Articles & Book Reviews
by
Dr. Rakesh Hooja

Compilation from the Publications in the Indian Journal of Public Administration (IJPA)

VOL-I

Compiled
by
Mrs. Meenakshi Hooja

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Dedication

The Idea

Rakesh was indeed a prolific writer and had a great passion for publishing what he wrote. Perhaps this was out of a desire to share his views and knowledge in the public domain and probably also to see his name in print. In any case , published work meant to him , as it does to most others, an acceptance and recognition of one's hard work, resulting in a sense of pride and satisfaction in the achievement.

An enthusiastic writer from the time of his school days , (encouraged by his teachers and going on to edit the prestigious X-Ray's , the school magazine of St Xavier's Jaipur), Rakesh continued his writing in College and University days , of both literary and academic type. It was while doing his Masters in Political Science from 1970 to 1972, at the University of Rajasthan that he began to reflect and write seriously on academic and administrative affairs. The Indian Journal of Public Administration (IJPA) , was recognized as one of the most prestigious journals of Public Administration, brought out by the Indian institute of Public Administration (IIPA) and to get published there was a mark of distinction then ,as it continues to be even now . Rakesh was therefore naturally very keen to publish in it and his efforts did bear fruit when his article appeared in the year 1973 itself , in the July - September issue on the subject of 'The District as a Planning Unit : Style and Locus'. Soon after that he joined the IAS in 1974 and was allotted the Rajasthan cadre and now his writings began to have a touch of actual administrative experience.

After our marriage in December 1976 , I realized how much every publication and article meant to him . So we would celebrate the publication of any article, book review, and of course a book with real fervor, and at that time eating out or going to see a film was a big treat ! Therefore it was not at all surprising that Rakesh felt absolutely thrilled when he won the prize for the best article in the IJPA for the year 2009 . Further , it was a proud moment for him to get selected for the post of Director IIPA, where he joined in August 2010 , and seemed to fulfill a long cherished aim and desire to bring together academics and administration. He enjoyed the assignment to the last ,till his sudden passing away in Sept 2012.

When I was bringing out a catalogue of Rakesh's vast and varied writings and publications , I realized that he had a good number of more than forty Articles and Book Reviews published in the IJPA itself , spanning more than four decades. These I thought which could be befittingly put together in a single compilation.

I got encouragement in this idea from the IIPA, which and even sent scanned and electronic versions of a number of the writings. With this invaluable support it has been possible to put together this compilation in a considerably short time .The articles cover a range of topics like Public Administration, District Administration and role of Collector, Panchayati Raj, Development, Water Resources , and overall Governance. Dr MP Singh has been kind enough in giving a brief insight into the salient points brought out in them.

I reiterate my gratitude to the IIPA for enabling and guiding this endeavour to come to fruit and pay special regards to Shri TN Chaturvedi , Chairman IIPA for his unstinted support and who , by his own academic and administrative capabilities inspired Rakesh in his work. My special thanks also go to Shri T Chatterjee , the present Director who has helped at every stage and Prof MP Singh for writing the succinct Introduction . Prof Sheela Reddy and Smt Usha Chief Librarian have always been at the forefront for any assistance and moral support that I required.Ms Meghna and Ms Surbhi have been extremely helpful . I am also thankful to Bhuvan who deserves a special mention for his ever smiling and unfailing help to Rakesh , when he was Director , and to me also.

Rakshat, my younger son deserves credit for undertaking the publication under his newly setup publishing house.

It is ultimately with the Grace of God and the blessings of all that this publication is being brought out as a real tribute to Rakesh.

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FOREWORD

I am happy to learn that Meenakshi Hooja has made this commendable effort to bring out Dr Rakesh Hooja's writings originally published in the *Indian Journal of Public Administration (IJPA)* in a comprehensive volume.

Rakesh Hooja was known to me from an early age, as his father, Shri Bhupendra Hooja, joined the Rajasthan cadre of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) in 1958 through a Special Recruitment Examination. As a young and energetic schoolboy, and as a student in college and university, he showed great capacity in analysis of matters and in writing. He soon joined the IAS in 1974 and was allotted the Rajasthan cadre. This enabled me to know more about his capabilities and intellectual interests in course of time.

As can be seen from the painstakingly-compiled Catalogue of Writings and Publications (annexed to this volume) Rakesh Hooja was a prolific writer and touched upon varied aspects of Public Administration and Governance. Though an administrator, he had an academic bent of mind with an eye for detail. He read extensively and tried to base his analyses through the prism of his own experience. It was due to his intellectual aptitude and tenacity for hard work that he was able to make considerable contributions to *IJPA*, through his articles from time to time.

Rakesh Hooja became the Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in August, 2010 because of his academic performance and administrative experience. He worked with sincerity and devotion, but sadly we lost him September, 2012. This was indeed a loss to the world of scholarship.

The articles contributed by Rakesh Hooja to the IJPA are indicative of his deep understanding of administrative and policy issues. The efforts of the Hooja family, and especially that of his wife, Meenakshi, who herself was a member of the IAS and retired as a member of the Central Administrative Tribunal, to consolidate and publish his writings deserve appreciation. I am sure that these articles and book reviews will be read by scholars and students of Public Administration, Civil Servants and will be of interest to the general reader as well. It will be useful addition to the growing literature relating to administration and governance.

T. N. Chaturvedi

(TN CHATURVEDI)

Chairman, IIPA

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Preface

The ability to read, marshal facts and viewpoints, analyse and put them together in writing in a manner that carries depth and understanding is an uncommon and rare quality. My predecessor Dr. Rakesh Hooja, 1974 batch IAS officer of Rajasthan cadre had this attribute in great measure.

As I understand he started writing from early childhood and carried the passion throughout his life and till the very end. The result as we see is a long list of over 450 high quality publications, which have been diligently catalogued by his wife Meenakshi (also retired from the IAS) and which appear at the end of this compilation.

Rakesh wrote on a varied and broad range of subjects like District Administration, Training of officers and for Trainers, Agriculture, Indira Gandhi Canal and Participatory Irrigation Management, Panchayati Raj, Rural Development, Federalism and Governance and Public Administration in general. The fact that he could do this, while discharging his administrative duties with due diligence is a matter of pride and even more he contributed regularly to the IJPA and added prestige to our journal. It is commendable that Meenakshi has thought if fit to put all the IJPA article and Book reviews written by Rakesh and bring out this compiled collection. This certainly appears to be a worthy and befitting way to honour Rakesh's memory and achievements and we at IIPA take pride in this endeavor.

On behalf of IIPA and on my own behalf, I offer our humble regards to Dr. Rakesh Hooja for his voluminous and high quality contributions which are of enduring value to scholars, academics students, administrative and general readers alike.

(T. Chatterjee)

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Introduction

I am honoured to be called upon to write an Introduction to this collection of articles and book reviews by the late DrRakeshHooja, IAS (Retd.) and a former Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi. All the entries were published in the premier journal of its genre the *Indian Journal of Public Administration*from time to time. His wife MsMeenakshiHooja, IAS (Ret.), has meticulously compiled these pieces dealing with various facets of Public Administration in India for publication in his memory. These were published in the said journal over the 1970s to 2000sand mostly deal with administrative capacity building, training, national and state administrative penetration to the district and block and panchayat levels and planning from below for development administration and management of natural resources like water. All this happening in a new nation increasingly nationalising and belatedly globalizing. Reading these pieces one is impressed with DrHooja's perceptive mind and evident professional commitment.

The Hoojas come from a family with generations in the prestigious Indian Administrative Service – a family steeped in the culture of top administration, so to say. DrHooja was born in London and studied in Delhi and Rajasthan and worked in India. He was a very cultured and affable person. I am moved by Ms Meenakshi Hooja's gesture to request me to write the Introduction to this valuable publication for which I am greatly obliged.

My association with the Hoojas goes back the 1990s and the early 2000s in the vigorous Global Dialogue on Federalism conducted by the Forum of Federations, Ottawa, some of these in collaboration with the Inter-State Council Secretariat, New Delhi, leading to an excellent set of publications on comparative federal theory and practice. The Hoojas were prominent participants and authors in these interactions.

The articles in this book are of academic nature and range over a wide spectrum of topics with appreciable insights and analytical depth. Dr Hooja was able to write these pieces while having a distinguished career in the coveted India Administrative Service for over three and a half decades. The editor, Ms Hooja, has classified these articles and book reviews into three Parts: (i) Public Administration, (ii) Development, (iii) Panchayati Raj, (iv) Water Resources, and (v) Governance and General. They practically cover the whole gamut of Public Administration in India and at all levels of multilevel governance in the country. Coming from the desk of a leading practitioner of administration in India, this book is a valuable resource for academics, media persons, as well as administrators. Students and the literati will also find it of interest.

Public Administration is an old discipline related to statecraft and political theory with ancient and medieval texts in India, Greece and Rome , China, and Persia and Arabia. India has a checkered tradition in this area of thought and action in the Epics, Kautilya and Kamandaka, Manu and Shukra, Buddha and Ashoka, Vijaya nagar arayas and ministers, Zia Barani, Abul Fuzle, Maratha Peshvas, British administrators and constitutional statutes, and post colonial constitutional commission reports on administrative, Centre-State relations, and constitutional reforms, to say nothing of the Constituent Assembly Debates and related papers, the text of the Constitution of India itself, and the constitutional law emanating from the Supreme Court of India and High Courts.

As a modern discipline, Public Administration and Public Policy and Governance first flourished in post-feudal Europe and post-revolutionary USA. Among its earliest protagonists in modern times were Max Weber (1864-1920) in Germany and Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) in the USA. The former theorised the problematique of administration in a society experiencing the transition of a patrimonial state into a modern democratic and capitalist state. The latter theorised the problematique of a federal state in in the New World lacking in the feudal history, a relatively equal society, a divided government under a Constitution premised on a fully fledged separation of powers among the Congress, Presidency, and the Supreme Court, a far-going federal division of powers, the most powerful federal second chamber in the Senate , and aBill of Rights of citizens entrenched in the first

written Constitution of the modern world. In independent India, Public Administration got instant recognition and philip from the Nehru government in the appointment of the Paul H. Appleby Commission and A. D. Gorwala Commission to study Indian Administration and public sector enterprises and recommend appropriate reforms required in the newly independent nation. Indeed, the establishment of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi in 1954 by the Nehru government on the recommendation of the first Report of the Appleby Commission was an important early catalyst in the impressive growth of this discipline in India.

Post colonial India is an old society and a new nation featuring the most complex and diverse social structure and culture, and the most elaborate parliamentary- federal Constitution with chapters on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. It presents a third settling, after Germany and the USA, among the newly developing political systems and newly emerging periphenal capitalist economies. The readers of this book will bear in mind that Dr. Hooja is writing on the problematique of administration in this third contextual setting. His Rajasthan connection in education and service cadre may have been an asset to him in sensitising him to the atypical context of this former cluster of princely states, after its integration with the Indian Union, passing through the transition of a feudalregion in colonial India to a modern post colonial state under a parliamentary federal Constitution.

Ms Meenakshi Hooja deserves our gratitude and greetings for sorting out and compiling these eminently readable articles and reviews in this volume. It is my pleasure and privilege to briefly introduce these writings to the readers.

Mahendra Prasad Singh

Editor, *IJPA*(IIPA/SAGE)

Delhi/ 14 January, 2019

Dr. Rakesh Hooja at the 57th Annual General Meeting of IIPA on 31st October 2011

Dr. Rakesh Hooja addressing a gathering in IIPA on 22nd October 2011 on the Role of Panchyati Raj Institutions in Rural Development since 1959

THE DISTRICT AS A PLANNING UNIT: STYLE AND LOCUS*

Rakesh Hooja

ALL planning is based on information. Centralized planning without reference to the constituent parts only results in paper plans far removed from reality. The plan formulating decision-centre is thus not the key structure in the planning process; equally important are data collectors, transmitters, 'gate-keeping' information sifters, memory-banks, receptors, and the like (all of which may be considered as minor decision-making centres). Further, with both the work of government, and complexity of life, having vastly increased in the twentieth century and the ensuing need for expert specialization, it has become very difficult for a single decision-centre to cope with all the problems of plan-formulation on a national scale. This problem is naturally accentuated in a large country with a huge population. Therefore, it becomes necessary for advisory-centres or/and parallel decision-centres (with specified sectoral or areal jurisdictions) to evolve so that the planning machinery may prove adequate. Thus a multi-level approach to planning (with greater say in the hands of decision-centres at various levels) is beginning to be considered more and more suitable.

In India, with its federal structure and commitment to democratic decentralization, the advisory-centres were to be found not only in the national capital but also at the state levels (where State Planning Departments functioned as information sifters, memory banks, transmitters and—to some extent—parallel decision-centres, because the planning process was broken up into both sectoral and areal parts (so that information could be handled and processed adequately) with extensions in Panchayat bodies.

* This article is a spill-over from a project on "Urbanization and its Challenges—A Politico-administrative Study of Jaipur City", sponsored by the Rajasthan Regional Branch of the I.I.P.A. on which the author is working in an honorary capacity as Deputy Director. It was realized that Town Planning and District Planning may lead to differing, antithetical policy decisions affecting the same area. Viewed from the point of view of Urbanization, a *prima facie* case for the reorganization of District boundaries seems to exist. This article, however, attempts to view the problem from the other (district administration) point of view. A very simplified version of this argument is available in Rakesh Hooja, "Various Units of Regional Planning—A Case for Improved District Planning" in *Prashasnika*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan.-March 1973.

Recently, the scope of the State Planning Departments has been broadened by the decision of various State Governments to set up State Planning Boards on the lines of the Planning Commission.[1] It was but natural for lower level sectoral and areal units of planning to simultaneously gain in significance[2] (due to reasons of administrative convenience), even if the plan-formulation decisions continue to be taken at the higher levels and the lower levels remain more implementational as well as data-collection and transmitting units. Hence we find that the adoption of the multi-level planning framework in India has led to the formation of, among others, National, State, District, Command Area, and City Plans.

It is with the sub-state-level units, especially the district and the economic area, that this article is chiefly concerned.

II

Starting with the establishment of 'Sirdars' (or 'Sircars'), each under an 'Amil' or 'Amalguzar' in Moghul times, the revenue district has gradually emerged as the basic administrative unit in India. So much so that the Collector has become the key figure in Indian administration. It was, therefore, but natural that when Independent India went in for planning, Panchayati Raj and Community Development, it decided to base all the three on the district. While the Panchayat structure was always district-based, district Planning (as opposed to the District-wise implementation of national plans) took some time to gain currency. Originally, Panchayat institutions at the district and lower levels used to be asked to make suggestions before a plan was formed, and, after the finalization of the plan, resources were forwarded for utilization to the districts for whom department-wise targets had already been set. But now, with the setting up of State and District Planning Boards, under the guidance of economists, the nature of district planning is undergoing a welcome change.

I intend to discuss in the following pages, the district planning process, as it previously existed, and shall attempt a critique of the present views on the subject. I also intend to question the validity of persisting with historical areal entities (the districts) as basic units of

[1] For detailed arguments in favour of stronger, more important, State level planning bodies see, "Planning Commissions at the State Level in India—Some Reflections on Problems and Prospects," *Journal of the National Academy of Administration*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, Autumn 1972.

[2] For an example of the case for sub-state-level areal Planning units, see *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79, Rajasthan*, Jaipur, Planning Department, Government of Rajasthan, 1973, section on "The Planning Machinery".

planning. Wouldn't it have been more appropriate to establish new, and, from the planning perspective, more viable administrative units, that is, wouldn't it be more appropriate to re-organize the districts now that planning and developmental activities have become as important as, if not more than, revenue collection and the maintenance of law and order?

III

Y. Raghavaiah[3] feels that the most suitable areal unit for the co-ordination of developmental and planning activities is the district and goes on to list numerous reasons for his assertion. With an average population of a million (Raghavaiah's figures) and an area of about 4,000 square miles, such a unit is large enough for planning purposes. It has a settled pattern of administration with a high degree of internal consistency and well-established administrative inter-relationships. This, and the long history of district administration, have ensured that the citizen's awareness of administrative processes in a district is adequate (implying that a new administrative or planning unit would need major reorientation as regards mass knowledge and awareness of new administrative procedures). Similarly, people living in an established district have a sense of belonging to that one entity—a community of feeling that takes years to build up. The new centres of political decision-making, the Panchayati Raj organizations, are also district-based, as are several federal, state and quasi-governmental agencies, which set up area or sub-area headquarters in the district town. It would be easier for the few agencies which follow different areal zones to switch to a district-based system than for the opposite to be accomplished. The only alternative (according to Raghavaiah) to retaining the district as the unit, would be a regional body consisting of several districts and this would not only be unwieldy, but also tend to go against the economic, social and political identity-consciousness and feeling of oneness and solidarity of the people. And, lastly, since the district already exists as an administrative unit, to take up planning at the district level would mean that the evaluation of the overall impact on the people of the *total* administrative effort in the area would become easier.

However, on the other hand, we find economists emphasising the need to adopt 'mandi areas', or 'Economic Regions' as the basis of planning. Increased urbanization has necessitated the evolution of

[3] Y. Raghavaiah, "District Planning and Development Administration—A Case for Unified and Integrated Approach", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (October-December, 1967).

concepts like 'city feeder regions', 'satellite townships', and 'National Capital Region', thus indicating that towns, with their contiguous, complimentary regions, or the 'city area' may be a more relevant unit for planning. Town planners, who are currently busy preparing Master Plans of the more important urban centres, certainly tend to look upon the city and surrounding areas as a more important unit than the district.

As Nath says, the principal units of administration for planning are the Centre, State, District, Block and the Village and administrative and institutional arrangements exist at these unit-levels for formulation and execution of plans, and for association of popular leaders in planning. "*However they are not adequate for all planning purposes and have to be supplemented by other regions for some purposes of planning, and may even have to be replaced for other purposes.*"[4] Shri Nath mentions the river-valley system as a unit for the planning of the utilization of water resources, socio-cultural regions and economic areas (following the definition of August Losch, *The Nature of Economic Regions*) as examples and suggests the following three sets of parallel and, perhaps, overlapping regions to facilitate planning : Administrative Regions, Resource Development Regions, and Metropolitan Regions.

I would like to suggest, not proliferation of parallel units of planning, but redrawing of some district boundaries on the basis of geographic, socio-economic and similar criteria, so that we in India can enjoy the best of both worlds. It is definitely not necessary for us to continue with units formed due to chance or the accidents of history if they do not coincide with our developmental needs. We could thus retain the advantages of district administrative set-up, while we gain from the formation of viable planning units.

More on this later. Let me digress a bit and move on to an analysis of district planning in practice.

IV

I shall first deal with the form in which it was originally introduced and then move on to the 'new' district planning approach being envisaged by economists today.

The introduction of Panchayati Raj, increased efforts at involving the masses and small communities in the mainstream of the political

[4] V. Nath, "Regions for Planning", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (January-March, 1966).

system, as well as the recognition of the value of increased local flexibility led to the call, originally sounded at the time of the First Five Year Plan, for decentralized grassroots planning.[5]

Thus, in the Third and Fourth Plans, district Panchayati Raj institutions were involved in the planning process.[6]

Panchayat bodies had already been given charge of all community development scheme funds. In addition, a large number of schemes which are being executed by various Government departments are 'transferred' to the Panchayat Samitis, which also receive the necessary financial assistance in the form of grants, grants-in-aid, loans and subsidies. Thus, at the beginning of 1959, developmental functions had been transferred to the Panchayats, the Collector becoming a mere coordinator.[7]

The practice adopted for purposes of district plan formulation was that the various state-level Heads of Departments would, under the supervision of the State Planning Department and in conformity with the Approach Paper to the Plan, draw up a list of the funds available (for a district) under various 'departmental heads', as well as a list of the schemes and projects (situated or proposed in that district) under the jurisdiction of the various departments.

