet of policy has been to decentralize governmental functions and foster the growth of local government.

It is universally acknowledged that certain functions of the state are best performed at the local level for the simple reason that decentralizing the provision of basic civic services (eg. Sanitation, public health, primary

education and social welfare activities) maximizes welfare by responding efficiently to public needs. Local governments responsible to the people from the locality are in a better position to respond to the preferences and needs of the people than governments functioning at a distance. To a developmentalist, the decentralization of the powers and functions of the government among different levels, which essentially underlies the rationale for federalism, helps to reconcile the aims of achieving unity in the midst of diversity. From the economic point, optimal provision of public goods calls for both centralized and decentralized decision-making in the appropriation and allocation of resources in the public enterprises.

In the developmental context, decentralization acquires special significance in view of the fact, given the requisite authority, local bodies can generate activities suited to the resource endowment and needs of the local people. Local government units can undertake more effectively activities like improving local infrastructure, such as roads, transport and communication facilities, water supply, electricity and energy, apart from delivering social services in the area of health, nutrition, sanitation, housing, and so on. Local governments can also make valuable contributions to irrigation and land utilization, the protection of the environment, animal husbandry, household industry, public works and the supply of inputs for agriculture and cottage industries. Excessive centralization in planning and implementation of development programmes often

causes needless delays and wastage while stifling local initiative. It is increasingly recognized that real grassroots development can take place only with the active participation of local government bodies in these activities.

Local units are also perceived to be in a position to tap resources, which centrally administered revenue, instruments cannot reach. Participation of the people in the government at the local levels makes it possible to tap resources in ways which may not be acceptable if imposed from above.

The healthy growth of local government units together with the representation of the people also helps inculcate participatory government and development. The units can serve as a training ground for the people and their representatives in responsible decision-making and meaningful participation in national life. Above all, it helps to impart a sense of fulfillment among the people as citizens and thereby strengthens the foundations of a democratic polity. These considerations, as well as the widening resource gap of the public sector in many developing countries, which underscores the urgency of developing more resources and ensuring their efficient use, have impelled many governments to look to decentralization as a partial answer to their problems.

Despite recognition of its merits, however, and the resolve to decentralize governmental functions in planning

and management, the process of decentralization is yet to strike roots in most developing countries. Planning has to be decentralized if idle resources are to be utilized optimally and local needs and aspirations are to be met efficiently. Diseconomies and other costs of over-centralization coupled with advances in technologies, particularly in the field of information and telecommunications, have made decentralization both imperative and feasible.

The term "decentralization" in the context of governmental organization is generally taken to mean the transfer of authority from the national or central government to its field offices, local authorities or other local bodies. Decentralization in the economic sense implies the transfer of responsibility for planning, management, resource-raising and allocation of resources in the public sector. Such resource transfers can be effected through the devolution of powers and functions of government to lower-level bodies with a degree of autonomy, by the deconcentration of central government offices, and by deregulation, and with the setting up of public enterprises.

If the benefits of local participation and involvement in deciding the use of national resources for public purposes according to local preference are to be derived, decentralization has to aim at what is implied by "devolution". Such devolution should proceed to the

lowest possible level where the people can effectively participate in development and have direct access to the benefits of growth as well as civic and social services that governments provide to their citizens. It follows that to be meaningful, devolution carries with it the need for introducing an element of self-governance or some representative character in the lower-level government bodies to whom responsibility for specified functions, alongwith requisite powers and autonomy, is transferred. Fiscal decentralization, which essentially implies a greater access to national resources with increased powers to mobilize and use them for meeting local wants, provides the real content of functional decentralization.

While decentralization has been attempted in developing countries in all the forms distinguished above, the picture that emerges from the close scrutiny of the countries shows that progress in devolution has been rather slow and halting. Seldom was the intention to devolve matched by necessary action, and even where action was taken in the form of legislation or creation of necessary institutions, other conditions for devolution to be effective were not met with. While there are more than two tiers of government in all the countries, few have succeeded in devising local government institutions which could involve the people in the function of government and in its various activities. At this point, we may at length

look into, in a larger sense, a revolutionary change in India – democratic decentralization and Panchayati Raj.

Panchayati Raj

The institution of Village Panchayat is as old as Indian history and is part of Indian tradition. The ancient Panchayats discharged most of the functions affecting the life of village communities and were effective units of administration until the eighteenth century. With the advent of the British, however, they got relegated to subservient place in the colonial administrative set-up. Even during the British rule, particularly after Ripon Resolution of 1892, attempts were made to revive these village institutions. Accordingly, Panchayats and Local Boards were set up in the Provinces of British India.

The Need for Panchayati Raj: The constitutional Sanction Behind It

The Panchayats, the Taluk and District Boards and the Municipalities established after Ripon, were either purely nominated or containing some members elected by narrow electorates. Under Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, Local Self-government was made a transferred subject and the State Ministries concerned attempted to broaden the foundations of these local bodies.

In some States, Village Panchayats were sought to be established on a wider scale. But all these efforts were half-hearted and the establishment of Village Panchayats and reconstruction of other local bodies on a truly democratic basis figured prominently on the platform of the Indian national Congress.

After Independence, the importance of revitalizing the Village Panchayats and assigning them a specific role in administration was recognized and it was laid in the Indian Constitution as a Directive Principle of State Policy that "the State shall take steps to organize village Panchayats and to endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of Local Self-Government" (Article 40).

Its Relevance to Community Development in India

The first organized effort to tackle the problems of rural India was through the Community Development Programme, which was launched in fifty-five selected projects on October 2, 1952. The programme, based on an integrated approach to the various aspects of rural development, emphasized from the beginning the importance of working through the people's institutions like Village Panchayats, Cooperatives etc. to ensure their involvement in the planning and implementation of development programmes and to secure the fullest

possible public participation. A great deal of consultation and development work was done under the National Extension Service Schemes. The Planning and Development Committee set up in each Block was merely advisory.

After the Community Development Programme, which was gradually expanding to cover larger areas, was under implementation for about four years, in January 1957, a Study Team under the Chairmanship of Balwantray Mehta was appointed by the Planning Commission to review the working of the Community Development Programme and also to examine the question of reorganization of district administration to provide for popular organizations between the Village and State levels.

The Study Team recommended, *inter alia,* the setting up of elected and organically linked democratic bodies at the village, block and the district levels and the entrustment of all planning and developmental activities to these bodies. This recommendation was accepted by the National Development Council in 1958. The Central Council of Local Self-Government in its fifth meeting at Hyderabad in 1959, took stock of the action taken by the States to implement the decision of the National Development Council and recommended that "while the broad pattern and the fundamentals may be uniform, there should not be any rigidity in the pattern. In fact, the country

is so large and Panchayati Raj (democratic decentralization) is so complex a subject with a far reaching consequences, that there is the fullest scope of trying out various patterns and alternatives. What is most important is the genuine transfer of power to the people. If this is ensured, form and pattern may necessarily vary according to conditions prevailing in different States".

All States have accordingly undertaken to establish Panchayati Raj. Thus we find the ideology and the objectives of Community Development and the concept of Democratic Decentralization-building or extending democracy to the grassroots are fused together, and christened as "Panchayati Raj". The new statutory institutions have become the agencies of Community Development Extension Programmes. In essence, this was further growth in the previous programme designed to strengthen the people's own democratic, elected organization by opening new avenues of opportunities for their development. This new device offers the villagers a share in their own direction and self-development which is indeed a new and a novel departure in their lives. In this programme the people under their own organizations at the Village, Mandal, Block and District level were given equal share and status in the working of the whole community development block. Village Panchayats are constituted through elections and given democratic powers and responsibilities. The Sarpanchs or the

Presidents of all the Panchayats formed a Panchayat Samithi, the Panchayats formed a Samithi at the block level and Samithis constituted the Zilla Parishad at the district level. The functions of the Rural Development Agency and the people's organizations at all levels up to the district are to further strengthen and make the rural development programme more dynamic and its structure more complex.

"The Community Development approach has to be an essentially democratic approach as this will draw large masses of the people as active partners in the tasks of developing the vast country. For, only thus can this gigantic task be accomplished. The Community Development approach, while it will depend on the democratic process, will at the same time also help to strengthen it. There is, therefore, complete inter-relationship between Community Development and the progress of democracy; they are two sides of the same coin. Both are processes of human development. It is for this reason that the Community Development Programme came to focus attention on the importance and urgency of democratic decentralization. Democratic Decentralization must not be understood as merely the creation of Local Self-Governing Institutions of the people at different levels or as transfer of real power to the people. Its object is to give vitality to the whole democratic process and to provide to a new born democracy a wider and firmer base" (Mukerji, 1961).

Basic Elements of Panchayati Raj

The term "Panchayati Raj", which is popularly used in the country includes the two words Panchayati and Raj. Panchayati means "of the Panchayat", which consists of a group of "Panchas" who are representative leaders of people at the village level. What is emphasized is the representativeness of Panch, irrespective of how this element of representativeness is determined. The word "Raj" in this context means Government. The term "Panchayati Raj" therefore, literally means "Government of People's representative leaders". In this sense it is an expression of the essence of democracy as internationally understood. The Balwantray Mehta Committee Report expresses this categorically in these words: "in the ultimate analysis, the establishment of the Panchayat Samithis with a wide devolution of powers by the State Government has to be an act of faith-faith in democracy".

The fundamental or basic principles of Panchayati Raj emphasized in the COPP Report are:

(a) It should be a three-tier structure of Local Self-Governing bodies from the village to the district, the bodies being organically linked up.

(b) There should be genuine transfer of power and responsibility to them.

(c) Adequate resources should be transferred to the new bodies to enable them to discharge these responsibilities.

(d) All development programmes at these levels should be channeled through these bodies.

(e) The system evolved should be such as will facilitate further devolution and dispersal of power and responsibilities in the future.

The primary objective of Panchayati Raj is to establish an integrated structure of local democratic or self-governing bodies linking the village within the district and to make the Village Panchayat as a unit of planning and execution of all schemes of rural development. Secondly, Panchayati Raj aims at developing the initiative of the local people and create conditions for maximum popular participation. Thirdly, it seeks to develop sound leadership at all levels in the district necessary for the success of democratic institutions. And finally, it seeks to provide at the instance of Panchayati Raj bodies, a development-oriented and efficient administration.

In terms of organization or structure, the programme of Panchayati Raj, as mentioned earlier, envisages three tiers of the Government from the village up to the district level. These three tiers are:

1. Panchayat at the village level consisting of elected representatives of the people with provision for the co-option of two women members and one member each from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

2. At the Mandal or block level, an elected Self-Governing Institution to be called Mandal Parishad Panchayat or Samithi. Membership in this to be by indirect elections from the Village Panchayats. Its jurisdiction to be coextensive with a Mandal or Community Development Block.

3. At the district level there is a body called Zilla Parishad. In order to ensure necessary co-ordination between the Mandal Parishad or Panchayat Samithis, Zilla Parishad was constituted which consists of the presidents of the Mandal Parishads or Samithis, and elected political representatives of the area namely MLAs, MPs and district level government officials.

In recent years there has been changes in the size, nomenclature and mode of election to the above bodies one example is Andhra Pradesh.

Three tiers viz., Village Panchayat, Panchayat Samithi and Zilla Parishad when constituted and operated

simultaneously make up the structure of Panchayati Raj in a district. Functionally, Panchayati Raj is assumed to be operative to the degree that it results in the community understanding its problem, realizing its responsibility, exercising the necessary powers through its chosen representatives and maintaining a constant and intelligent vigilance on local administration.

Progress of Panchayati Raj

Panchayati Raj, as mentioned earlier, is an institutional arrangement for decentralized planning and plan implementation. It was brought in to enhance and facilitate people's participation, even though it was representative type of participation. Panchayati Raj was first introduced in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh in 1959. This was on the recommendations of Balwantray Mehta Committee on Committee on Plan Projects (COPP) appointed in 1957. This was followed by the Ashok Mehta Committee in 1978 which made vital suggestions for restructuring the Panchayati Raj bodies. It recommended three-tier system of Panchayati Raj institutions and direct elections to Chairpersons of all the three tiers. It also recommended election of women to Zilla Parishads and the Mandal Panchayats, and in case no women were elected to these bodies, they are to be co-opted. Ashok Mehta was followed by three Committees i.e., G.V.K. Rao (1985), L.M. Singhvi (1986) and Bommai (1989). Amongst

other recommendations of these Committees was reservation of seats for women in these bodies to a tune of around one-third.

Though the spirit and objectives of democratic decentralization are the same in all the States in India, there are a few variations in terms of number of tiers, their structure, nomenclatures, levels of their operations and provision in them for women representation. The lowest tier is called Gram Panchayat, the middle tier is variously known as Panchayat Samithi, Panchayat union and Mandal Parishad, and the tier at the district level predominantly goes as Zilla Parishad and in a couple of cases as District Council. The idea here is only to indicate the institutional structure and not to go into the details of their constitution and mode of elections, co-options and ex-officio membership at the middle and the upper tiers.

As of December 1992, the following States have a three-tier structure of the Panchayati Raj system: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and West Bengal. In case of Haryana, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, it is of two-tier structure at the village panchayat levels and block levels which were earlier community development blocks.

Towards Functional Democracy

Panchayati Raj is in our making. Statutory changes alone do not bring in the desired changes and transform the human elements. Slowly, patiently, and methodically the statute must be translated into action. For a planned social change towards a richer and meaningful life for the masses in the countryside, an inter-disciplinary approach is the means. A scientific approach to the problem is the answer. Hit and miss methods may not pay higher dividends in the long run. Panchayati Raj must become more a way of life of the rural people.

In a democracy the individual is no more than a spectator; he is actually one of the spectators. He cannot play his part unless he is properly informed as to the processes of democratic government at all levels. Planned public relations are essential to inculcate civic spirit, civic pride and civic unity in villages, as the percentage of literacy is low, a judicious selection of the media of public relations will have to be made. The radio, the film, civic exhibitions, civic weeks and civic *melas* are some of the useful tools of public relations in rural area. Civics with due emphasis on rural self-governments should be made a subject in the curriculum of schools, colleges and universities.

In a greater measure, the people's representatives are to deliver the goods. On them depend the

development of the local community the strengthening of the democratic institutions and largely the success of the Panchayati Raj. This development of local leadership and responsible and responsive citizenry could be achieved only through Social Education Programmes apart from economic measures. The community must be mobilized, interest groups identified and organized into responsive and dynamic groups. This mobilization of the community into institutions, interest groups and associate agencies will create the conditions necessary for the emergence of leadership at the local level.

It is only by educating the general public, could we expect awareness, leadership and initiative among the elected members of the Panchayat or of higher tiers, we cannot neglect the general mass and merely concentrate on the elected representatives. A massive adult education movement is desirable to educate the general mass. Literacy Programmes should find a predominant place in the adult education movement. All illiterates below 40 years must be made functional literates within reasonable time. Further, radio-forums and reading rooms-cum-libraries could be organized for dissemination of knowledge.

It is needless to emphasize that the elected representatives should be trained and educated in all aspects of Panchayati Raj. In the course of the Panchayat term, the Panches (or the sarpanches and up-sarpanches

as the case may be) should be trained at least twice-once soon after their election to the office and for the second time, in the middle of the term. The stress must be on utilizing the institutional facilities available and not on merely creating institutions.

In educating the sarpanches and the panches the Extension Personnel in the Community Development and more especially the Extension Officers, panchayats could play an effective role. At least once in a quarter or six months, the Executive Officer of the Panchayats may convene a meeting of all the sarpaches and panches of one or two gram sevaks circles at a convenient place and arrange for talks by special invitees – officials and non-officials on Panchayati Raj. This may help understanding and motivating initiative on the part of the elected representatives.

There is no element of force or coercion in making people do things. The means are constant persuasion and education.

Multitudinal problems arise in the working of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. These problems need scientific treatment and solutions arrived at on empirical studies. Action research with an interdisciplinary approach to the problems is a must in the field of planned social change. Under such a built-in action research programme

the social scientists and the administrators have to devise ways and means to ensure effective and active participation of the elected representatives in the working of the Panchayati Raj.

An attentive study of the process of decentralization in various countries suggests a few impeding factors in decentralization.

Absence of Legal Framework

The disappointing progress of efforts to decentralize can be attributed to a lack of adequate constitutional and legal backing and a weak fiscal base that is fundamental to such a process. We may say that India is an exception in this kind of lacunae. In many instances, local bodies have failed to come up with legal support provided through constitutional recognition or separate legislation. This is true irrespective of whether the country in question is federal or unitary. In Pakistan, a federation, several attempts were made in the last forty years at the initiative of the central government to set up local governments throughout but none has been of much avail. In Thailand, a unitary country, the local level bodies with elected assemblies have been created through specific legislation laying down the structure as well as the powers and functions of the local bodies at different levels. Local governments are, however, not in a position

to perform more than a few functions assigned to them by the laws which brought them into being (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977).

Lack of Fiscal Autonomy

A more serious impediment to the functioning of local autonomy is the financial dependence of the local bodies on the central and provincial governments. Almost invariably, the bulk of the financial needs of local governments is met out of the share of the national taxes, and / or subsidies from the center or grants, and the dependence seems to be increasing.

The domination and control of local bodies by the central and provincial governments, which is partly attributable to their financial dependence, has also been responsible for stifling local autonomy and blocking decentralization. In most cases the central government is unitary type and the central and provincial governments in federal structures exercise control over the local bodies in various ways, direct and indirect. In Thailand, while the degree of control varies between different local bodies, all are subject to close control by the central government. Central control is maintained in Thailand through a system that allows the Ministry of Interior directly to control the administration of all local bodies in the kingdom. Supervisory powers over local bodies are delegated to the provincial governors, who are also assigned

responsibilities to monitor the activities of local governments. The statutory authority of the local bodies to raise certain taxes and incur expenditure is subject to the rules and regulations of the central government.

China is perhaps the only country to have seen substantial decentralization. Although a country with "unified leadership and government", China has in practice allowed considerable latitude to the local government entities, the provinces and the municipalities, in their function. Even though the country has a unified national budget, the provinces and municipalities have their own separate budgets and run enterprises often on a large scale. Decentralization gathered momentum in the 1980s and in fact the pace appears to have been too rapid for the country to adjust. It may, however, be fair to say that much of the freedom which the local governments enjoy in China despite a monolithic political structure stems from their relatively strong financial base (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977).

Fiscal Mismanagement

In country after country what has prompted higher level interference is financial mismanagement. In Thailand, the financial weakness of the local bodies is attributable partly to the inefficiencies of the local

governments themselves and their inability (or unwillingness) to make full use of whatever tax powers they have under the law. The poor yield of the house and building tax which constitutes the most important component of local taxation in Thailand is due both to deficiencies in the structure of the tax as well as inefficiencies in its administration. While liberal exemptions undermine its base, administrative inefficiencies have also stood in the way of its effective implementation and tackling evasion practiced in various ways by landlords. Tax rolls and maps are not updated and cadastral maps of even resourceful local authorities like the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration are 40 to 60 years old. The system of billing and maintaining tax rolls is outdated. According to a recent estimate, computerization and regularization of the tax-payers would alone double the yield of the tax. While with urbanization one would expect a rise in the revenue from this tax, its contribution to local revenue has gone down (Jurgen, *et.al;* 1989).

Administrative Weakness

In many countries, especially at the district and municipal or village levels, there is lack of trained manpower to levy taxes efficiently and mange their affairs. The elected officials or representatives furthermore do not always display the sense of responsibility or dedication required for fulfilling the objectives of the local government

and often engage in intrigues for power, seeking personal gain to the detriment of public interest. Supersession of local bodies in several countries has also often followed from their mismanagement and the failure of the democratic system to work at the local level (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977; Jurgen, *et. al;* 1989).

Strategy of Planning for Development and Efficiency Arguments

An important factor impeding the process of decentralization in the developing countries is the adoption of planning as a strategy of development with considerable involvement of the public sector. A degree of centralization is inherent in a strategy of planning, with the government taking a lead role and laying down the basic programmes and priorities at the national level to ensure consistency and efficiency although decentralization might lead to faster development of better-endowed but less developed areas, central intervention and allocation of resources were often thought necessary to bring about the balanced development and provision of public services at a minimum level in all parts of a country. Modern technology with the vast economies of scale spilling across regions in areas like power and communications also have reinforced the trend towards centralization. A lack of expertise in and familiarity with modern techniques of harnessing and managing natural resources also have strengthened the case for a certain degree of

centralization. In addition, there are the gaps in technology, resources and skills at the local levels which cannot be made up without help from above. The creation of specialized agencies or authorities to undertake specific tasks like metropolitan planning and development is often motivated by considerations like these.

Considerations of efficiency also argue for centralizing certain important functions, as do the centralized collection of the major taxes like the income tax, which unavoidably created a vertical fiscal imbalance in the system and so the dependence of the local bodies on higher level governments. This is compounded by their lack of managerial and technical skills. Denuding the central government of its command over resources also undermines its capacity to even out regional imbalance, as is now being witnessed in China.

Recent Trends

Experience of the last three decades has, however, cast doubt on the efficacy of centralized planning in promoting growth and spreading the benefits to all sections. Moreover, disenchantment with over-centralization has led to a search for other ways of decentralization apart from devolution. Given the will, it is argued, solutions can be found for the problems and dilemmas or at least these can be rendered manageable. Although decentralization often gets stalled because of a

lack of managerial skills, there are examples of good results achieved by associating the people in governmental activities at the lower levels. The involvement of the local population in some of the States in India where elections to panchayats were held in recent years seems to have activated hitherto untapped energies and resources and made tangible contributions to improving public services and activities in those regions. There have been several instances of positive gains from the association of local people and organizations like village cooperatives in the past in Thailand, Pakistan, India and Malaysia. Besides, not all the weaknesses of the local bodies of their own making. As already mentioned, their fiscal powers are often constrained by central control exercised in various forms.

As is to be expected, decentralization, even when acknowledged as desirable, encounters resistance from those for whom it implies a loss of governmental power and authority. A striking example of how the central authorities tend to shackle the autonomy and initiative of local bodies, even when the involvement of local government is sought, is provided by the guidelines issued to district councils in India to implement an employment programme in the rural areas in the late 1980s. Rodinelli and others conclude their discussion on what impedes decentralization with the following observations:

"Untimely however, decentralization is an

ideological principle, associated with objectives of self-reliance, democratic decision-making, popular participation in government, and accountability of public officials to citizens. It is a political decision, and its implementation is a reflection of a country's political process and maturity". (Rondinelli *et.al.,* 1983).

These observations are equally valid even after a decade and a half. The recent experiences and trend show that there is now greater political awareness of the need for decentralization than before. Hence the search for solutions to the problems encountered in its implementation and the urge to draw lessons from the past.

Decentralization with its full complements of vertical geographic devolution of powers, administrative control, financial and resource raising authority, freedom of allocation of resources and mandate and responsibility to development planning and plan implementation at local levels, by itself is a great leap forward in the governance of public interest and welfare. People's and people's representative leaders' participation in all the above functions will strengthen the roots of democracy and ensure enduring people-oriented development.

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NGOS AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

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NGOS AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

THE rapid increase of state involvement in socio-economic development (loosely referred to as community development) during this century has been accompanied by a gradual consolidation of bureaucratic and technocratic specialization in each of the major development sectors. The result is that particular areas of development such as health, education and housing are now closely identified with government bureaucracies. Most developing countries have functionally specialized ministries which have primary responsibility for the formulation of policies and the implementation of state programmes in different sectors. Many governments have established what are variously known as Ministries or Departments of Social Welfare, Public Welfare, Social Services or Social Affairs. Their programmes are largely remedial in orientation, and are closely associated with the activities of professional social workers.

It is possible to formulate a typology of likely state responses to people's participation in development. This typology suggests that the state may act in several ways

when eliciting people's participation. It may, firstly, suppress all attempts at people's participation; secondly, it may actively promote participation seeking to mobilize the whole community for social development and to encourage maximum involvement in decision-making. The state may, thirdly, attempt to use people' participation programmes with ulterior motives and seek to manipulate these programmes for its own ends. Finally, the state may have a vaguely formulated or poorly implemented policy on people's participation; while it does not seek to suppress participatory activities, it fails to provide adequate support. However, it is concluded that state sponsorship of people's participation has been largely incremental and manipulative in character and supports those who believe that state involvement in community participation is a contradiction in terms. It is believed that whether because of bureaucratic inefficiency or a determined effort to exploit particular programmes for ulterior ends, state involvement stifles authentic community responses and defeats the ideals of genuine people's participation in social development. This situation has allowed the proliferation of normative and ideological critiques of the prevalent model of development as perceived and initiated by the state (Hague *et.al.*,1977).

There are also several new models being advanced

at the abstract level of ideological alternatives to the prevalent model. But little or no attention has been paid to the numerous experiments, movements and organizational initiatives that struggle on the ground, to make "development" a relevant concept, a direct experience in the lives of the deprived, the oppressed and the impoverished populations which have either been "untouchables" of development or when touched are affected adversely and have become its victims. It is in these initiatives at the grassroots taking place generally outside the governmental and bureaucratic structure s and away from the normal political processes of parties and elections that another approach to rural development is becoming manifest. These are local actions that are basically initiated, nurtured and taken care by the native population.

Therefore, we observe that though the state assumes a greater share of responsibility for development government alone it is not in a position to build national identity, to institutionalize democracy and to keep up economic productivity. The private sector has an important role in mobilizing resources and in infusing efficiency through the market mechanism. The voluntary sector is an important source of developmental initiatives; in particular, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

articulate more at the local level than at that of the state or regional level. Hence, the local administration bears a special responsibility as a listening post for incorporating people's views that are made available via NGOs.

NGOs IN ASIA

Depending on how tightly one draws the definition, there are reported to be somewhere one million development oriented NGOs in Asia. They are highly heterogeneous in character, varying considerably in character, geographic scope and sectoral interests. The overwhelming majority of the Asian NGOs are very small, employing generally only one or two staff, rarely more than ten. Frequently, they are the results of the efforts one – often charismatic-individual who draws together others for the purpose of ameliorating some social or economic need. The motivation is commonly charitable and the technical resources available are of a low order. The hope that such groups may make a contribution to development rests on the belief that it may be possible to reinforce them with insight (especially of social dynamics), appropriate intervention techniques and practice.

It is widely believed that non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs, or NGOs as referred

to earlier) constitute a potentially important vehicle by which social and economic development can be promoted in developing countries, especially at the micro level. At the same time it is recognized that NGOs too depend largely on people's participation in accomplishing their objectives. Mid-1970s witnessed a revival of voluntary activity, largely attributable to:

(a) The failure of elective local democracy to satisfy the aspirations of the people;

(b) The sense of mission which imbued social workers for the betterment of the underprivileged and neglected classes;

(c) The need for intervention in areas of public life which were suffering from the effects of official apathy and evils associated with the misuse of power.

Since then we observe the birth of a number of praiseworthy voluntary ventures engaged in a variety of activities. A brief analysis of some of them will help in understanding the stimulant forces which gave them birth and the purposes for which they exist. To a casual observer, the strength of the NGOs lie in their ability to

effectively motivate people to undertake some development initiatives at the village level, and serve as a intermediary for the government to understand people's needs and priorities.

Generally, the voluntary agencies fulfill several tasks apart from the usual service provision for the needy; these main tasks could be classified into two categories: animation and facilitation. In reality, one cannot clearly be distinguished from each other. Animation means, first of all, conscientisation of the poor. Animators help the poor to regain their self-confidence and self-assertiveness. Only when the poor regard themselves as equal human beings and citizens do they question the reasons behind their poverty, realize their rights, request changes, discover the abilities and capacities at their disposal, have the confidence to change established patterns of behaviour and dare to use their assets to promote their own interests.

Once the poor have been motivated and activated through a process of conscientisation, the animator changes into the role of the facilitator. He / she assists the poor in forming groups, in decision which measures should be taken and in executing the same. He/she acts as an intermediary to get access to governmental or

commercial services. He / she, for example, manages to establish first contacts between the poor and the officials (e.g., banking sector) by facilitating to provide the securities banks require (i.e., seed money, incentive deposits or group guarantees), and by helping the banks to change their procedures in such a way that they meet the requirements and abilities of the poor.

NGOs also provide legal aid to the poor and their groups in their disputes with the rich and the government authorities, they encourage them to unite in federations or to take part in support networks in order to promote common interests collectively, and establish themselves as institutions at the service of those of the poor who have no access whatsoever to any services.

Those NGOs which are serious about grassroot development are aware that they themselves could not specifically predict the direction in which the poor will move. They present themselves, therefore, not as teachers and know-alls, but as equal partners and, by skilful questioning, make them conscious of their problems, prompt them to identify the causes and to propose solutions. Such a process provides a code of conduct for the organization rather than hierarchy that is conducive to participation. We can understand this by

scrutinizing some movements in Asia.

People's Participation, Natural Resources and Protest Movements

People's participation is not a new concept in the Indian setting. The scope and content of it, of course, have been different at different times of history or in different regions or communities. For traditional communities, it was the management of communal properties and resources which extended to forest land, village land, water harvesting systems and village common cattle, grazing pastures, etc. For religious groups or communities it is a matter of providing and pooling labour and wealth for religious or even social functions. For patriotic groups, it is pooling people in movements such as Quit India or Dandi March, or electoral participation.

In the context of rural development, however, the term participation has a specific meaning. Participation is the introduction of a new set of people into the decision-making process with regard to resource allocation or distribution. By people we mean here those who have been victims of their exclusion from the development process and those who are likely to emerge as the beneficiaries of participation. In view of the

complementary relationship between development and preservation of natural resources people's participation should involve the management of natural resources as well. From the history of traditional community organizations in India, people who were by and large concerned with common property resources, one can easily identify three minimal preconditions for such a group to emerge. *Firstly,* the community organizations should be able to reinforce the existing structures of authority as long as tradition and authority are upheld. *Secondly,* the community should feel empowered, and be independent of outsider's(including government) intervention. *Thirdly,* the set of rules and norms of cooperation should be such as to meet the felt-needs of the people.

The above concept and definition of participation in management of natural resources in a way, covers the entire gamut of development activities at the rural/village level. It may, however, operate at different levels of intensity, measured by the kind of activities in which the beneficiaries participate. When these are limited to information sharing and consultation, the level of participation is low. When beneficiaries become decision-makers or start initiating action on developmental activity, it can be surmised that participation has reached a higher

level of intensity. All these, *i.e.,* consultation, information-sharing and initiating action on development activity are instances of participation (Bahuguna, 1983).

Though relevant in a wide spectrum of situations, participatory development is becoming growingly pertinent in the management of natural resources. Historically, the ownership and management of these resources always rested with the state, partly due to the failure of the market system and partly due to the eminent domain character of the state. But, due to the public goods nature of these resources, the preservation and policing costs to the government are prohibitively high. Secondly, natural resources qualify not only for preservation but also for their developmental use and as long as the management of the resources is with the government, it is the latter which is being revealed increasingly as the preference of the government. Multipurpose river valley projects such as Narmada, Kali, Nadi etc., are only some of the instances. Government's failure to preserve the natural resources together with their excessive exploitation for development purposes has led to serious degradation of the environment and hence its ecological repercussions (Aggarwal, *et.al;* 1985).

It is at this juncture that people's participation can

be an alternative to government for providing development with preservation. People on their own may not perceive the preservation objective as a prime one due to their poverty, non-availability of alternative productive opportunities, lack of infrastructural facilities to reap the benefits from preservation, inability to possess private assets which are complementary to preservation of natural resources, lack of arrangements to participate and finally existing legal structures which are non-conducive to people's participation.

A Case Study of the *Chipko* and *Appiko* Movements

Policies and programmes of land-use as well as forest management, whenever they were put in place without consulting the local communities, have often resulted in "wastelands" and wasted human resources". We have a classic example of the *Chipko* movement in the Himalayan region in India where the people could no longer tolerate the inequity involved in transferring the benefits of the community resources to meet the needs of the people elsewhere. Since late 1970s, however, the people of the region acted together by adopting an unconventional approach and fully incorporating a new institution of people's participation which was totally devoid of bureaucratic and power politics.

The *Chipko*, or "Embrace the Tree", Movement is essentially a Gandhian concept that espoused non-violent resistance to preserve the Himalaya's critical mountain-forest ecosystem. It began in Garhwal in the 1970s when women protected with their own bodies the trees that contractors were trying to remove. This message soon caused the *Chipko* struggle to grow into a national environmental movement. The struggles against limestone quarrying in Doon Valley, in the Haryana and Uttar Pradesh States of northern India, near the Himalayan range, is an extension of the original *Chipko* Movement. For the "last man" in the region, conservation has become a matter of life and death. Environmental destruction undermined the life support system of the poor, and their environmental struggles invite brutal attacks from truckloads of goondas hired by the contractor mafia (Bahuguna, 1983).

Chipko of Uttarakhand in the Himalayas inspired the villagers of the Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka Province in southern India to launch a similar movement to save their forests. In Septemeber 1983, men, women and children of Salkani "hugged the trees in Kalase forest (the local term for "hugging in Kannada is *Appiko*). *Appiko Andolan* gave birth to a new awareness all over southern India (Cultural Survival, 1989).

The story of Uttara Kannada region is different. In 1950, Uttara Kannada district's forest covered more than 81 per cent of its geographical area. The government, declaring this forest district a "backward" area, then initiated the process of "development". Three major industries-a pulp and paper mill, a plywood factory and a chain of hydro-electric dams constructed to harness the rivers – sprouted in the area. These industries have overexploited the forest resource, and the dams have submerged huge forest and agricultural area. The forest had shrunk to nearly 25 per cent of the district's area by 1980. The local population, especially the poorest groups, were displaced by the dams. The conversion of the natural mixed forests into teak and eucalyptus plantations dried up the water sources, directly affecting forest dwellers. In a nutshell, the three *p*'s – paper, plywood and power – which were intended for the development of the people, have resulted in a fourth *p*: poverty.

The *Appiko* Movement is trying to save the Western Ghats by spreading its roots all over southern India. The movement's objectives can be classified into three major areas. First, the *Appiko* Movement is struggle to save the remaining tropical forests in the Western Ghats. Second, it is making a modest attempt to restore the greenery to denuded area. Third, it is striving to propagate

the idea of rational utilization in order to reduce the pressure on forest resources. To save, to grow and to use rationally – popularly known in Kannada as *Ubsu* (save), *Belesu* (grow) and *Balasu* (rational use) – is the movement's popular slogan.

The *Appiko* Movement used various techniques to raise awareness: foot marches in the interior forest, slide shows, folk dances, street plays and so on. The movement has achieved a fair amount of success: the State government has banned felling of green trees in some forest areas; only dead, dying and dry trees are felled to meet the local requirements. The movement has spread to the four hill districts of Karnataka State, and has the potential to spread to the Eastern Ghats in Tamil Nadu and Goa.

The objective of the *Appiko* Movement's work is to promote afforestation on denuded lands. In the past, *Appiko* activists have successfully motivated villagers to grow saplings. Individual families as well as village youth clubs have taken an active interest in growing decentralized nurseries. An all time record of 1.2 million saplings were grown by people in the Sirsi area in 1984-85. This was possible because the local Forest Department officials were forthcoming in eliciting the

support of the people. The villagers initiated a process of regeneration in barren common land. The Youth Club has taken the responsibility for the project and the whole village has united to protect this land from grazing, lopping and fire. The experience shows that in those areas where soil is present, natural regeneration is the most efficient and least expensive method of bringing barren area under tree cover. In the areas in which top soil is washed off, tree planting-especially of indigenous, fast-growing species- is done. The irony is that the forest department is resorting to the mechanized planting of exotic species, and also uses huge amounts of fertilizers on these exotic monoculture plantations. This would definitely harm the soil, and eventually the tree cover, in the area. Two obvious techniques of greening are being performed: one, the forest department's method, is capital intensive, and the other, the people's technique of growing through regeneration, is a natural process for sustainable development of the soil.

The other major area of activity in the *Appiko* Movement is related to rational use of the ecosphere through introduction of alternative energy sources to reduce the pressure on the forest. The activists have constructed about 5,000 fuel-efficient *chulas* (hearths) in

the area, which save fuel wood consumption by almost 40 per cent. The activists do not wait for government subsidies or assistance, since there is spontaneous demand from the people. Even in towns and other urban areas, these *chulas* are installed in hotels, reducing firewood consumption.

Also, some people deter the regeneration process in the forest area through incorrect lopping practices. The *Appiko* Movement is trying to change people's attitudes so that they realize their mistake and stop this practice.

The thrust of the *Appiko* movement in carrying out its work reveals the constructive phase of the people's participation and movement. Through this constructive phase, depleted natural resources can be rebuilt. This process promotes sharing of resources in an egalitarian way, helping the forest dwellers. The movement's aim is to establish a harmonious relationship between people and nature, to redefine the term development so that ecological movements today form a basis for a sustainable, permanent economy in the future.

In the *Appiko* efforts a persistent leadership (as a catalytic institution) and some support from the government saw to it that what would have been a

prisoner's dilemma with repeated non-cooperative game with sustainable development. By 1986, the extent of soil run-off had come down and average crop yield had gone up. Then two important socio-economic questions are raised while analyzing such a case example. *First*, what kinds of links between communal and private property resources are required so as to sustain such a participatory initiative. *Second*, to what extent are the production and distribution mechanisms evolved in such institutions independent of the market, an alternative institution. In Karnataka, increased cattle population, and improved land management are the two major thrust areas in the augmentation of private property resources. Afforestation, soil conservation, irrigation water from the community tanks, access to fodder and *bhabbar* grass on equitable basis etc., are instances of complementary flows of common property resources towards rural transformation on a sustained basis. The strength and nature of the link between these two types of resources is an empirical question, though theoretically there is no unique argument for their unilateral link as a pre-condition for rural development.

Even on the assumption that the market is less relevant in large rural parts of developing economies and the state is favourably inclined to the establishment of

participatory institutions, existing property rights shall prevent spontaneous evolution of participation. Property rights emerge to help people to coordinate their productive activities and to avoid wasting time on conflicts, the result of which is purely distributive and not allocative. Since participatory institutions are bound to suggest a changed distribution, the possibility of their organic evolution is constrained by the existing institution of property rights. Such situation was observable in case of "milk revolution" in Gujarat. The group of households who owned land and cattle also monopolized control over the newly started institution of milk production and distribution i.e., AMUL Cooperative. To serve the interests, water from the irrigation tank was sold at a low price even in 1987-88, a year of acute scarcity. A breakthrough could be achieved only when a change in management with a new leadership was brought about in early 1988. It still remains to be seen how lasting the breakthrough will be. Therefore, as a process, participation shall spread only if it is designed so as to be in conformity with the norms that motivate people's social and economic behaviour in that particular society.

The *Chipko* and *Appiko* movements emerged as the consequence of an evolutionary process. People saw the consequences of the "tragedy of the environment" and

worked out a set of rules for the management of forests and water from irrigation tanks. Their understanding of the issues involved did change the perception of the outside agencies who moved away from conventional solutions for soil erosion to a participatory approach. By now a large number of villages in the region seem to have followed these models, but with a difference, (UNESCO, 1992).

SUMMARY

We observe that the voluntarism in Asia has passed through a number of stages. The Gandhian (peace loving, silent strugglers) and other types of voluntary agencies that existed prior to the phasing out of Colonialism in the region, on receiving government grants started working closely with and under the broad guidance of the government. They had lost the pioneering independent spirit that they had come to symbolize during the freedom struggle. In the second stage, there came a shift back to constructive work from "progress" or development work, as conceived by the government. The next phase saw a new genre of activist groups came up, ready to struggle on behalf of the poor, landless, *dalits* and other minority groups, against the State and dominant interests. There is a wide variety of such groups working in as different

sectors as forestry, migrant labour, women, child labour and so on.

These few examples suggest the richness and diversity of local struggles by people trying to solve problems. The validity of each example, at this stage, resides probably in its specificity, and the fact-finding process has just started. It would be pointless to attempt any generalization. The purpose of this chapter is therefore, only to draw attention to the phenomenon, and endeavour to place it in the proper perspective.

There are various, essentially limited actions taken by groups of concerned men and women having or acquiring some control over their immediate environment and becoming able to define and carry out, in a self-reliant manner, solutions to their social and economic problems while modifying their relations with the State and / or market. They are either spontaneous or stem from encounters of a special kind with outsiders which have resulted in conscientisation. Their two major features are innovation and a certain transformation of social relations within the group and between the group and the larger environment (Guha, 1987).

The immediate result of the successful ones has

been that fundamental needs are better met in the material sphere (often the prime mover) as well as in the political sphere, in its widest sense: taking action means self-confidence and reinforcing it; the moment people seize control of their own affairs, they cease to be passive and marginalized. They have started the process of development.

Thus a people-centred approach is not an utopia; it is the way out of poverty and underdevelopment. Already links appear with larger national struggles. One example is that of anti-nuclear popular actions in Asia. Local experiments with soft energies are also linked with a wider social movement which, in the final analysis, is challenging the whole system of values of the consumer society.

Local development action does not take place only in liberal or permissive political conditions. They also happen in the uncontrolled interstices of anti-popular regimes. They will be ignored or tolerated as long as they remain in their immediate locus-as long as they do not challenge the existing order. This is not a reason to remain passive; local actions are important in themselves and in them may be the seeds of larger movements.

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PART - II

CASE STUDIES IN PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE POOR THROUGH THEIR PARTICIPATION: A MASSIVE WORK BY BRAC IN BANGLADESH

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EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE POOR THROUGH THEIR PARTICIPATION: A MASSIVE WORK BY BRAC IN BANGLADESH

INTRODUCTION

IF we are looking for an organization generating a genuine, authentic, systematic, meaningful, enlightened and highly motivated popular participation of the poor in their poverty alleviation and social empowerment programmes, we can cite Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, popularly and widely known by its acronym *BRAC*. It is a non-governmental organization, perhaps the largest in Asia. A giant private organization working for the poor. It does not simply dole out relief to the poor and the disadvantaged but it works with them at the grassroots and steadily helps them help themselves. We may call it a process of development with dignity for the poor.

BRAC is a multi-faceted organization with diverse activities all converging in terms of its philosophy and strategies on two major goals: alleviation of poverty and empowerment of the poor.[1]

Formed in 1972, BRAC began its activities with the objectives of relief and rehabilitation of thousands of displaced people during the war of liberation. The rehabilitation task was carried out successfully and the normalcy has come back to the people. But this was largely a relief measure and so BRAC moved on to multi-sectoral village development programme focusing on the poor. Over the past twenty seven years since its birth, BRAC has emerged as a parallel agency to the national government in the field of development especially in reaching the poor.

MANAGEMENT OF BRAC

A Governing Body is vested with the management of BRAC. The Executive Director and Founder of BRAC, Mr. F.H. Abed is the Chief Executive Officer. Mr. Abed is the creative, imaginative and guiding force behind this massive programme of developing the poor. At the top, mid and field levels, BRAC is managed by development managers with years of professional experience. BRAC pursues a system of participatory and decentralized management. BRAC programmes are planned through participation of all levels of workers. Within the framework of programme plans, each level of management is encouraged to exercise appropriate authority, to embrace creative solutions and to generate innovations. BRAC provides its managers freedom to take initiatives which stimulate participation and a continuous search for

excellence.

Since BRAC demands a high level of work ethics and performance standard not commonly found in Bangladesh, it decided to develop its management cadre from within the organization. Consequently, a policy of recruiting young people with high educational qualifications for placement at the lowest level of programme operation has been pursued over the past two and a half decades. This policy exposes potential managers to the dynamics of grassroot mobilization and problem solving. As a result, large numbers of qualified and experienced development practitioners stand ready to manage future expansion.

Over the years BRAC has pursued a vigorous policy of management development through training at home and abroad including post-graduate and doctoral level degree courses. It has set up its own Management development Programme to take responsibility for management training and value creation.

Bringing women at the top management is a valued policy of BRAC. This is done not only to promote gender equity but also for balanced development of the society. In pursuance of this policy BRAC has started grooming the potential woman workers for managerial positions.