These lists were sent to all Collectors, Zila Parishad Secretaries and Vikas Adhikaris (BDOs). The Vikas Adhikaris were to communicate this information to the Panchayat Samitis. Then the Panchayat Samitis, with the assistance of the Vikas Adhikaris, Samiti or Block (Vikas Khand) were to formulate plans on the basis of the information received. These plans were to be in three parts: (1) in respect to schemes transferred to the Panchayat Samitis, (2) in respect to schemes not transferred to the Samitis (where the Samiti could only make suggestions), and (3)

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[5] For a discussion of the various rationales of decentralization, *see* P.R. Dubhashi, "Decentralization, Planning and Public Administration", *The Indian Journal af Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (Jan.-March, 1966).

[6] *See* M.Y. Ghorpade, "Centre, States and Panchayats : The Planning Process", *Economic Weekly*, July 1964. The process as witnessed in Rajasthan is described, for the Third Plan, by (1) D.K. Saxena : "Planning from Below in Rajasthan", *Political Science Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct., 1962), and (2) Yoginder K. Alagh, "Formulation of a State Plan—Rajasthan—A Case Study", *Economic Weekly*, July 7, 1962; and, for the Fourth Plan by P.C. Mathur, "Multi-Level Planning in Rajasthan—A Study of the Formation of the Fourth Plan in Jaipur District, *Voluntary Action*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (July-Aug. 1966). *Also see*, M.V. Mathur and Iqbal Narain (eds.), *Panchayati Raj Planning and Democracy*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1969, especially "Introduction" and the section on "Panchayati Raj and Planning".

[7] Also refer to Iqbal Narain: "Development Administration Under Panchayati Raj—The Rajasthan Experience", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (Jan.-March), 1968.

in respect to schemes to be undertaken independently by the Samiti without any assistance from the State Government (which were seldom taken up due to the reluctance of the local bodies to raise their own resources through taxes). These plans were to be discussed and finalized at Gram Sabha and Panchayat Samiti meetings and, after the final approval of the Samiti, forwarded to the Secretary, Zila Parishad (who was also the Deputy District Development Officer by the Vikas Adhikari).

The Secretary, Zila Parishad, with the help of the District Statistical Officer, was to compile the various Samiti plans into a District Plan which would be discussed at a meeting of the Zila Parishad (which was to be attended, in addition to its ordinary members, by senior departmental officials) before transmission to the various Heads of Departments.

The Collector (in his capacity as District Development Officer) was specially instructed to supervise the formulation of the Samiti and District Plans, as also to supervise their implementation later (the Collector is also Chairman of the Zila Parishad in some instance. Similarly, various Heads of Departments were asked not only to supply the samitis with statements of schemes already undertaken as well as envisaged and of the funds available for the purpose but also to instruct subordinate officials to guide and cooperate with the Samitis and Zila Parishads in preparation of local plans. The Zila Parishad approved plans were to be forwarded by the District Development Officers (DDO) to the Heads of Departments, who scrutinized them, consolidated the proposals, added their own comments and proposals and forwarded them on to the State Planning Department, which, after processing, submitted the State Plan Proposals to the Planning Commission.

Later on, after the National Plan had been finalized, various district and samiti targets were to be transmitted by the concerned state-level departments (who would learn of them through the State Planning Department) to the local authorities, who, under the supervision of the DDO and Deputy District Development Officer (DDDO) were charged with the implementation of schemes and fulfilling of targets. Such an exercise was undertaken once in five years on a crash-campaign basis.

A number of problems immediately came to light in the application of this method of plan formulation. The Heads of Departments sent in their information about tentative physical and financial targets to the samitis late. After that, Vikas Adhikaris and other

officials at the block level faithfully adhered to the suggestions and instructions received from various departments, as they hurriedly patched together Samiti Plans. (While two meetings of the Panchayat Samiti were supposed to be held; one to approve a draft plan for circulation among the Gram Sabhas and the other to subsequently finalize the plan, only one meeting could normally be held due to lack of time). In fact, it was found that Pramukhs, Pradhans and non-official members of the Panchayati Raj institutions were rarely consulted[8] and suggestions made by the Heads of Departments dutifully incorporated into the Samiti Plans by the BDO and other extension staff. The transfer of some Vikas Adhikaris during the plan formulation stage also affected, detrimentally, the process, for it was found that most Panchayati Raj non-officials were apathetic and indifferent[9] since they knew that the plans had already been prepared and their views would not amount to much, and thus, freedom would be given fully to the BDOs. In any case, Panchayati Raj non-officials were more interested in setting forth demands expressing felt-needs and in making proposals that would gain them popularity and votes, and such proposals were neither desirable, nor feasible considering financial and other guidelines set before the Samitis.[10]

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[8] A slightly better view of it is set forth by C.P. Bhambhri in "Official Non-official Relationship in Panchayati Raj", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (July-Sept. 1967).

[9] P.C. Mathur, *op. cit.*

[10] Summing up his analysis of the formulation of the (Fourth Plan) Jaipur District Plan in 1966, P.C. Mathur *op. cit.* has highlighted the following eleven points: (summary mine).

(*i*) The experience gained during the Third Plan formulation was not put to use and thus *ad hoc* coordination of the plans formulated at various levels had to be resorted to, putting great pressure on the local bodies. A plan coordination and formulation procedure should have been established previously.

(*ii*) This *adhocism* meant that some departments could not even transmit detailed physical targets and financial allocations to the Samitis since even their overall quota in the State Plan had not been determined in time.

(*iii*) All detailed instructions about plan preparation were sent to administrative officers after formally consulting only the Panchayati Raj non-officials and that too after the plans had been prepared.

(*iv*) Some state departments circulated such a detailed set of physical and financial targets that no Samiti could deviate from them without up-setting all state-wide allocations.

(*v*) Block officials, Samiti and Parishad members all tended to look upon 'approving' the plan as a necessary 'ritual'.

(*vi*) The consolidation of Samiti plans at the district level was done with a view to conforming to district targets set by the various departments.

(*vii*) The District Plan consisted only of 'transferred' schemes with the Samitis. No effort was made to include the schemes to be run by the municipalities in the towns of the district.

(*viii*) No detailed economic analysis of priorities and the pattern of financing or of the sources of local contributions was made in the District Plan.

(*ix*) The team of district-level officers, while taking a keen interest in the planning operation, did not attempt to exercise their own initiative and discretion.

(Continued on page 400)

This also leads to the question as to whether grassroots political (elected) figures should be entrusted with plan formulation. For they are liable to attempt and use the plan formulation meetings as a forum for expressing their felt needs and for the transmitting of demands to the government, thus converting the plan into a mere list of demands as perceived from a narrow local perspective. This failing, they are liable to passively accept whatever proposal is set before them even when the needs of the sub-area are being overlooked. In any case, neither Panchayat politicians nor local bureaucrats are adequately qualified to undertake a real exercise in planning and, therefore, local plans have so far tended to be mere financial statements and lists of targets, all based upon instructions and suggestions received from the Heads of Departments.

Another question that arises is whether the preparation of statements of funds available and targets being set is all that planning is supposed to involve. Should not the locating of industries, houses, commercial and cultural centres, providing of civic supplies, building of roads, planning of specific education and employment opportunities, etc., all be a part of the District Plan? Can such comprehensive District Plans (something like the Master City and Town Plans but much broader in scope) be prepared by Panchayat Samitis and (transferable) Vikas Adhikaris? Or should a separate, well qualified District Planning Officer be stationed, either permanently, or for long periods, in each district for this purpose? (Such an officer would have to be attached to the Collector's office and have the same coordinating powers as the Collector. He could perhaps be a member of the Indian Economic or Administrative Service.)

In this context, I would also like to suggest the replacing of economic planning by complete societal planning (so as to lead to economic growth, social change as also political development) with all aspects of life in the district figuring in the plan. Here, I might caution that I am not advocating centralized control, on totalitarian lines, of human life. A societal plan, as envisaged by me, could be in two parts: one implementable and/or enforceable by the government, and the other in the form of suggestions for the people.

Another major problem that arose in district planning during the Third and Fourth plans was the fact that various departmental officers

(Continued from page 399)

(*x*) All modifications suggested at the local levels were ignored or eliminated at the district or higher level.

(*xi*) After the plan had been framed, most officials who participated in its making, tended to file away the final documents, and perhaps even to forget its provisions until prodded from above.

in the districts are jealous of their rights and powers and tend to look only to their Heads of Departments for instructions thus, making the Collector's coordination task more difficult,[11] and also ensuring that the District Plan is formed in segmented parts on a departmental basis. It is a welcome trend that the Collector's coordinating role is being strengthened, making coordination between various district departmental officers easier and thus making possible the formulation of a fully integrated District Plan.[12]

V

Let me now turn to the newer approaches of economists to District Planning.[13]

It is generally recognized that the district is essentially a local administrative unit and need not have homogeneous economic features. Hence, it is often suggested that each district be sub-divided on the basis of economic homogeneity into 'economic areas' or 'Mandi areas', which may be considered to be the lowest units for the integrated provision of socio-economic overheads and services.

Such an economic area may be either: (1) the main centre of marketing and exchange, where the plan must provide for additional services, like technical assistance, and institutionalized economic facilities, like credit, storage and processing, or (2) (in a less farm-dominated area) a centre of growth of industrial (or other) activity which helps to transform the economy of the surrounding area.

Viewed in this context, District Planning involves the proper selection of economic areas and the coordination of the national plan (and

[11] *See* Haridwar Rai, "Coordination of Development Programmes at the District Level with Special Reference to Role of District Officer in Bihar", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (Jan.-March, 1966); M. Santaranarayanan, "Role of the District Officer in Changing Administration", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1966); and M.K. Chaturvedi, "The Elephant and the Tortoise (The District Collector and his Role Identification)", *Journal of the Society for Study of State Governments*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (Jan.-March, 1971). Also see C.N. Bhalerao, "Changing Pattern of Development Administration in the District", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (Jan.-March 1966); and Raghavaiah, *op. cit.*

[12] *See*, for example, Otima Bordia, "District Administration—Problems of Coordination", Jaipur, H.C. Mathur State Institute of Public Administration, 1970 (Mimeo).

[13] I am grateful to Shri Subodh Mathur, Lecturer in the Department of Economics, University of Rajasthan, for suggestions as also for making available to me a note on "District Planning" (unpublished) that he had written for the Collector, Barmer, in Nov.-Dec. 1972. The following section is adapted from that note. It also borrows from D.R. Gadgil's *Kale Memorial Lecture* 1966 delivered at the IIPA Delhi as well as from the unpublished *Report of Indian Mission to Kenya* by Raj Krishna, Government of India, 1972.

special district) programmes with the needs of the economic areas.[14] Thus, all possible attempts should be made to link the district or one of its economic areas to a national or state project, located in the district so as to ensure that the project implementation is speedier and better, and the infrastructural changes affected by the project are fully made use of. However, this approach also builds up a case for the re-organization of district boundaries so as to coincide with those of the groups of economic areas.

In preparing a plan, the district planner (who has to look to speedy economic growth, integrated and effective utilization of resources—both natural and human—increase in employment, increase in social services and social consumption, redressal of regional imbalances, improving the lot of socially and economically backward sections of the population, and speedy abolition of poverty)[15] has to work at two levels; the District and the Economic Area, with overall frames and strategies being decided at the district level. While details of plans for conservation of natural resources and for production, etc., shall have to be worked out at the economic area level, area-wise and sectoral financial allocation, distribution of employment oriented schemes, and solving of organizational problems are best done at the district level. Coordination and synchronization efforts shall have to be made at both levels while overall integration shall have to be done by the district planner who, as has already been mentioned, shall be conversant with state and national plan priorities.

A district planner must identify his district's resources, extent of their utilization, the nature and extent of the infrastructure needed for optimum utilization, district's social and cultural profile and its relevance with respect to the human factor, pattern of land cultivator relations and their relevance to programmes for increasing production and bettering distribution, nature and extent of social infrastructure (in terms of education, health centres, family planning, nutrition etc.) and its relevance to both economic growth and social justice, employment and production generating infrastructure, and facilities, such as banking, markets, transport, construction, storage, supply of inputs and procedural requirements, and the measures needed to strengthen them.[16] He must also study consumption, requirements for drinking water, housing, and village access roads, social stratification, the position of the

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[14] *See* N.V.A. Narasimhan, "Principles of Integrating of Local and National Plans", *Behavioural Sciences and Community Development*, Vol. 1, March, 1967.

[15] V.K.R.V. Rao, "District Planning Concept—Getting to the Grass Roots", *Times of India*, May 23, 1973.

[16] V.K.R.V. Rao, *op.cit.*

scheduled castes and tribes, wage levels, unemployment and under-employment and the prevailing income distribution. Only then logical district priorities can be drawn up taking into consideration the existing constraints.[17]

Further, the planner has to learn to anticipate local reactions and responses since plan implementational success shall depend upon the interest aroused among the people and consequent local assistance forthcoming. Here the need for incorporating panchayat bodies in planning becomes obvious. While care should be taken to see that wishful thinking on the part of panchayat non-officials does not lead to over-ambitious plans (which are mere collections of more or less popular demands) being formed, a discussion of plan proposals in panchayat samitis and zila parishas would be very welcome. Cooperative institutions can also be gainfuly associated with planning and execution.

Similarly, as has already been mentioned, a district plan should not be a mere collection of various departmental, or sub-departmental proposals. This, besides non-integrated, lop-sided development, may also result in duplication of staff (who have to prepare the various proposals separately without assistance from the personnel of other departments) and breakdown of coordination. Of course, an integrated district plan, once prepared, may later be segmented sectorally or even departmentally for implementation purposes. This is because a development plan consists of a bundle of projects, each having a separate sectoral identity, geographic location, time horizon and scheme of estimated costs and benefits, thus, each being in need of separate administrative apparatus within the framework of the district planning machinery. Here, the planner must combine knowledge of local and district conditions with technical knowhow available from the state or national department before indulging in project formulation.

The practice of 'crash programmes', 'campaigns' and the tackling of problems on a 'war footing' are all antithetical to the canons of long-term planning and may even be taken as a symptom of faulty planning. Thus, the planner should be able to anticipate crisis situations and avoid them and the linked need for the adoption of emergency measures.

Given knowledge of Central or State projects in the district (for example large irrigation, famine relief, road building and power projects,

[17] This is in contrast with the previous practice of targets and financial allocations being decided at the national, state and departmental levels and being formally approved by Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads.

fisheries and forest programmes, etc.) and their outlay and the employment generated thereby; natural resources (through soil, water and geological surveys, census operations and the like); production—agricultural and industrial—land-use, supply of credit, public expenditure, etc.; and existing transport, communication, educational and health facilities, the district planner has to utilize it giving priority, while making the plan, to the development of socio-economic overheads and resource development, and not to social services which local pressures demand. Plan production targets in their present form should get lower priority than the development of the infrastructure. However, the government has to continue to provide incentives and assistance to individual producers to encourage them to produce goods according to the overall objectives and strategy of development. These incentives also fall within the scope of the district plan.

Thus, we see that the district plan should not be a mere spelling out of targets and financial allocations, but a much more comprehensive document, which, keeping in mind financial restraints, spells out logical relations between sectoral and departmental plans and between various economic areas, and which determines the chronological order in which schemes are to be started and implemented. It is based on calculations of supply and demand, where the need for equipment, trained personnel, buildings, raw materials, unskilled labour, all have been checked against the available supply, and where an attempt has been made to improve the internal organization of the agencies which will implement the schemes and thus help bridge the gap between supply and demand.

It should also be kept in mind that planning is a continuous process and that each five year plan should not be viewed as a separate entity, as is done by a few officers and politicians.

VI

Viewed from the point of view of urbanization and town planning also, one finds that the process of district planning adopted during the Third and Fourth Plan periods was inadequate.[18] Master Plans,

[18] K.V. Sundaram in his "Towards a National Urban Policy in India", *Fulbright Newsletters*, March 1973, points out that, while isolated city development plans and urban community development plans were suggested in the Third Plan period, spatial planning started getting attention only in the Fourth Plan. He also emphasizes that a traditional anti-urban bias exists in the minds of our planners and that the problem of integrating urban growth with the development of the surrounding rural areas so as to make the two mutually interdependent is not getting sufficient attention, nor have urbanization and national economic development been linked in the minds of the planners. He thus emphasises urban regions for planning. *See also* Leo Jacobson and Ved Prakash, "Urbanization and Regional Planning in India", *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. II. No. 3(March, 1967).

(Continued on page 405)

which are being prepared for all cities and major towns, are comprehensive documents dealing with the entire range of urban functions and activities, and relate them to one another on a city-wide basis. These are prepared considering the overall land requirements of the community *regardless of municipal or administrative boundaries.*[19] These plans also take into consideration expansion possibilities for at least 20 years to come and thus large tracts of peri-urban land have to be included in the Master Plan. With urbanologists focusing attention on the need to supply food stuff and industrial raw material to the cities as also to coordinate the sale of finished goods in adjoining areas, the concepts of integrated 'city feeder areas' and 'satellite towns' are finding their way into Master Plans. It is quite feasible for such metropolitan or town areas not to coincide with district boundaries and, thus, complicate the formulation of district plans. Town areas, being based on socio-economic relations, are often liable to be the same as economic areas, suggesting that only rationalization of district boundaries can make it possible for Master City Plans, Economic Area Plans and District Plans to be coordinated and integrated (or merged).[20]

VII

To sum up, I feel that, with our developmental needs necessitating more comprehensive planning and a switch over to real planning from below (the district thus becoming the basic unit of planning) it has become imperative that district boundaries be redrawn along economic,

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(*Continued from page 404*)

Also see Sudhir Wanmali and Waheeduddin Khan, "Role of Location in Regional Planning with particular reference to the Provision of Social Facilities", *Behavioural Sciences and Community Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Sept. 1970), where a city-periphery model of planning at the city level is set forth with reference to Nagpur.

[19] Town Planning Organization (Rajasthan), *Draft Master Plan for Jaipur*, Jaipur, 1972. District Plans should be similar in approach but have a much wider scope so as to encompass all facets of life.

[20] *See* V. Nath, *op. cit.*, where he has tentatively set forth a case for urban regions to be adopted for plan purposes. In his six-fold classification, the central places of the different regions are: (1) Metropolitan City, (2) Sub-regional Centre, (3) Multi-District Centre, (4) District Centre, (5) Mandi Centre, and (6) Rural Service Centre. *Also see* V. Nath, "Area Development at District and Block Levels", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (April-June, 1965).

For earlier views on Urbanization and Planning and a backgrounder to urbanization problems in India, *see* Roy Turner (ed.), *India's Urban Future*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962.

geographic and social lines (as opposed to their present historical basis) so that all sorts of regions (administrative, economic, metropolitan and resource development) can start coinciding in India.[21]

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[21] *Also see* Planning Commission, *Research Development Regions and Divisions of India*, New Delhi, Manager of Publications (Government of India), 1964; Planning Commission, *Guidelines for the Formulation of District Plans*, New Delhi, Manager of Publications (Government of India), 1969; and Lalit K. Sen, *Integrated Area Planning : Concepts and Methods*, New Delhi, Government of India (Training Division, Department of Personnel), Cabinet Secretariat, 1972.