Collaboration with Public Sector

BRAC considers it important to develop a system of effective collaboration with the public sector. It feels that such cooperation can enhance the capacity of people's organization and support of the process of development of the poor. Thus BRAC has established linkages with various Ministries such as Health, Relief and Rehabilitation, Fisheries and Livestock, Education etc. This cooperation has also been useful for the government to strengthen its existing progrmmes and increase their effectiveness. A few cases may illustrate the kinds of collaboration and their results.

BRAC assisted the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare in achieving the goals of its Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) in 124 up-zillas of Bangladesh. BRAC provided training to the government staff on programme management and created a demand for immunization at the community level through social mobilization. The results have been highly satisfactory both for the government and BRAC. Evaluation studies conducted by BRAC as well as by some external agencies have shown that the highest coverage of EPI in Bangladesh was in those areas where BRAC worked.

BRAC's poultry development programme is another illustration of collaboration with the public system. BRAC has trained several thousand destitute women on

poultry rearing and vaccination of birds. These women, trained as vaccinators, have been linked to the government's department of livestock which supplies free vaccine. These women now provide vaccination services to the villagers for a small fee. By cutting the poultry mortality rate, the programme ensured increased production of eggs and birds.

Education, sericulture and family planning are some of the other areas of collaboration. BRAC feels that such partnership with the public system can strengthen the process of sustainable development of the rural poor.

People's participation is accomplished through the social mechanism of forming Village Organizations both for men and women and their periodic meetings to deliberate over issues that various development programmes that are carried on by BRAC.

Over the years, BRAC has grown into a multi-faceted organization with more than 8600 men and women workers and a variety of development programmes in various parts of the country. Its basic rural development activities have until now been organized over 11,842 landless groups in some 5,414 villages. A separate Rural Credit Project was initiated in 1990 to institutionalize the credit component. The wide-scale Oral Therapy Extension Programme (OTEP) teaching a home-based oral solution

for the prevention of diarrhea has reached all the households in the country expanding into a more extensive primary health care programme. The Women's Health and Development Programme, embarked in early 1991, aims to pursue a dual purpose of decreasing maternal and infant mortality. BRAC's non-formal primary education programme has so far opened more than 6,000 schools for poor rural children, especially girls.

BRAC activities include: Rural Development Programme (RDP), Rural Credit Project (RCP), Women's Health and Development Programme (WHDP), Training, Management Development Programme(MDP), Income Generation for Vulnerable Group Development (IGVGD), Rural Enterprises Project (REP), Non-Formal Primary Education Programme (NFPE), Research and Evaluation Division(RED), Craft Development and Marketing Services through Aarong and several other commercial projects.

Empowering the Poor Facilitating their Participation

Empowering is a social, psychic and to a limited extent a material (in the initial stages) process. It has to grow over a period of time in the once socially and economically poor and disadvantaged groups at the individual, family and the community levels and between both the sexes and amongst all the age groups. Empowerment in the psychic and social sense does not come about to the target population by receiving money

and other material things alone.

The poor or for that matter any marginalized group can feel a sense of power when they are recognized, when their voices are heard, when they can choose and have their choice, when they are partners in decisions and deeds that concern them and the larger emphasize here that BRAC's approach to its twin objective of poverty alleviation and empowerment is through identification and organizing landless poor into viable, functional social groups. Here the dynamics or call it chemistry of development is interesting. Empowerment secures social strength, negotiating power, accessibility to resources and thus contributing to alleviation of poverty and the decrease in the poverty level is likely to increase empowerment, one supporting and strengthening the other.

BRAC has made a pragmatic approach in organizing the poor into groups with specific functions and responsibilities to be carried out by the general membership, office bearers and the small group leaders. With one strategic social stroke, it has facilitated and encouraged people's participation in their development. There is a fusion of the clientele group and BRAC as a development agency. The bridge between the development agency and the people is narrowed. This has come about what may be called as institution building that BRAC has successfully accomplished. As mentioned earlier, this organizational mechanism of institution

building contributed a great deal to real people's participation. In this context we may briefly look into BRAC's objectives of development and the methodology of its organizing the clientele groups and the functions and some highlights of the Village Organizations.

Institution Building

Before we look into the institution building process in BRAC, a word on what is an institution is in order. The terms institution and organization are commonly used interchangeably and this contributes to ambiguity and confusion. Three categories are commonly recognized: (a) organizations that are not institutions (*e.g.*, a firm of lawyers); (b) institutions that are not organizations (*e.g.*, law); and (c) organizations that are institutions (*e.g.*, courts) or *vice-versa* institutions, that are organizations.[2]

To the extent that an organization has acquired special status and legitimacy for having satisfied people's needs and for having met their normative expectations over time, one can say that an organization such as BRAC, VO, has become institutionalized. In general, institutions, whether, organizations or not are complexes of norms and behaviours that persist overtime by servicing collectively valued purposes. Institutions are stable, valued, recurring patterns of behaviour. Institutions change over time, decay and some institutions are born. It is a continuous social process.

We find that BRAC has spelled out activities as underlying its approach to institution building *vis-à-vis* village organizations.

They are[3]:

(a) Resource mobilization,

(b) Organizational discipline,

(c) Social corruption, vices, superstition,

(d) Financial discipline,

(e) Economic activities,

(f) Local body participation/influence, and

(g) Social justice.

BRAC tries to translate the above activities which may be taken as its objectives in empowering the landless poor and alleviating their poverty as follows:

(i) Remind people where they are, why they are, what they are,

(ii) Functional and consciousness raising education,

(iii) Leadership training and developing leadership,

(iv) Monthly issue-based meetings,

(v) Stimulating economic activities,

(vi) Secure for the poor the khas land, water bodies for fishing (ox bow lakes) and markets,

(vii) Secure for the poor the facilities meant for them,

(viii) Raising their political consciousness and social awareness,

(ix) Savings,

(x) Credit, and

(xi) Non-formal primary education.

BRAC's Institution Building

BRAC's institution building may be viewed as three pronged: within BRAC, in the client groups it served and with the development departments of the government. Within BRAC as an organization, the noteworthy and laudable procedures, norms, regulations, work ethics

relate to personnel selection, training, job rotation, target fixing, monitoring, reporting and development communication within the staff and between the staff and the clientele system.

The whole process of setting up an Area Office, selection of villages in the service area, conducting of pre-survey, followed by detailed socio-economic surveys, identification of the landless poor, meeting them individually and in small groups and making them reflect on the deplorable conditions they live in, the scope and potential for their modest growth and development once they organize themselves into groups, forming them into what are called Village Organizations (VOs), for male and female members, followed by a series of training programmes, functional education, consciousness raising education, leadership, management and enterprise related education and training and the introduction of savings and credit system and the weekly and monthly meetings constitute the institutional building in the client system.

The functional relationship BRAC has established with the government development departments in respect to poultry development, livestock, fishery, apiary, sericulture and irrigation through Deep Tube Wells may be construed as mentioned earlier, institution building. In other words, the whole gamut of institution building

revolves around new structure and functional mechanisms developed by BRAC in formulating, implementing and evaluating its programmes to empower and enrich the landless poor.

The Village Organizations (VOs)

The VOs as organized, monitored, supported, educated, motivated and developed by BRAC constitute the bedrock of its promotional operations in respect of the landless poor. The VOs provide a forum for interaction, mutual help, individual and collective initiative and social action. The secret of BRAC's success and popularity in serving the poor, owes a great deal to the VOs. One may imagine as to what would have happened to RDP and RCP and other programmes in the absence of VOs. BRAC's socio-economic programmes have filled in a vacuum which should have been filled in by the government and other agencies like Grammen Bank and NGOs. The landless poor in a helpless state with feeble hopes for a minimal meaningful life, found an anchor and hope in the VO which may become their own self-managed organization.

Structure of VOs

An Area Office covers approximately 100 village organizations (VOs)-50 for landless women and 50 for landless men, with a combined membership of 6,000 to

7,000. It is not in fixed ratio. We find that two-thirds of the VOs are female VOs. The minimum size of a VO is 45 and the maximum 55. Each VO comprises small groups of 5-7 members. BRAC has introduced an interesting principle that in the small groups of VO, there will be no close affinal or consanguineous kin. The small group is headed by a Secretary. The larger group is managed by a Management Committee (MC) consisting of 7 members, which includes a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer. Members of the MC are either elected or selected for a period of one year and no member can be on MC for more than two terms, thus giving an opportunity for all members of group to serve on the MC over a period of time. The group meets once in a week on a fixed day and hour to organize their financial activities, viz., small savings and weekly loan installment payments coordinated by the *Gram Sevak* (GS) and once in a month to discuss the issues that interest the group, facilitated by a BRAC official – a programme organizer.

Growth of VOs

The VOs have been increasing in number as new areas are added under BRAC's constantly increasing volume of activity, with the same pattern of surveys, identification of the landless poor and forming them into VOs. The progress of the VOs up till the end of December, 1991 is shown in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1 : Village Organization Status by the End of December 1991

Programme	No. of Branch/ Area	Villages covered	Village organi-zations (Total)	VOs Male	VOs Female	Membership (Total)	Male	Female
All Total	125	5,414	11,842	4,061	7,781	617,136	197,923	419,213
Total RCP+RDP	120	5,198	11,376	3,911	7,465	598,123	192,149	405,974
RCP	30	1,682	3,687	1,284	2,403	201,118	62,714	138,404
Year 6	10	568	1,232	424	808	69,222	22,539	46,683
Year 5	20	1,114	2,455	860	1,595	131,896	40,175	91,721
RDP	90	3,516	7,689	2,627	5,062	387,005	129,435	267,570
Year 4	20	982	2,468	259	1,509	126,760	44,190	82,570

Programme	No. of Branch/ Area	Villages covered	Village organi-zations (Total)	VOs Male	VOs Female	Membership (Total)	Male	Female
Year 3	20	889	2,108	886	1,222	144,955	47,037	67,918
Year 2	20	924	1,917	577	1,340	96,966	28,001	68,965
Year 1	30	721	1,196	205	991	58,324	10,207	48,117
HSD	4	166	363	144	249	15,760	4,853	10,907
SP	1	50	103	36	67	3,253	921	2,332

Source: BRAC Report, No.1, December, 1991.

Emphasis on Female VOs

In the cultural context of Bangladesh, the idea of separate organization for women is prudent and pragmatic. BRAC's policy of emphasis on women's progress is reflected in the significantly large number of female VOs as of December 1991 (7,781) as compared to male VOs (4,061) and female membership (419,213) as compared to male membership (197,923).

Elements that Strengthen and Keep Going the VOs

We may discern two sets of elements or activities that strengthen and keep going the VOs. The first set of elements constitute the whole process of contact with the group members, motivating and mobilizing them and organizing them into larger and smaller groups followed by Functional, Consciousness Raising Education for all members and training in leadership and management for the selected members of the group. The second set of elements are the recurring, regulatory weekly and monthly meetings wherein the substantive activities of the group such as savings, loan repayment and life issues are transacted.

It is found that Functional Education is a key element in the process of institution building. An FE course is obligatory for all group members under RDP. It is also a pre-requisite for credit entitlement. FE plays a crucial

role in conscientising the target population and emboldening them to confront the problems they face.

The process of preparing and educating the members of the VOs may be described as going through three phases: in the first year, it is mainly preaching the dos an don'ts. In the second phase which lasts for three years (RDP), it is preaching and regulating the members' behaviour in credit operations and other social programmes. The third phase (RCP) may be described as commercial relationship. It is a gradual movement and the whole process is institutionalization aiming at taking people to a state of self-reliance and sustainability. This is evident to a large measure in the field situation.

Effect of VOs on their Members

Based on the empirical evidence collected through interviews, meetings and discussions with the female and male members of VOs in several villages in the districts of Narsingdi, Pabna and Natore (several areas of RDP and branches of RCP) recently and corroborated by the non-members, the better off people in some of the villages, feel positive about the whole process of VO formation and its functioning.

The members of the VOs are especially, the female feel that BRAC through its VOs has kindled new hopes for them for a better life. It facilitated accessibility to credit

and means to go in for self-employment in small enterprises and trade. The members expressed a sense of achievement that they have learnt to sign their names and are becoming aware of what they are, why they are, what they are, what they can do by themselves, the resources they have and what they can expect from external sources.

The members of the VOs who were interviewed were unanimous that the VOs have brought them into a forum for individual and collective growth. It brought in a new value system, group work ethics, group identity, group solidarity, group commitment, identity of a common cause, discipline, order, a habit of savings and a certain degree of social cohesiveness. The members have learnt that so long they live up to the functional norms of the VO, their interests would be served. Further, the female members of the VOs feel that they have gained some respectability at home and in the community by virtue of their supplementing their family's income through their earnings (some of them through self-employment in chicken raising, sericulture, deep tube well etc.) and by virtue of the new knowledge they have gained through education and training. The very fact of women sitting together exclusively and deliberating over polygyny, divorce, dowry, child marriage and ill-treatment meted out to them by the male members in their families is an unprecedented and an uncommon phenomenon in the

local culture. In a sense, it is a revolutionary change, especially among the poorest-segments in Bangladesh society.

The members of the VOs indicated in the interviews that the credit programmes channeled through VOs foster and build discipline among them. It is a question of weekly payment of loan installment due, and a small amount of savings. This element of compulsory weekly payment and answerability to the peer group in the VO, is said to keep the members alert, sensitive and responsible in repayment. They say it is a question of individual prestige and honour, to pay on time, however poor a person is. Credit programmes through VOs not only contribute to economic betterment but also bring in a social behavioural transformation. What is to be reckoned here is the VO which serves as an organization comprising members and at the same time as an institution with a set of newly established norms, procedures, regulation, obligations, rights and duties, all of them ensuring the interests of the individual and the group.

The process of building rural organizations has already initiated considerable social changes, both individual and collective, in the rural disadvantaged people, especially women. Both men and women say that they are more aware of their rights as citizens and how they have been exploited by the rich. One woman member of a VO (Putia, Natore Region) has put it, "To be

together is strength".

In material terms, in six years time from 1981 to 1987, per capita real income of the programme households has increased by 116 per cent while the real income of the non-programme households has declined by 15.6 per cent. Zafar Ahmed reports in the same paper that in the year 1981, 89.7 per cent of the non-programme households were below the poverty line and 10.3 per cent above the poverty line. But overtime, the poverty situation amongst the non-programme households has deteriorated. In the year 1987, the percentage of below poverty line households has increased to 97.4 from 89.7, while the households above the poverty line has declined from 2.6 per cent in 1981 to 0.3 percent in 1987.

But the situation in the programme households is almost the opposite. In the year 1987, the below poverty line households has declined from 91.2 per cent in 1981 to 25.9 per cent in 1987, and above the poverty line households has increased from 8.8 per cent in 1981 to 74.1 per cent in 1987. This shows an appreciable effect of VOs and the poverty alleviation programmes carried through them on the households who have been members of the VOs. 4.

Besides the weekly savings and loan repayment meetings, the monthly so-called issue-based meetings, however unspontaneous they are, they provide a

continuous education to the members. Whether the issues related to khas land (government land), women's exploitation, dowry, child marriages, health issues, wages and village touts are resolved or not, they are deliberated upon in a group sitting. The group sitting normally encourages the individual to voice his/her feelings and opinions. The discussions are not casual but deliberate and purposeful. The individual in such group sittings leans on the group and the group sometimes shares the individual's views and supports the individual's stand. Public opinion sometimes for or against an issue gets crystallized and gains momentum in such group meetings.

Despite the positive and facilitating factors in respect of the monthly meetings of the VOs, there are a few limitations pertaining to them. Sometimes, the issues discussed in the monthly meetings are not the keenly-felt-needs of the members, that they have no resources and strength to resolve them, that the issues are not spontaneous, that the issues have deep roots in the value system and the tradition of the larger society.

Maturity Level of VOs

The VOs as chief instruments and vehicles of institution building are deliberately built-groups with certain values, norms, procedures, objectives, expectations, rights and obligations, and naturally each VO is to be treated as an unique social entity. It is a growing

organization. The VOs are at different levels of maturity in terms of regular attendance to weekly and monthly meetings, payment of savings and loan installments and managing their individual and collective enterprises. It is gathered that some of the VOs in the RCP areas are managing the credit operations in the absence of BRAC personnel. The maturity of the VOs is manifest in the level of awareness, self-confidence and in articulation of ideas for development among the members of VOs. The case in point is the female VO in Baichitola village in Maheshpur Area Office, Pabna District. The women interviewed at Baichitola were quite clear as to the usefulness of the VO and that they would work towards advancement, strengthening their organization. They feel that the VO as a new forum has given them a social shelter for development. It is gratifying to note that the survival rate of the VOs is extremely high. The dropout cases of members of VOs and what is called disintegration of VOs has been negligible.

It may be relevant here to briefly describe the forming or dissolving of village organization. As mentioned earlier, the minimum number of members to form a VO is 45. Sometimes, it takes a couple of months to reach this minimum number. When members in the target population, say some 20 or 30 come forward for a VO, it is tantamount on their part to mobilize the strength in order to reach the minimum required and once the minimum is reached, the VO is formed formally. Similarly, when the

members leave the VO on their own accord or asked to leave, when found that they did not satisfy the conditions to be members of the VO, the VO is dissolved. The reasons for the members voluntarily leaving the organization are their not being satisfied with the VO and inconvenient timing of the weekly meetings. The weekly meetings are held in the mornings before 7.30. It is fixed. An instance was reported by the BRAC monitoring Division that a Vo of fishermen had to be dissolved because, the fishermen found it to be impracticable to attend the weekly meetings in the morning at which hour they are to do fishing. The fixed hour of the weekly meeting inconvenienced the fishermen.

Future of VOs

The VOs as deliberately built vehicles of development of the landless poor, as the media at the village level for BRAC for its development operations are slowly taking roots in the social and livelihood pursuits of their members. It may be observed that the VOs in the context of prevailing socio-economic conditions of the landless poor, are the only foothold and anchor for the poor. The VOs are to be described primarily as associations or organizations of people and are in the process of establishing themselves as institutions. The VOs have a specific function to fulfill, to serve as an institutional, social-collective force to reach the poor to the basic minimum level of life. They may continue to be

useful organizations, even after BRAC withdraws from them. However, it may be pointed out, that the VOs in a sense are transitory *ad hoc* organizations, unlike other social, economic and political institutions. Their survival is a question of their function in respect of the clientele for whom they were created. Even though, the VOs may not continue with the present structure and functions, they may continue in a modified form. The form it would take and the strength it would gain and the needs it would serve largely depends on the local clientele group.

The whole process and operation associated with VOs has brought in a great degree of self-regulation and maturity on the part of the VOs. In one sense, the VOs are project related and time-bound organizations meeting the economic and social interests of the group, but at the same time, they are not as pointed out above as enduring and strong as religious and social institutions such as a mosque, church, marriage or caste. It appears as though that the VOs require the paternal support of BRAC for some more years, so that the VOs become part of the social institutional fabric of the poor.

It is reported that many VOs have been developed into well-managed democratic institutions which have been able to resolve local conflicts, undertake joint economic schemes and lobby for government services.

By being strong in number and unified in purpose, many VOs, it has been reported, have been able to decrease their dependence on local elite for guidance and advice in resolving conflicts and exploitation in money lending.

CONCLUSION

It will not be far from truth to say that BRAC has been exceedingly successful in applied social sciences in understanding the landless poor, their socio-economic milieu, in establishing rapport with them, in motivating them, organizing them and forming them into larger and small groups, imparting them with functional knowledge and skills, infusing confidence and hope in them inducing initiative in them for social and economic movement forward.

In building and in facilitating the VOs as live and active social organizations, the secret of the approach lies in BRAC meeting the psychological, social and economic needs of the landless poor at the individual, family and community level.

The structure of small groups within the VO, the constitution of a Management Committee (MC), the system of electing or selecting small group leaders and

MC members, and the periodic rotation of leadership and the functions assigned to the group leaders and MC, reflect a system of built-in checks and balances, and also contributing equal opportunity to the members to participate in the activities for their betterment.

The VOs are growing people's institutions and they are at varied states of maturity and BRAC may have to continue nurturing them for some more years. The VO concept is a significant and innovating idea in BRAC's development strategy, the nucleus ingredients being credit, weekly savings and loan installment payment meetings and the monthly meetings.

The effects and impact of VOs on their members have been impressive. They have kindled hope in the members, unity, individual and group action for social and economic betterment.

While speaking of the sustained success of BRAC, we have to give extra weightage to the factor that BRAC's clientele are the disadvantaged and distressed poor. Organizing them and working with them is a laudable achievement. The poor and their participatory planning and development is an unique lesson that others may emulate.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The material in this case study, is based on: (i) BRAC Report, 1990; (ii) BRAC 1992 Diary and (iii) the author's own observations in the field. The author would like to express his sincere thanks to BRAC and to the Donor Liaison Office, Dhaka.

2. Uphoff, Norman, (1989). *Local Institutional Development,* Kumarian Press; p.8.

3. BRAC documents (please refer to Appendix I for details).

4. Zafar Ahmad, (1991). *Group Approach to Empowering Women: An Emerging Development Paradigm from South Asia;* BRAC (1991).

APPENDIX –I : VILLAGE ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

Resource Mobilization	Organizational Discipline	Social Corruption	Financial Discipline	Economic Activities	Local Body Participation	Social Justice
Govt. Khas	Regular Meeting	Bribe Divorce	Budgeting Procedure	Income and employment generation activities	Participation in all local committees/ bodies expert	Participation & influence on local issues
Food for Work	Participation & collective development	Nepotism Dowry	Accounts	conformity with social values appropriate	pressure and influence for administration	Assurance of social fair services

Resource Mobilization	Organizational Discipline	Social Corruption	Financial Discipline	Economic Activities	Local Body Participation	Social Justice
				to the local		
General Wages	Human & Material Control	Theft	Proper recording of financial Transactions	situation		
		Polygamy				
Govt.Support Services	Intra&Inter organizational Cooperation	Women status	Periodical reports statement			
		Usury rate of Interest				
Govt. Subsidized Resources	Collective responsibility	Unfair wages	generation	Fund		
	Documentation And record Keeping		utilization fund	Proper		

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN HOUSING IN INDIA: ISSUES AND CONCERNS

15
PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN HOUSING IN INDIA: ISSUES AND CONCERNS

LIKE most countries in the developing world, India is faced with a major shortage in the housing stock as the supply fails to meet the ever-growing demand. This shortage particularly affects the low-income groups and the economically weaker sections who are forced to resort to the temporary and often flimsy and inadequate structures of the slums, shanty towns and squatter settlements in the urban area. In the rural area, they live in the *Kachha* dwellings that are difficult to maintain and susceptible to the vagaries of the weather conditions and natural disasters.