The Raising and Redressing of Grievances at District Level and Below in Rajasthan*

Rakesh Hooja

THERE are many avenues for citizens to raise their grievances regarding administrative matters. Each officer, and especially members of district administration (collectors, SDOs, etc.), set aside time for petitioners to meet them in their office. Similarly, whenever an official goes on tour, he expects to receive petitions in the villages he visits. Panchayat non-officials (*sarpanchas* and *panchas*) as well as others (some of whom have even made it a profession) visit the officers with or without villager constituents and clients to raise grievances. Panchayat samiti, gram sabha and zila parishad meetings are forums for raising grievances; however, here political grievances exceed administrative grievances. Similarly, other district or lower level meetings, attended by elected representatives or other non-officials, provide such a forum. Kisan sammelans are organised in certain villages where ministers and officials are invited and grievances are invariably set forth forcefully. Letters to the editor in newspapers are another mode of grievance expression and at times even articles and news items are managed in such a way that they end up as grievances of some group or the other.

However, before discussing the above mentioned methods I shall concentrate on the institution formally set up for this purpose. The district public grievances-cum-vigilance committees were set up in each district of Rajasthan vide order No. F.7(17)O&M/G.V/73 of the Department of Personnel (O&M) dated 9/12 March, 1973.

THE RAJASTHAN ORDER

The latest order (of 1977) in this regard containing both the composition and duties of the committees is reproduced on next page.

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* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the workshop on citizen and administration at HCM State Institute of Public Administration, Jaipur, in May, 1978. The basic data pertains to Ajmer District though comparisons with Udaipur District are available in the footnotes.

Sub. : **Setting up of District Public Grievances-cum-Vigilance Committees**

In supersession of O&M Department Order No. F.7(17)O&M/ Gr. V/73 dated 9/12 March, 1973, the Governor is pleased to re-constitute a district public grievance-cum-vigilance committee in each district of the State of Rajasthan. The committee would comprise of the following:

1.	Collector & District Magistrate	Chairman
2.	District Superintendent of Police	Member
3.	All MPs and MLAs of the district	Member
4.	One representative of the zila parishad (to be nominated by zila parishad)	Member
5.	One person each from SC/ST to be nominated by the chairman	Member
6.	District level officer or higher officer of the concerned department to be coopted by the chairman	Member
7.	One of the RAS officers at the headquarters to be nominated by the collector.	Secretary

The chairman of the aforesaid committee in the districts of Jaipur, Swaimadhopur, Alwar and Bharatpur may constitute sub-committees to deal with the problem of atrocities on harijans/STs.

The functions of this committee shall be to deal with complaints relating to corruption and public grievances, such as delays in sanctioning of power connections, registration of criminal cases, registration of mutations, irregularities in distribution of water, alleged use of transport of the complainant by investigating authorities, and irregularities in the grant of execution of contracts in various departments.

The committee shall act in the following manner :

(*a*) (*i*) The committee shall hold periodic meetings, at least once in a month at each district headquarters or at any other place within the district, on a fixed date, to be determined and published well in advance so that public and all other interested persons may get an opportunity of being heard.

(*ii*) This committee shall review crime and law and order position and problems relating to the traffic control of the district. The committee shall be competent to suggest preventive and corrective measures in respect of above

subjects including delay in investigation, non-registration of cases in police stations, commission of atrocities on members of scheduled castes/tribes and weaker sections of society.

(*b*) This committee shall be responsible to coordinate the activities of all district level departments, where the nature of complaint concerns a number of departments and they do not agree to a common course of action.

(*c*) This committee shall be competent to look into complaints where there is specific allegation of delay in the removal of individual or public grievances. For this purpose the committee shall be competent to call for record of the concerned district level officer and after due discussion with him, give suitable direction for expediting the removal of grievances in accordance with law by the concerned district level officers. The committee will also be competent to fix time limit for such disposal of the grievances. In case the district level officers do not comply with such directions the matter shall be referred to the administrative department of the district level officen concerned and department of public grievances, for further necessary action.

(*d*) In case of specific allegation of corruption, malafide conduct, inaction or overaction, the committee shall be competent to examine the relevant record of the district level officer and, if warranted, will hold further enquiry and report such malafide conduct or corrupt action to the (vigilance commission)* Department of Removal of Public Grievances, and the administrative department concerned with their specific findings.

(*e*) This committee will be competent to investigate any specific complaint entrusted to it by the State Government (State Vigilance Committee*), Department of Removal of Public Grievances and will report its findings thereon.

(*f*) With a view to enable the committee to deal with various problems of grievances, the district public relations officer should be made responsible to submit regularly to the chairman extracts from daily and weekly newspapers concerning district administration.

(*g*) The public relations officer posted in the district should be available to the committee for providing assistance in disseminating information regarding action taken by district authorities dealing with grievances.

**Deleted vide order dated 7 April, 1978.

(*h*) The committee should identify persons/organisations which have a corrupting influence on Government servants and report the same to the Government. Similarly, this committee should identify newspapers which indulge in black mailing of Government officials and thus prevent them from discharging their legitimate functions. It should report the same to the Government for appropriate action. Government advertisements to such papers should be stopped and other measures to deal with them should be considered by the Home Department.

(*i*) The recent instructions issued by the Government regarding periodical visits of district officers to tehsils and police stations and inspections would go a long way in redressal of public grievances. The committee should have a periodical review of the implementation of the Government instructions issued from time to time in this behalf.

(*j*) A monthly review of the work done by the committee shall be submitted to the [Vigilance Commissioner*] and Commissioner for Removal of Public Grievances and Director of Grievances Office of the Chief Minister, Rajasthan, for the information of Chief Minister.

Only one change has been made in the functions of these committees, which are popularly known as vigilance (or satarkta) committees, between 1973 and the issuing of the above quoted order in 1977. Point 4(*ii*) giving the committee the functions of reviewing crime and law and order as well as traffic and atrocities against the members of weaker sections of the society is a new function not previously assigned to the vigilance committees.

In most districts the additional district magistrate is the secretary to this committee.

CASES RECEIVED

Before turning to a discussion of the working of the vigilance committees it would be appropriate to provide statistics about cases in one district vigilance committee as an example of the number of cases received and the departments against which the grievances (or complaints) have been raised. The data relates to Ajmer District[1] and is given in Table 1 to 4 as that was available to me.

*Deleted vide order dated 7 April, 1978.

[1]For contrast some data pertaining to Udaipur District taken from C.M. Jain and Rajendra Joshi's paper, "Grievance Ventilation at the District Level—A Case Study",

(*Continued on page 804*)

Now to turn to the procedure and problems in the functioning of the district vigilance committee.

(*Continued from page 803*)

presented at a workshop on citizen and administration at the HCM State Institute of Public Administration, Jaipur, in May, 1978, is reproduced:

TABLE A—Udaipur

Number of Departmental grievances received pertaining to the office of Chief Minister, collector and other ministers from 1 Jan., 1978 to April, 1978

Sl. No.	*Department*	*Category 1 % Chief Minister*	*Category 2 % collector*	*Category 3 other ministers*	*Total*
1.	Police	3	20	3	26
2.	Revenue	41	83	30	154
3.	Medical	—	30	—	30
4.	PWD	—	25	6	31
5.	Public Health Deptt.	—	31	—	31
6.	Education	2	40	—	42
7.	Urban Improvement Trust	3	30	1	34
8.	Miscellaneous (Other deptts.)	51	234	45	330
	Total	100	493	85	678

% stands for "office of the"

NOTE : It has been found that usually police and revenue complaints come from publicmen while grievances on education and medical come from government employees.

TABLE B—Udaipur

Number of grievances received from all sources and redressed

Month	*No. of grievances received*	*Redressed*
Sept. 77-Dec. 77	1524	329
Jan. 78-April 78	1103	203
Total	2627	527

NOTE : These cases pertain to departments other than the office of collector and hence have been referred to the department for redressal.

TABLE C—Udaipur

Number of grievances received and disposed pertaining to the office of Chief Minister

Month	*No. of grievances received*	*Redressed*	*Unresolved*
Sept. 77-Dec. 77	310	170	140
Jan. 78-April 78	69	37	32
Total	379	207	172

(*Continued on page 805*)

The committee takes cognisance only of cases submitted to the secretary to the committee by hand or by the post, or of cases sent down by the vigilance commission/department for removal of public grievances, or the grievances office of the Chief Minister.[2] Other grievances or complaints are dealt with directly by the concerned officials who often conduct enquiries on the basis of petitions or complaints received. Very often the same grievances are dealt with by the committee as well as directly by the concerned official. And the official's action often precedes the vigilance committee's taking cognisance of the case.

THE WORKING OF THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEES

The committee has authorised the secretary to initially screen the

(*Continued from page 804*)

TABLE D—Udaipur

Number of grievances received by Udaipur collectorate through mail

Month	*Grievances registered*	*Redressed*	*Per cent*
Sept. 77-Dec. 78	620	260	42
Jan. 78-April 78	493	116	24
Total	1113	376	33

TABLE E—Udaipur

Number of grievances put up to the vigilance committee at its meetings

Month	*Grievances put up*	*Redressed*
Sept. 77-Dec. 77	10	10
Jan. 78-April 78	13	13

[2]It is clear from C.M. Jain and Rajendra Joshi, *op. cit.*, that the Udaipur practice is different from the Ajmer practice as described by me. In Udaipur, ordinary petitions and grievances received in person or through the mail by officers of the collectorate and the collector himself also appear to be dealt with by the vigilance cell instead of being routinely dealt with by the concerned officer or section of the collectorate, *i.e.*, in Udaipur ordinary grievances and grievances specifically submitted to the vigilance committee are not dealt with in separate ways.

Another difference between the Udaipur and Ajmer methods is that while in Ajmer all cases referred by the Chief Minister's office are automatically considered to be meant for the vigilance committee or its secretary, in Udaipur it appears that most grievances received from the Chief Minister or other ministers' offices are passed on to the respective departments for purposes of redressal and final intimation. Only a few such grievances, as selected by the collectorate, Udaipur are put up to the vigilance committee. "The collector, Udaipur, refers only such grievances to the committee which he considers relevant." (Jain and Joshi, *ibid.*)

TABLE 1

Department and Naturewise Position of Vigilance Cases Pending for Disposal in Ajmer District Vigilance Committee as in March 1977 (Based on a classification of cases done in April 1977)

Sl. No.	*Department*	*Corruption cases pending for*				*Total corruption*	*Departmentwise routine cases pending for*				*Total Deptt. routine cases*
		1 Yr.	*1 Yr.*	*2 Yr.*	*3 Yr.*		*1 Yr.*	*1 Yr.*	*2 Yr.*	*3 Yr.*	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Development	6	3	6	—	15	20	13	2	—	35
2.	Revenue	10	4	1	1	16	60	22	3	1	86
3.	Police	1	—	—	—	1	11	3	1	—	15
4.	Municipality	1	—	1	—	2	17	7	2	—	26
5.	Education	3	2	—	—	5	17	11	4	1	33
6.	Medical	—	—	—	—	—	14	6	5	—	25
7.	Cooperative	4	1	—	1	6	6	2	1	—	9
8.	Elect. Board	—	—	—	—	—	8	5	1	—	14
9.	UIT	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	4
10.	PWD	1	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	—	4
11.	Miscellaneous	8	4	—	—	12	32	15	3	1	51
	Total	34	14	8	2	58	191	86	22	3	302

TABLE 2

Yearwise Receipt and Despatch in the Vigilance Cell, Ajmer

Sl. No.	*Year*	*Papers received*	*Papers disposed*
1.	1975	1212	1503
2.	1976	2894	3590
3.	1st January to 31st March 1977	976	1321

TABLE 3

Yearwise Registered and Unregistered Cases in the Vigilance Section, Ajmer

Sl. No.	*Year*	*Registered cases*	*Unregistered cases*		*Total*
			Miscellaneous papers	*Papers received from Abhav Abhiyog*	
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	1973	57	—	—	57
2.	1974	214	—	—	214
3.	1975	264	—	—	264
4.	1976	261	350	146	757
5.	1977	266	1055	634	1955
6.	Up to March '78	51	141	282	424
		1113	1546	1012	3671

TABLE 4

Cases Registered and Closed up to End of March 1978, Ajmer

Total cases received up to 31.3.78	*Cases closed up to* 31.3.1978	*Cases pending on* 31.3.78
3671	3250	421

grievances received.[3] The grievances are often vague. At times the actual problem is not even stated and some other side issue is mentioned instead. Many are anonymous with general allegations. The secretary may file such

[3]In Udaipur as per Jain & Joshi "five registers have been drawn up for enrolling grie vances pertaining to the office of the Chief Minister, office of the collector, general grievances, grievances relating to offices of other ministers and grievances to be heard by ventilation committee respectively." In Ajmer all registered cases are put up to the vigilance committee for hearing and final decision. It is interesting to note that the Udaipur committee does not record cases regarding crime, law and order and corruption.

cases immediately. As a second alternative he may send the grievance to the concerned official for taking necessary action and reporting directly to the aggrieved person. Thirdly, he may ask the official concerned to submit a factual report about the complaint. The fourth alternative is asking for a person higher than the concerned official to conduct an enquiry. Normally, it is only the fourth category of cases that are registered and put up before the committee. Of course, a case from category 2 or 3 may later, upon receipt of a factual report from the concerned official, be registered and a more detailed enquiry be ordered. Similarly on the basis of a factual report the complaint may also be filed.

At times the secretary himself is expected to examine the records, take down statements of concerned persons and prepare the report for the committee.

The committee meets once a month and examines the reports received from enquiry officers along with the summary prepared by the secretary (This summary system was introduced in mid-1975). The complainant and enquiry officers are also required to be present so that the committee members may, if necessary, question them. Sometimes the complainants turn up in delegations and even bring witnesses. Of course, the person against whom the complaint has been made may also turn up at the meeting.

Normally about ten to fifteen cases with reports are considered at each monthly meeting of the committee. Often the committee remands cases for further, more detailed, enquiry.

The committee may recommend, on the basis of the reports put up, that the concerned department take action against an official who has been deemed to be a defaulter. The clerk in charge of the vigilance section at Ajmer for the last two years told me that not more than 10 per cent of the complaints had been found to be true in his tenure and that the vigilance committee seldom managed to chase up the concerned department and ensure that departmental action as recommended has actually been undertaken.

The monthly proceedings of the vigilance committee are forwarded to the State Government and to all concerned. Similarly a quarterly statement of cases received, disposed of, and pending, is submitted to the State Government.

The general assistant to the collector who had earlier been a probationer under training in Ajmer also confirmed my belief, formed when I was a probationer in Ajmer, that many anonymous complaints were received and that many times the same complaint (similarly worded, or even a carbon

copy) was resubmitted under a different signature after a short interval in the hope of starting a second case. He also pointed out that some people appeared to be favourite targets for vigilance committee complaints. This would indicate that the person was actually at fault. However, it could also indicate that there was a motivated campaign launched against such an official by someone.

TOPICS OF COMPLAINTS

Among the favourite topics for complaints were: (1) those regarding water connections, (2) those regarding electricity connections, (3) those regarding revenue mutations, (4) about corruption by traffic police, (5) police not registering cases, (6) against wrong allotment of *abadi* land by the *sarpanch*, (7) regarding dirty latrines, (8) regarding non-payment of salaries (this task being especially the case in government aided educational institutions). Most complaints were against the revenue, police and development departments.

Often cases that are *sub judice* were referred to the vigilance committee, which was forced to admit its inability to interfere.

It was also reported that MLAs and MPs had been known to absent themselves from a number of meetings[4] as well as that many officers ignored the reminders of the secretary to expedite enquiry reports.

Normally, both the collector and ADM are very busy with miscellaneous duties and the collectorates are badly understaffed both in regard to officers and clerical staff. Hence the collector and secretary get time to look up the vigilance cases only just before a meeting. Hence, except when some probationers are sent to a district for field training and asked to assist in vigilance work, it is seldom that the vigilance cases pending get examined in depth before the monthly meeting. Of course, the secretary of the committee who is also the officer in charge of the vigilance section of the collectorate inspects his section as per the District Manual. Most of the time the clerk has to cope as best as he can.

Recently the vigilance committee in Ajmer decided to insist that no complaint would be considered unless accompanied by an affidavit verifying the complaint. This is with a view to discourage the numerous false complaints being received. However, as no action has been taken in Ajmer in

[4]This is also reported by Jain and Joshi for Udaipur. Both in Udaipur and Ajmer MLAs, if they attend the meetings, bring some complaints or grievances with them to the meeting and even try to dictate the committee's decision at times.

any vigilance committee or even in the regular court case against a person giving false affidavit, this may not prove a sufficient deterrent.

As mentioned earlier many times a complaint is addressed simultaneously to many people starting with the Prime Minister or Chief Minister and coming down to the concerned officer, with the vigilance committee somewhere in between. This means that at every level an avalanche of papers is received when only a few of them really require action at that level. Having to deal with these papers means that the overworked staff has less time available for its regular work. Thus the regular work gets delayed and this delay may in turn give rise to more public grievances. The collector's and SDO's offices may today provide examples of spending more time on enquiries and complaints than on their actual or primary work.

Another result of this is a tendency at all levels (and, while this is more true of the clerical staff, officials also tend to acquire this habit) of sending the original complaint to subordinates 'for necessary action'. This tendency is there because the person does not want his records to show too many complaints pending with him for enquiry and may be necessary in many cases.

However, this practice has become such a routine that at times important complaints also get marked down to subordinates and the person who originally received the complaint cannot monitor the action being taken by the subordinate on the complaint. One solution can be for the complaint to be retained in the higher office and for a copy to be sent down for 'necessary action' or for 'necessary action and report'. I have tried this technique because then the likelihood of reminders for the reports being issued to the lower office is higher as the complaint still remains pending with the higher office. However, getting copies made in an overworked, understaffed office, as at least all collector and SDO offices are, proves to be a very time consuming process, which affects the normal working of the office. Also, the longer it takes for a grievance being checked up and removed, the more dissatisfied the complainant is likely to become. In fact often the complaint may have been made with a view to speeding up some desired government decision rather than slowing it down.

A solution for effective monitoring of action taken by the subordinates on the petitions, submissions and complaints received had been suggested by a collector I met while on tour (Rajasthan darshan) during my training. He showed us how he kept four registers in his own office—two maintained by himself and two by his personal assistant. The important papers were registered there according to urgency and priority of reply before being sent

to the general receipt of the collectorate from where they went to the concerned sections of the collectorate for the officer-in-charge of the section to ensure compliance of the desired action as marked on the paper by the collector. The collector then checked his registers at intervals and sent reminders or pulled up the functionary from whom action was required.

A second possible solution offered by a fellow officer was for all petitions and complaints to be treated in a manner similar to that used for court files, *i.e.*, on each paper a date is marked for it to be resubmitted to the official by the dealing clerk for checking the action already taken. After doing whatever is required on that date the officer should again prescribe a date for further resubmitting to the officer by the dealing clerk for further action and so on.

The above is one aspect of complaints being sent to levels higher than that at which action is required. Another aspect is the fact that complaints may be marked or sent down to a lower level which is required to merely perform the post office function of further marking it down. This function involves delay as well as waste of the available manpower.

A third aspect is the growing habit of waiting to see how important the superior has considered the report to be before acting even if a copy of the report has been received directly at the proper level. Thus a vicious circle may develop in which action is taken only if complaints are submitted at a higher level.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

What is required is education of citizens so that they submit complaints at proper levels. But such education can only be provided by people's representatives or other educated citizens who, on the contrary, may prefer to keep the villagers in the dark for their own personal gain (*i.e.*, they may prefer to receive a fee for acting as contact men and encourage more levels at which 'contact' is made by them). Simultaneously an ethos has to be developed through training and government directives whereby officials ensure that all complaints requiring action at their level are acted upon without the complainant having to secure orders or directions from above. This attitude of mind does already exist in many officials who even at times get newspaper reports or remours checked up (the vigilance committee also does this at times) without waiting for complaints if they consider the matter important enough. However this cannot be done often as tending to grievances or complaints is always a secondary function for any organisation.