To a large extent, the government has attempted to solve the housing problem by construction of low-cost housing units. However, it is observed that

(i) This housing is unaffordable by the low income groups and more often gets occupied by the middle classes;

(ii) Expensive building materials are used and further, these units are highly subsidized making provision of housing highly unprofitable to the government;

(iii) This housing is generally provided at such remote locations tht it becomes unviable for the people for whom proximity to their workplace is of primary importance;

(iv) Low cost housing is generally in the form of high rise or walkup apartments that are restrictive to the lifestyle of the low income people as they are deprived of spillover spaces for household activities, home based income generating activities and community spaces, while also,

(v) The opportunity for incremental expansion of the house over time, as the household grows in terms of size as well as income.

In addition to this, the emphasis has always been on providing housing in the urban areas, the housing needs of the rural areas remaining largely neglected.

The case for people's participation in housing arose out of this context and its early proponents were the international aid agencies such as the World Bank who emphasized sites and services projects and self-help housing in a number of cities in the developing world. In India, such projects were motivated by the World Bank in the cities of Chennai, Mumbai, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Indore.

The issue of people's participation in planning in general, and in housing, in particular, gained prominence in the early 60's and is said to have arisen to bridge the distance perceived between the planners and the planned for. This gap was observed most distinctly in the development of the weaker sections of society, the poor in the cities and villages, who form a large section of the population in all developing countries.

In the case of participatory housing, it has been found that *"when dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contribution to the design, construction and management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced and stimulated individual and social well-being. When people have no control over nor responsibility for key decisions in the housing process, on the other hand, dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfillment and a burden on the economy."* (Turner, 1991).

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN HOUSING : ISSUES AND CONCERNS

Cities in all developing countries are faced with huge gaps between housing needs and housing supplies. This is particularly true in India. The slums and squatter settlements are the obvious resultants of this. The living conditions in these areas are deplorable lacking in the basic services necessary for health and sanitation. These

settlements by virtue of being illegal, are often not linked to the city's infrastructure. In some cases, the state has attempted to alleviate this condition by providing alternative mass housing. However, these have proved entirely unsuitable for the users because of factors such as:

Location

Slums invariably occur close to centers of production and commerce. Immediate access to work being very important to the slum dwellers' means of livelihood, their relocation elsewhere affects their job opportunities as well as forces them to incur extra expenditure by commuting.

Resources

Housing is also seen as a commodity. Slum dwellers are known to have sold alternative housing allocated to them and to have continued to live in the slums where their overheads are much lower. In most cases though the investment required to buy alternative housing is far too large for the slum dweller to afford even with a lifetime's savings.

Incremental Growth

The public housing provided is generally in terms of stereotyped standard units that do not accommodate

the additions and changes required over time to cater to the changing needs of a family.

Community Life

Most mass housing projects are designed as blocks of flats with inadequate provision for group open space for the inhabitants' interaction. Also, open spaces are of considerable importance to people from low-income groups whose homes double as workplaces often with small production units.

Identity

It is important and invariably overlooked in mass housing. The sterility of the mass housing denies the user his right to an individual identity. The standardization of dwelling units enforces anonymity on the inhabitants.

It must be noted that in spite of the very poor living conditions in the slums, the above five needs are often catered to. Therefore, spontaneous settlements began to be observed more carefully in terms of their positive features. It was found that when people build for themselves, it is on the basis of their specific needs and the resources they have on hand in terms of finances, building materials and skills.

"Housing" implies not only the construction of houses but the entire process from planning for housing

to the management and maintenance of what is built. This process involves not only the people who are going to live in the houses but the suppliers of housing (the private commercial sector) and the regulators (the public sector or government). In India, a free market and mixed economies, the users, suppliers and regulators are distinct from homogeneous whole. However, the motives and values of private users and small producers are quite different from the bulk of commercial producers or suppliers in a modern society.

The two major issues in housing are the mismatch between housing demand and housing supply, and the viability of the housing in terms of the level of satisfaction of the user. The latter is in turn a function of the numerous and complex components of housing needs, that are generally ignored by housing laws and policies in practice. This implies that *"the greater the dependence of housing on hierarchic supply systems, the greater the mismatches, the greater the inhibition of user's resources and the smaller and poorer the eventual supply."* (Turner, 1991).

A natural outcome of the centralized decision-making system in India is the large-scale standardization of mass produced housing that are often sterile monotonous environments. It has also been observed that large the housing schemes, generally executed by the various state housing boards, the worse the average

design standards, resulting in aesthetically drab and emotionally disturbing environments.

In addition to this, the life of such housing notoriously short, since they are built shabbily requiring frequent maintenance and expensive repair. Also, they are built using high-energy technologies rather than local resources that are plentiful, renewable and energy conserving. India has a rich tradition of vernacular housing reflecting the resources, climate and socio-cultural mores of each region. It is observed that the same is true when we people are allowed to build for themselves and therefore, personal scale and natural variety become natural and even inevitable functions of local and personal decisions.

When housing is regarded as a mass produced consumer good, human values get substituted for material values, either reflecting the capitalist market or the state's socialist values. In a democratic and genuinely socialistic context, as India aspires to be, planning and administration are conducted to establish and maintain an equitable distribution of resources. Instead of determining the number of houses required and building them, it would serve the purpose if the planners and the administrators estimated the approximate land and credit required, as well as the quantities of building materials, tools and labour.

As long as the rules within which the building, management and maintenance of housing takes place such that a fair degree of economy and justice is ensured, the local forms of theses elements can be done by the people themselves. This would balance out the distortion of household economies, social and geographic dislocations, insecurities of tenure or immobility, and the discomfort that occur inmost public mass housing.

In other words, housing problems such as the mismatches between people's socio-economic and cultural situations and their housing processes and products, and the waste, misuse or non-use of resources available for housing can be relieved by formulating housing policies instead of addressing the imbalance between incomes and prices, prices and costs and cost and incomes. Further, the policy goals must also ensure the elimination of residential dislocation, insecurity of tenure and housing related psychosomatic disease.

Often mass housing is provided to the lower income groups at highly subsidized prices, much lower than the actual costs. Yet, a large portion of the owner's income and savings go into buying a house. Therefore, it is not surprising that quite a few people sell the houses allotted to them and continue to live in the slums which are closer to their place of work and allow for larger savings.

A major part of the resources invested in housing

are those possessed and controlled by the users themselves and the economics of housing are a function of the users' resourcefulness. Housing value can be determined in terms of its usefulness versus the material standards and, housing economy in terms of local resourcefulness versus centralized productivity. In other words, *"a dwelling must give its users access to the people, institutions and amenities on which their livelihoods depend; it must provide a tolerable degree of shelter from climate and neighbours; and the users must have a tenure long enough to make the move worthwhile".*(Turner, 1991).

THE MECHANISMS FOR PEOPLE'S PARTICIPTION IN HOUSING

According to Turner (1991), the first step towards people's participation in housing is the "principle of self-government in housing", according to which housing must be determined by households and community institutions and the enterprises they control, to achieve the variety desirable tin dwelling environments and to ensure a closer match between housing demand and housing supply.

The second principle is that of "appropriate technology" for housing whereby people and small organizations look for locally accessible resources and use them effectively. This is of particular importance in India, to make housing more affordable and to encourage self-build by the people themselves. The use of expensive

high cost, high energy and resource consumptive materials such as cement and steel should be minimized.

The third principle is concerned with limits and is the "principle for housing through limits" which suggests centrally guaranteed limits to private action, to maintain equitable access to, and avoid exploitation of the resources. What is important is selecting the correct type of organization that determines the extent of both centrally administered and local self-governing action, such that the two systems complement rather than damage one another. Further, *"practical performance standards must be set for environmental design that generate social and economic as well as physical harmony"* (Turner, 1991).

The above principles can be put into practice through outlining effective planning strategies (the ways); identifying practical policy instruments (the means); and setting up realistic policy goals(the ends). The first step is to identify the levels of action and authority, to establish an institutional framework within which policies are to be framed. Economy and resourcefulness are key factors. They in turn depend on the finance required to build. Three levels of organization can be identified at the local, municipal and central government levels.

At the local level, participation can occur in the design, construction and management of the environment, on the assembly of sub-divided land, infrastructure and

services and building. A number of skills are required for these, from the ability to negotiate land purchases and property transfers to actual construction. While the assembly of the dwelling can and should take place at local levels.

It is popularly believed that people's participation in housing is limited to the self-help construction of new dwellings. However, management and maintenance of housing are equally if not more important aspects of housing than initial design and construction. An important aspect of participation must also be in the planning and management of resources as well as infrastructure.

A number of participatory projects in practice are ones in which the sponsors decide and the users provide. For example, the sponsor selects the site, plans the dwellings and arranges the financing and administrative procedures before selecting the participants. The sponsors are either the government or private non-profit organizations. Sometimes even management or maintenance is carried out by users according to sponsors' procedures and instructions.

In these cases, the participants are passive contributors, although they may have initiated the programme. This will be viable in cases where sufficient skilled voluntary assistance is available. In poor countries though, manual labour being very cheap, "self-help"

builders are often paid substitutes. Also, as the paucity of field personnel and the demands made on time heighten the political and economic necessity for rapid and large scale results, this kind of participation may not be advisable.

In instances where users decide and users provide, a high degree of motivation and organization among the users is necessary. This may be very difficult in cases where the group is diverse consisting of a mix of owner-occupiers, leaseholders, tenants and subtenants. There has to be a large degree of agreement among the group to implement the action proposed as well as division of tasks will have to be explicit. Despite the problems that can be faced in this option, if the project is successful, it will instill in the users a tremendous sense of achievement and a heightened sense of personal and community pride and confidence.

In the third case, where the users decide and the sponsors provide, popular demands have to be incorporated in the housing proposed. This demands tremendous involvement on the part of the professions involved, the architects, planners and administrators in the role of the "participant" rather than "advisor", defining a new professional role that does not dictate but helps generate solutions. Projects of this kind can be very close to the users' needs, if professional help comes in the form of guidance rather than definitive proposals.

In each situation, where people's participation is proposed, the background of the people and the resources available to them must be comprehended before proposing the means of their participation. In other words, there has to be critical matching of appropriate levels of authority and action and consequently, the appropriate form of participation and the correct control of systems. For example, prescriptive planning and administration is essential for the design and installation of the services, the public utility systems, whereas in developing the built form and open space, local initiative must be encouraged as an integral development resources.

The village Valayapatti is a hamlet of Keelakottai revenue village and a member of the Chettiapatti village panchayat. It is located about two miles west of Sirumalai – a hill range running about twenty miles north-south and about twelve miles east-west of Gandhigram. For the Valayar, there is both an emotional and economic tie to the hill. It is emotional in that its origin is a part of Hindu myth. It is said that it was formed when the monkey god (Hanuman) dropped part of a mountain he was carrying to Rama.

Of more immediate concern is the economic tie to the hill. Ten families own some land on the Sirumalai, while with the exception of two families, all adults and teenaged children collect headloads of firewood from the hills and sell it in the neighbouring town. This forms the

mainstay of their subsistence economy.

There is a population of 291 consisting of fifty households. The present adult generation is fifth one since the first Valayar came to Valayapatti. There are strong kinship bonds among the families, with three intermarrying exogamous groups. About seventy per cent of the households own some dry land ranging from one acre to three acres on which they raise millets and pulses. Sorghum is their staple food. Rice is a rare dish that can be afforded only on festive and ceremonial occasions. Among the crops cultivated on the Sirumalai itself are bananas, pomegranates, coffee and lemons.

Prior to the entry of Gandhigram with their efforts to put into action the objectives of the Rural Higher Education Programme, the socio-economic condition of the people was one of poverty, largely survival-oriented. The first thing that caught the attention of any visitor to the village was the housing conditions of the Valayar. It was, in most cases, a narrow single-room thatched hut. Some of these were dwellings in name only, allowing the sun and rain in. Sanitation facilities were non-existent. The few families who had attempted to sink irrigation wells had to abandon them for lack of funds. Only about ten per cent of the community's population was literate, with female literacy being negligible. Due to lack of care and facilities, cases of maternal and child mortality were regularly found.

PROGRAMME

When the first real efforts at introducing socio-economic changes in Valayapatti were considered, it was quickly realized that success could only come if the people's felt-needs were considered first. As the project got under way, the people in the village made it clear that the foremost need was for better housing.

To begin with, nineteen households were chosen (by the villagers themselves) to receive new housing. The design and the pattern of new houses were created keeping in mind the locally available building materials, and the needs of the families. Each house measured 15 feet by 10 feet with Mangalore tiled roof, and most of them were built on the site of the old dwellings.

The construction itself was a joint effort between the villagers and the institute. The villagers laid the foundation, constructed the mud walls, and supplied part of the building materials. The agency met the cost of beams, rafters, doors, and the wages for all skilled labour. The agency's total contribution came to about 500 rupees in 1964-65. The families who received the housing then paid a nominal house rent of one rupee which is utilized for white-washing the houses on the eve of Pongal (a January agro-religious celebration).

The success of this first project in Valayapatti

served to establish a rapport with the villagers which paved the way for other activities. Soon, a building for the Kindergarten (*Balwadi*) and residential quarters for the *Balwadi* teachers were constructed with the people's support and with funds donated by a religious group in Germany. The land was given free by the villagers. They dug out the foundation, collected pebbles, stones, and mud for the foundation concrete, and provided labour for its construction. The completed building included classroom space, a kitchen, storeroom, and the teacher's residential quarters. During the two years of Kindergarten's existence prior to completion of the building (1965) the routine class work was being carried out in the shade of some nearby trees, (Setty, 1991).

SUMMARY

The participation of people in housing is based on the ideology that when people are involved in the process of planning, construction and maintenance of their housing, the environment generated will be closer to their needs and aspirations as well as better maintained by them. This no doubt defines new roles for housing agencies, architects and planners, as "facilitators" of housing rather than providers and designers of housing.

Given a certain social, political and economic context, (in this case, India) the mechanisms for people's participation have to be defined by the planners in order

to ensure a complementary relationship between the planners and the planned for. This chapter looks into the rationale underlying people's participation in housing, the means by which it can be made viable and the possible constraining limits.

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ORANGI PILOT PROJECT: PAKISTAN

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ORANGI PILOT PROJECT: PAKISTAN

HERE is a saga of a squatter town known as Orangi, a part of Karachi metropolitan area, which has drawn the attention of the world in respect of low-cost-technology employed in providing water to the inhabitants and the sewerage and sanitary system that has been accomplished and sustained by small groups of residents under the guidance and able leadership of Dr. Akhter Hameed Khan, the Director of the Orangi Pilot Project 1. The problems in Orangi were manifold and difficult and some almost intractable in the words of Dr. Khan. A fundamental problem in the beginning of eighties was a huge influx of immigrants from all over Pakistan to Orangi. Within a few years, while Karachi Development Authority was wrestling with the enormous task of developing a township of 1,300 acres, the human flood had already covered another 3,000 acres or more, and the high tide mark had not yet been reached for what are popularly called *katchi abadis*, but which the town planners regard with horror as 'slums' or squatter colonies. The problem was compounded by speculation in land and a fierce competition for its possession.

There was a distressing neglect of common facilities. The peripheral areas constantly complained about the scarcity of water, roads, sewerage, transport,

schools and clinics.

We may recognize four factors that have contributed to the success of Orangi Pilot Project (OPP): the keen felt-need of the people, their understanding and participation in the works, the low-cost technology and above all the leadership and the community mobilization and organization engineered by OPP Director Dr. Khan.

Orangi is a *katchi abadi,* a squtter twon also known as sub-standard urban area. It is in between a slum and a well-built township, accommodating around one million people in an area of 5,000 acres. In Karachi division alone there are 362 such *katchi abadis*. For a long time, it is reported that the existence of such large number of people living in *Katchi abadis* was not recognized by the government. No attention was paid to these inhabitants until a Directorate of *Katchi abadis* was created in order to look into the possibility of providing the *katchi abadis* the basic services such as water and sewerage. To provide these two basic necessities meant large sums of money. The government and the municipal authorities responsible for this task – the Karachi Development Authority(KDA) and the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation(KMC) have faced difficulties with regard to funds in providing the basic services to the Orangi people. There were two alternatives, either to borrow money from the World Bank or charge the residents and recover the money from the beneficiaries. Both options were beset

with problems or paying back money to the World Bank and recovering the charges from the resident beneficiaries. The residents also felt that it was the duty of the local councilors or KMC or KDA to provide these basic facilities for them. The KMC on the other hand, being unable to recover the development charges from the residents of these low-income areas left things as they were. This negligence on the part of the government resulted in further deterioration of the sub-standard and unhygienic conditions in the lanes and in the area as a whole.

Under these difficult conditions some of the residents in the Orangi settlement have themselves made several attempts at improving their lanes including construction of elementary sewerage facilities in a few areas. They have tried to lay pipes for the disposal of water and sewerage from the lanes into the big *nallas* (natural drains). A few people who can afford the cost have even made their own septic tanks. However, owing to the lack of technical support, many such efforts have been unsuccessful. The level of the pipes has not been properly maintained. Manholes were often not made. The pipes were not laid at sufficient depth to be able to bear the weight of vehicular traffic. Despite good intensions and some investment made by the government there has not been any substantial improvement in the *Katchi abadis*. The main drawback was lack of resources. There were limitations in foreign borrowings and the KMC or

KDA or the Government of Sind had no organizational mechanism to effectively mobilize local resources on a large scale from low-income residents. Whatever may be the reason, the poor were to live without basic facilities of running water, sanitation, drainage system, roads, electricity, etc.

SEARCH FOR A METHOD

The problem was clear. The government being incapable of tackling the distressing situation in the *katchi abadis*, one looked for a solution. It is at this juncture Dr. Akter Hameed Khan the Director of the Orangi Pilot Project began exploring the possibilities of finding a solution to the problem. He first thought that the government could be persuaded to pay more attention to the needs of the people of Orangi by effective lobbying and carrying out the improvements within the structure of governmental channels. Organizing the local councilors, mobilizing local organizations, in particular the All Orangi Federation, and the publication of a quarterly paper in Urdu became a part of OPP's early strategy for carrying out the effective lobbying. Simultaneously Dr. Khan started meeting the high officials of KMC, KDA, Local Government in order to draw their attention to the plight of the Orangi people.

But it was discovered soon that the problem was not the lack of effective lobbying, but the constraints of a very different nature. First, the councilors simply refused

to hold meetings arguing that there was no need for such meetings. It was more in their interest to be on their own rather than be united with other agencies. It was reported that they wanted favours and patronage individually and not collectively. Second, the various associations and organizations in Orangi which have been ostensibly designed for lobbying had in fact been used by politically ambitious people for their personal gains. Third, the meetings with the officials of KMC and KDA were of no avail. They listened to the problem, nodded their heads and nothing materialized.

In view of these circumstances, it was apparent that there was a bottleneck. On the one hand, the KDA and KMC charges were far beyond the capability of the Orangi people and on the other hand these two public bodies were not willing to reduce the charges for providing basic facilities to the common people.

Consequently, a solution had to be found without any dependency on external assistance. The top-down approach had little promise in solving the problems of Orangi.

The broad outline of the alternative way-out was envisaged by Dr. Khan. Naturally, it had to be bottom-up in which local residents would be organized and their resources mobilized. This method facilitated the creation of effective local organization and dissemination of

technical skills among the local people. Added to these social dimensions were the low-cost-technology, technical competence, and professional approach of OPP's workers, which were the key to the Orangi's success story.

Here we shall discuss the question of sanitation and how OPP has managed to effect a breakthrough in self-managed people's problem without subsidizing the actual cost of work done. The OPP subsidy has been only in research and extension; the construction has been carried out entirely through local resources. It is this fact of working through local resources which makes the OPP a significant project. It is significant not only in terms of mobilizing local resources but also for having shown the way to an improvement strategy based on a collective and self-help approach.

Sanitation

In view of its acute and pressing need and the fact that it gave quick and tangible results to a long outstanding problem, low-cost sanitation had been one of the most effective programmes of OPP. Dr. khan has approached the problem in the following manner :

There seemed to have been three barriers obstructing the improvement of Orangi on a self-help basis. First, there has been the psychological barrier both at the top and at the bottom. At the top the psychological

barrier has been with the government departments who perhaps felt that the problem of *katchi abadis* could not be solved with any significant results in view of the fact that they did not have sufficient resources. Psychological barrier at the bottom pertained to the attitude of some people in Orangi who still expected the KMC or the DDA to do the work for them. They also seemed to have felt that in any case the work of sanitation, water supply, drainage, etc., was beyond their own abilities resources.

The second barrier and related to the first was the question of cost. The cost of constructing a proper sanitary system through conventional methods involved government departments, vested interests, and corruption. This could not be afforded by the people.

The third barrier was technical or technological in character. It meant, even though some individual residents were interested and ready to go in for a sanitary system on their own, they lacked the technical know-how and do-how.

The primary concern on the part of OPP was to remove the aforesaid barriers. In respect to the sanitation programme, the experiment has been (a) to remind the residents that if they failed to organize themselves, none would come to their aid and they might face greater hardship as days passed by, (b) to try to reduce the cost of a standard sewerage system, and (c) to provide the

interested residents with a low-cost technology and technical guidance and professional assistance for constructing the system and to train them in its maintenance and upkeep.

The people of Orangi realized that the collective effort was perhaps the only effective solution to their needs. The problem, among others, was one of trust. Their earlier efforts to organize themselves have met with failure, incompetence or waste and their being cheated out of their money. Accountability has been difficult and corruption rampant even among fellow residents.

Organization of Lane Committee

In order to eliminate the problem of mistrust, Dr. Khan started with the lane as a unit of organization. On an average there are between 20 to 30 houses in each lane. The heads of these households constitute the lane committee, which proved to be people's functional forum. The members of the lane committees deliberate over the problems of sewerage, water supply and sanitation and decide as to what is to be done and their share of the cost of the work and approach the OPP with a formal application for the execution of the work. The OPP office in turn sends its technical team which surveys the lane and gives the design and cost estimate. Then the residents collect and give the money to the elected lane managers. The managers then buy the material and

organize the work. Full account of expenses is maintained and a copy is submitted to the OPP office.