Also, as mentioned earlier, there is the fact that at times people keep resubmitting the same petition in slightly modified form again and again to various levels in the hope that what they desire—even if illegal—may get

done. While, of course, appeals against administrative decisions should always be permitted, this tendency of repeating the demand a number of times leads to waste of time in government offices and also to frustration for the petitioner. Often such repetition of grievances is because villagers do not realise that rules apply equally for the same matter at all levels. They feel that if one person takes a decision that goes against their interest, he has done so on a personal basis and that another person may decide in a different manner. Others do this in the hope that someone at some level will make a mistake in their favour even though what they desire is illegal. Here again public education of citizens is necessary. In fact often the grievance is remoulded and submitted even to the same person in the hope of a favourable decision. By adding to the number of complaints this slows down the government machinery.

Grievances are raised at times and complaints got made by the colleagues or subordinates of an official or by someone who wants to get something illegal done from the official. The purpose of such action, often taken through newspapers also, is to blackmail or cow down the official so that he does the illegal act or turns a blind eye towards his subordinate's misdeeds. The only solution for such action is a change in the socio-political culture of the country. As regards concrete steps it is difficult to suggest any.[5]

So far most of what I have written has been with the collector or SDO in mind as the agency that receives a number of complaints about every

[5]However, Mohan Mukerji in his paper, "Misuse of Procedures Provided for the Removal of Grievances—Some Notes", presented at the above mentioned workshop on citizen and administration, has suggested some measures. His note is reproduced below:

"The staff provided for removal of grievances is not enough to handle the large volume of work. This volume includes a large element of false or grossly exaggerated allegations. If such allegations can be reduced, then genuine grievances can get more attention.

The distinction between public grievances and complaints is sometimes not clear, since both relate to dissatisfaction with the working of public servants. It is an unfortunate fact that persons having some personal motives to harm a public servant misuse the procedures provided for the removal of grievances.

A common motive is just a plain desire to hurt somebody. A more specific motive is to harm a person who is a possible rival for promotion so that a pending enquiry may affect the rival's chances. Blackmail, not necessarily for money but to pressurise for some favourable action like transfer, recruitment, purchase or contract is the third motive. While the second type of motivation inspires fellow employees only, they, as well persons who are not in public services, act in pursuance of the first and third motives.

The common step is to make an anonymous or pseudonymous representation. Government instructions are that no action is to be taken on anonymous complaints unless the allegations are so specific that they can be enquired into. Knowing these instructions, the allegations are often specific. The object being harrassment or temporary adverse effect on career. The fact that on detailed enquiry the allegations are found to be false is not relevant.

The following suggestions are made for redressing false representations:

(*a*) If any authority desires to investigate into an anonymous representation, he should

(*Continued on page 813*)

official in the district. What about trying to get grievances removed at lower levels?

COMPLAINTS WITH LOWER FUNCTIONARIES

Somehow generally departmental offices at the district level do not always take necessary action upon receiving a complaint about a fellow officer out of a feeling of *espirit-de-corps* with the other functionaries of their department. Presumably this is one reason why the collector or the SDO receives so many complaints against the functionaries of various departments. But another reason must also be there. I remember the collector of Ajmer suggesting that the dates of the monthly tehsil meetings of the *patwaries* be publicised and people exhorted to submit complaints or grievances at these meetings where the concerned *patwari* could be asked to supply the facts and the tehsildar (or SDO if present) could take immediate action. This was, of course, meant only for revenue matters and it was thought that people would prefer to go to the tehsil headquarters rather than to the collector and that immediate questioning of the *patwari*, rather than having the collector or SDO send for a *patwari* report, would also prove more popular as delay would be avoided. However, the public response was negligible while people still visited the collector and the SDO offices in great numbers for this purpose. Evidently people feel that the higher they complain to win the hierarchy the better. Perhaps they even consider a visit to the collectorate or the SDO office a welcome pastime.[6]

(*Continued from page 812*)

ordinarily affix a notice on the public notice board in his office stating briefly the matter to be investigated into and inviting the complainant to disclose his identity and furnish details in confidence, even at the residence of the authority. Investigation without knowing the identity of the complainant should be very rare, for reasons to be recorded in detail.

(*b*) If a complaint made by a government servant is proved to be false, he should himself be liable to disciplinary action. If a member of the public, journalist, etc., is found to have made a false complaint, this should be brought out in Press notes. If complaint by a legislator is found to be wrong, the Speaker should be informed.

(*c*) Section 182 of the *Indian Penal Code* provides for a court complaint being made only by the authority to whom a false complaint is made. This should be amended to allow a person falsely complained against to also be a complainant. The State should accept the liability for launching prosecution."

[6]With a view to lower level problems being solved, Udaipur has experimented with the vigilance committee holding its meetings at tehsil and sub-division, etc., headquarters and listening to 'on-the-spot' grievances in addition to the already registered ones. Jain and Joshi have prepared the following Table based on some of the committee visits.

Month	*Place of Meeting*	*Grievance received*	*Resolved*
Jan. 78	Udaipur	9	9
Feb. 78	Salumber	36	36
March 78	Dhuryawad	18	18
April 78	Udaipur	13	13
	Total	76	76

Grievances that are raised at public meetings or *kisan sabhas* are often exaggerated or set forth in the form of political demands by the village leaders in their speeches. Many *sarpanchas* privately inform the officials that they have no complaint against them while their public speech is full of vitriol against the particular functionary. Thus these are more a destorting forum than an aid to grievance articulation or resolution.

Here it should also be admitted that many grievances are due to the elaborate and cumbersome legal procedure and rule-oriented system where adherence to rules is more important than achievements. Not that I advocate abandoning legality. However, if no *mala fide* is involved and a person is permitted to stretch the rules a bit for the sake of performance, then much fewer grievances would be raised. Of course, this suggestion is also dangerous, for many officials could misuse such flexibility if made available to them.

Another way to reduce grievances could be for each cluster of government offices to be provided with a reception-cum-information centre to guide the villagers. Many grievances are raised because a villager has knocked at the wrong door and received natural rebuffs and therefore he complains not knowing what else to do.[7]

PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT

A third method for reducing citizen's grievances would be public relations efforts in the real sense of the word and not the formal releasing of press notes as is currently done by district public relation officers. If the government functionaries can explain rules, procedures, and their manner of thinking to the people at large, and also explain what and how they are trying to achieve, then, hopefully, the citizens would be more understanding and raise less grievances.[8]

[7]Another possible forum for grievance resolution could be the new agriculture extension scheme (also called 'T&V' or 'cluster' or 'benor' scheme in Rajasthan). The village extension workers who visit the fields of the contact farmers in rotation can pick up grievances there. When they come for their fortnightly training in agriculture extension to the cluster headquarters (each cluster normally covers 2 panchayat samitis) they can pass on the list of grievances with their factual reports to various district level officers assembled there for this purpose who can then take quick and necessary action. This has been tried out for grievances concerning non-availability of water throughout the canal system in the chambal command area development project (Rajasthan).

However, here also the danger is that the grievance work may become so huge that the agriculture extension programme might suffer.

[8]It would be proper to also list the suggestions made by Jain and Joshi here. They contend that one of the significant outcomes of the vigilance committee has been an overburdening of the office of the collector with a huge number of complaints. Hence (*i*) "The

(*Continued on page 815*)

In fact a grievance in reverse (though perhaps grievance is the wrong term to use here) that administrators have against citizens is that citizens are not willing to understand facts and problems faced by administrators, that citizens take parochial or personal view points of things and seldom bother to rationally think about the common good which the government has to take into consideration, that citizens make complaints and demands and comfortably sit back seldom attempting to help the administrator in his endeavour to set right the grievance that has been raised.

Some sort of adult or public education is required to help solve this problem. However, it is clear that if administrators receive no bouquets but only brickbats they may not perform so well; somehow today only brickbats seem to be in fashion.

Before ending I would like to refer to a note on removal of public grievances that I found in the Ajmer collectorate files. It was obviously a note received from the commissioner for removal of public grievances of the State Government. It referred to two studies (date of the studies not known) conducted in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and set forth the findings in the form of factors giving rise to administrative grievances on the part of citizens. I reproduce the list for further consideration and discussion.

Uttar Pradesh Study

1. Unhelpful attitude of officials.
2. Inordinate delay in transacting government business.
3. Corruption amongst officials.
4. Lack of proper attention from government agencies which provide services for common man.
5. Favouritism and nepotism in dealing with general public.
6. Inefficient machinery for redress of public grievances at the district level.

(*Continued from page 814*)

size of the district be reduced." (The present author feels that an alternate to Jain and Joshi's contention could be provision of extra officers and staff in adequate numbers). (*ii*) "Identical grievance ventilation committees of the existing model be constituted at the lower levels of the district... for this panchayats and panchayat samitis may also be vested with the power of grievance ventilation especially of a minor nature." (The author feels that panchayat and panchayat samitis may unnecessarily politicise all issues. Hence sub-division or tehsil may be a better unit, but only if adequate staff is provided. Secondly, no such thing as "vesting with powers of grievance ventilation" exists. Grievances can be removed by functionaries using the basic powers they have by virtue of the posts they hold). (*iii*) "Grievance ventilation units may also be opened at the level of the different district offices. They informally exist even today." (*iv*) "The working of this (vigilance) committee still needs publicity."

Madhya Pradesh Study

1. Discourageous and unhelpful attitude of government officials.
2. Intentional delays
3. Delays caused by faulty procedure
4. Graft
5. Delays for non-material gains, *e.g.*, favouritism
6. Delays caused by lack of coordination

In the end let me state what should perhaps have been said at the beginning of this paper. A grievance may be defined as a real or imaginary wrong or cause for complaint. The problem is how can citizens as well as administrators distinguish between the real and imaginary wrong and how can they express and resolve the real wrongs in a systematic and amicable manner.[9]

COLLECTOR, THE DISTRICT BOARD PRESIDENT

We are of opinion that, in present circumstances, the Collector should remain president of the district board. To remove him from this post would be to dissociate him from the general interests of the district in such matters as roads, education, sanitation, drainage and water supply, and to convert him into a mere tax-gatherer and repressor of crime. Such a change would, we think, be very undesirable, and would have the effect of divorcing the Collector from healthy contact with instructed non-official opinion.

—*The Royal Commission Upon Decentralization in India,* 1907-1909.

[9]Just as the author was finalising this paper he has come across the Rajasthan State Government instructions issued recently that each office open and maintain a public grievances register through which the head of office monitors the progress of grievance resolution. All such registers are to be checked at the time of office inspections by the head of office or his superiors. This step towards decentralisation can only be commented upon after trial.

Administrative Reforms for Rural Development at State and Lower Levels in India

RAKESH HOOJA

THERE WAS a time in the none too distant past when public administration and its parent discipline political science seemed obsessed with 'General Theory', the postulates of which would hopefully apply to all eras and all areas alike, and whose 'laws' would be as fixed and absolute as those in the natural sciences where similar stimulus is likely to lead to similar responses. Of course even in economics, the most quantified of the social sciences, this search for commonly applicable principles and ideal types has proved a chimera as social behaviour (both individual and group) has proved to be unpredictable, and even to comprehend it, recourse has perforce had to be taken to trying to understand all human phenomena in terms of certain specific settings and conditions. It is perhaps a reaction to the above mentioned obsession that many have started (believing) that while trying to plan the most suitable administrative system (encompassing its structures, processes and procedures, administrative culture and administrative style) one should look at the needs of a small agro-climatic region with its people having a district social sub-culture and then to work out the governmental programmes and schemes considered desirable and found technically feasible for the particular area and its inhabitants and only then to plan out an appropriate administrative apparatus for the specific or particular activities thus decided upon for implementation and accordingly to modify or reform the existing administrative system.

As mentioned above this is perhaps a reaction-going to one so called practical extreme from the other academic extreme of the search for general principles and the appropriate viewpoint would perhaps be somewhere in between. In addition such planning of administrative systems for each small area is likely to prove very difficult, nigh impossible, when even the preconditional step of planning out the specific schemes for each area (except through general norms or guidelines of governmental objectives and the steps to achieve them which are applied by the government almost uniformally all over the country or a state) has proved impossible even

though it is generally considered desirable.

Hence the attempt here is to discuss certain changes which appear to him to be called for in the Indian context. While admitting the diversity of the country and state to state differences in the administrative system and its attendant capability to adopt and innovate, it is being assumed that the reforms being discussed for the state and lower levels, while based primarily on the author's Rajasthan experiences, have some general relevance all over the country in view of the quasi-federal nature of the Indian polity and the fact that there are similarities in the condition of India's agraria despite regional variations. Accordingly it is intended to comment on some of the administrative structures, personnel policy, planning process, etc., which have a bearing on the rural delivery system.

II

Let us start with the nature of governmental planning. It can be debated whether what is currently being attempted is statisticians' planning or accountants' planning with state planning or finance departments trying to fix departmentwise ceilings of expenditure on the basis of a few meetings where each department tries to ask for more, usually on the grounds of certain liabilities already standing committed, and then asking each department to furnish its scheme/programmewise break-ups of expenditure with corresponding physical targets and then compiling the same into a draft plan which may then form the basis for funds release provided the resources availability anticipated while fixing departmental expenditure ceilings holds true and therefore actual funds release does not have to be curtailed during the year. No wonder except for broad schemewise discussions the detailing of proposals by various departments and the compilation at the state government level is often left to statistical or accounts staff at not very senior levels.

Even this above mentioned exercise is done for so-called 'Plan' funds with another similar exercise being simultaneously done for 'non Plan' funds except that there the state finance department does not even provide any proposed expenditure ceilings to various departments while asking for proposals which are processed in separate meetings. Further while some institutional finance estimates are compiled in the draft plan, what may be called 'extra plan' funds, i.e., funds (except for institutional finance being obtained as loans to government bodies or individuals) not in the state budget under 'Plan' or 'non Plan' heads but which may be tapped from various sources for developmental purposes are not, so to say, planned

for. In fact in Rajasthan it sometimes appears that the plan department wants expenditure to be made against non Plan heads controlled by the finance department while the state finance department wants the same expenditure to be made against Plan heads controlled by the plan department. The difference between Plan and non Plan funds is after all only a budgetary classification and it should not be allowed to become sovereign.

The obvious solution is that all Plan, non Plan, institutional finance, and extra-plan funds that can be anticipated for should be assessed at one time each year jointly by the state plan and finance departments and then a single planning exercise should be undertaken. This is important for another reason and that is that so-called regulatory functions like land revenue or civil supplies administration funded under non Plan at present also directly affected developmental efforts and should be planned for alongwith developmental activities.

This exercise should not follow the present two-fold classification of committed and new expenditure proposals for establishment and works being classified and examined separately because in actual practice it means that committed expenditure rarely gets examined in detail during the annual planning and budget exercises (and is instead examined rarely and only at times of special economy efforts) and most discussion centres around new esablishment and new works proposals in isolation from the existing works and existing staff on the concerned department. To my mind each year's departmental budget proposal should be reviewed in detail without differentiating between so-called committed and new expenditure both of which should be scrutinised in equal detail and especially for staff; in fact the total staff required for the total effort to be made by the department should be examined in a unified or integrated manner.

The scrutiny at present is made vis-a-vis some physical targets which the department feels can be met by certain staff and works expenditure. Rarely is the likely impact of the endeavour discussed in the annual planning effort -- it being assumed that after the plan and budget are approved, and before actually making the expenditure, the department will get a detailed scheme or project prepared and get it cleared from the state planning and finance departments and at that time more detailed appraisal shall be done. Only for some special or very large projects where Central Government or international assistance may also be involved is this process reversed when actually before the annual plan exercise is undertaken projects alongwith their likely benefits and not just figures of likely expenditure (euphemistically referred to as financial tar-

gets) and physical targets are made available to the state plan department when normally they should be made available to the state plan department in all cases of proposed expenditure and the planning department should then be able to review the desirability or otherwise, and the priority in view of limited funds, of each proposal before it is included in the annual plan. Even for schemes where general guidelines have been drawn up by the Central or state governments the different impacts, costs and difficulties likely to be faced during implementation in different regions of state should be examined in advance. This sort of planning exercise would also help in the eventual plan progress monitoring which today gets limited to recording shortfalls in achieving physical and financial targets rather than in a review of the objectives and impact of any governmental effort.

On the subject of project planning while this writer has had occasion earlier to place his ideas in print regarding the problems and possibilities of local level projectisation vis-a-vis projectisation at state headquarters levels, and the difficulties of appraising rural projects as compared to urban industrial projects due to the differences in their nature (the chief being that for rural areas countless farmers, etc., take individual decisions which affect the project's eventual impact unlike in the more controlled factory conditions of implementing industrial projects) however it may be emphasised that even where in the few cases that government departments take up project planning in earnest the conventional appraisal in financial, economic, technical and institutional terms has to be supplemented by what this author has over the years started calling 'acceptability appraisal' (at one time he used to call it 'cultural appraisal'). That is the examination in the light of the cultural (or socio-cultural political geographic) setting of the project and the governmental organisation to examine the likely acceptability or otherwise on the part of the likely beneficiaries or other population in the project area and of members of the delivery system to examine whether the project is likely to succeed or needs to be modified or even dropped on this account. Unfortunately at present even where analysis takes place it is limited more to financial and some technical appraisal often with middle or lower level staff blindly applying some departmentally approved formulae. Such appraisal also assumes that the departmental activity is being carried out in isolation from other government or non-governmental efforts, hence the appraisal is further in danger of getting distorted. However, this problem of excessive departmentalism in Indian administration shall be touched in somewhat more detail later.

Lest I be accused of taking an extreme view about the need for

sophisticated project analysis in each and every case, let me hasten to add that I am not advocating that all appraisal techniques should be fully applied with all their complexities to each and every project proposal as that may prove too costly or difficult for many smaller projects, but that some calculation of costs and benefits over a specific time frame should be a must and that left to themselves various governmental departments, even scretariat or administrative departments performing staff functions unlike the executive departments performing line functions, do not today undertake such an exercise for every case as a matter of routine. Hence it appears that the planning department at the state level should insist on itself appraising medium size and larger projects (for this categorisation proposed outlay of the project could be the rough indicator) and for smaller projects it should pressurise departments into conducting their own appraisals by calling for more project details than at present before agreeing to include it in the governmental development effort. The state planning department has thus to act as a leader and a catalyst in getting more micro and intermediate level planning done rather than just in fixing macro level (i.e., state level targets). (Incomplete projects every year should again be put to project analysis in the ensuing year to work out the desirability or otherwise of modifying, completing or abandoning them in view of the changes in costs and benefits that occur).

The state planning department would also have to think about multi-disciplinary micro, or intermediate, level planning exercises instead of just compiling different departmental proposals for an area into say a Tribal Sub Plan when the interlinkages and interactions of various types of governmental efforts and their likely consequences need to be planned for.

Another change in the planning sphere relates to what are called Centrally sponsored schemes (or CSS schemes) where the Central Government provides certain funds for specified activities provided the state government provides matching funds and agrees to fit its activities into guidelines and norms prescribed by the Central Government. While what I have to say may hold more true for Rajasthan which is a financially weak state, however, I suspect that many state governments sometimes earmark part of their scarce funds for CSS schemes merely because such schemes exist and Central assistance is available, though some other schemes may be more valuable for them. While of course states may suggest new items to the Government of India for inclusion under Centrally sponsored schemes, such Central decisions can take very long as various states may need to be consulted, the concerned Central Ministry and the Planning Commission convinced and then funds found for the new scheme by the

Central Government, which may mean having to wait for the next Five-Year Plan period even if a majority of states find the proposal acceptable. I wonder if every year the Government of India could earmark some funds for each state for Centrally sponsored schemes not already predetermined by the Central Government (which however could specify sectors eligible for the funds) whereby each state could propose to provide matching funds for an activity which is likely to be of special utility for the concerned state and the state would only have to convince the Central Government of the utility of the scheme which may not necessarily be one which is useful for other states. This would not only enable special problems of particular areas/states to be catered to, but also avoid pre-emption of state funds for existing CSS schemes which may be less valid for a particular state.

Mention has already been made of the need for progress monitoring not merely in terms of target achievement but on the basis of the impact achieved. This is because even attempted concurrent evaluation tends to become a long-term academic type exercise whose results become available after a time lag and on the other hand implementors tend to forget the programme objectives and to restrict their efforts to mere target achievement by any means without thought to the impact of the target achievement. Such impact monitoring would in effect mean a change in the nature of the targets being fixed. For example for the bank credit based individual beneficiary programme of Integrated Rural Development instead of number of benefits delivered and funds spent, the target should be number of families whose income increases by a certain range within a certain time. As it is foreign scholars have been impressed by the way in which our delivery system reaches down to every village for identification of beneficiaries, selection of proper benefits, benefit delivery and some attempts at follow-up. This could be a good sector to initiate impact monitoring as suggested above as an integral part of IRD implementation.

Impact monitoring may also lead to a system whereby each agency tries to identify the stages or points in the delivery system where leakages can occur thus reducing the desired impact of the administrative effort. Accordingly each organisation would start thinking about mid course modifications in programmes, procedures and structures to reduce possible leakage points for better achievement of governmental goals.

III

As regards structural issues, the first point which comes to mind

is the organisation of secretariat or administrative departments. Till recently in Rajasthan state enterprises and cooperatives had one administrative secretary and agriculture and public health engineering another secretary. Similarly one special secretary was looking after health and family planning as well as work of the special schemes and integrated rural development department. The point is not only that for some officers parts of their assignment were unrelated to each other, but also that if one man was to be assigned more than one department, if related departments were assigned to him, then at least he could effect better coordination between them in the prevailing ethos where people's departmental loyalties are very strong and government servants often tend to place departmental interests over what may be termed the general or common interests or interests of the government as a whole. At present in Rajasthan we have a development commissioner, a secretary, agriculture and cooperation, another for command area development and ground water, a third for animal husbandry, dairy and sheep and wool, one for special schemes and integrated rural development (popularly called SSO) another for afforestation, one for famine relief and civil supplies and at least five special secretaries to the state government whose work is related to only one ministry in Delhi that of agriculture and rural development, while of course rural development is the concern of many other Central ministries also for which the state has its own array of secretaries, special secretaries and deputy secretaries (which perhaps could even be reduced by one third without harming the work output). We also have a different sort of example of the special schemes and IRD department (in which this writer has had three postings) preparing various types of rural development projects related to various state government departments and at some time or the other antagonising each of the above mentioned state government officers attached to other departments, and of dealing with at least five different Central ministries regarding the schemes it gets implemented through the District Rural Development Agencies with the help willingly or grudgingly given by functionaries of various state government departments. Either the SSO should deal with all aspects of rural development and have its own field level staff in all spheres, or a rationalised department by department distribution of work with strengthening of coordination mechanism should be evolved with no SSO type body stepping on anyone's toes.

No formulae about the ideal organisation of the state secretariat can be given and with more experience perhaps even this writer may change his views. However, perhaps today's system has evolved in response to certain circumstances which had a certain importance at

that point of time which may have resulted in both considered or even ad hoc decisions. Or today's pattern may be due to person related reasons. Accordingly it may be worthwhile today and say every three to five years to take an overall view of the secretariat structure with a view to rationalisation of posts and departments. Of course there is also the danger, witnessed at times, of over reaction and frequent tinkering with, the organisation, which would have to be simultanesouly avoided.

The executive or technical departments can also perhaps do with such scrutiny. For example today's sheep and wool, animal husbandry and fishery departments all perhaps need to be merged; fishery because it is perhaps too small in Rajasthan to warrant a separate full time director; and sheep and wool and animal husbandry because with their similar training and education their veterinary doctors could tend to all sorts of animals, instead of having to duplicate veterinary dispensaries (mobile and stationary) of each department in each area and also so as to give a common head of department sufficient full time work.

The agriculture department has gone one up by having divided its work into different streams, e.g., plant protection, horticulture, extension, soil conservation, etc., with officers transferable from one stream to another at will yet in the field each trying to retain its separate identity, reporting to its own higher functionary, and trying to avoid getting involved with the work of another stream, even though they all deal with the same farmers in the area and the work of each stream is complementary. This tendency has in the last two years been arrested to a large extent at least in my state. However, one of the reasons for this is that for each activity separate posts under different budget heads are got created/approved from the planning/finance departments instead of the department or even a number of departments taking an integrated view regarding functions and posts required for a micro area before creation/ extension of posts.

Even for desert development where the special schemes and IRD department has tried to take an integrated view they have failed to fully succeed even for posts funded under DDP, while posts funded from regular department budgets have never fully come under their review.

Another tendency which has to be guarded against is that of creating many posts equal or nearly equal to that of the head of department within each executive department. While this may be good for personal promotions within the cadres, it has been known to create coordinational problems within the concerned department.

Rationalisation amongst departments and within departments is

but one solution to the problem. Experience in a Command Area Development (CAD) Project where there was a unified budget and all officers from various departments were placed under one authority (that unusual arrangement, unusual even for CAD projects, has now got watered down), has convinced me that since the people and natural resources (including land) of the area, require a multi-pronged and multi-dimensional effort for their development, instead of officers from various functionally divided departments of government approaching the area with their segmented departmental schemes, theoretically each region (agro-climatic cultural sub-region) should have its own integrated area development agency performing both developmental and regulatory functions, which are inter-related, and possessing personnel having different types of qualifications and experiences so that all types of technical and administrative inputs can be provided to the sub region by the same angle agency instead of the present often bewildering array of functionaries and bodies. This theoretical ideal type solution if taken to its logical conclusion would imply that at the state level also functional departments should be replaced by territorially divided departments.

However such a drastic change from the present may not prove practical. Many studies about area planning have suggested that even though district boundaries are arbitrary and do not follow natural regions, yet historical and other administrative advantages of the district make it the best planning unit, with some variations. Similar reasons would perhaps work in favour of continuing with the present district based administrative system in which various functional departments have their district level officers and hierarchy in place. This could be supplemented with special programmes being run in an integrated manner through a unified agency created for each sub area. For this either the existing DRDA should be converted from a funding and supervisory or coordinating agency as at present into its own implementing agency, or keeping in view differing needs of different types of areas special desert, or hill area, or command area, etc., agencies for each region should be set up and the DRDAs merged into them and these should function in coordination with the district administration and representatives of some general functional departments. The Collector can hold a position both in the agency and the district administration for better coordination. Even this may prove a major change which can only be possible to achieve in a gradual, piecemeal, manner and would require corresponding changes at the state and secretariat levels also. In fact the special area agencies would most probably cover more than one district and we may end up with the special agencies even forming a link between the state and the districts.

Such area agencies would also mean that the rural populace does not have to interact with numerous governmental agencies as at present. Of course they would still have to separately approach banks for credit and here coordination through the Collector and the District Level Bankers Coordination Committee he heads, would have to be effected with the special agencies.

In fact I personally feel that for each region potential growth centres should be identified along with their attached hinterlands and all governmental activities required for the growth centre and its hinterland should be planned and implemented in an integrated and comprehensive manner.

As regards panchayat bodies, while there is a school of thought that for each village the exploitation of its natural resources should be fully left to the gram panchayats with the state government only interfering if the gram panchayat abdicates its responsibilities and not otherwise. I personally feel that the Panchayats cannot be expected to raise their own resources and with them to fully manage their villages and develop their natural resources. However, panchayat bodies and other beneficiary groups can certainly form the link between the special area agencies, or the district administration and the inhabitants of the area.

IV

A word about the so-called developmental approach versus the so-called revenue or regulatory administration approach. It has generally been held that regulatory functions need much more detailed record keeping, and a system of prescribed checking and inspections and determination of various types of forms (proformas) and registers for common use and greater reliance on precedents, etc., while developmental administration involved greater contact with farmers, a willingness to innovate and an ability to get things done and at most to statistically get physical and financial progress compiled along with a willingness to perhaps bend some rules so as to get expenditure made to achieve objectives. In fact this has even been corrupted by some to the view that a correct developmental approach is the ability to spend and thus to achieve financial targets.

However of late this author has been moving towards the conclusion that the so-called developmental 'can-do' approach has resulted in a lack of institution building which is detrimental in the long run. While some dynamic developers may have been good to break from conventions and jolt slow moving departments and schemes into action, in the long run it is the fixing of new routines and procedures to suit new tasks which is called for. Otherwise the whole

machinery may slow down and for example what at one time were essential visits to verbally sell and supervise a new scheme may eventually degenerate into meaningless visits to villages for no concrete purpose whatsoever. Many of the developmental departments are now finding that new touring, inspection and work norms, new rules and conventions, new proformas for maintaining new types of records and old procedures for monitoring of disposal of decision cases and letters are essential to maintain the gains of developmental work as also the impetus of developmental departments. Hence, what after the departure of the British had started getting devalued in regulatory administration, is now likely to prove vital even for developmental work and job charts, office procedures, work norms, better monitoring of files movements and disposal of cases, maintenance of guard files and such office management practices, which had started getting neglected need revitalisation and in fact in many new developmental departments, like the one presently manned by the writer, they have never been tried and thus have to be worked out afresh and in many cases even rules and legislation may need to be amended to systematise and consolidate such efforts in relation to work in the field. Simultaneously simplification of financial and accounts procedures has assumed greater importance as the nature and complexity of developmental efforts has changed and in some cases even commercial considerations have also crept in for which the governmental accounting system is unsuited. This also entails drafting or amending rules or creating new institutions like the DRDAs and corporations and boards. I personally feel that if a government department can deliver the goods, perhaps with simplified or modified rules, it is preferable to a corporation or board if only to keep overheads down as also because such bodies with their financial flexibility, while perhaps helping speed up developmental meausres, also enable greater irregularities and even misuse or waste, or misappropriation of funds to occur. Surely commercial profitability and norms can also be built into such government departments as require them in the context of new developmental or regulatory needs.

An insistence on good routine administration involving timely disposal of all cases including those related to public or government servant grievances (the second type are more frequently received) is also essential if the prevailing tendency to administer through campaigns is to be countered. And surely perpetual campaigns on some issue or the other cannot be very effective.

Such emphasis on good office procedures and monitoring of files, papers, etc., may also help overcome a human failing that many of us have of assuming that an order has automatically got implemented the

minute we sign it. Such procedures would ensure decisions are followed up till compliance reports are received.

It is perhaps ironic that this writer has found himself devoting this whole section of this paper to repeated emphasis on the need to return to strict routine, well laid down procedures, and better office and record management as advocated by the British before 1947 and has set it forth as a reform most pressingly called for. But there it is -- sometimes we forget what is good in the old and then have to re-establish it. (My wife -- also a government administrator -- never tires of repeating that even if one only routinely gets all cases processed in a decent time frame, then the relief felt by the populace as a whole is immense.)

V

In a piece of this nature it is but possible to hint at some changes which may improve the system -- all such measures dear to the writer's heart cannot even be listed, let alone detailed. But before ending one would like to talk about the nature of the implementors or the members of the governmental delivery system. At the district and regional levels some one person has to be the focus; the leader of the team, and the coordinator. Historically the Collector has performed this role and, by whatever name he may be called, someone has to do this work. Hence the Collector should continue as kingpin of both regulatory and developmental aspects of administration at the district level. At the special area level if a special agency is set up its head would have to play a role which would be an amalgam of that of the present-day Collector and of head of department at the state level, even though district collectors would also need to be intimately involved in the special area agencies' work. Other functionaries both technical specialists and coordinatory experts at administration and management whatever their initial academic training would also be required. It is these executives to coordinate and lead the teams at various levels whose selection can pose a problem. In Rajasthan we have a system whereby in addition to IAS and Rajasthan Administrative Service (RAS) officers who are posted as Additional Collectors Development in DRDAs, officers from some other developmental technical service cadres can offer themselves for special selection for the job and if selected on the basis of their annual performance appraisal forms and an interview, they receive a higher special pay as long as they hold the special selection job in the DRDA with a maximum ceiling being fixed at seven years. Something similar should be attempted in all states where the best officers of all state cadres (not just those

presently eligible for special selection in Rajasthan) can offer themselves for selection for key developmental posts based on their previous work record, an interview, and, if necessary, an examination. Higher emoluments, etc., should accrue to them as long as they keep delivering goods at a higher level in their selected jobs failing which they could revert to their regular pay scales and cadres. This would also bring in the element of incentives for better work presently lacking in government service without threatening the average worker who would continue to be eligible for his regular promotions in due course of time in his regular cadre. Of course the selection procedure and screening for continuation in the special posts would have to be devised so as to work only on the basis of excellence in performance and ability and not on extraneous circumstances.

The IAS today forms a major part of the rural development set-up. In fact even for technical departments at times IAS heads are preferred since they can take a broader view than just that which is visible from the limited viewpoint of a particular department -- and also because they are free from the antagonistic factions which exist in many such departments and which are often so pervasive that all departmental staff have to join some faction or the other to survive and have nurtured lifelong distrust against those belonging to other groups in the department amongst their members. Before an IAS officer fully gets identified with one clique or the other he has normally moved on to a new job. IAS officers in various departments may also help in achieving better coordination between those departments. Thus it would help if the IAS were made more broad-based and versatile. At present there is a provision for special selection from the states' technical service which can continue unchanged as could the process of direct recruitment and even special recruitment to induct fresh blood through the Union Public Service Commission. However at present there is a provision for 33 per cent promotion from amongst the seniormost officers of the State Civil Service (RAS in Rajasthan, PCS in some other states). This could be reduced to 25 per cent and on an experimental basis 8 per cent persons be recruited to the IAS from amongst the Central Services Officers of say 8 to 10 years service. A review of previous work performance could be combined with an examination and interview for this purpose. Surely such persons would bring a breath of fresh air into the IAS and improve its efficiency.

Also important is the training of state functionaries. For middle level officers many courses exist -- it is the top level officer (Secretary to Government) and the bottom level functionary (for example Patwari or Village Level Workers or Veterinary stock-

man) who needs much more training and orientation. And like in the army training and the evaluation of performance during training should also be considered while giving promotions alongwith performance on the job. Failing this there exists a general tendency to either avoid going for the training, or to treat it as a paid semi-holiday.

CONCLUSION

However the best reform would be in case we would orient both the personnel and the institutions so that instead of reacting to situations in the field, or of obtaining data and analysis of the recent part and planning on that basis as is presently being done, our administration learns to anticipate conditions 10-15 years hence and to plan schemes, projects and activities in a coordinated and multi-disciplinary manner for those projected eventualities. This is the challenge of the fast changing world today.

TOWARDS EXCELLENCE IN STATE GOVERNMENT SERVICES: CAPACITY BUILDING AND TRAINING IN RAJASTHAN*

RAKESH HOOJA

More than the Central or All India Services, it is the State Services which constitute the actual delivery mechanism for public services and which often act as government's contact points with citizens and citizens groups. Accordingly the capacity building and training of the State Services in various states of the country needs to be a major concern for all those interested in improved governance in India. It is only if the State services have been imparted the appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudinal inputs to inculcate a work-ethic of professionalism, hard work, honesty, service-orientation, efficiency and excellence in performing their tasks that we can hope that our national goals would be met, or even exceeded.

Accordingly this article intends to look at the training and capacity building that has been devised for State Service officers of one State of the Indian Union—Rajasthan—with a view to bring civil services in the state living up to expectations.

TRAINING SET UP IN THE STATE

The main responsibility for training for government functionaries in the state is that of the Principal Secretary to Government for Training. This officer is separate from the Principal Secretary or Secretary who respectively head the Administrative Reforms or Personnel Departments. The Principal Secretary Training is also *ex-officio* Director Harish Chandra Mathur Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration (HCM, RIPA), Jaipur which is a government institute with three registered societies attached to it

*The views expressed in this article are purely academic and personal and they should not be attributed in any way to the organisation where the author is working.

comprising six centres (Centre for Management Studies, Centre for Good Governance, Women and Child Resource Centre, Centre for Disaster Management, Centre for Urban Development and Centre for Trade and Investment) all of which function jointly in total synergy with HCM RIPA. HCM RIPA has four campuses in different cities of the State. HCM RIPA directing staff function as *ex-officio* Deputy Secretary and as Assistant Secretary to Government for Training.

The state government has constituted two training specific committees to ensure coordinated training efforts in the state. The first committee headed by the Chief Secretary is a State Level Advisory Committee for Foundational, Institutional and Compulsory In-Service Training for Officers of Rajasthan State Services, with a Sub-Committee on the same subject, chaired by Principal Secretary Training, to assist the main committee. The second committee is a Coordination Committee of State Level Training Institutes chaired by Principal Secretary Training. Both the Committees and the Sub-Committee have some Principal Secretaries or Secretaries of various departments and selected Heads of Department as members. In addition the second committee on coordination of state level training institutions also comprises the heads of the following 17 training institutes.

Sl.No	*Institution*
1.	HCM Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration, (RIPA)Jaipur
2.	Rajasthan Police Academy (RPA), Bani Park, Jaipur
3.	Revenue Research and Training Institute (RRTI), Ghughara, Ajmer
4.	Engineering Staff Training Institute, Jhalana Institutional Area, Jaipur
5.	State Institute of Agriculture Management, Durgapura, Jaipur
6.	MLV Tribal Research and Training Institute, Ashok Nagar, Udaipur
7.	Rajasthan Institute of Cooperative Education and Management (RICEM), Jhalana Institutional Area, Jaipur
8.	All Purpose Revenue Training Centre, Tonk
9.	Irrigation Management and Training Institute (IMTI), Dadabadi, Kota
10.	State Institute of Educational Research and Training (SIERT), Udaipur
11.	Jail Training Institute, Jaipur Road, Ajmer
12.	Indira Gandhi Panchayati Raj and Grameen Vikas Sansthan (IGPRS), JLN Marg, Jaipur
13.	State Institute of Health and Family Welfare, Jhalana Institutional Area, Jaipur
14.	Animal Husbandry Training Centre, Jamdoli, Jaipur
15.	Forest Training Institute, JLN Marg, Jaipur
16.	Local Self Government Institute, Tonk Road, Jaipur
17.	Entrepreneurship and Management Development Institute, Jhalana Institutional Area, Jaipur

If any other state level training institute is set up in Rajasthan, then it would automatically gain representation on the Coordination Committee of State Level Training Institutes. At present a higher education institute covering the Rajasthan College Education Service officers and other staff of government colleges is reportedly in the process of being set up.

TRAINING SCHEME FOR STATE SERVICE OFFICERS

Most of the state level training institutes offer courses on a regular basis to which state government officers are nominated by the concerned department. In addition HCM RIPA (including its Centres) offers a wide range of courses most of which are open to personnel from all government departments (while some being of a specialised nature are restricted to trainees from a single deparment) and some are also open to representatives of NGOs.

In 2004-05, 402 courses were conducted by HCM RIPA in which 15,016 trainees participated. In 2005-2006 the number of courses went up 531 (which included 66 courses under a scheme of saturation training of all government employees (Class I, II, III and IV in Kota district). In all 25,107 persons received training (this included 12,976 persons under the scheme of saturation training in Kota district). These courses normally vary from one day to three days, one week, two weeks or four weeks duration. A large number of them are based upon suggestions received from the various state government departments and State Public Undertakings (PSUs) before the start of each financial year. Many are suggested by the HCM RIPA and its faculty who draw ideas for such courses from many sources within or outside Rajasthan. Such courses are notified in a training calendar issued once a year, in quarterly and monthly programmes, and through periodic letters sent out to concerned departments and PSUs and to other related agencies whereby nominations are invited for the various courses. The training is provided free of cost with HCM RIPA attracting funds for such courses from various sources and the balance being made up through a reasonably flexible training budget provided by the state government.