It may be observed here, that by making lane as the unit of organization as opposed to *mohallals* (neighbourhood) or sectors, the problem of trust has been solved, thus making it possible to organize the people within a small and therefore effective structure for collective action. The secret perhaps is the smallness of the lane group with face-to-face physical and social interactions.

Further, the task of removing the psychological barrier became possible by reducing the cost of construction. In the early 80's, by eliminating kickbacks and profiteering, the cost has been brought down to less than a third of prevalent rates. In some cases the cost has been brought down to as low as Rs. 12.60 per rft as compared to the then prevalent rate of Rs. 45 per rft (running foot) of drainage line.

This drastic reduction in cost was possible by improving the design of the manholes and septic tanks. By changing the design of the manholes from block construction to cast *in-situ* the need for expensive skilled masons was eliminated. Steel shutterings are provided to the residents who use it to construct the manholes

themselves under OPP supervision if needed.

In reducing the cost of construction, there was no compromise and sacrifice of quality of the work.

A People-oriented Development Strategy

OPP is aware that it would take considerable time to build a fully integrated and complete sewerage system. The purpose is to organize the people to make them learn how to do it themselves. Sometimes, deviance and error of judgment are part of the process of developing, local organizations and local skills and expertise which will eventually eliminate the need to depend on the expensive services of outside institutions and professionals.

The demonstrative effect of this self-help programme has been significant. When the programme was initiated first in September 1981, it took three months for Dr. Khan and his social motivators to convince the residents of one lane only that the proposal was not another political gimmickry, that it would work and work well. Today the demand from lane residents keep pouring in and OPP office is unable to keep up with the requests. It may be observed here that in this case study, we are not entering into the engineering aspects of the OPP's sewerage system as of now such as lack of main drains, piece-meal and isolated work in lanes, and the size of manholes and pipes and lack of a total systems approach

to sanitation. But the emphasis in the case study is on the mobilization and motivation of the people and organizing them into viable, functional, self-contained units of social action, with sustained people's participation.

Besides water supply and sanitary system, the OPP has initiated research, extension, educational and economic and productive activities among female members of the Orangi community.

CONCLUSION

The Orangi Pilot Project is in its twenty first year. It has come of age and serves as a model to similar huge squatter settlements. The OPP by definition is an experimental exercise concerned and executed in response to the inability of official agencies to improve the lot of the low-income people. The sub-standard condition of any *katchi abadi* is an expression of the failure of conventional institutions and approaches, and so, the OPP experiment has been to find viable alternatives.

It would not have been possible to make people understand and appreciate the efficacy of OPP's self-help and self-financed programme had it not been for the community involvement and leadership abilities of the project's social organizers. They were all the residents of Orangi who understood the problems first hand and felt committed to its improvement and well-being. Dr. Akhter

Hameed Khan's life-long non-elitist developmental strategy has been the guiding principle to the project. Dr. Khan has the vision and courage to challenge conventional approaches and has unwavering faith in the ingenuity of national expertise and local activists. Orangi stands as a guide post signifying what people can accomplish when organized and what a committed leadership can lead to.

NOTE

1. The material presented here is based on several progress reports of OPP, beginning the first report dated 1 April, 1980, and also a publication entitled Orangi Pilot Project, Progress Report – April 1980 – June 1983.

   Besides, the author has visited Orangi in the first quarter of 1985 as an invitee of Dr. Akhter Hameed Khan and has had an advantage of visiting the sewerage system and holding discussions with Dr. Khan and his staff. The author gratefully acknowledges the sources cited.

PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE: A CASE FROM PHILIPPINES

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PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE: A CASE FROM PHILIPPINES

INTRODUCTION

FOR the past five decades, rural development remained as the top priority/agenda in most of the programmes and projects implemented in developing nations. Many programmes had been implemented to increase income of the rural people employing several strategies such as farmers organization, women's club and youth mobilization with the hope of attaining sustainable development among them. It was seen that there is a need to increase agricultural productivity because it was foreseen that rural development could not be attained when agricultural production could not be improved above the other factors. Hence, agricultural development was considered as the top priority.

One of the major development initiatives implemented in developing nations to increase income among the rural poor was the "Green Revolution" programme. It was assumed that with this kind of programme meaningful rural development could be attained. This programme was implemented based on the conventional approach to agricultural development

called "Transfer of Technology" (TOT).

This approach was based on the top-down and paternalistic idea that scientists are more knowledgeable and aware of the rural situation compared to the rural people. Therefore, "improved" farming techniques were introduced based on the knowledge generated in the research institutions and agricultural universities. Believing their knowledge to be superior to that of the farmers, scientists decided what changes were needed, tried them out under controlled conditions and passed the results on through extension services (Waters-Bayers, 1989).

Some of the innovations resulting from conventional agricultural research have been applied by richer farmers but few have been widely adopted by small farmers. Reasons for these were sought in supposed characteristics of the small farmers, such as ignorance, laziness and conservatism or the support services, such as poor extension services and lack of credit facilities, but seldom in the characteristics of the innovations themselves. In fact, the ones most benefited by these high yielding varieties were the rural elite who were big landowners. This was so, because the new varieties recommended were dependent on high levels of agricultural inputs and on favourable and reliable climatic conditions and, or, irrigation. To support the programme, physical infrastructural facilities were provided such as

irrigation and credit facilities. But who benefited with this kind of ambitious rural development effort? Only the few big low-land farmers comprising only about 15-20 per cent of the total local population in the Philippines. Hence, rural development in its real sense failed because agricultural development initiatives were not able to improve the living conditions of the target population with the less fortunate 75 to 80 per cent of small farmers. This is because, vast majority of the farmers in developing nations practise mainly rainfed farming, often on poor soils in areas of high climatic variations, and face high production risks.

Against this experience (that Green Revolution technology was proven unsuitable for farmers in marginal environments), there is a need to reorient our approach to rural development, more so in case of agricultural development programmes. There is a need to reverse the process. It should be "farmer first" not "farmer last". In line with this, Waters-Bayers (1989) recognized the importance of indigenous knowledge and innovation compared to TOT approach because it was found that most agricultural technology used in the developing nations was the outcome of the informal innovations by subsistence farmers. Besides, some scientists began to recognize the rationality behind the small farmers' techniques as the ecological dangers of many large-scale projects (such as irrigation schemes) and modern farming techniques (such as the use of chemicals and

monoculture) became more obvious.

Hence, the participatory technology development approach for sustainable agriculture was developed as an offshoot of the failure of the conventional approach of research and development, and extension. This is a new approach which seeks full participation of the clientele in developing technologies adoptable to their actual farming circumstances.

THE PROCESS OF PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT (PTD)

There are three main phases in PTD viz., planning, implementation and embedding of technology. Planning phase involves analysing the situation, identifying problems, setting priorities, and choosing priority solutions to investigate or test. While implementation deals with designing trials to investigate and to test potential solutions, carrying out trials, and monitoring and assessing the results. Embedding the technology, on the other hand, is the sharing of results with other farmers and scientists, and helping create the necessary social and economic infrastructure to sustain the application and further development of the technology.

A. Planning Phase

Planning phase has two main stages, namely :

diagnosis and design.

1. *Diagnosis:* This is the first stage in PTD approach. This stage is carried out by eliciting and gathering information in the community in order to determine the main problems and their causes; and potential solutions, using the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques.

Moreover, as a first step toward participatory situation analysis, the scientists must learn local conditions and practices, so as to gain a basis of communication with the farmers. During this process, it is important that they would be conscious of the conflicts in interests between different local groups (such as farmers and traders), between different levels of administration, and between local, regional and national interests.

In collaborative research, discussions and field observations together with individuals and group of farmers allow the scientists to help the farmers specify their needs and wants, analyse constraints in achieving them, and identify possibilities improving their situation. This often involves an historical approach in which farmers recall past changes in crops, cultivation techniques, land use and living conditions, and try to identify causes of these changes.

While in farmer-led research, the scientists assume

that they can never achieve the level of understanding of the local situation which the inhabitants already have or can gain through a process of conscientisation. The scientists act as catalysts; stimulating thoughts and discussion among farmers about their problems and needs, and encouraging farmers' initiatives to improve their situation.

In participatory approach, instead of interviewing, scientists discuss with farmers and encourage discussion between farmers. Instead of imposing their own interpretation of the situation, they remain open to exploring farmers' hypotheses which are not immediately comprehensible to the formally-educated scientific mind but which farmers see as important.

2. Design

From the information (problems and constraints) elicited/gathered during the diagnostic stage, design stage will follow. This is the process of coming up with potential solutions to the identified problems for testing. The purpose of the design stage is to generate a set of solutions from which farmers can choose those they would like to try. The sources of solutions are firstly the farmers' indigenous experiments/knowledge, and new ideas from findings of research studies at research institutions. From these, selected potential solutions and their interactions with other farming components should be investigated.

Thus, with every possible solution there are social, economic and cultural issues to consider. Finally, studies principally examine possible resource constraints and conflicts.

The activities that could be undertaken to come up with alternative solutions to farmers' identified problem include farmers consultation/participation/collaboration; consultation with technical staff; review of existing technologies and/or available solutions related to the specified problems; farmer-researcher interaction; field trips; visit to local training institutes and tapping indigenous resources for information.

Farmers participation and consultation with the technical staff serves as a means for generating an array of possible solutions to the identified problems. This is usually done through meetings and discussions about the problem at hand. With the active involvement of the farmers, possible solutions are evaluated as to their practicability and feasibility. Farmers play a central role in technology development; one as active collaborators, not just as passive observers or receivers.

Review of existing technologies and potential solutions gathered from review of literature may be the easiest way of finding alternative solutions. This is usually done by reviewing what has been practiced by the commercial and progressive farmers in the community.

In coming up with potential solutions based on this review, precautions may be taken in terms of farmers' resources and capacity to undertake the alternative solutions themselves.

As a source of insight on practices of farmers in other places, field trips may serve as an effective method of designing solutions. However, this is expensive and participation by farmers may be limited. Considering the vast experiences of farmers, solution to the identified problems can be elicited from the farmers related to the problem which needs to be considered in the design of alternative solutions for testing. Once the information or alternative solutions are identified, there is a need to examine their feasibility considering availability of resources and other important factors. This is needed to narrow down the list of alternatives that would be tested. Eliciting farmers' indigenous solutions can be done through individual interaction with farmers, group discussion and/or consulting key informants.

B. Implementation Phase (On-farm Trial)

This phase in participatory technology development deals with testing solutions by farmers in collaboration with technicians on the farmers' own land, crops or animals. This is usually done by comparing new techniques with farmers' own existing practices. The purpose of this on-farm testing is to find out how potential

solutions perform under farm conditions. Usually, performance of the improved technology drops again at the farmer's testing level where the improved technology is in effect being tested for compatibility with the current farming system and managerial know-how of the farmers. The researcher and the farmer usually have some ideas (hypotheses) about how the proposed solution will perform, but seldom are they sure, hence the need for testing.

After the alternative solutions are identified, they are tested using the farmer's fields, crops or animals and following his management style. Farmers' pre-acceptability and understanding of the treatments and objectives of the trial are the determining factors in designing meaningful trials. They should know about the variables considered in testing. Results of the experiment are then compared with the farmers' existing methods.

The design of solution is such that the conduct of the experiment can be done by the farmers themselves. It should consider the highly variable conditions of the farmer's situation, his resources, time available for overall farm and household activities and other responsibilities that he may have to take care of. A simple experiment may involve the existing farmer practice as control against the alternative solution. The farmer-managed research can be modified by the farmer based on his judgment but should not entirely deviate from the broad objectives/goals

jointly set by both parties before the conduct of the study.

In designing the trials, the scientists help the farmers plan how to conduct the trials and measure results so that both sides have an objective basis for assessing the innovation. The factors which farmers view as important in testing a new idea are determined by asking farmers what they do with a new crop or variety, observing their informal trials, or using ranking techniques which reveal decision-making criteria.

While in conducting the trials, some external inputs such as new seed, may be provided by the scientists and combined with existing resources according to farmers' criteria. The work is carried out under farmers' control management. Farmers may adjust the trials according to their new ideas or perceptions of the changing conditions. To be able to analyse reasons for differences in farmers' results, scientists must monitor closely what is actually done in the trial plots (eg. Planting densities, additional fertilizer use, grain harvesting dates, harvesting of other plant parts such as leaves). Some records of trial implementation (eg. What was done when and by whom) can also be kept by the farmers themselves, for their own and/ or for scientists' use; even more where literacy is not widespread, pictorial technique could be used. The scientists record the farmers' comments on growth habit, disease susceptibility, yield, marketability of a new variety and others make additional measurements necessary for

interpreting the results.

In assessing the results, collaboration in evaluation gives scientists further insight into farmer's value systems and helps in designing subsequent trials. Still more important, it increase farmers' ability to analyse systematically the advantages and disadvantages of innovations and, thus, to make well-founded decisions about changing thei, farming systems. As PTD is an interactive process, evaluation is not limited to an end stage. It involves constant exchange of ideas and experiences between farmers and scientists during trial implementation. Interim results are discussed jointly by scientists and farmers, who then agree for the next step. The farmers ultimately decide whether to continue applying the innovation and whether to recommend it to other farmers.

The innovations must be assessed in terms of interest to the farmers. For example, farmers facing chronic shortage of cash may be primarily interested in benefit-cost analyses which balance the prices of end-products actually obtained against the costs of purchased inputs. Farmers will be most concerned with yield per unit of limiting production factor e.g., returns to labour during a labour-bottleneck period such as the sowing season, and not necessarily with yield per hectare.

A prime aim of scientists in farmer-led research

programme is to strengthen the farmers' research capabilities so that they can adjust more quickly and independently to changing conditions. Here, the important tasks of the scientists are:

(i) To help the farmers decide what to observe and measure so that they can assess their results in a way meaningful to them, and

(ii) To show farmers how they can obtain information from formal R&D services to aid in interpreting their results.

C. Embedding

If farmers have themselves identified the problems, tested potential solutions and evaluated the results, useful techniques thus developed will become part of their farming system. These farmers are likely to become good extensionists, quickly spreading the innovations through traditional communication channels, mainly by word-of-mouth and by passing small amounts of inputs (eg. Seed) to relatives and friends. Participatory R&D programme promotes farmer-to-farmer communication and helps extend it beyond the local community.

However, on account of differences in soil type, climatic variability etc., an eco-farming technique developed within on farming system can rarely be

transferred directly to another. Extending eco-farming techniques involve two processes: (1) offering farmers new options which merit testing and modification; (2) promoting infrastructural and institutional development to ensure that the innovation can be embedded in the local farming systems. For eco-farming techniques, the need for external inputs may be low but vital, and increased cash income is likely to be among the small holders' multiple aims. It is therefore important that the rural communities be assisted in creating or attracting local infrastructure needed for both input supply and marketing. Groups are in better position than individuals to exert demands for services and policy support from higher level agencies. Promoting farmer organization and helping force links between different actors in development process (farmers, researchers, extensionists, input suppliers or government officials) are important for embedding not only the innovations but also the very process of generating them.

THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

A. Necessity for a Participatory Approach

A participatory approach to R&D is necessary in order to develop site-appropriate farming techniques which are both productive and sustainable, to make

effective use of research funds in the service of agriculture and to increase smallholders' capacity for self-sustaining development.

Developing Site-appropriate Technologies

Innovations developed on-station are usually for a single cash crop. Those developed by participatory research are more likely to meet the needs of smallholders who produce various commodities and have multiple goals (subsistence, economic / social security, cash income etc). Trials carried out by smallholders mainly with their own resources are more likely to address their most urgent problems than trials planned and financed by resource-rich outsiders.

Scientists can learn more about eco-farming from farmers' techniques, informal trials and adaptations to introduced innovations. Participatory R&D combines farmers' knowledge with formal scientific knowledge of ecological agriculture.

Increasing Efficiency of the Formal R&D System

Tropical environments –referring to local biological, economic, social and political conditions are so heterogeneous that adaptation of new eco-farming techniques to each site would make impossible demands on formal research resources. The demands could be

reduced if farmers are enabled to select and adopt technologies to suit their particular environment.

From the point of view of the scientists and planning agencies, participation of local farmers in technology development leads to greater efficiency and precision in identifying the most urgent problems. Formal agricultural research can be better focused and solutions found more quickly.

Empowering Farmers for Self-sustaining Development

A participatory approach to R&D which builds on local knowledge, initiatives and resources strengthen the self-help capabilities of farmers. They gain faith in the value of their own knowledge and how it can be combined with outside knowledge or limited external inputs to solve their current problems. Farmers with this kind of experience will be able to adjust their production systems more quickly to changing conditions and to exert more "demand-pull" on formal R&D institutions for relevant information and services. Knowledge is said to be power. Hence the knowledge gained through participatory R&D can be for the benefit of both the parties:

1. Participatory R&D can empower scientists, who learn from farmers, gain a greater understanding of existing production systems and constraints, and thus can add to the store of knowledge within the

formal R&D system;

2. Participatory R&D can empower farmers in that it augments and reinforces their abilities to generate, communicate and use technical knowledge, stimulate greater reliance on their own resources and permit greater influence by farmers on formal R&D.

B. Complementaries between Participatory and Conventional Agricultural R&D

PTD cannot replace conventional research in laboratories on station and in scientists on-farm trials. It involves flexible forms of applied and adaptive research which complement the more rigorous trials according to formal scientific conventions.

What can Participatory R&D Offer to Conventional R&D?

In collaborative and farmer-led trials, farmers may choose to test innovations developed in conventional R&D. The farmers' choices show the scientists which new technical options are consistent with the farmers' value judgments. Farmers' trials give scientists an opportunity to see how innovations actually function within the local farming system and household economy, and so help them to assess where the new technologies could be applied successfully and to redesign promising

techniques to reduce risk. Thus PTD not only permits quicker and more accurate focus of formal R&D, it also stimulates ideas among scientists.

Moreover, the conventional R&D system provides a framework for scientific investigation of questions which arise during participatory R&D. Ideally, the formal system should provide service to the farmers. If the trials of the scientists are designed to answer questions arising out of farmers' trials, conventional R&D will be able to provide the information farmers need.

When scientists conduct conventional on-farm trials adjacent to farmers' trials, more frequent or complex measurements can be made than in the latter alone. These data aid in interpreting the results of the farmers' trials. The scientists and farmers involved can observe, compare and discuss each others' results. In eco-farming, R&D scientists controlled-trials play a supportive rather than a leading role, but this support is vital. The trial results must be fed back to the field quickly and in terms which can be readily understood by extensionists and farmers and can specify how the results of conventional trials are applicable to the practical problems of the local farmers.

Initial investigations can be made on-station of innovations which appear to offer potential solution for increasing productivity and sustainability. However, it is important that they be presented to farmers at an early

stage as "working models". The response of the farmers, if negative, warns that something is basically wrong with the idea, saving considerable funds which might be spent refining inappropriate technology. For example, during 30 years of refining animal-drawn wheeled tool-carriers on-station, changes brought about by scientists in design increased risk and reduced convenience and flexibility. Substantial research funds and time spent isolated from farmers, produced a technology for which most farmers were not willing to pay (Water-Bayers, 1989). Finally, conventional trials under controlled conditions often remain necessary to convince conventionally-thinking scientists and development planners of the validity of farmer-developed technologies.

PTD's Specific Framework of Activities

For workability purpose, there is a need to specify and describe the five different activities of participatory technology development as an activity to be undertaken by the "outsiders". These are:

1. How to get started;
2. Finding things to try;
3. Trying out;
4. Sharing results; and
5. Sustaining the process.

Items 1 and 2: How to get started and finding things to try comprise the planning stage while number 3 – Trying out, the implementation phase. Sharing results and sustaining the process constitute the embedding phase.

(i) How to Get Started (Diagnostic Phase) : This is the first stage/phase in PTD approach. This phase is carried out by eliciting and gathering information in the community in order to determine the main problem(s) and its causes, and potential solutions, using the RRA techniques. The main objective of this activity is to come up with a list of prioritized problems and their causes as basis for the design of potential solutions. The following are the major activities that would be carried out:

1. Conduct RRA in the community to identify problems limiting production;

2. Identified problems would be ranked according to the degree of importance;

3. The causes that gave rise to these problems should be identified;

4. The relationships between problems and their causes would be analysed; and

5. Begin to consider possible, potential solutions.

(ii) Finding Things to Try : From the information (problems and constraints) gathered during the diagnostic stage, design or finding-thins-to try phase will follow. This is the process of coming up with potential solutions on the identified problems for testing. This could be done by:

1. Identifying potential solutions based on the major problems analysed with the use of problem-cause analysis;

2. Evaluating the potential solutions for the major problem(s);

3. Bringing these potential solutions back to the farmers for verification as to their accurateness and the possibility of adopting these at the farmers' level; and

4. Deciding with farmers what specific solutions to be implemented.

(iii) Trying Out: It is the process of testing/trying out defined solutions on the farmers' farm (on-farm trial). It is an activity wherein the traditional practices of farmers and the new practices (interventions) are compared in terms of their overall farm performance. This is done in order to find out how potential solutions perform under farm conditions for evaluation. Trying out potential solutions should be done on the farmer's field using his crops/

animals and employing farmer's managerial techniques. This could be done by:

1. Identifying responsive and research-minded farmers to serve as cooperators of the trials; and securing their willingness to participate;

2. Try the intervention(s) side-by-side with the farmers' practice. Let the farmers manage the trials; and

3. Monitor the performance of the intervention with the farmers.

(iv) Sharing Results/Extension: This is the process of disseminating/ extrapolating the tested and adopted potential solutions to other farmers or places having the same characteristics with that of the recommendation domain.

(v) Sustaining the Process: It is the process of institutionalizing the PTD approach by building institutions among and between farmers/local people. The cooperators have important role to play in sustaining the development process on behalf of the project implementers, they will assume the role of motivating, educating and disseminating appropriate technologies to other farmers so that the approach would become part of the system of the society/community, after the project

phases out.