In addition certain compulsory courses are also provided for which are by and and large all conducted by HCM RIPA; or if conducted by the concerned State Level training institutes, then they are coordinated by HCM RIPA and by Principal Secretary to Government Training.

Till recently there was insufficient uniformity between various State Services regarding such training. Now the following scheme of compulsory training at the induction stage as well as in service has been drawn up and approved by the concerned State Level Advisory Committee (mentioned in the previous section) on the advice of its sub-committee.

PRESENTLY AGREED SCHEME OF TRAINING OF STATE SERVICES

Sl.No.	*Types of Training*	*Duration*
1.	Foundation Course for officers selected by RPSC in common examination for State and Subordinate Services	
	(a) for State Service Officers	15 weeks
	(b) for Subordinate Service Officers	8 weeks
2.	Condensed foundation Course for various technical State services	4 to 8 weeks
3.	Institutional-Professional training for State Service Officers who have undergone Foundation Course as per 1 (a) above	
	(a) for Rajasthan Administrative Service, Rajasthan Police Services and Rajasthan Accounts Services	52 weeks (minimum)
	(b) for all other Services as per 1 (a) above	26 weeks (minimum)
	(Note: The Institutional-Professional training would include classroom training as well as field and district training and attachements)	
4.	Compulsory In-Service Training for Officers of all Technical and Non-Technical State Services	
	(a) Compulsory one week course on Public Policy for all those who have completed 10 years of service	1 week
	(b) Compulsory one week course on Good Governance for all those who have completed course as per 4 (a) above	1 week
5.	Promotion training for those being promoted into a State service	8 weeks (minimum)
6.	In addition various non compulsory short courses are available at HCM RIPA and other state level training Institutions	
7.	The Induction Training for Rajasthan Forest Service is of two years duration	

In addition to the above scheme, those State Service officers who get posted as functionaries in Panchayati Raj Institutions (on posts like Chief Executive Officer Zilla Parishad or Block Development Officer) undergo panchayat related training.[1]

Foundation Course for State Service Officers

An elaborate exercise was conducted recently to review and modify the course content and syllabus for the Foundation Course for State Service officers being inducted into government service through the state civil services exam conducted by the Rajasthan Public Service Commission.

[1]Rakesh Hooja, *Capacity Building for Rajasthan's Panchayat Representatives and Functionaries*, Occassional Paper No 7, HCM RIPA, Jaipur, 2006.

Taking advantage of the fact that HCM RIPA houses the permanent secretariat of Association of State Training Institutions in India (ASTI) and drawing inspiration from an earlier ASTI study (Training Strategies for State Administrative Services Association of State Training Institutions in India, 1997), HCM RIPA wrote to all other State administrative training institutes (ATIs) in the country to find out how they were providing induction training to their state service officers in their state. Responses were received from 12 states. Training being provided in these 12 states including course content and syllabi for the same were examined and compared with the earlier existing training handbooks and syllabus for the Foundation Course in Rajasthan. Seven groups of serving and retired government officers, academicians and HCM RIPA faculty were constituted to look into what should be taught in a particular subject area. These groups met more than once. Since Principal Secretary Training cum Director HCM RIPA was at the same time also attending meetings of the IAS Syllabus Review Committee constituted by Government of India, and accordingly got to visit LBS National Academy of Administration Mussoorie and the Department of Personnel and Training Government of India, he could make available to the seven groups details of the existing foundation course training being imparted at LBS NAA to Central and All India Service officers, as well as information about many of the changes that were suggested by experts to the IAS Syllabus Review Committee.[2] Thus the seven groups not only had Rajasthan's own earlier Foundation Course, but that of LBSNAA for Central/ All India service officers, and the training courses in 12 other States as reference points while suggesting what should be included in the 15 week Foundation Course for State Service officers in Rajasthan. The recommendations of the seven groups were each got reviewed by a very senior IAS officer of Additional Chief Secretary or Principal Secretry to Government rank before the HCM RIPA Director and faculty made use of the recommendations to finalise the course.

As a result of the exercise as described above, the syllabus of the following seven subject streams was prepared afresh to serve as the academic inputs for the trainees of the Foundation course:

1. Administrative Environment
2. Economic Environment and Planning
   (a) National Economy (India)
   (b) Regional Economy (Rajasthan)

[2]Rakesh Hooja (ed.), Induction Training of the IAS Direct Recruits: Some Views, Association of State Training Institutions in India, 2006.

3. Management and Organisational Behaviour
   (a) Management
   (b) Organisational Behaviour
4. Development and Welfare Administration
   (a) Overview of Development Administration
   (b) Welfare Administration
   (c) Rural Development
   (d) Urban Development
   (e) Integrating Urban and Rural Development and Welfare and Development Administration
5. Office Procedure and Personnel Administration
6. Financial Management
7. Computer Appreciation and Application

The sessions for the various modules within each subject stream were planned out in detail with lectures, panel discussions, role play exercises, case studies, behavioural exercises and other participative methodologies of training being made use of.

It was also recognised that academic orientation or grounding by itself is not enough for the officers being newly inducted into the state services. As the course indicates. "The Foundation course will strengthen the foundation of knowledge, skills and positive attitudes that you (the Probationer, or officer trainee) need for your growth as a civil servant. Most importantly, it will inculcate in you a passion for constant growth of your personality-physical, mental, emotional, intellectual, aesthetic, moral, spiritual and professional, as also a passion for serving the people of the state effectively and compassionately with special emphasis on the welfare and uplift of the poorest of the poor.[3]" It further states that the Foundation Course aims to introduce the officer trainees to various aspects of the state administration and the social, political and economic environment in which they would be required to work. The course will also acquaint them with the basic tools and techniques of administration and management and develop awareness of the challenges and opportunities in public service. It will attempt to inculcate appropriate attitudes and values for a government servant. And finally, it aims at developing an a espirit de corps amongst officers that they are partners in the wider enterprise of public service for the development of the people and the state of Rajasthan.

Accordingly it was decided to make co-curricular and extra curricular activities part of the training and to assess and grade the probationers for

[3]Handbook for the Foundation Course for State Service Officers, 2006, (HCM RIPA Jaipur).

participation in physical exercises, sports, games, cultural activities, quizes debates, probationers magazine, public speaking etc. In addition every probationer had to contribute to a group syndicate work which examined in details a theme of contemporary significance, prepare the Syndicate Group report, and make a verbal presentation of the same. The probatiners were also made to write term papers and book reviews besides undertaking certain class room and hostel 'home' work exercises. Each probationer in groups of three or four was also sent for a week to a village, selected in consultation with various district Collectors, for a village study whose detailed report they have to prepare and present. All the above were also assessed as part of the course. A number of special lectures, and lecture demonstrations in the evenings, or on week ends, were also part of the 15 week Foundation Course.

INSTITUTIONAL-PROFESSIONAL COURSE

Earlier there was no uniformity regarding the institutional-professional training to be imparted to State Service Probationers following the Foundational Course. Only the institutional-professional courses for Rajasthan Police Service (RPS), Rajasthan Administrative Service (RAS) and Rajasthan Accounts Service (RAcS) were somewhat standardised. Now, as indicated above in the section related to training schema of the State services, certain minimum norms have been laid down for the institutional-professional courses which includes classroom training and on the job training through field or district level and state headquarters attachments.

The RAS, RPS, RAcS courses have been reviwed in detail with the help of groups of serving and retired government officers from various services, serving and retired academics, and faculty of HCM RIPA, as well as nominees of the respective cadre-controlling authorities.

For RAS and RAcS there would initially be 12 weeks of class room training including project work, case studies, management and organisational behaviour and general administrative knowledge related exercises and games, panel discussions, exercises based on practical problems and issues (including interpretation and application of Acts, Rules, government orders) which may confront the probationers once they receive substantial postings after training, sharing the experiences of serving or retired officers, undertaking simulation exercises, lectures, tutorial groups and the like. This would be followed by 36 weeks of field, district and state headquarters attachments, before the probationers return to HCM RIPA for four weeks of recepitulation of field training experiences, seminars on field related issues with existing

officers who are actually facing those issues in real life, and the conduct of course ending examinations. Thus the institutional professional course for these two services is of 52 weeks duration. The course for each of the two services has been designed in detail keeping in view the probationers needs for the first ten years of service after induction training.

The RPS requires a slightly different training, being a uniformed service. In their case practical training and outdoor subjects have a special professional significance. Thus Government has worked out a schedule of 89 weeks of institutional-professional training for the RPS.

While there are over 15 State Services (and an equal number of Subordinate Services) for which recruitment can be made by Rajasthan Public Service Commission through its common civil services exam, in the current year they have made recruitment to eight State level services – i.e., RAS, RAcS, RPS, Rajasthan Commercial Tax Service, Rajasthan Transport Service, Rajasthan Food and Civil Supplies, Rajasthan State Insurance Service and Rajasthan Devasthan Service. (Recruitment has also been made to four Subrodinate Services but they are not the subject of this article).

Three services have already been discussed in the prceeding paragraphs. For the remaining five State Services it has been worked out that the class room training period would be four weeks and the field, district and state headquarters attachments would be for 21 weeks and that in the end, after the attachments, the probationers would return to the institute for an end of course workshop and the course ending examinations. Thus the institutional-professional course for these services is of 26 weeks duration.

The end of course examinations for each service is to be preceded by a workshop specifically relevant for each particular service, i.e. how to be an effective Sub-Divisional Officer cum Magistrate, effective Deputy Superintendent of Police, effective Accounts Officer, effective District Supply Officer, effective Transport Officer, etc.

Compulsory In-Service Training

In March 2002 it was decided to introduce a scheme of compulsory refresher training for all senior and selection scale officers of the following 11 State Services RAS, RPS, RAcS, Rajasthan Cooperative Service, Rajasthan Industries Service, Rajasthan Jail Service, Rajasthan Transport Service, Rajasthan State Insurance Service, Rajasthan Employment Service, Rajasthan Food and Civil Supplies Service and Rajasthan Commercial Taxes Service. As per a circular issued by Chief Secretary Rajasthan, the Principal Secretray Training was authorised to nominate eligible officers from each of the specified State Services for such training and the concerned departments were directed to release such officers for the compulsory

training. Such a course is normally held about 10 times in a year. Each officer is given up to three chances to attend the course and if after three such nominations he fails to undergo the training it is to be deemed as misconduct under the civil service conduct rules and such officer becomes liable to face disciplinary action.

It was also decided that the Compulsory Refresher Training should comprise of a one week course on public policy encompassing the following themes; recent trends in economic and social development affecting government organisations; new public management in good governance; public policy formulation, concept and process; public policy advocacy; environment laws in India; WTO – issues and opportunities; privatisation and private sector participation in development; role of ICT in good governance; gender issues; role of NGOs; issues of liberalisation; privatisation and globalisation.

Over 700 State Services officers have so far undergone this compulsory course at HCM RIPA.

Towards a State Training Policy

So far we have been discussing measures being taken to make officers in various State Services of Rajasthan well trained, professionally competent, efficient, committed towards public service, and possessing appropriate work ethics and attitudes.

An exercise is also underway in Rajasthan to prepare a State Training Policy. Accordingly before ending this review of capacity building to ensure excellence amongst State Services Officers in Rajasthan, it is considered appropriate to set forth some views on what should be the approach and components of such a State Training Policy.

Naturally such a policy should aim at addressing today's comparatively fragmented and uncoordianted approach to training by adopting a strategic needs based, outcomes based and competency based well planned approach to training. Presently in many spheres of government low priority is being accorded to training resulting in lack of funding and inefficient management of training budgets. There is lack of an effective system of accreditation of external or private training providers for quality assurance and this results in overdependence on government training agencies. Thus quality improvement in government training institutes assumes great importance. The sufficient availability and quality of trainers is also a significant issue.

Cadre planning of every Service, every category of employees, and every government servant should be closely linked to planning of training. For this training plans need to be worked out in detail for each category of government servant in each department or agency – and this should then

lead to personal development plans and specially tailored training plans for each individual employee being worked out, and then implemented.

There is need to move from supply driven training programmes and input based courses based upon the views of the training providers about what would be good for trainers and accordingly pre-determined training programmes being offered, to a demand driven and outcome based approach of competency development which is trainee centred and need based in delivery and content.

Plans and programmes for training and capacity building must be closely linked to the broader plans for service delivery, institution building and transformation of the government departments and agencies.

The status of both training and trainers needs to be enhanced. Concepts of "training for all" government servants, "life long learning", and "once a trainer, always a trainer" need to be whole heartedly advocated.

While each government department already has a nodal officer for training or a training manager (atleast this is so in Rajasthan—and this was also advocated by the National Training Policy of 1995), each department needs to move a step further and to set up an administrative unit to look after and coordinate all aspects related to training with reference to the department. Some thrust areas of required training need to be worked out for each department and correspondingly training institutes need to be asked to develop competancies in those thrust areas. Thus training objectives need to be carefully determined and Training Needs Analysis (TNA) emphasised for all organisations.

All public training institutes need to reorient themselves into learning institutions.

Each government department/agency, including Public Sector Undertakings, (PSUs) need to prepare their own training visions and training mission statements for the department or agency and get five year training plans prepared. Similarly the various state training institutes need to work at training visions, mission statements and five year Plans for the institute that correspond to those of the government departments. In Rajasthan such coordination can be facilitated through the office of the Principal Secretary (Training), and through the HCM RIPA which is the apex training institute in the State, as well as through the Coodination Committee of State Level Training Institutes.

As already indicated, categorywise employee development plans and later individual personal development plans for each government servant should be prepared after taking look at current competancies of the staff, their work values, the professional outputs expected from the staff, need for development and enhancement of further competancies amongst staff

in view of their present competance and projected career paths. Accordingly individually tailored programmes need to be worked out for the development of the functionaries in terms of their training, further education (if required), and related support designed to enable the staff of acquire the relevant competancies to enable them to meet their work objectives with greater efficiency.

The office of the Principal Secretary Training (or comparable agency in States other than Rajasthan) should concentrate on anticipating future training needs, laying down standards for various training activities, evolving systems to accredit internal and external service providers, working out strategies to prepare and enhance capabilities of trainers, laying down standards of infrastructure and quality of training programmes for the State Level Training Institutes, liasioning with all government departments and agencies regarding training, and reviewing training vision documents and draft five year training action plans of each State level training institute and of each government department/agency to ensure quality and cost effectiveness of all training.

As sufficient funds need to be provided for training purposes, various government departments need to be categorised into groups for purposes of specifying various percentages of the budget of the departments which should be earmarked for training for each such group of departments.

Distance learning and e-learning opportunities are not being adequately made use of in public service training and capacity building, and this is one sphere which should now require special attention.

At least one longish stint, and, (and preferably two—one at the age 35 to 40 years and the second at the age 50 to 55 years;[4] in an institution of higher learning midway through one's career in government should be made a must. For this higher learning institutions would need to be specially re-oriented to provide the proper learning experience for such mature government servants.

Sharing and pooling of resources amongst training institutions within one State, and even across States, needs to be stepped up. Presently the Department of Training in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions Government of India has been helping in the sharing of training modules prepared by various agencies and institutes amongst all State ATIs across the country and in facilitating faculty development and training of trainers programmes across India. Reference has already been made to ASTI which enables sharing of information amongst its members. Recently

[4]Rakesh Hooja, "Globalisation 3.0 and Responding to It" *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. III, No. 2, April-June 2006.

the Government of India has sponsored the launch of a Network of Public Service Training Institutions.

The above are some ideas about issues that need to be dealt with in a State Training Policy. Many such matters are being discussed in the course of discussions on Rajasthan's State Training Policy whose formulation is presently underway. In fact the draft State Training Policy of Rajasthan states its vision as "Assisting Government Departments and Agencies to adopt practices geared at better governance and improved service delivery by empowering public officials to act as prime catalysts for holistic and equity based transformation". This writer found it interesting to compare the above with the mandate of a training and development institute as laid down in a document of the Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management (CAPAM) entitled In Pursuit of Excellence: Developing and Maintaining a High-Quality Public Service[5] which states that the ultimate objective is to build a high-quality public service. This objective, the CAPAM document articulated as capacity building: the task of building capacity to enable the public service to effectively serve government and implement government's agenda (be it developmental or otherwise), provide high-quality services, implement laws, and be deserving of the trust and respect of citizens.

CONCLUSION

This article has looked at the efforts of the State of Rajasthan at providing training to its State Service and gone into issues of what should constitute a State Training Policy (as different from a National Training Policy) because it is felt that, while improving the All India and Central Services is important, excellence in public service delivery in the country can only be achieved if the quality, efficiency and work ethics; the knowledge, skills and abilities as well as values of the State Service Officers in all States of the country can be enhanced.

[5]Report of a CAPAM High-Level seminar of Commonwealth Training and Development Institutes, Delhi, October 2005.

REFORMS AT STATE LEVEL AND BELOW: SOME VIEWS*

RAKESH HOOJA

The objective of administrative reforms is to enable the state and its governments to play its role(s) in a manner better than before. Such role can be as a regulator, or facilitator, or promoter, transformer, developmentary, arbitrational, defence and security-oriented, as service-provider, benefit-deliverer, welfare-oriented, growth-stimulator, and the like. The challenges being faced by the governments is to carry the results of reforms to the citizens at grassroots level. While policies, strategies, programmes, special schemes and projects are formulated at the Union level all implementations, monitoring and evaluation has to be undertaken at the state, district and local level.

INTRODUCTION

NOW-A-DAYS there is a tendency to emphasise the service delivery role of government where the citizen could be treated like the client or customer of a commercial organisation. Hence administrative reformers try look at procedural and structural changes for improved service delivery. This also suits those who feel that increased computerisation could be the main thrust of administrative reforms. This approach is most suited where a tangible public service is to be directly provided to a specific person or agency like for example an income certificate, or a driving license, or a ration card, a passport, an authenticated copy of land records, a loan or subsidy, medical facilities, provision of water, or of power, or local access to schooling.

*The views expressed herein are purely personal. However, the author is grateful to the Second Administrative Reforms Commission, Government of India for stimulating his thinking on the subject by involving him in workshops and other interactions on (1) Droughts and Administrative Reforms (2) Local Self Governments/Panchayati Raj Institutions (3) Effective Administration at the State/District levels.

Where the expected governmental output or outcome is more comprehensive and accordingly less tangible- like for example ensuring a peaceful law and order situation, or controlling rise in prices, or creating a climate favourable for inducing industrialisation, or a situation that encourages more quality research in our institutions of higher learning, or shaping the country's responses to the varied impacts of globalisation, or bringing about a second green revolution with emphasis on dry land farming to increase productivity and production on the part of our countless farmers, or ensuring food security, or preparing the country to meet the challenges emerging due to the demographic trends and related changes occurring in the country, or reducing regional disparities, or reducing inequalities and bringing about inclusive growth, or responding to global warming and climate change; then there is a need to go much beyond mere procedural changes or simple recourse to e-delivery, and to resort to the complex use of a combination of policy and implementational interventions as well as modifications in governmental structures and processes and the optimal use of governmental personnel who have undergone appropriate capacity building.