EXPERIENCES IN PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT

A. The Farming Systems Development Project in Eastern Visayas (FSDP-EV), Region 8, the Philippines

The Farming Systems Development Project in Eastern Visayas (FSDP-EV) was implemented in 1981. It aims at improving the livelihood of the small farmers in selected rainfed areas of Region 8 through increased agricultural production. Its objectives also include the development of appropriate technologies and the establishment of a working mechanism for technology delivery for rainfed areas in the region. The project adhered to the farming systems research and extension or participatory technology development approach which focuses on the technologies adaptable to resource-poor upland farmers.

The project which was a joint effort of the Depart of Agriculture-Region 8 and the Visayas State College of Agriculture (ViSCA) effected its implementation by establishing Site Research Management Units (SRMUs) located at different provinces of Samar, Leyte and Southern Leyte. Each of these SRMUs was considered to be representative of the ecological and socio-economic

situation of these provinces at the start of the project, foreign technical assistance was provided by Cornell University while the major source of funding was from USAID.

The SRMUs which were staffed by multi-disciplinary teams were established to serve as pilot sites or "testing" centers of various technologies which were considered to be suitable, if adopted, to that area. This work was done on the sites to evaluate their overall performance for possible dissemination (Bernadas, 1991).

Some Techniques Proven to be Promoting R&E Linkage and Farmer Participation

During the first two years of FSDP-EV, efforts in SRMUs were directed to cropping pattern trials to identify patterns that could increase the income of upland farmers. This was in response to the finding of two one-shot surveys conducted at the sites at the start of the project implementation. The first survey was done by the site leaders who were formerly extension workers of the Department of Agriculture. They were detailed in the project sites to provide leadership in the conduct of site activities. The survey was made using the structured interview technique and a printed questionnaire as a guide. However, farmers' feedback regarding family and farming situations was limited to what was asked in the questionnaire.

When a multidisciplinary team composed of biological and social scientists was organized for each SRMU, one of the initial activities done by the team was to conduct rapid rural appraisal (RRA). The team identified guide topics from which questions during the interviews with key informants and other farmers were formulated.

Results of both surveys concluded that the most pressing problem of farmers was low income due to declining soil fertility. Immediately, the project staff decided to conduct cropping pattern trials in the sites. They organized meetings with farmers to choose the crops to be included in the pattern. They also explained the importance of planting legume after or together with their traditional annual crops. Farmers agreed to provide land, labour, and feedback on the research, the trials on their own farms. Performance of the crops, however, was below expectation of the researchers due to some socio-economic and environmental constraints. Socio-economic constraints were demonstrated in cases where farmers were not able to plant the crop, clean the field etc., because they were paid as labourers by other farmers or they helped harvest rice in the lowland farms. Sometimes, unfavourable weather conditions caused the delay in planting or not being able to plant at all. It was after two years that the project staff realized that introducing new cropping patterns to increase farm income and regain soil fertility which was quite successful in the lowland, was inappropriate in the hillyland areas. The project staff

realized that the needs and problems of the farmers are more related to the sustainability of their resource base. This experience led the project staff to involve farmers in deciding what farm intervention to try or technology to develop to increase their income and improve soil fertility. This led to the establishment of informal and highly-focused diagnostic surveys and on-farm trials, discussed below:

(i) Informal and Highly-focused Diagnostic Survey: In Jaro, one of the SRMUs, for instance where coconut is the main crop, project staff observed that the cropping pattern introduced seemed to contradict the practice followed by the farmers of leaving the land to fallow after several croppings of staple crops (rice and corn) and rootcrops (sweet potato and cassava) in order that the soil regains fertility. So, a series of informal, highly-focused diagnostic and design surveys were conducted by the project staff to get details of the fallow practices of the farmers. Cooperator and non-cooperator farmers of the project site were interviewed using open-ended, interactive, and structured guide questions. These guide questions were related to the key issues on the fallow practices of the farmers. Interviews were conducted in the vernacular. In addition to the surveys, informal conversation and formal group meetings with farmers by the project researchers and extension workers assigned in the area were held to discuss the issue.

Based on this process, the project staff learned that the problems of the farmers associated with the fallow rotation was the growth of cogon (Imperata Cylindrica) in the fallowed area. Thus, the farmers were asked to suggest a farm intervention that would suppress the growth of cogon. Farmers shared their observation that cogon was shaded out vigorously growing viny plants. They also said that plowing and the use of herbicides were inappropriate solutions for cogon control, because of limited family labour and unavailability of cash.

(ii) On-farm Trials: In the aforedescribed situation, agreement was reached with the farmers to try several forge legumes: *Centrosema pubescens, Colopogonium muconoides, Pueraria phaseoloides* in monoculture or in mixture. Farmers agreed to provide the labour for plowing thoroughly their fields and collect cuttings of *kudzu* (*P. phaseoloides)* for the trial establishment. The other legumes were provided by the project. Evaluating the results of the trials, the farmers decided to adopt the *kudzu.* The failure of the *Centosema* and *Colopogonium* to grow aggressively resulted in farmers labeling them "slow". At present, the *kudzu* covercropping to improve the fallow rotation system of farmers is adopted by most farmers in the project site and by some farmers outside the project too.

(iii) Organized Visits to Farms of Technology Adopters: Organized farmer visits or cross farm visit is not unique to

FSR. This mechanism is also popular in other research-extension linkage approaches. In FSDP-EV, organized visit by farmer cooperators to farms of technology adopters was instrumental in the adoption of *ipil-ipil* contour hedgerow.

Together with the cropping pattern trial, contour hedgerow was introduced in one of the SRMUs(in Villaba). Recognizing that the land was a marginal hillyland, the site leader who saw a hillside farming project terraced with ipil-ipil of the Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre (MBRLC) in Kinushusan, Bansalan, Davao del Sur, thought of introducing the technology to client farmers in his area. He took special pains to convince farmers of the benefits of the hedgerow technology by showing them pictures of hedgerow establishment and providing farmers with a computation of expected return in terms of increased production. However, the site leader was not successful in convincing the farmers.

At the suggestion of the Director of Agricultural Research Office of the National Department of Agriculture, these farmers were brought to a project site of the World Neighbours – a non-government organization (NGO) in Cebu where the technology was being adopted. They viewed farmers working with different forms of hillyland contouring, especially the *ipil-ipil* hedgerows combined with the local crops. The potential benefits of the technology was effectively conveyed by striking similarities

in soil and topographical conditions of this site with those of the FSDP-EV sites and by the farmer-adopters themselves discussing the technology with the visiting farmers. The farmers of the NGO project also taught the visiting farmers the steps/procedures of adopting the technology. Following the field trip, the farmers noticeably were willing to experiment with *ipil-ipil* on their farms. When the project began to provide them with the planting materials to set up the researcher-managed and farmer-implemented trials, the farmer-cooperators had already decided to establish their own plots of *ipil-ipil* hedgerows with seeds left from the trial plots. In addition, farmers made some modifications or technology consolidation in their trial plots, which suited specific situation. They decided to plant *ipil-ipil* seeds at 1-2 inches deep instead of 5-6 inches as practiced by farmers in the NGO project. The farmers believed that shallower planting would result in a more uniform and higher rate of germination because their soil had more water holding-capacity than the soil where the NGO project was implemented. Pruning was also modified. Instead of cutting the *ipil-ipil* at 50 cm, they pruned at 40 cm.

The farmers experienced that pruning the ipil-ipil at this height was easier because they were still young. They found later, however, that frequent pruning resulted in die-back. So, the use of *Glyricidia sepium* was done to replant missing hills due to the insufficient supply of *ipil-ipil* seeds.

To successfully improve soil fertility over time, periodic pruning of the hedgerows and the incorporation of the leaf matter into the soil is required. But some farmers had an alternative use of the leaf matter. They harvested and dried the leaves and sold the leaf meal in the local market. Therefore, farmers were adopting technologies and trying their own alternatives as necessary and locally appropriate. An important conclusion is that menu of technical alternative based on both "scientific" knowledge and farmer-initiated possibilities are seemingly important and necessary in conducting adaptive research.

B. Participatory Approach to Research and Development in the Low-land and Upland.

The SIRSDP Experience in the Philippines:

I. Background and Description

The San Isidro Rural Systems Development Project (SIRSDP) is one of the community-based projects undertaken by the Centre for Social Research in Small Farmer Development, one of the Visayas State College of Agriculture's (VISCA) research and extension centers.

The project began its first year of full operation as a research and development project on July 1, 1984 with funding support from the Land Bank of the Philippines

and technical assistance from the Visayas State College of Agriculture. During the year, benchmark surveys were conducted to generate baseline data on animal production, crop production, physical and human resources.

The project covers four *barangays* (villages) located in marginal upland and lowland areas of San Isidro Municipality. The most pressing problems before the start of the project included low farm productivity, lack of employment opportunities, upland degradation, lack of access to agricultural resources, poor health and nutrition, and lack of capital.

During the last five years, the Project has made modest but significant gains in developing the conditions of the beneficiaries in the area. But additional time is needed to institutionalize the reforms that have been started and to provide long-term economic growth and increased productivity sustained by the generation of appropriate technology.

From the start of the project implementation, the project staff have experienced, together with the personnel of the Land Bank of the Philippines and other agencies, a gradually unfolding process of participatory research and development efforts aimed at meeting the objectives of the project.

II. Project Objectives

Generally, the project aimed at pilot testing innovative strategies in integrated lowland and upland farming systems development in the municipality of San Isidro and develop the farm households into economically and socially self-reliant social systems. Specifically, the project sought to:

(a) Conduct on-farm research and generate appropriate agricultural technologies suited to the condition of the municipality;

(b) Demonstrate new technologies on lowland and upland crop production in the area;

(c) Increase employment opportunities to farm households through the introduction of appropriate non-traditional and viable crops and development of farm enterprises; and

(d) Provide technical assistance to farm households to increase the capability to manage their own resources and socio-economic affairs.

III. Project Methodology

Increasing farm productivity through better cropping systems and improved cultural and management practices

was a major goal of the project.

A. *On-farm Research and Field Trials:* The Project continued to develop viable and appropriate technologies from lowland and upland farming systems through on-farm research and field trials established at the own field of Farm and Home Advisers (FHAs). The effort to generate additional technologies continued to look for other crops with appropriate practices which might give farmers better income. Likewise, demonstration farms for non-traditional and high valued crops were established to verify new technologies which may be appropriate to the lowland and upland areas. Special emphasis was also laid on verification and adoptive trials on appropriate cropping and land use patterns in the area. Further, farmers need to diversify their farm production by planting other corps to increase profit and minimize the risk inherent in mono-cropping.

B. *Educational and Training of the Farm and Home Advisers (FHAs) and other Farmers in the Area:* In order to inform, instruct as well as update the farmers with appropriate lowland and upland crop production

technologies, continuing education and training on the FHAs were regularly conducted to continue serve as links between the extension workers and the farmers in the community. Likewise, participation of farmers in different forms of training, dialogues and visits in the entire process was encouraged in order to build their capacity to participate in generating appropriate farming systems and production practices.

C. *Technical Assistance:* Technical assistance and educational activities to both farmer-cooperators and non-cooperators in the project area were continuously conducted in order to increase capability of farmers and upgrade their farming and management skills to handle their own resources. Technical assistance, education and training coupled with actual field demonstration and trials as well as field visits were organized to update new crop production technologies found to be appropriate in the lowland and upland area.

D. *Marketing of Farm Products through Farmers Association:* Four farmers associations which were formed into a

federation were also existing in the four *barangays* covered by the project. Farm products trading, an activity of the total agri-business project of the associations usually consisted of marketing farmers' produce especially water melon, and other non-traditional crops through the farmers associations. The associations would buy the farmers' produce and market them to retail outlets and consumers, thus freeing the farmers of the worries and risks of marketing losses.

IV. Clientele's Participation

A. *Technology Information and Dissemination through Farm and Home Advisers* :The beneficiaries of the project were the farm households of the four *barangays* which constitute 1,125 households with a total of 713 Operation and Land Transfer beneficiaries (OLT). To effectively disseminate the new production technologies and to make sure that the entire farm households in the area are given the necessary technical assistance, the FHAs elected from among the members of a contiguous group of households, farmers to act as depository and source of these new

technologies and mobilized and utilized them for this purpose. The FHAs served as effective agents of change among the rural households involved in the project and served as links between the extension worker and the farmers in the community as "barefoot" technicians. Technical assistance was also extended to other farmers in the *barangays* outside the project area.

B. *Participation in Project Planning, Implementation, Evaluation and Management:* Participation of farmers in the different project activities was encouraged, especially in planning and actual implementation of the different on-farm researches, field trials and demonstrations conducted at the farmers' fields. Likewise, participation of farmers in the dissemination of new production technologies to the other farmers within and outside the project area was also encouraged. Further, field visits and home visits were organized to expose the farmers to actual field research and demonstrations and to encourage them to discuss and share experiences in the implementation of

various farm practices and thrash out some problems encountered.

V. Lessons Learned from the Project

The successes and setbacks provided several great learning opportunities and direction both for the staff involved and the clientele they served. The following discussion summarizes the major lessons learned form the project:

A. *Goals/Terms of the project should be clear to the clientele:* To elicit information in participatory project, the clientele must have clear understanding of the nature of the project e.g. goals, duration, roles of the project staff and of the clientele, benefits of the project etc. In the project, the farmers were clearly informed of the project's philosophy of "helping people to help themselves" which means that they cannot expect dole-outs from the project, except in the form of expertise from the project staff. Having appraised of this information the farmers had to make their choice whether to reject the project or to accept it, do their part, and get the benefits.

B. *Basic inputs needed to achieve clientele's*

goals, must be available on loan basis: The target families were wanting in resources which affluent rural families have. For instance, after the series of dialogues and discussions on alternatives to increase their produce and having seen the demonstrations, the farmers were convinced that planting of high yielding crop varieties was one feasible answer. They were eager to plant the new varieties but they lacked seeds, fertilizers, chemical pesticides, and had also no extra fund to pay for them. They discussed their problem with the project staff and with the farmers association but because the project did not promote giving of dole-outs, they proposed a system of repayment for the inputs they got from the project or from the farmers associations. To speed up collection of loan payment it was channeled through the farmers associations.

C. *Farmers adopt a technology with sure profitability:* The project had considerable influence on increasing the level of productivity of the farms and the income of the farmers. The greatest impact was the commercialization of water melons. This factor attracted many farmers to join the

farmers associations. The farmer-cooperators and the neighbouring farmers realized that there was money in water melon farming. In the summer of 1986 there was a tremendous increase in the number of water melon growers. The numbers of growers and correspondingly, the area, increased further in the summer of 1987. A net profit ranging from P.190.85 to P.18, 000.00 per farmer was earned from watermelon planted in rice fields which the farmers used to leave idle during the summer months.

One important lesson learned in water melon production was that farmers who normally did not spend for inputs for traditional crops like rice and corn were willing to take risks and invested on expensive inputs like fertilizers and insecticides because they were sure of the profitability of the crop.

D. *Factual knowledge about the clientele or their environment is a pre-requisite to participation:* Besides the low educational attainment of the beneficiaries, most were not exposed to more advanced communities other than their own home town; thus their

visions and perceptions of certain aspects of their lives or their environments were limited. During the initial dialogues with the farmers the only problem they identified were inadequate food and low income; none mentioned the health and sanitation problems in their villages such as dirty surroundings and periodic outbreaks in the area of typhoid fever, cholera or dysentery. However, after they heard from the ViSCA physician in the lectures on parasites, their life-cycle and their effect on the people who were infected, their eyes were opened to the sanitation problem of the community.

E. *Periodic evaluation must be done by the clientele on their performance based on their goals to make them aware of the level of their progress:* The farmers must be constantly made aware of their level of progress based on the goals they had set for themselves. For instance, in crop production activity, each farmer sets specific goals on crops to plant, what cropping and land use pattern to follow, and when to plant them. With these, they should be made aware with regards to the level of achievement they obtained/gained so that they could adjust and make some

modifications, if necessary, to attain their goals.

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PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT : A SRI LANKAN EXPERIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

DEVELOPMENT processes in most developing nations have bypassed the most needy, namely the poor who constitute the majority in rural communities. Benefits of development have not trickled down to them. Neither the state interventions through such policies as rural credit, marketing arrangements, cooperative societies and infrastructure, nor the operation of market forces have had the effect of reducing rural poverty. In fact, there is growing evidence that rural poverty is increasing in many Asian countries. Sri Lanka is no exception to this general trend. Development policies followed by successive governments in Sri Lanka since independence (1948) have shown a measure of success in raising the literacy, life expectancy and health standards of the population to levels considerably above those found in most other developing countries. The socio-economic system that resulted, however, has failed to generate a development momentum capable of eliminating or even reducing rural poverty. A cumulative process of marginalisation of the peasantry is a distinct phenomenon in the rural sector.

The failure of the past development approaches to liberate the rural communities from forces of poverty, has led many governmental and non-governmental organizations in Asia to reflect critically on the past experiences and to initiate a search for new approaches. These efforts have created two important changes in the current thinking on rural development, namely (a) a shift away from top-down planning and bureaucratic implementation to participatory processes which involve people (particularly the poor and the disadvantaged) in decision-making and implementation at the local level. Translation of these ideas to operational terms required experimentation, that is action research to develop an operational methodology to initiate participatory development processes. Simultaneously, development workers had to be trained in the new development methodology. Such experimentation and training in participatory development is now being carried out in a few Asian countries.

Sri Lanka began the experimentation in September, 1978 with the implementation of the "Project for Training and Action Research in Rural Development" (now called the "Change Agent Programme") jointly sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The objective of this project was to train a group of core trainers who would in turn multiply the development cadres by training a further group of development trainers and also change agents at the

village level, and thereby build up the capacity to launch an effective rural development process which is the product of action research conducted by a team of core trainers under this project. The case study deals with betel farmers of Matikotamulla village.

OUTLINE OF THE APPROACH TO PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

Development is conceived in fundamental humanistic terms as a process of overall development of the people and their potential. Development should aim at realizing the creative energies of the people, particularly of the poor and the disadvantaged. People are the final arbiters of their welfare; they are the subjects and not mere objects or targets of development. Participation by the people in the identification of their problems, in the search for solutions, and taking initiatives and actions to satisfy their felt-needs, and self-reliance in the sense of faith in one's own abilities and potentials, and breaking away from dependencies (dominant dependent relations) which suppress the creativity of the poor, form the essential component of this development process. It is a process of human development than of economic or physical development.

Rural societies are not homogeneous structures. Existence of contradictions among different social classes and groups having conflicting (rather than harmonious)

interests is a fundamental fact of village life. In general, the basic social structure in a village is characterized by the existence of a minority of dominant interests (such as traders, money lenders, land owners, elite and bureaucrats) who benefit by thé status and a majority consisting of small and marginal farmers, peasants and landless workers who live in poverty. Relations between the two groups are often asymmetrical in form and take a dominant-dependent character. Small commodity producers (small and marginal farmer, sharecropper, rural artisan and small fishermen who constitute the majority among the rural poor in Sri Lanka), for example, lose a considerable portion of the economic surplus which they produce to money lenders, traders, landowners, elite and bureaucrats through exorbitant interest rates, low product prices, high input prices, adverse terms of trade favouring urban produce, high land rents and corruption. The drain of the economic surplus keeps the small commodity producer in perpetual poverty by creating a vicious circle of poverty and dependence. A process of impoverishment is created; productive forces of the village lie dormant; and the productivity of the rural society is kept at a low level with considerable under-utilized capacity. Hence the organization of small commodity producers to enhance their collective strength and to raise their bargaining power would constitute an important component of the rural development process in Sri Lanka.

This sort of situation creates dependency attitude

among the poor; mental attitude and value systems are generated to legitimize the dependency relationships and the existing social structure. Moreover, the poor themselves are often not a homogeneous category, differentiated and divided as they are on many issues and competing with each other for the limited economic opportunities in the village. These factors inhibit the poor from taking initiatives on their own to improve their lot through organized group efforts. Dependency attitudes and lack of unity have made the poor non-innovative and non-experimental, acquiesce in the status quo, thereby reinforcing and stabilizing the asymmetrical dependency relationships. This explains why it is difficult, if not impossible, for participatory rural development to be spontaneously generated process.

An external intervener (a catalyst, facilitator, animator or change agent) is more often than not a necessary initial input in the generation of participatory rural development. An intervener helps people to investigate, analyse, and understand the reality of village life, in particular, the poverty creating forces. Through a process of awareness creation of conscientisation, the intervenor's role is essentially a catalytic one of helping the people to raise their level of consciousness by carrying out (along with the people) searching investigation of village life, probing deeper into the village reality, and thereby seeking ways of breaking out the vicious circle of poverty.

Such intervenors (who initiate participatory development processes) are quite different from the typical government official at the village level or the conventional rural volunteer. They live with the poor, identify themselves with the interests of the poor, and have faith in the creativity of the people. As the case study presented in this study clearly demonstrates, such potential catalysts are found in plenty in rural communities. They only need to be identified and trained. Initial intervention by external catalysts creates a process of internal generation of catalytic skill from within the community itself. The training methodology is however quite different from the conventional system of delivering a pre- packaged basket of knowledge through lectures and instruction. Creation of catalytic skill is a process of sensitization than of formal training, a process of self-learning through action research, sharing and comparing of experiences, and conceptualization. The case documented in this study was initiated by such trained (sensitized) catalysts.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The methodology used in this study may be broadly termed as participatory research. The participatory research has dual purpose of analyzing and change. By associating the people and their cadres with the research, not only the research itself is enriched, but an opportunity is afforded to the people and their cadres to enhance their own understanding of the problems confronting them and

thereby enrich the development process they are engaged in. Interaction with researchers helps people to improve their perception of social reality thereby providing a further stimulus to their action to change for better.

This study was essentially an outcome of a process of sustained interaction between a team of researchers (which included a group of core trainers and change agents) and people's groups over a period of about four months. The members of the research team in one way or another had close contact with the people's groups being researched. Some were external intervenors (core trainers) in the development process in the two villages, and others were internal cadres (change agents) from within the village communities. The principal researcher had previous contacts with the village groups having participated at several meetings of these groups and observed people's actions at various stages of their evolution. The researchers were no strangers to the people's groups; they had no barriers to overcome in either establishing a rapport with the people or conducting a free and an open dialogue with them for the purpose of this research. The interaction with the people took place at two levels.

(a) Visits to Individual Households and Discussions with Members of Households

This work was undertaken by a team of

investigators selected from among the change agents in the village. The team visited about 200 individual households at Matikotamulla village. They collected socio-economic data on the households through informal discussions and direct observation than through direct questioning as such. Detailed micro-data on family life, housing, land ownership, employment, income and expenditure patterns were collected. In addition, the team discussed with each household how the new process under way had effected their lives and how they see the future evolution of the process. This investigation process helps the change agents to improve their own understanding and knowledge of the micro situation in the village and the changes therein, as individual household saw them. During the three month period when this team was engaged in the micro-household survey, the other members of the research team interacted with the investigator teams at frequent intervals (weekly or fortnightly) and analysed the findings. The change agents (the activists or cadres) by gathering data, analyzing and reflecting on their findings, and documenting the results were playing the role of grassroot researchers.

(b) Participation at Meetings of the People's Organizations and Workshop Sessions with People's Groups

The researchers participated as observers at several meetings of the people's groups where they

observed the participatory process at work. Moreover, the researchers conducted free discussions/dialogues sessions (which may be called grassroot workshops) with people's groups in each village at which the researchers and the people made attempts to probe deeper into the socio-economic changes, internal dynamics of people's organizations, and the future prospects of the participatory development process. At these workshops, the more important findings of the micro-household "survey " conducted by the change agents were placed before the people for discussion and reflection. These interactions benefited both groups (the researchers and the people) by clarifying and focusing more sharply on many issues and problems relating to the current situation and future prospects. This process of interaction enabled people to reflect on many issues which they had not focused upon or only marginally focused upon earlier. Researchers, in the spirit of participatory research, were playing the role of activists when they left behind many issues for the people's groups to reflect upon and improve their actions for self-reliant development.

Matikotamulla Betel Farmers

Matikotamulla is a village located about 35 km north of Colombo and in close proximity to the provincial town of Minuwangoda. The village is less than 15 km from the International Airport and the Export Processing Zone at Katunayake. The village had a population of 1028 in 1981

distributed over 202 households.

The village is served by a main road with regular public transport facilities which link the village to the Minuwangoda town at one end and Veyangoda at the other end. Other infrastructural facilities in the village include a post office, a cooperative society, and school for primary and secondary education. The village is still not served by electricity and telephone facilities but these facilities are available within a distance of 3 km from the village. Banks, hospital, some leading high schools and Agrarian Service Centre and several other government offices are located in the Minuwangoda town which is about 8 km from the village. Rural Development Society, Death Donation Society, Women's Society and Dayaka Sabha (patrons of the temple) are the principal social organizations in the village.

The literacy rate of the population (of over 10 years of age) is nearly 97 per cent and the illiterate minority is largely confined to the age category of 60 years and above. There is a substantial number of households (about 40 percent of the total) whose main income source is salaried employment outside the village.

The above characteristics create a picture of a community exposed to "modern" or "urban" influences rather than that of a traditional village community. In fact, the village may be described more as "rurban" (a

combination of rural and urban) than strictly rural in character. Despite these elements of modernity, nearly one-half of the households are recipients of free food coupons and hence are below the officially determined poverty line. This village was selected for action research under the "Change Agent Programme" primarily as an experiment to explore the prospects of initiating and sustaining a participatory development process in a village exposed to considerable urban influence.

Socio-economic Structure

Salaried employment in the organized sector of the economy as school teachers, clerks and skilled persons of various types, constitute the main source of some 80 households (i.e., about 40 per cent of the total) in the village. They live in the village and commute daily to work in Colombo and other work places in nearby towns. Most of these households also own agricultural land in the village which they cultivate using mostly wage labour and this is an important secondary source of income for these households. In fact, most of the bigger land owning families in this village (i.e., those owning between 2 and5 hectares) are these households. While some of these are inherited family lands, some have been newly acquired by them gradually with capital accumulated from employment income. The most dynamic element in this group are the school teachers (including those retired and earning pension incomes) who have successfully

combined their employment with farming activity having the spare time to devote for agricultural work. This group being a both educated and land-owning category, forms the elite in the village and has traditionally dominated the various economic and social institutions in the village. There is another group of 11 families who depend exclusively on farm incomes and owning relatively large extent of land (by the standards of the village), that is two or more hectares. They use both family labour and hired labour in farm work. Though not as well-to-do as some of the members in the first group of persons referred to above, they also hold an elitist position in the village by virtue of their land ownership. There are also seven families engaged in trading activity (some with substantial property ownership) and enjoying a relatively high economic status in the village.

The above groups (the salaried, land owning, and trading, who make up the village elite) comprising nearly one-half of the total households have been the main beneficiaries of the various government deliveries and infrastructural facilities made available to the village over the past three decades or so. They have provided the traditional leadership in the village.

The remaining (approximately) one-half of the households may be categorized as the village poor practically all of whom are recipients of free food coupons.

The most depressed in this group are the landless labourers. This group comprises some 20 households that is about 10 per cent of the village total. They have neither agricultural lands nor regular wage employment. Irregular/casual wage employment within or outside the village is the main source of their livelihood. Most of them originally were without even homesteads; later, under a government resettlement scheme they had been given homesteads varying from 0.1 to 0.15 hectares in size. Their economic and social status has hardly improved over the years. The majority among the village poor are the small and marginal farmers who cultivate small plots of land less than one hectare in size. This small farmer community comprises about 80 households that is about 40 per cent of the village total. They cultivate mainly betel, coconut and paddy; most small farmers cultivate at least two of these crops. Paddy farming is undertaken primarily for household consumption; there is little or no marketable surplus in this community for most families. A part of the coconut crop is also consumed within the family; however, for most families there is some marketable surplus in coconut. Betel, on the other hand, is cultivated mainly as a cash crop. Both betel and coconut can be grown as home garden crops and moreover, betel is often cultivated as an inter-crop in coconut lands. The life of most small and marginal farmers is woven around the cultivation of betel and coconut.

Surplus Drain in Small Farming

Betel which can be harvested and marketed either weekly or fortnightly yields a regular cash income right through the year. The regularity of the income flow has made it an attractive cash crop for most households in the village. In 1981 January-February, altogether, 133 households were engaged in betel farming (i.e., about two-thirds of the village households) either as full-time or part-time activity. While for 53 of these households, betel was the main source of family income, for rest of the households it was an important supplementary source of income. Betel producers do not usually borrow money from the traders against the security of future crops. Hence there is no dependency on the trader through credit mechanism. In fact, there are no betel traders in this village. Producers take their produce to the weekly markets in nearby towns and sell whoever offers a better price. But severe exploitation exists at the point of marketing; a handful of traders appropriate the economic surplus in the betel industry.

The greater portion of the betel production in this village ultimately goes for exports. The export of betel is a monopoly of three state trading organizations which procure the supplies from private traders. During 1978-79, for example, the traders (who supply to the sate organizations) received relatively stable prices in the range of Sri Lankan Rs.30 to Rs. 35 per 1,000 leaves throughout

the year. Btu the village producers receive only a fraction of this price. During the high supply season (May-December) the producer prices typically range from Rs. 5 to 10 per 1,000 leaves and during the rest of the year prices improve to a level of around Rs. 15. The average annual price realized by the producers typically ranged from Rs. 10 to 12 that is about one-third of the prices realized by traders from export organizations.

The mechanism of this exploitation was the monopolistic control exercised by the traders over marketing in the weekly markets. Hundreds of individual betel farmers confront an organized group of traders who operate in collusion in the weekly markets. Traders beat down the prices to their lowest by using numerous manipulative practices. They will temporarily withdraw from the market and create a depressed demand picture; any increase in supplies is painted as a glut from which market outlets are easily available; the quality is downgraded; and moreover, intermediaries are used to bid at lower prices. Betel is a perishable commodity which has to be marketed within a few days of harvesting. In this situation, the farmers are naturally eager to dispose of the produce at the earliest available opportunity and at whatever prices available in the market rather than having to throw away the produce. Traders exploit this situation to the full to extract the maximum surplus from the farmer. Once the produce is taken to a weekly market, farmers rarely bring it back; it is rather disposed of at whatever

prices the traders are willing to pay.

Coconuts on the other hand, are harvested every two months. Most small farmers typically borrow from the traders by committing the future harvests as security. Unforeseen or occasional family expenses such as for illnesses, weddings, alms-giving, and other social occasions, are usually met by borrowing from the coconut traders, and it takes several harvests to pay off such debts when the crop is harvested, the trader collects the harvest and debts are often settled on his own terms which usually means a price discount of about one-third to one-half on the prevailing open market prices. The producer is often ignorant of the terms of debt repayment since the accounts are often maintained by the trader and not by the producer. Hence the economic surplus of small coconut farming is appropriated by the trader through a combination of exorbitant interest rates on credit supplies and low prices for produce. In such a context, betel often becomes the main, sometimes the sole means of meeting the daily living expenses of even the small coconut farmer. The bulk of the coconut crop goes to settle family debts and the burden of meeting the daily living expenses of the family falls on betel.

Intervention

In November 1978, a team of core trainers undergoing training under the Change Agent Programme

selected Matikotamulla for their action research. The team having established contacts with the people, made a preliminary study of the village through direct observation as well as informal discussions with the people, and began to live in the village from December. The team visited practically all households in the village, made acquaintances with several village groups, and initiated discussions on problems of village life as brought out by the people. In many of these initial discussions people tended to view village development as a responsibility of the government and not so much of the people of the village. For many, village development meant some project or another (eg. supply of electricity, setting up of an industry to create employment, construction of roads and buildings) which the government must initiate. These were the natural responses of people who had got used to government deliveries of various types (including food subsidies) and the promises of politicians for more of such deliveries during election involve the people to probe deeper into the successes and failures of the past development efforts in the village. Discussions were focused on issues such as:

1. Who benefited from the past development projects?

2. Have these projects succeeded in reducing poverty in the village?

3. How long can the people wait until the government delivers development to them?

4. Discussions along these lines focused on people's attention on to a new set of questions : is there anything we ourselves could do to reduce our poverty?

People began to examine the ways they make their living and why they obtain low incomes from activities they are engaged in. Discussions now began to focus on betel farming, an activity in which about two-thirds of the village households are engaged in and which sustains many families. It took the core trainers about two months of sustained interaction with the people to shift their attention away from government sponsored projects, and on to the examination of the way they make their living (such as betel cultivation) and what action people themselves could take to improve their livelihood.

Investigation and Awareness Creation

The core trainers continued their discussion with the people on the problems and prospects of betel farming. These discussions concentrated on many issues, in particular the low prices fetched during the rainy season (May-June) of each year when supplies are high. Prices fall to their bottom during this period sometimes below Rs. 5 per 1,000 leaves. Some farmers related experiences of how they had to throw away a part of the produce during

this season for want of buyers. Further probing of these issues, however, required more information on the betel industry in the village than the farmers could off-hand provide. At this point, two groups volunteered to undertake the necessary investigations and to collect more information on the working of the betel industry.

(a) A women's group volunteered to collect information on the production aspects of the betel industry. This group broke up into several teams, and visited the producer households and collected information on the area cultivated, production, inputs, income and employment.

(b) A youth group volunteered to investigate the marketing aspect of the industry. This group visited the weekly markets where betel is sold and studied carefully the operations of the traders. They observed how prices were being determined by the traders, the manipulative tactics of traders to depress prices and other marketing aspects such as transporting the produce. They also discussed with the farmers their individual experiences in marketing. They followed through the marketing chain up to the export point and collected information on the prices at each stage of the marketing chain.

In the meanwhile, the core trainers themselves visited Colombo and collected information on the operation of the betel exporting firms and the prices paid to the export suppliers, and passed on this information to the village groups.

Valuable information on the working of the betel industry came to light as a result of these investigations and the groups involved in the investigations began to see, for the first time, the reality of the betel industry in particular. How an impoverishment process has been created in the village as a result of the drain of the economic surplus through the marketing system. At each stage of this investigation process, the groups discussed their findings with the other farmers. In this way, a process of awareness creation on the reality of the betel industry was set in motion. In the discussions that followed, farmers began to compare the prices they receive with the prices paid by the export organizations to the traders. Rough calculations were made on the magnitude of the income loss suffered by each farmer under the existing marketing system and the figures were added up for the village as a whole. Through these simple calculations, the farmers began to see the prospects for an immediate improvement in their incomes if only they could change the system.

Organization for Action

It was now late January 1979 nearly three months

since the core trainers began their interaction with the people in Matikotamulla. A group of farmers initiated a formal gathering of betel farmers in the village to improve their lot in the light of the findings of these investigations and the subsequent informal discussions that followed. About 35 farmers turned up for this first meeting; core trainers participated as observers. Divergent view points were expressed at this meeting; some remained altogether silent; some others were skeptical about their ability to change the existing marketing system for they feared that traders were capable of nipping in the bud any movement which threatened their interest. If traders are antagonized, the farmers could even lose whatever marketing outlets they have now. These arguments were countered by others; if only the farmers could unite, they could muster sufficient strength to bargain with the private traders.

Moreover, it was argued that since the exporting firms were state organizations, a farmers organization could always bring pressure on them to purchase direct from the farmers rather than through middlemen. However, since there were no past experiences of similar action in the village, the whole process appeared ambitious.

Despite the divergent view points expressed, skepticism and silence of many, there was an underlying consensus on the need for some cooperative group effort. As a first step, it was decided to form an Action Committee

which was entrusted with the task of exploring new marketing possibilities. During the next two months, the Action Committee went round exploring alternative marketing avenues. It studied the operation of a cooperative society in another village which had been purchasing betel from farmers at higher prices than paid by private traders but observed the weakness in operation. The committee next visited the exporting firms to negotiate the possibility of making direct sales but negative responses were received from two firms. Negotiations with the third exporting firm, however, proved promising. The Action Committee of farmers set out its case using facts and figures that investigations conducted by the two village groups had revealed. The management of the exporting firm considered the request of the farmers very sympathetically and agreed to give the farmers a trial. But the farmers were still not a legally registered organization and hence they were asked to make the sales through the village cooperative society. The exporting firm would send a lorry to the village weekly to collect the produce. The Committee accepted these terms and the village cooperative was made the selling agent for which commission of 5 per cent of sales' proceeds was paid to it. A betel purchasing center was set up in the village and the new marketing schemes commenced operation at the end of March, 1979.

The new marketing scheme enabled the farmers to realize prices in the range of Rs. 25 to 30 per 1,000

leaves which was more than double that was paid by the private trades. Moreover, these prices remained stable throughout the heavy supply season (May-June) when prices paid by traders dropped to as low as Rs. 5. Only 11 producers participated in the first sale and the volume sold was only about 65,000 leaves. In the next few weeks , the other produces in the village had joined the new marketing scheme. As the membership and the sales volume began to increase, it became necessary to have a formal organization. Accordingly at a meeting of the producers held in April 1979 the "Betel Farmers Association "(BFA) was formally established. A committee of office bearers was elected; the majority elected to the committee were from the traditional elite (eg. school teachers) who were engaged in betel production mostly as part-time cultivation.

The membership and sales turnover of the BFA recorded a sharp increase in the ensuing months. By the end of 1979 more than 100 producers had become members of the Association with the weekly sales volume averaging more than 300,000 leaves. During the glut season of May-June, the weekly sales volume touched nearly one million leaves. The membership of the BFA began to cross the village boundaries, rising from 114 in January 1980 to nearly 250 in July, 1980. Over the months, BFA was able to stand on its own feet; it was no longer necessary to use the village cooperative society as its selling agent. Hence, in May 1980, the link with the

village cooperative was severed and the export organization recognized BFA as an independent supplier.

Conflicts with Dominant Interests: In its progress towards maturity, the BFA had to contend with numerous obstacles put on its way both by private traders who were quick to feel the impact of the BFA in the form of reduced flow of supplies to them. At first they watched the situation expecting the BFA to suffer a natural death (as most community organizations do). They began to carry out a propaganda campaign that organizations of this type could never succeed and that their collapse was a matter of time. Contrary to these expectations, when the BFA continued to expand its membership the traders began to intervene in several ways.

(a) Prices paid in the weekly markets were raised for a few parcels from select suppliers and the information was widely circulated that prices in the private markets were higher than those paid by the BFA. BFA reacted to this move by summoning a meeting of general membership at which the moves of the trades were discussed and analyzed. Whatever price advantages that members could obtain from the traders would be a temporary phenomenon; if BFA collapses, traders would continue to pay low prices.

(b) Having failed in this attempt, the traders attempted to work through some employees of the exporting firms to sabotage the operations of the BFA. They succeeded in getting some employees to introduce inferior quality betel into the parcels of the BFA at the point of export, thereby downgrading the quality supplied by the BFA. Upon discovery of this malpractice, BFA made representations to the management of the exporting firm furnishing evidence in support. The management, after an inquiry, not only removed the workers guilty of this malpractice, but requested the BFA to recommend four workers from the village experienced in handling of betel as replacements. These workers recommended by the BFA while working with the export firm also functioned as "watch dogs" looking after the interests of the BFA at the export point.

(c) The links between the officials of the exporting firm and the private traders continued to be a source of further sabotage. Sometimes, the lorry which collects betel from the village was unnecessarily delayed. Restrictions were sometimes placed on the quantity that would

be purchased from the BFA so that members would find it difficult to dispose of their entire supplies through the BFA. The situation came to a head when in one week the lorry failed to turn up at all in the village. A delegation from the BFA returned to Colombo to represent matters to the management of the exporting firm so that members would find it difficult to dispose of their entire supplies through the BFA. It was another act of sabotage on the part of officials acting in collusion with private traders.

Savings Fund and Diversification of Activity: Towards the end of 1979 the discussions began within the BFA to set up a savings fund as a means of enhancing the collective strength of the members. Views were sought from the members as to whether the contributions to the fund should be voluntary or whether each member be asked to contribute a fixed proportion of the weekly income from betel. Members opted for the former, namely to make voluntary contributions. A savings fund was inaugurated in January, 1980 and it increased rapidly in the next few months as seen below:

1980	January	—	Rs. 3,137
	March	—	Rs.9,245

May	—	Rs.23,870
July	—	Rs.28,420

Never before has the village witnessed an accumulation process of such proportions. A proportion of the money in this fund was used as working capital to make payments to members immediately upon the delivery of the produce and a part was used to meet the credit needs of the members.

Simultaneously, the BFA also began to diversify its operations. Supply of inputs to betel farmers was one such new area of activity. BFA purchased the inputs in bulk and supplied to farmers at prices considerably lower than what they would have normally paid in the market. BFA was also instrumental in obtaining for some of the members water pumps under a special credit scheme offered by the banks. Another area into which the BFA expanded its operations is the domestic marketing of "shorts" (short betel leaves unfit for export). A portion of the betel production does not meet export standards (being short leaves) and had to be disposed of in the domestic market. Hitherto, the producers disposed of these leaves to traders at extremely low prices. The BFA organized two sales outlets in the areas where betel is not grown in order to dispose of this production at prices higher than paid by the private traders. BFA also attempted to organize the small coconut farmers to start a marketing scheme for coconuts. Many discussions with

producers groups were held for this purpose. However, most producers had committed their harvests already to private trades against loans obtained from them, and hence there was no immediate prospect for producers to adopt a new marketing system. In this way, BFA diversified its activities to credit supplies, input supplies, domestic marketing of "shorts" which served to enhance the economic surplus achieved by its members.

Disintegration of the BFA and the Emergence of Smaller Participation Groups: BFA was a conventional type of an organization with a hierarchy of officials (Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and a Committee of members) who came mostly from middle class background (eg. school teachers) in the village. Betel farmers are not a homogeneous group; they are a combination of full-time and part-time producers, poor and middle class households, and owning varying extent of land. The only unifying factor was the exploitation that they were subject to as betel farmers irrespective of their social and economic status in the village. BFA became the rallying point for these diverse elements and it was inevitable that in such a heterogeneous group, the leadership fell into the hands of persons who had a social standing in the village. This leadership played a dynamic role in the formation and the subsequent growth of the BFA. They negotiated with the exporting firms and created the new marketing scheme, overcame numerous acts of sabotage, initiated a collective savings fund, and

diversified the activities of the BFA.

The activities of the BFA, however, were initiated and operated by the committee of officials with only a passive participation by the larger membership. The committee took the important decisions on behalf of the membership and general meetings were held occasionally, usually once in three months. Not even one half of the total membership attended these meetings. The meetings were conducted in a very formal fashion (with written agenda, minutes and formal motions) and the officials led the proceedings and many members (particularly the poor) were silent. Moreover, during the first six months of 1980 the membership of the BFA had more than doubled; new members were freely admitted without any prior attempt to conscientise them. For many, the membership was merely a convenient way of obtaining a better price for betel and their interests did not go beyond this limited objective. In this situation, the committee of officials carried the burden of running the BFA and the gap between the committee and the general membership widened gradually. This situation prevailed until July/ August 1980.

With the passage of time, the more conscious among the membership began to raise questions about the organizational set up and the actual operations of the BFA. Some of the members had got an opportunity to interact with the producers of coir yarn in another village

(about 200 km away from this village) who were also engaged in a similar development process. It was a federation of a small producer groups joined together by a Central Committee with rotational membership but without formal offices. Exposure to this enabled some of the betel producers to reflect more deeply on the organizational weaknesses of the BFA. In particular, the limited opportunities for participation by ordinary members came to be viewed as a serious shortcoming of the BFA as it operated. In the meanwhile, many issues about which the members had earlier remained silent or talked only in private, came to be discussed more openly. Questions were raised whether the chairman and other officials were not enjoying special benefits and privileges on account of their offices. Doubts began to be cast on the integrity and honesty of some officials.

These developments came to a head in August/ September 1980 when the BFA was confronted with a marketing problem. The export firm had lost some of its business to competing firms and as a result it had to cut down its weekly purchases from the BFA. In this situation, the BFA allocated limited orders among the members so that each member could sell through the BFA only up to a certain fixed quantity. The production of most members, however, exceeded the quota allotted to them and hence the excess had to be disposed of to private traders at considerably low prices. The committee of officials came under open criticism by the members; it was blamed for

failure to diversify market outlets. As a solution to this problem, the committee decided to purchase the excess supply of the members and to dispatch it to the export point for possible accommodation in shipments. Losses on account of unshipped parcels had to be borne by the BFA. Under this method while some parcels were shipped, others remained and had to be thrown away. Many members protested at this and some even withdrew their savings in protest.