The Grassroots or Village Level

Let us start with the grassroots level. Traditionally we used to have the following functionaries of government at the village level; land revenue administration patwari, multi purpose Village Level Worker (VLW) or gram sevak, Village Extension Worker (VEW) of agriculture department, and school teacher. The VEW has disappeared over the years as emphasis on agriculture extension underwent change. This is unfortunate because the farmers have lost someone who could hold their hands and provide agriculture related advice. The VLW, who also doubles as gram panchayat secretary, gets involved in activities related to gram panchayats and panchayat samitis and in any case does not have any technical knowledge and thus cannot be involved beyond a point in agriculture, or animal husbandry, or rural development, extension related activities. Some other departments like women and child, or medical and health are also now having village level functionaries. But many departments do not have such personnel at the village level. Thus for many developmental activities of various departments, and particularly for special campaigns of state government (which may be multi-departmental or mono-departmental) the patwari, VLW and school teacher are roped in to perform tasks other than their basic or regular work- which thus naturally suffers. Various types of census (human, livestock, agricultural, industrial), election work, drought and famine relief or other disaster management work, protocol and bandobast work when officers, ministers; etc. visit villages (which is often), special government

campaigns related to education, health, water, employment generation, poverty alleviation, social awareness; etc.– the list each year can be endless. It is unfair to hope for good results if such extra tasks are added on to the regular duties of patwaris, VLWs, school teachers; etc. as they can then do justice to none of the tasks assigned to them. Thus many of the government departments should be provided their own village level staff, or alternatively a number of general purpose workers should be placed in each village with each such general purpose worker being assigned a group of government departments or sectoral activities to undertake. Any attempt, if at all, at down sizing government should exclude the grassroots or village level where our villagers are in need of greater local government intervention and resultant focus on grassroots implementation of government schemes. The tendency of government to sanction schemes and programmes without providing of necessary staff also needs to be checked.

The problem of diversion from basic duty to other tasks can also exist within a department. School teachers are being diverted from their basic teaching work into activities like construction of school buildings, involving parents and villagers in school issues, providing mid-day meals, helping manage the network of schools, literacy campaigns, etc, leaving the students suffer without teachers. Teachers often prefer the other tasks to having to actually teach in class. For example those assigned construction activities under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan soon realise that it is more convenient (and, if they succumb to the lure of corruption, more lucrative) to deal with junior engineers and contractors than to labour at teaching in class. Perhaps there is a need for having separate cadres of teachers and of education support staff to ensure that sufficient teachers are present in each class to interact with the students.

Some experiments in amending service rules to ensure that for first three to five years after recruitment the employee would have to serve in a rural area only, have proved encouraging–and this clause should be inserted into the service rules of each state or Subordinate service, or lower service in each state government.

Another significant problem is of absenteeism from workplace in rural areas due to commutation hassles as the employees tend to live in towns. Neither local elected panchayat representatives, nor the supervisory departmental staff at district or sub-district levels, are keen to try and check such absenteeism. Government then looks up to the district collector or sub divisional officer to check this. Some other alternate institutional measures need to be thought of for checking this problem.

Another issue at the grassroots is that many gram panchayats consist of more than one village. Thus the gram sabha and gram panchayat end up

concentrating on the problems of the headquarters villagers or of the sarpanch's home area. The Gram Sabha (normally sparsely attended) rarely has persons from the non-headquarters village attending. Smaller gram panchayats would not be desirable. Instead the ward sabhas and panchas need to be activated more.

Panchayat bodies resent the presence of various Community Based Organisations (CBOs) like watershed committee, water users association, joint forestry committee, self help groups, etc, or alternatively they want to control them if they exist. Such CBOs whether statutory, formal or informal, exist because of a felt need, and they possess much social capital. They often cover geographical areas whose boundaries differ from those of panchayats. They should be treated like a fourth tier of Indian Federalism (with the Panchayati Raj Institutions and municipalities being the third tier) and provided sufficient space to function. Government should encourage CBOs despite advocates of panchayati raj decrying them as "parallel bodies" and advocating their being disallowed.

The Sub-divisional Level

The Sub Divisional Officer and Magistrate (SDO or SDM) is responsible for law and order and land revenue administration (including revenue court work) and some other aspects of general administration in every state. Some states have formally assigned some additional tasks related to development, or civil supplies and the public distribution system, etc. to the SDO. However, almost everywhere the SDOs get pulled into coordinational work including that of rural development. The District Collector relies on the SDO for many things as state government departments normally involve SDOs in all major campaigns. The various census, elections, disaster and drought relief operations are carried out with the involvement of SDOs. The SDOs also head sub-divisional level public grievances committees which necessitate much chasing up of comments and replies about grievances received from the public. Some other committees meet at the sub-divisional level, and the SDO also has to attend a large number of district level meetings at the district headquarters. Only a few states have a tradition of a properly staffed sub-divisional office. In other states the SDO office normally only has few clerks in addition to the SDO himself. Thus the SDO is supposed to function with hardly any assistance. In fact the basic revenue court work and routine work of SDO always suffer due to the other work expected from the SDO. In some cases revenue courts of Assistant Collector and Magistrate (ACM) are created within the jurisdictional area of an SDO. But the ACMs report to the collector and district magistrate for administrative matters. The ACMs should be placed under the SDOs and each SDO also needs to be provided with an assisting officer, a sort of

additional SDO, to ensure that none of the official work required at the sub divisional level suffers.

The District Level

In view of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment there are those who hope that India is on the verge of evolving district governments. However many politicians MPs, MLAs, ministers, or otherwise) and bureaucrats/ technocrats are not enamoured of the idea of strengthening the PRIs. In any case this Amendment does not envisage the state governments surrendering all their powers or functions to the local bodies. On the contrary a large number of activities and functions would continue to be performed by the state government. It is expected that state governments and local bodies shall continue to have their own respective roles to play. Thus even many advocates of the need for district governments concede that state governments shall not easily yield significant powers to local bodies and that neither the PRIs taken together, nor municipal bodies, however large, can act as the district government. Many feel that urban/rural local bodies, MPs, MLAs and the district collectors, and the district level officers (DLOs) who report to their state government departments, may all have to be associated and involved if any workable district government model is to evolve. Many local functions are likely to continue to be performed by the district administration which is part of the state government's structure and which reports to the state government.

As regards the 29 subjects which are indicated in the 11th Schedule of the Constitution for state legislatures to consider transferring to PRIs, they are all such in nature that only part of each activity can be transferred and part needs to be retained by the state government. And of course, as already stated, other subjects are not expected to be transferred at all. While making any such transfers at the state level it needs to be clearly stated as to what would be the post-transfer role of the collector and of the DLOs who report to state government departments, and what would be the role of Zila Pramukh and Zila Parishad and of Pradhan and Panchayat Samiti. This unfortunately is not being done at present.

Under the 74th Amendment of the Constitution, the municipalities have been entrusted with more administrative and financial powers but the collector's role continues. Integrated Development of Small and Medium Town (IDSMT) scheme is being implemented under the supervision of the Collector who does not have any direct control over the staff of municipalities. The collector is often made chairman of the Urban Improvement Trust (UIT), though at other times political appointees of state government head the UITs.

In view of the present scenario, the collector's role and responsibilities need to be reviewed because both the state government and the people continue to expect much from the institution of Collector. The role and level of importance of the collector (also referred to as district magistrate or deputy commissioner in some states) varies from state to state. However, broadly speaking, despite variations from state to state, todays' Collector is directly responsible for, or has a coordinating function at the district level, in the following spheres (not listed as per order of importance): (*1*) public order, law and order and criminal administration, (*2*) land record administration and land revenue court work and land reforms, as well as land acquisition, (*3*) supervision of the district treasury, (*4*) civil supplies and public distribution, (*5*) protocol, (*6*) disaster management and drought relief, (*7*) district development and development planning, (*8*) conduct of elections on behalf of both Election Commission of India (MP/MLA) and State Election Commission (PRIs and municipal representatives), (*9*) urban and municipal affairs, (*10*) social welfare and social security, (*11*) industries, (*12*) agriculture, (*13*) cooperatives, (*14*) district planning and district statistics, (*15*) registration and stamps, (*16*) excise and commercial taxes and transport, (*17*) consumer affairs, (18) removal of public grievances, (*19*) conduct of census – human, livestock, agricultural, industrial, etc. (*20*) coordination with bankers, (*21*) supervision of jails, (*22*) supervision of prosecution staff, (*23*) MP/MLAs Local Area Development Programmes, (*24*) procurement of agriculture produce, (*25*) conduct of special campaigns, (*26*) arms licensing, (*27*) cinema licensing, (*28*) regulation of fairs and festivals, (*29*) public relations, (*30*) e-governance, (*31*) various miscellaneous or residual matters which can be grouped under a category of general administration. In some places Collectors are also being associated with health and education, or water management programmes. In the Rajasthan activities as per (16) are not being looked after by the Collector at present. However following the recommendations of a four day brainstorming Conclave on Good Governance in December 2006 a Group of Ministers has also recommended that coordination of activities as per (16) above be assigned to the Collector.

Public prosecution work in district and lower courts is far from satisfactory. For it to be revitalised and well managed, collectors would need to be asked to play a more pro-active role in this sphere.

The number of standing district level committees pertaining to various departments, programmes and schemes and activities which are headed by the collector are too numerous to list and more keep getting created. In Rajasthan there are, as per one estimate, more than 70 such committees with more being proposed by various departments. However despite some

attempts from time to time it has proved difficult for such committees to be reduced–perhaps by grouping some and abolishing others.

In fact the collector is the head of general administration as well as the agent and representative of the government in the district. Thus, to slightly modify what someone wrote in the mid 1960s with reference to the office of the collector in Uttar Pradesh, the collector still represents the coordinated or unified (if not integrated) administration in the district, is directly in touch with government departments in the state secretariat, is consulted by government in all controversial matters, has the resources of the revenue staff and district police at his disposal, has a faithful band of officers trained in the art of administration and subject to official discipline attached to him in the collecotrate, and has government's full support in coordinating the working of all DLOs of various departments and agencies.

The district is the point of convergence of government functionaries (DLOs) and of various schemes of various government departments.

Thus, if not the direct boss, the collector is certainly the captain of the team, supervising, funding, coordinating, interacting with, or controlling (as the case may be) various agencies and institutions to ensure that the district keeps functioning and developing in a satisfactory manner. Collectors are also being expected to arrange for public-private-community group partnership activities in the district (accordingly there is need for guidelines for such efforts to be provided to the collectors) and to review and coordinate public service delivery ventures of various government departments, including of the state IT and C department, as also to oversee the spread of IT in government at district and lower levels. For example in Rajasthan the collector coordinates at the district level, through a state wide E-Mitra Scheme, for delivery of numerous services through internet kiosks.

Many departments are inclined to set up district level agencies or societies under the collector, or special project implementation agencies, to implement or to coordinate and supervise activities petaining to their sectors.

It may be added that for the huge expectations from the collector, the collectorate that supports the collector is relatively small. One observer has been known to comment about "disorderly and ageing collectorates". A few officers (Additional and Assistant Collectors) and clerical staff man the various sections of the Collectorate. As the collector has to act as trouble-shooter for various state government departments, he requires to have a few relatively free officers to whom he can assign special tasks at will.

As far as role of district collector *vis-à-vis* state government is concerned, there should be a sharing of responsibilities between various levels of government and administration. The issues addressed or referred

by the collector to government from time to time should be given special and immediate consideration by government. Points raised in each Collector's monthly DOs to Chief Secretary should be monitored by the administrative reforms department at the state government level.

Collector being the representative of State Government, his control over the staff of whole district deserves to be strengthened. Though government has given some power to collector in the spheres of education (DPEP), health (NRHM) and literacy but it needs to be strengthened more and extended to more sectors.

Presently there is a lack of sufficient integration between crisis management and the famine relief measures during a drought and long-term drought prevention and mitigation measures (drought proofing through development schemes). This can best be attempted and achieved by the state disaster management and relief department through the Collector with of course some coordination being undertaken at the State Secretariat level.

A matching district famine relief fund needs to be created with the Collector managing it to facilitate public private partnerships involving contributions from local donors being matched by government's relief funds. Similarly a community drought fund could be created for each village to generate community contributions for local efforts. An NGO coordination committee for drought relief is required to be set up in each district. (The NGOs should not merely facilitate the involvement of the local community, but also raise funds, and provide knowledge inputs.) Knowledge resource centres (accessing, documenting and disseminating both traditional knowledge and relevant scientific, technological and modern knowledge) could be considered for each duster of villages, or for each panchayat samiti to help combat droughts. At the district level the apex body of such Knowledge Resource Centres should provide knowledge and skill-based solutions to the Collector who should head this apex body.

In the last couple of years fresh district planning guidelines have been issued by many states involving the gram panchayats, panchyat samities, zila parishads and the constitutional district planning committees in the district planning exercise.

At the end of the 2006 district planning exercise in Rajasthan it has been observed that there was low participation of people in Gram Sabha meetings, that the plans being thrown up are more like wish lists or shopping lists, that the DLOs were not clear well in time as to the budgetary grants and plan ceilings that would flow to the district under various government schemes, nor were they clear about the sectoral state level vision and therefore they could not contribute properly to preparation of district level sectoral visions or to the integrated district vision. There was insufficient

data to back up the plan proposals as well as lack of trained manpower at district and lower levels. However the biggest shortcoming of these district plans was that they were limited to activities to be carried out by PRIs. Activities to be carried out by the government, by the private sector, by NGOs and by community based organisations, etc. were not covered by these district plans. Even the Panchayat Samini and Zila Parishad had to limit itself to examining and compiling proposals coming up from the Gram Sabha.

It is felt that comprehensive district plans similar to the national plans prepared by the Planning Commission of India or the state plan prepared by State Planning Department should incorporate District Drought Proofing Plan, District Natural Resource Inventory and Plan, District Manpower Survey and Employment Plan including Self-employment Plan, District Livestock and Agriculture Plan, District Livelihoods and Food Security Plan, District Annual Credit Plan and Potential Linked Plan of Banking Sector, District Industrialisation and Mineral Development Plan, village wise infrastructure and facilities mapping for the District and planning of Growth Centres within each district. The district plan also needs to include a section on the raising of resources locally. In fact district planning should be seen as part of a continuum from Central/federal planning to state planning, too district planning to village planning.

Accordingly, at state level the state planning department should coordinate the entire district planning effort through a district planning division created within the state planning department for coordination with each district and with all state level departments. The state rural development and panchayati raj department could continue to, as at present, coordinate the limited planning of PRI activities within the overall framework of the comprehensive district plan being coordinated by State Planning Department. The district plan formulation group should be headed by the minister In-charge of the district with the collector and zilla pramukh as co-vice chairpersons. The district collector should continue to be the key officer for coordinating and formulation of district plans and for general overseeing of their implementation. The CPO's office at district level needs to be strengthened and a technical support group attached to it for more meaningful district planning. Repeated training and orientation in district planning is required not only of PRI/ULB functionaries, but also of all DLOs, all Collectors, all HODs and all Principal Secretaries/ Secretaries to the State Government. Locally available experts (may be retired personnel) may also be attached to each tier of PRI after appropriate training.

The Divisional Level

Some states do not have a system of divisional commissioners, others have such a system, while others first abolished divisional commissioners and then, a few years later, revived them. Unless a State is very small having very few districts, every State Government needs divisional level officers to help in effective coordination between state level and district administration. Most government departments also have regional level offices located at divisional headquarters.

The divisional commissioner can act as an experienced guide to the Collectors in times of crisis like law and order situations and natural/manmade disasters, etc. This reduces the need of administrative secretaries from state secretariat being assigned districts and being sent down to guide and supervise the Collectors.

The divisional commissioners are usually assigned some appellate court work and are often asked to conduct enquiries on behalf of state government. They coordinate working of district collectors within the division. The divisional commissioner is usually provided an additional commissioner and two or three other officers to assist him in his work.

The role of divisional commissioners as regards problems and projects cutting across more than one district needs to be enhanced. It would reduce the burden on state level heads of departments and administrative secretaries and enable better decision making and implementation within the Division.

The divisional commissioner could be associated with the state plan department in inter district regional planning and in the formulation of projects that span more than one district. Where a state has distinct agro-climatic or socio-cultural regions, the divisional commissioner can also be asked to double as desert development commissioner, or tribal commissioner or command area development commissioner (for a large irrigation command area's development) for the region.

While district level monitoring of government programmes is being undertaken, divisional or regional level monitoring of progress of each district within the division and of their joint impact is also likely to prove useful. In fact for larger states, the division could be a major monitoring unit not only for developmental matters but also for regulatory and non-plan activities.

With the state involved in a large number of litigations, all court cases in which the state is a party could be monitored at divisional level.

The State Level

The role of secretariat or administrative departments and of the executive department headed by an HOD (Head of Department-may be director, or commissioner, or chief engineer, etc.) should be clearly defined. This is necessary because otherwise senior secretariat officers tend to get swamped by routine work and do not get sufficient time for reflection about their

departments major issues and for policy formulation.

Secretariat departments should stick to policy making, in-principle approvals of major schemes/programmes, preparation and approval of annual budgets, audit related matters, inter-departmental matters, preparing notes for cabinet consideration and advising the minister-in charge of the department, some macro-monitoring and coordination of the implementation of policies and schemes, and cadre management and service-matters of the very senior officers. The executive department should concentrate on implementation of policies, programmes and schemes and related matters including detailing of the components and implementation schedules of specific projects, detailed monitoring of progress, supervising work of regional officers and DLOs, cadre management and service matters of middle level, junior and subordinate staff, etc. They should also provide technical support and feedback to the secretariat department.

Such a separation also implies that a tendency in some departments in some States to have a single file for dealing with a matter in both Secretariat department and in executive department should be dispensed with. Instead of a single file system, the secretariat department and the executive department should have their separate files with communications flowing between the secretariat department and its executive department. This should be supplemented by regular monthly or fortnightly meetings between the administrative principal secretary/Secretary and the HOD of the executive department.

Within secretariat departments, the minister-in-charge tend to concentrate powers in their own hands. This malady is also witnessed in the case of some principal secretary or secretaries. Standing orders issued for each secretariat department should clearly lay out which matters need to go to the minister or minister of state for decision and which to the principal secretary or secretary, or deputy secretary and so on. Thereafter this division/delegation of work should be strictly adhered to so that each person meets his responsibilities and thus matters which can be decided at a particular level need not be submitted to higher levels.

This would enable the higher levels in secretariat departments to devote more time and attention in formulating well thought out policies, or at examining draft schemes in greater detail. This would help to prevent ad-hocism, incrementalism and 'trial and error, or vagueness in policies and major schemes.

All government policies once framed should have a prescribed maximum time-frame at the end of which they should automatically lapse, unless consciously renewed with or without modifications, and should be replaced by a freshly formulated policy. This calls for Secretariat departments being

able to devote sufficient attention to such work.

Over a period of time many departments have been created, merged, split, or abolished due to various reasons-not all rational. Every five to seven years there should be a reorganisation of Secretariat departments (and correspondingly of executive departments). This would ensure that departments with related activities and objectives could be grouped together. Also in many cases the very rationale of a department may have undergone change. For example the employment department used to concentrate only on government jobs through its employment exchanges. Now there is a need to refocus totally on non-governmental jobs and to see how employability (or self employability) of individual citizen can be enhanced through employment facilitation centres. Thus in many cases the work of the department may need to periodically undergo fundamental change.

Secretariat manuals seldom get updated. This is also true of departmental manuals of various executive departments which either have never been drafted, or may have become terribly out of date. A system of five yearly review and updating needs to be put into place. Standard operating procedures, check lists, standard formats, systems of file movements; etc - many things can be prescribed in the manual which would enable quick processing of matters.