The first crack in the BFA appeared in September 1980, when a group of producers from one section of the village broke away from the BFA and set up their own independent organization. This group negotiated with another export firm and obtained a regular market for the produce of the members. The marketing arrangements were quite different from that adopted by the BFA. Producers had to transport the betel to the export point at their own expense, and in case of any cargo being "shut out" the producers had to take the risk and dispose of the goods in an alternative way. These were the same terms as applied to the private trade. Prices received were however 15-20 per cent higher than those paid by the BFA. This method required much more involvement and participation of the producers in the handling and marketing operations and also an element of risk-taking but compensated by a higher price. The strategy of disposal of goods to minimize the losses incase of a "shut out" was discussed within the group and agreed upon.

The organizational method of this group were also quite different from the BFA. The group being smaller (not more than 25 members) decided to operate without formal offices; meetings of the group were held weekly chaired by a member elected for the day and all members assumed the chairmanship on a rotation basis; financial operations were entrusted to a committee, the membership of which also rotated every three months; handling and transport operations were undertaken collectively on a rotation basis; and finally, 10 per cent of the weekly receipts from betel sales was credited to a savings fund.

The success of this producer group created a demonstration effect on other producers. By November, a further group from another section of the village broke away and formed its own independent organization. This group too found its own market outlet and adopted organizational and marketing methods similar to those adopted by the first group.

These kinds of development culminated in January 1981 when the remaining members of the BFA requested a general meeting of the membership. At this meeting, the committee of officials resigned but no new committee was appointed. The BFA disintegrated into smaller groups.

Economic Impact – *Income Increase:* The most

significant economic impact was the substantial income improvement realized by the farmers. The new prices were about double than those received earlier from private traders. However, those enhanced prices applied only for the export quality betel and not for the full crop. The short betel, which did not meet export standards and hence had to be disposed of locally, did not record any significant price improvement despite the attempt made by the BFA to open up sales outlets in the domestic point. The average proportion of shorts in a betel crop over a period of one year may be estimated at around 40 per cent. On this basis, and assuming that the price improvement occurred only for long betel, the income improvement for a given crop may be estimated at about 75 per cent. The increase in total income realized by most farmers was however much higher in view of the increase in production in response to the improved price prospects.

Impact on Non-member Groups :

The formation of the BFA created an impact of the price levels of betel in the weekly markets around this village, thereby benefiting a large number of other betel producers who were not members of the BFA. The private traders were compelled to raise the average price level in the weekly markets in order to attract supplies to them and to counter the expansion of the BFA. A comparison of the weekly prices prevailing in different markets

revealed that prices in the markets located close to this village were about 25-30 per cent higher than those in distant markets. This price difference was a new phenomenon that appeared after the formation of the BFA. It is possible that traders depressed the prices in distant markets to offset the higher prices they had to pay in the nearby markets. If so, the formation of the BFA had created an adverse impact on the betel producers in distant villages. This factor focuses on the limitation of micro-development process. The process must expand over a larger region in order to avoid such adverse redistributive effects.

Price Stability:

Member farmers were able to realize, for the first time, a measure of price stability for betel. This was in marked contrast with the earlier situation when the prices fluctuated widely. Moreover, the farmers then could never be certain about the prices they could realize in a given week or month, since traders manipulated the market to extract the maximum surplus from the farmers. Being a perishable commodity, betel had to be disposed of at whatever prices that traders were willing to pay. Betel did not yield a predictable income flow to the producer. The formation of the BFA changed this situation. An element of certainty and predictability was introduced into the income flow that betel contributed to the family coffers.

Expansion in Production:

Removal of exploitation, created an environment conducive to higher production. Nearly 75 percent of the original farmers indicated that they had expanded the crop area by varying extent from about 10 per cent to more than 50 per cent giving an average of about 22 per cent for the village as a whole. Moreover, improved income prospects attracted new comers into betel farming. About thirty new households have taken to betel farming. Some as a part-time activity and others as full-timers. This raised the crop area further by about 18 per cent. Fifteen of these new producer households own only homesteads or small holdings, and the main income sources of these families have been casual labour, low paid employment in the organized sector or small farming of other crops. As of January 1981 most of these new-comers were earning monthly incomes in the range of Rs. 100 to 225 from betel farming. The crop area in the village expanded from an estimated 133,000 betel plants at the end of 1978 to 187,000 at the end of 1980, representing an increase of about 40 per cent. Expanded cultivation indicates a substantial increase in the resource utilization in the village.

Increase in Employment:

Increased activity in betel farming led to a reduction in underemployment and creation of new employment

opportunities. Most of the labour used in the betel farming is family labour working either full-time or part-time. There is a clear evidence of increased participation of both women and children in the cultivation, harvesting and handling of betel for marketing. In view of the high part-time component in the labour engaged in betel farming, it is necessary to convert the labour into full-time equivalents in order to measure the new employment generation. According to information supplied by the farmers, one person working full-time could take care of a crop area of about 1,000 plants. On this basis, the full-time equivalents of labour used in betel farming amounted to 187 at the end of 1980 as against an estimated 133 at the end of 1978 indicating an increase representing enhanced utilization of family labour, previously underemployed.

Savings: Over 100 producers voluntarily saved a portion of their enhanced incomes and placed in a savings fund with the BFA. For many of these households, the rate of saving amounted to nearly 10 per cent of the income from betel over the period January-June 1980. The small farmer groups that emerged following the disintegration of the BFA were running saving funds to which each member contributed 10 per cent of the weekly income from betel. For many households, this represented their only savings effort. Members could borrow from the collective funds to meet their credit needs thereby eliminating or reducing the need to borrow from private money lenders at exorbitant rates of interest.

CONCLUSION

As we have gone through the case of BFA, the process was initiated by external intervener. In this case study, the interveners (core trainers) interacted directly with the betel farmers and set in motion a process of awareness creation with particular focus on the loss of economic surplus in the betel industry. This conscientisation process led to the organization of betel farmers. This process threw up internal cadres from among the betel producers who helped to advance the movement.

After a point, the external intervener began withdrawing from the scene in gradual stages. The period that they lived in the village and worked closely with the producers was not more than about 12-15 months. After that, they devoted more time expanding the process in new villages (through similar interventions) than working in the original village.

This process has resulted in substantial improvements in the production, income and employment levels of the producing communities and made possible an accumulation process where none existed before. People have acquired confidence in their collective ability to change the reality and have developed a measure of solidarity, self-respect and human dignity hardly seen before. The learning process (action followed by reflection and analysis) that resulted, and the experience gained in

self-administration are other aspects of the social change.

In the betel producing community, although the bigger land owners failed to reap enhanced benefits from the new situation, income differentials appear to have widened between the middle peasants and poor peasants. Lack of access to land resources presented the poor peasants from benefiting as much from the new situation as the middle peasants did, even though they had surplus labour within their families. The poor peasants who number less than twenty have so far failed to emerge as a group within the producer organizations to be able to focus on their special problems.

Democratic values have figured as important elements in the process. Betel producers started out with a conventional organizational form, but, as the movement gathered maturity, a disintegration set in resulting in the formation of a number of smaller producer groups which operate as self-managed collective units. Through this process the organizational form was democratized and the initial leadership provided by the middle class elements was eliminated.

Having won the initial struggle against the village traders in produce marketing, the produces began to explore other avenues to enhance the surplus and to deepen the process within existing context. Betel

producers are attempting to expand the movement to coconuts with a view to capture the surplus they are currently losing through the existing marketing and credit mechanisms.

Simultaneously, the producers strongly feel the need to cross the village boundary and to bring in other villages into the movement, that is, to move away from the micro framework into a large context. They see in such expansion, a further possibility to enhance the surplus and to improve their social and economic status. The enhanced strength that would result from a federal organization or producing groups from a number of villages would enable the realization of better sales terms and improved deliveries from the government which directly benefit the producers. Expansion of this movement and the development of linkages with self-reliant efforts in other villages has become a distinct felt need of the producer groups.

There is much more one needs to know about participatory process than revealed by this experience. Further action-research is required to test the viability and multiplicity of such experiences. One thing, however, is clear that there is considerable scope at the local or micro level for the rural poor to improve their livelihood through organized efforts. The local space available for such

participatory action does not remain static; it rather expands with each action.

NOTE

Report of High Level Mission on the Follow-up to the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in Sri Lanka, 1981.

APPENDIX

Appendix - 1

THE STUDY OF A RURAL COMMUNITY: ASPECTS TO BE COVERED

The study of a rural community may be divided into three broad parts:

Part I : The historical background of the community – its physical setting – social composition – socio-economic system – the resources and the ongoing economic and industrial activities.

Part II : Recent development and promotional activities: economic, industrial, social, educational, health, recreational, transport and communication – organizations working with the community – recent changes – direction of change – developmental response from the community – impact of change on the life of the community.

Part III: Harnessable resources – material and human potential and prospects of social and economic development – existing infrastructure, required infrastructure for development – a plan of action for development comprising resources,

resource mobilization, programmes that may be implemented in a stipulated time perspective.

1. A Brief History of the Rural Community

- When did the community come into existence?
- Under what circumstances?
- What groups were the earliest inhabitants of the community?
- What groups followed?
- What groups moved away?
- Why? With what effects on the community?
- Can the history of the community be divided into periods? If so, what are the characteristics of each period? What is the influence of each period?
- What are the present trends?
- What are the factors underlying change?

- What is the rate of change?
- What are the turning points in the life of the groups?
- Any legends in respect to the rural community?

2. The Physical Setting of the Community.

- Its location-boundaries
- Transport and communication facilities and their influence on the community.

3. Social Contacts of the Community.

- What contacts does the community maintain with surrounding communities?
- What outside influences are most pronounced?
- What is the degree of influence on the old and young?
- What is the effect of social contacts upon group solidarity? Upon the entire culture of the group?
- To what extent are the outside contacts breaking up the social

cohesion of the community?

- What social and personal problems are created by social contacts?
- To what extent do outside contacts enrich the cultural life of the community? To What extent do they bridge or widen social distances?
- To what extent do contacts with the outside world promote personal initiative, ambition, individualization of conduct?
- What are the manifestations of community solidarity? Are there any evidences of over-solidarity and exaggerated unity?
- How does community sentiment manifest itself? What is its bearing on the development of social responsibility?
- To what extent does it tend to eliminate pursuits for personal gains?
- What is the bearing of community sentiment on development of "distinct" community types?

- What new contacts has the community made in the past three decades? What are the effects of such contacts?

4. Social Isolation of the Community.

- To what extent is the community socially isolated from surrounding communities?
- What are the bases of social isolation: physical barriers, religious, racial, cultural differences, occupational differences, different economic levels, different social levels?
- What is the effect of social isolation on the culture of the group? On its life organization? On the younger generation?
- To what extent do isolated groups tend to develop into castes and classes?
- To what extent does social isolation within the community result in social conflicts?
- What are the sources of differences in

the community?

- What are the manifestations of differences in the community?
- Do these differences ever threaten to destroy the community? To weaken it?
- Under what circumstances do they tend to support the unity and solidarity of the community?
- Among what classes, groups, generations, and institutions do these differences arise? What course do they run? Do they assume the form of Conflict? Of competition?
- What social problems do these differences tend to create?

5. Demographic Characteristics.

- What is the population of the community? Sex-wise? Age-grade-wise? Educational attainment-wise?
- To what races, ethnic and occupational and religious groups do the people of the community belong?
- What groups predominate?

- Which are increasing or decreasing? Why?
- What is the influence of the population composition on the social life of the community? On the economic life?
- What proportion of the people own their homes? What proportion rent?
- What types of dwellings do they occupy? What is the proportion of new buildings?
- What kinds of material are used for building the houses?
- Are there housing problems?
- What is the pattern of village settlement – class, occupational, professional, ethnic, religious?
- What is the level of environmental sanitation?
- What are the sources of water for drinking and domestic purposes?
- Is water adequate?
- What is the significance of the stability

of the people?

- Of their migrations? What are the causes and effects of migrations?
- What is the proportion of voters in the community? How do they vote? What are their political affiliations? What is the significance of such affiliations? What problems are created because of such affiliations?
- What religious affiliations do the people in the community maintain? What is the significance of such affiliations?
- What is the role of women and the aged (over 60) in the economy of the community?

6. The Natural Resources that the Community is endowed with and the Economic System.

- Physical conditions: rainfall, terrain, quality of soil, and enterprises that can be undertaken in the locality
- What are the natural resources that the community is endowed with? (such as soil, water, agricultural,

livestock, forest horticultural, marine, mineral, etc.)

- Occupational and professional distribution of the population.
- The types of production within the community
- The organization of the producing units
- Capital and labour resources
- Land tenure
- Farm organization
- The functioning of the local market-system
- The kind of non-farm activities, business, trade and enterprises that are carried on in the community.
- Human resources: literates, skilled workers, technically qualified people

7. The social Structure of the Community

- Social organization of the community
- The family – the kin-groups – the ethnic groups

- Inter-group relations: cooperation – conflicts, common interests
- How the community is organized around individual, group and community interests?
- Social/class stratification of the community.

8. Local Social Institutions

- What are the social, economic, political, educational, recreational, religious institutions in the community?
- What is their structure? How are they organized?
- What are their functions?
- How are they inter-related?
- What are the kinds of change taking place in these institutions?
- What are the factors causing such change?

9. The Political Structure of the Community

- What are the patterns of decision making in the community?

- Which is the dominant group in the community? Why?
- What is the pattern of local leadership? Sources of leadership? Types of leaders? Functions of leaders?
- What kinds of change are taking place in the local leadership?
- What is the role of local leadership in the development of the community?

10. Social and Economic Problems.

- What are the social and economic problems of the community?
- Related to:

  Land, irrigation, credit

  Housing

  Health and medical treatment

  Education

  Marketing (buying and selling of goods and services)

  Transport

Communication

- Indicate instances, if any, how the community has been able to solve some of the problems.

- What are the felt-needs of the community?

11. Recent Development Activities in the Community and their Impact on Social and Economic Life.

- What are the important development agencies working with and through the community?

- What are the programmes that are being attempted and with what success?

- What are the barriers to change and development in the community?

- What are the strengths of the community – positive factors that would contribute to development?

- What is the role played by the youth and the women in the development activities?

12. The Potential and Prospects of

Development in the Community.

- What are the material and human resources that have the potential for development?
- What kind of development is feasible? In what sector – area?
- What kind of infrastructure and support are required to promote/ develop the suggested enterprises/ activities?
- Indicate a plan of action for developing the community in the next five years.

Appendix - II

JANMABHOOMI-CUMULATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS FOR THIRTEEN ROUNDS

(FROM JAN 1997 TO AUG 2000)

1.	HABITATIONS AND WARDS COVERED (in every round)	58,753
2.	NO. OF TEAMS CONSTITUTED	1,347
3.	A.NO. OF GRAMA SABHAS HELD IN EACH ROUND	53,625
3.	B.NO. OF GRAMA SABHAS HELD IN TWELFTH ROUND	25,762
4.	PRIMARY EDUCATION	
❖	Additional enrolment in Primary Schools during 1997-98	6.31 lakh
❖	No. of children identified for enrolment in 1998-99	7.90 lakh
❖	Additional enrolment in Primary Schools during 1998-99	5.71 lakh
5.	PRIMARY HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE	
❖	No. of eligible couples motivated for Family Planning Operations	9.84 lakh

❖ No. of Free Health Camps organized	3.16 lakh
❖ Patients Treated	147.49 lakh
❖ Malaria treated	43,953
❖ AIDS awareness Camps conducted	2.07 lakh
❖ Dental Camps organized	11,876
❖ School Children Treated in Dental camps	3.64 lakh
❖ Women Medical camps conducted in Mahila Janmabhoomi	10,062
❖ Women examined under reproductive health care	7.12 lakh
❖ Children Immunized	8.11 lakh
❖ No. of TB patients identified for treatment	69,240
❖ No. of persons identified with eye problems	2.25 lakh
❖ No. of operations done	1,70,541
Conventional	1,00,491
IOL	70,050
❖ No. of persons with cataract	4,44,542
❖ Free Spectacles distributed for refractive errors	83,201
❖ Glaucoma cases identified	1,644

❖ Glaucoma cases operated	77
No. of cases identified for GE treatment	2,430

6. ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

❖ Trees planted	1087.06 lakh
❖ Individual Sanitary latrines sanctioned	19.50 lakh
❖ Individual Sanitary Latrines completed	12.27 lakh
❖ Repairs to Soak-pits and Platforms of drinking water sources	62,130
❖ Cleaning and Chlorination of drinking water sources (no. per round)	89,390
❖ Adoption of Smokeless chulhas	1.76 lakh
❖ Special sanitation driver under taken in public institutions (no. per round)	40,948
❖ Pollution check-up No. of vehicles	25.16 lakh
P.V.C. Certificates issued	15.97 lakh

7. REDRESSAL OF FELT NEEDS (1st – 12th rounds)

❖ INDIVIDUAL FAMILY NEEDS (Nos.)

Received	42.43 lakh
Solved	16.18 lakh

Ineligible	24.52 lakh
Balance	1.73 lakh

❖ **NON-FINANCIAL COMMUNITY NEEDS (Nos.)**

Received	1.78 lakh
Solved	1.14 lakh
Ineligible	0.57 lakh
Balance	0.01 lakh

8. COMMUNITY WORKS (Rs. in Crores)

Received in Grama Sabhas	1,22,572
Value	1937.47
Grounded	1,18,194
Value	1814.53
Completed	1.01,539
Value	1627.85
Government share required for works grounded	1337.34
Funds released (including those released in April, 2000)	1117.03
Expenditure	1091.12

9. FREE VETERINARY CAMPS (1st – 12th rounds)

No. organized	3.45 lakh
Animals treated	1294.13 lakh
Sheep Dewormed (Jan '99 round)	127.16 lakh
Sheep Dewormed (Jan '2000 round)	90.89 lakh
Cattle vaccinated against Foot & Mouth Disease (Jan'99 round)	15.68 lakh
Calf Dewormed (May '99 round)	19.69 lakh
Farmers assisted in 12th round	15.68 lakh

10. DISABLED WELFARE Distributed upto May 2000

❖ Marriage Incentives issued	6,173
❖ Scholarships	99,374
Pre-Matric	34,248
Post-Matric	17,558
❖ Aids/Appliances distributed	62,583
❖ No. of persons economically assisted	31,873
❖ Issue of Certificates (Non-Financial benefits)	8,06,087

11. MICRO LEVEL PLANNING DURING ELEVENTH ROUND OF JANMABHOOMI

❖ Total No. of students drafted	1,26,852
❖ No. of students actually participated	1,22,216
❖ No. of GRPs attended	22,854
❖ No. of WRPs attended	3,985
❖ No. of Mandal/Municipal Resource Persons attended	1,299
❖ No. of households surveyed (excluding part of Hyderabad city and other urban areas	1,71,50,76

ANNAPURNA SCHEME (During 12th Round)

❖ Beneficiaries covered	58,843
❖ Rice distributed (in M.Ts.)	160.75

DROUGHT – INPUT SUBSIDY (During 12th Round)

❖ Farmers covered	32,28,806
❖ Amount distributed (Rs. in lakhs)	2421.14

PENSIONS DISTRIBUTED DURING 12th ROUND

❖ No. of pensions distributed	8,55,233
❖ Amount distributed (Rs. in lakhs)	1270.98

Note:-

The 13th round of Janmabhoomi programme focused on distribution of 4 lakh LPG connections under 'Deepam' Scheme, granting of revolving funds/matching grants to thrift groups, pension distribution to various groups like Old age, Widow, Landless, agriculture labour etc; distribution of smokeless Chulhas, formation of new thrift groups, construction of 'DWCRA' Bhavans, distribution of Bank Loans to 'DWCRA' groups, free health camps, enrolment of girl children in schools, campaign of equal wages for equal work etc., was being held from 1st August to 7th August, 2000, all over the State.

The Author

E. Desingu Setty, trained as a social scientist has extensive and diverse national and international experience as a teacher, trainer, researcher, consultant and field worker in the areas of training, HRD, rural development, entrepreneurship development, development communication and organizational behavior for around 40 years

He has served as a Village Development Officer (VDO) over ten years (1953 - 1963) in india's Community Development Program. As a meritorious VDO, he was awarded Ford Foundation scholarship for his undergraduate program in Rural Studies. He joined Gandhigram Rural Institute, Gandhigram, India as a Lecturer in Extension (1968-1975) and in the first quarter of 1975, he joined the National Institute of Small Industry Extension Training (NISIET), Hyderabad, India as a Faculty Member and continued at NISIET until the end of 1983.

Served as a direct hire international faculty at the **Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Thailand** for a period of nine years **(January 1984-December 1992).**

He did his Master's in Rural Sociology and Community Development and Master's in Social Anthropology. He was awarded Ph.D. in Anthropology by the Ranchi University, Ranchi, India in 1976, for his dissertation on the **Valayar of South India.**

He has to his credit ten books, two Co-authored, and over fifty papers and articles published in national and international journals. His three-volume work on the Valayar of South India is likened to Noble Laureate Gunnar Myrdal's Asian Drama.

Either as a delegate to international conferences or as a trainer-consultant, Dr.Setty has visited **Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Britain, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Singapore and Taiwan(Republic of China) and United States of America.**

He was invited as a Senior Research Fellow by the **United Nations Center for Regional Development (UNCRD), Nagoya, Japan,** during 1989-1990 to prepare a report on Rural Industrialization, Small-Scale and Cottage Industries in Asia, and the report since published, July 1991.

Served as a consultant to **UNESCAP, UNESCO, BRAC(Dhaka), Bangladesh, LIPI (Indonesia) and Continuing Education Center, Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok Thailand.**

He was Professor at Maharishi Institute of Management, Bangalore, India for one full year (1997-1998), teaching International MBA Students covering courses in Human Resources Management, Organizational Behavior and Development.

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His books are on the World Wide Web (Internet) at **Amazon.com** and other online bookstores.

आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः।

Let noble thoughts come to us
from every side

-Rigveda, 1-89-i

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