There is a tendency to consider appeals, revisions, reviews repeatedly in respect of matters which have already been decided according to laws and rules. This encourages persons whose cases have been correctly turned down after due investigation, examination, and consideration, to repeatedly keep representing the same matter to various authorities in the hope that upon fresh examination the case may get cleared at some level. This chokes or clogs up the administration. Measures need to be devised and put into place to check this trend.

To improve inter-departmental coordination within State Secretariats the old system of State Level Planning and Coordination Committees (SLPCCs) for coordination of inter-departmental issues and other measures to prevent delays in implementation of plan programmes needs to be revitalised. The State Secretariat departments could be grouped into about 15 such SLPCCs where Principal Secretaries/Secretaries and HODs (as well as heads of State Public Enterprises) of the departments concerned with the particular SLPCC meet at least once a quarter with the CS and ACS concerned as well as with representation of the referral departments (Finance, Planning, Personnel, Law; etc) to review overall progress and to sort out specific issues. The Secretary Plan is Member Secretary of each SLPCC.

The system of committee of secretaries followed in the Central Government to go into specific issues, could also be emulated in the state governments.

Activities under Plan, Non-Plan and from other sources of funding should be planned for by state government departments in an integrated manner. Instead of budgeted funds remaining unspent at the end of the financial year lapsing, arrangements should be evolved that permit for a two year planning and budgeting cycle before approved funds lapse.

The State Plan department, which is already quite strong in many States, should be further vitalised and strengthened. It should comprise of separate divisions for (*i*) policy and perspective planning (*ii*) district planning (*iii*) an operations division to deal with day to day planning decisions, issues related to formulation and implementation of annual plan, inter-departmental coordination, and the various Secretariat department's Plan related files referred on a regular basis to Plan Department (*vi*) statistics, monitoring and evaluation, and (*v*) cadre control of State services like State Economics and Statistics Service which are under the direct control of state plan department. The state plan department also needs to work as the development related think tank of the state government.

Some states have state planning boards, in other case such Boards may have existed earlier but have been allowed to become defunct. Others perhaps never created a state planning board. With a strong state plan department in the state secretariat, there is no need for a separate state planning board. If at all a state planning advisory council could be created by each state government.

Each secretariat department's planning capacity should be enhanced. Compact policy and planning cells working under the supervision of Secretary, Special Secretary or Deputy Secretary should exist in each Secretariat department with links to certain expert in government or in semi-government agencies. A senior officer from State Economics and Statistics Service should invariably be provided in each Secretariat department to act as a sort of planning advisor.

In fact the state economics and Statistics Service should be renamed as the state planning, Economics and Statistics Service to give a message to the members of the service that their role cannot remain limited to statistical monitoring as it used to be in the decades immediately after independence was achieved.

Similarly the state accounts service should be renamed as State financial management service to provide a much needed indication to its members that maintenance of accounts and looking into audit matters is but a small part of the functions that they are expected to now perform in the contemporary situation.

The state finance department should not be the only one seen as having the sole responsibility for optimal and efficacious financial management. Each secretariat department should be expected to contribute significantly

in this aspect.

Budgeting and internal audit should be driven by the principal secretary/ secretary of each secretariat Department. Internal audit needs to be upgraded and strengthened so that it helps in the achievement of budget goals of each department and should not restrict itself to a negative procedural post-mortem. For this, internal audit parties should be attached to various secretariat departments (or groups of such departments) so that they can develop an understanding of the departments' vision, goals and ethos. If internal audit parties work under the centralised control of the finance department, as at present, then naturally their focus is likely to remain only on detecting procedural lapses.

In fact the present financial management system does not encourage risk taking, innovation and flexibility.

As regards budgeting, presently there is a system of Budget Finalisation Committees (BFCs) held once a year by the finance department with each secretariat department, with the HOD of the executive department also represented in the BFC. Such BFCs are held separately for non-plan budgets and separately for plan budgets, where the state plan department is also represented. Each round of annual non-plan BFCs and of plan BFCs are held within a span of five to seven days each where each department gets at most a couple of hours to discuss its budget proposals in the BFC. Thus, while broad parameters get decided, in many cases details are left to be decided subsequently on file. Thereafter throughout the year individual Secretariat departments keep referring individual case files to the state finance department and for Plan related matters to both state plan department and state finance department.

Till such time as state finance department decides to delegate powers to financial advisors, the secretariat departments needs access to financial advice. Thus relevant senior officers of state financial management service or state accounts service should be oriented to develop capabilities of providing financial advice to the secretariat departments and should then be placed in various departments.

On the expenditure front delegations of powers have been made to HODs and other officials at regional/district levels. The secretariat department should avoid any tendencies of encroaching in matters where powers of expenditure, procurements, works, etc, have been delegated.

As regards personnel related matters all regular appointments should be through the State Public Service Commission (PSCs) – mostly on a statewide basis but for lower subordinate service and clerical purposes the State PSC should make division-wise recruitments.

By and large recruitment should be to state services or to subordinate

service since most departments have a number of common department-specific functions to be performed across the state and the state or subordinate service of the department enables its members to pick up domain knowledge specific to its department's needs through experience and training. But departments also have a need for specialised expertise which normally may not be available within the state service/subordinate service cadre and for which an isolated post or a very small number of isolated posts may need to be created. Such special needs may also be only for a finite, and not very long, period. To meet such needs there should be provision for limited lateral entry to such specialised posts at various levels on fixed period contract basis. Such contract hiring cannot be made a part of service rules. In fact it would come under the category of procurement of contract service under the general finance and account rules.

There is a need for review, modification and updation of outdated service rules and for updating of academic requirements, special skills and subject experience prescribed for purposes of recruitment.

For proper cadre management of each state or subordinate service regular annual recruitment through the state PSC should be ensured.

The number of permissible attempts for recruitment for any service should be two, relaxable to three for certain categories. If the maximum number of attempts is so fixed, then there may be no need to prescribe an outer age limit for recruitments to government.

The point about the service rules providing for fixed number of years after recruitment which mandatorily need to be served in rural areas has been made earlier in this paper. It should be linked to be provision of certain amenities (transit hostels, officers/subordinates clubs, mess facilities, health, education, etc.) in remote and undeveloped rural areas in a manner similar to what is done for the army.

A state level training policy and department level training policies covering attitudes, skills, knowledge and behaviour of government servants are a must to cater to induction training (which in most state government cadres tends to be reasonably long with field training components being included) and compulsory as well as non-compulsory in-service training and the encouragement to picking up relevant academic qualifications while in service. Such a state training policy should also specify the training needs of each category of jobs in each department, and steps required to strengthen all departmental training institutes and particularly the apex level State Administrative Training Institute (ATI) to meet lifelong training needs of government employees. Successful completion of trainings should have a bearing on whether an employee is found fit for promotion.

Transfer policies are desirable – though most government departments

are prone to making large scale exceptions and to deviating from such transfer policies, and employees encourage such deviations.

Job security can help government functionaries to resist senior officers or politicians and peoples representatives who may try to pressurise them for undertaking illegal, and incorrect acts or those which go against the rules.

Redressal of employees grievances need to be highly systematic and be provided emphasis – otherwise the bulk of the senior officers time goes in administrative action on dealing with countless court cases related to court matters of aggrieved employees.

Citizens charters need to be prepared and regularly updated for each executive department and for its regional, district and field offices where service standards for various departmental functions are laid down. These citizens charters need to be well publicised so that citizens dealing with that department become aware of the service delivery standards laid down in the citizens charter. If the charter is not being followed in both letter and spirit, then authorities should be designated whom the citizens can approach, and there should be provision for personnel erring in this regard to be pulled up.

Preparation and implementation of citizens charters should be linked to something like the character-mark scheme of United Kingdom. Certain reasonably high standards of adherence to the citizens charter in actual practice need to bet set. Any agency, institution or department which meets the standard should be awarded charter mark giving it the right to display charter mark logo in its office sign boards, its employees the right to use the character mark logo on their letter heads and to proudly proclaim that they work in a charter mark agency. Charter mark agencies should be publicised and honored. However each year a fresh assessment should be made and an agency that fails to maintain its standards should be dropped from the charter mark list. Only those agencies which meet the high standards should remain on the charter mark list for a year at a time. If they continue meeting the standards then their charter mark should be renewed. Government of India has come out with a '*Servottam*' scheme which is similar. Each state government should evolve its own version of the scheme.

Redressal of public grievances is something which every state government lays great stress upon. Extremely large numbers of public grievances are received in government partly because, as already mentioned earlier in the paper, persons whose petitions have been turned down as per norms and which do not deserve to be accepted or even entertained, continue to represent on the same matter again and again at various levels in various forums. Of course a large number of genuine grievances of government employees are submitted as public grievances. A third reason is that many

service matters related grievances of government employees are submitted as public grievances which they are not.

State governments are naturally very concerned about public grievances, since dissatisfied citizens translates into possible loss of votes in the subsequent elections. A large number of, at times overlapping, forums have sprung up at state, departmental, district, sub-divisional, etc, levels to receive and to monitor progress upon public grievances received. Every collector in every district has evolved his or her own methodology of monitoring public grievances. In fact at times it appears that monitoring the movement of public grievances petitions has become more important than the actual examining, dealing and acting upon such a petition. Review of public grievances is also carried out at chief secretary and chief minister level, and thus automatically is given great importance by the principal secretaries/ secretaries, HODs, divisional commissioners, district collectors, etc. Most state governments have a separate secretariat department for administrative reforms and redressal of public grievances.

Afterword

Some ideas about administrative reform required at state government level and below in India have been set forth in this article.

Before concluding, this commentator would like harp back to the report on State Administration of the first Administrative Reforms Commission which came out in 1969. Among other things it advocated that ministers should not intervene in the day-to-day administration except in cases of grave injustice, serious default or maladministration on the part of civil servants. Where a citizen's request or complaint calls for revision of a rule, procedure or policy, it should be made by effecting such revision and not by relaxing the rule to accommodate an individual case. All major decisions should with reasons therefore be briefly reduced to writing, particularly where government is not clear or where some important departure is involved or where the minister differs from the Secretary on an important issue. Advocating harmonious minister–Secretary relations the ARC report of 1969 had also hinted that civil servants should not try to keep thwarting the wishes of the minister in each and every case (a tendency which may perhaps have been more marked in 1969 than today), nor should civil servants be extra keen to meet and pursue all wishes of ministers even if they are against the norms and rules or laws (a tendency that has perhaps increased since then).

The above norms are likely to prove useful not only in the case of minister–civil servant relations, but also in the case of senior–subordinate relations within the civil services.

CAPACITY BUILDING FOR RAJASTHAN'S PANCHAYAT REPRESENTATIVES AND FUNCTIONARIES: WHAT THE TRAINING EFFORTS SHOULD COVER

RAKESH HOOJA

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment has also heightened the expectations from decentralisation of democratic institution at the grassroots. Many representatives elected to these bodies require training in the basic skills of developmental planning. Same is the case with state functionaries who have to familiarise themselves with the decentralised planning and implementation. This article discusses the desired content of training programmes for the elected representatives as well as panchayat officials. It emphasises that the training approach should keep in mind the impact of specific customs, traditions and conventions of the people whom it intends to train.

INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD round of panchayat elections to the post-Constitution Amendment of panchayat bodies in Rajasthan were held in 2005. Within three months of the elections to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) a round of training for all the newly elected PRI representatives along with their key official counterparts was provided in a campaign mode spread over 75 days from April to June 2005. The joint orientation training campaign covering representatives from ward panchas to Zila *Parmukhs* on the one hand and Gram Sewaks, Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of Zila Parishad on the other included about 1,000 camps held at the district, block and sub-block levels. A total of 1.25 lakh persons were exposed to training inputs.

Threafter PRI Refresher Training Campaigns were planned for 2006 with one round covering elected representatives of reserved category (especially SC, ST and women) and a second round covering all PRI leaders

and key officials. The refresher courses were primarily planned out as one or two day sessions.

It would be appropriate to take a look at what is being covered in the capacity building efforts for panchayati raj and whether the scope of training inputs in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudinal change inducing efforts should be enlarged.

The Planning Commission Working Group on Decentralised Planning and PRIs for the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) had suggested that the scope of training for Panchayati Raj functionaries (both elected representatives or "non-officials" and the officials attached to Panchayati Raj Institutions - or PRIs) should include training about the following:

1. Duties and responsibilities and powers and authority of PRIs.
2. Financial management—resource mobilisation, accounting, auditing etc.
3. Social issues—reproductive health, child development, environental issues, human rights etc.
4. Constitutional provisions, concerned acts, rules and regulations, development schemes etc.
5. Training content should also include how to work in a group, building *e-spirit-de-corps*, developing leadership skills, decision-making acumen, motivation and morale building etc.
6. Self-governance, social justice and ethics in public affairs.
7. Training can be organised under the following heads for Panchayats and municipalities:
   (*a*) Participatory Poverty Assessment
   (*b*) Participatory Vulnerability Mapping
   (*c*) Participatory Resource Planning
   (*d*) Participatory assessment and action related to education, health and infrastructure.
   (*e*) Participatory Heritage Mapping.
8. Training content should aim at linking training interventions to development programmes.
9. Emerging areas like Natural Disaster Management, micro-level planning etc. should also be included in training programmes.
10. Gender Sensitisation.

The Working Group also suggests that training programmes for panchayati raj related functionaries should concentrate on providing basic skills of planning to the rural population and that the training must focus on the significance of preparing people for proper planning for socio-economic development in the light of the area where they live. Further, it has been

suggested that the training approach should keep in mind the impact of specific customs, traditions and conventions of the people whom it is intended to train. The Working Group also asserts that such training for panchayat functionaries cannot be a one time effort, but has to be a continuous process.

Later in this article it is intended to examine to what extent the training document *Panchayati Raj Prashikshan Sandarbh Samgree* (Panchayati Raj Training Reference Material) of *Indira Gandhi Panchayati Raj Evam Gramin Vikas Sansthan* (IGPRS which is the recognised State Institute for Rural Development in Rajasthan) prepared for the Panchayati Raj Capacity Development Campaign 2005 of Rajasthan referred to at the beginning of the article, corresponds to the above mentioned recommendations of the Planning Commission Working Group.

However, before that, it is intended to take a look at the need for the largescale and modified panchayat training that has become necessary after the 73rd Constitutional Amendment in the light of the expectations from decentralisation through PRIs. In fact, since the scope and nature of training would depend upon the expectations that society has from the panchayati raj system as a whole this article shall, after indicating some impacts of the Constitutional Amendment upon training, go into a brief discussion on the various views about the multifarious objectives of panchayati raj, i.e., what people expect 'can be achieved (or not achieved) through panchayati raj including some expectations that may prove to be Utopian. Accordingly, the article tries to analyse the desired content of training programmes for the elected representatives as well as panchayat officials, as also the need to impart such training in a manner that is easily comprehensible to the trainees who come from rural backgrounds and many of whom may even be illiterate.

TRAINING IMPACT OF 73RD CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Following the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, the Government of India has been sponsoring a large number of orientation training courses for the elected representatives of panchayati raj as also for functionaries of the PR institutions. The number of persons requiring training has also gone up. For example in Rajasthan before the Amendment about fifty to sixty thousand panchas (or members of gram panchayat) used to be elected and they chose their sarpanch who automatically became a member of the panchayat samiti. The pradhan elected by the sarpanchas-cum-members-panchayat samiti automatically became a member of the zilla parishad for electing the zilla pramukh. If we add coopted members, members of gram sahakari samiti who automatically used to become members of gram panchayat and

MLAs and MPs who were also members of panchayat bodies, then also the total of non-officials in panchayat bodies did not go up significantly. After the Constitutional Amendment the members of zila parishad (997 in 1995 which went up to 1008 in 2000) are separate from the pradhans of the panchayat samiti (237), the members of panchayat samiti (5257) are different from Sarpanchs (9185 in 1995 which went up to 9186 in 2000) and the number of ward panchas has gone up to over 1,00,000. The total number of elected PR representatives in Rajasthan is thus almost 1,20,000. Thus, the number of first time electees has gone up because in addition to the earlier reservation for the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST), reservation has been added for women and for other backward classes and the reserved constituencies change from one election to another. In fact 33,566 women were elected out of a total of 119,419 elected non-officials in Rajasthan's 1995 PR elections which went up to 40,543 women out of 120,555 by the time of the 2000 PR elections in the state.

The larger number of persons elected to panchayat bodies for the first time automatically means that their training requirements are different from, and greater than for those who have earlier held elected office in the panchayati raj bodies. This is because their knowledge and earlier experiences, as well as current expectations from panchayati raj, would be different. The large total numbers as well as greater first time electees also increases the likely number of untrained elected non-officials requiring training. Further, the reserved seats changes after the term of those elected ends—a women's seat may become a seat for an ST or an SC seat may become a general seat, and so on. Thus, the system would ensure that many persons presently elected would be ineligible to seek reelection from the same seat once their term ends. Accordingly, each election will now automatically throw up a batch consisting of a large proportion of newly elected representatives. Thus, large scale training (including training for the large number of people elected for the first time) would have to become a regular feature between each election. In Rajasthan during 2003-2004 out of 18,372 elected sarpanches and appointed gram sevaks approximately 17,000 sarpanches and gram sevaks underwent one week residential training by December 2003 and about 63,000 ward panchas out of 1,05,000 ward panches underwent one day orientation camp training. While arrangements had been made for cent percent training, about five per cent absenteeism occurred in the case of sarpanches and gram sevaks and 40 per cent absenteeism in the case of ward panchas. In addition gram sevaks were provided refresher training, and in two rounds of centralised training 38,000 and then 30,000 elected women representatives were trained in the same period. In addition three day and one week institutional and thematic courses

for Zila Pramukhs. Chief Executive Officers Zila Parishad, Panchayat Samiti Pradhan's and Vikas Adhikaris (Block Development Officers), Panchayat Extension Officers and accounts and engineering staff of Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads were also organised. Mention has already been made at the beginning of this article about the training imparted in 2005 and that planned for 2006. The three day and one week institutional and thematic courses have also been planned for 2006-07 along with two week condensed foundation courses for persons being appointed as BDO for the first time.

The fact that at each level, the PR body is now much larger than in the pre-amendment era, as also the breaking of the earlier organic link between each level of PR (though each state can, and many states like Rajasthan have, made the gram panchayat's sarpanch and panchayat samiti's pradhan, respectively, a member of the next higher body) has changed the internal dynamics of the functioning of the panchayat body at each level. The debating aspect in each body may now far outweigh the executive tasks which would shift much more to standing committees of the particular panchayat body. This also has an effect on the type of training required by the elected representatives as well as by other functionaries who have to work in these changed circumstances.

Expectations from Panchayati Raj and Decentralisation

Decentralisation through PR institutions can, according to Amitav Mukherjee, be seen as a means to increase popular participation, to improve development efforts (improved management of programmes), and as a means to bring about a dimunition of secessionist tendencies. Das has suggested .the enabling of (*i*) strengthening autonomous local self-government institutions; (*ii*) each local village cluster to meet their own perceptions of needs through locally optimal arrangements rather than through some minimum standard of meeting needs to be uniformly applied; and (*iii*) greater adaptability, as objectives of such decentralisation. For V.M. Rao the expectation is that such decentralisation would enable (*a*) bringing the peripheral groups of the poor and disadvantaged within the mainstream of economic processes, (*b*) the stable and dependable provision on an adequate scale of relief and supply of minimum needs to the poor and disadvantaged (*c*) planning to effectively cover resources of local level significance and the specially dispersed economic activities carried out on a small scale at the household and village level, (*d*) the promotion among the people of a feeling of motivation, self-help, local level leadership and an active role in strategic and planning decisions. ESCAP/APDI Expert Group (quoted in FAO 1985) saw it as a means to a close partnership between government and the rural population, on organising and coordinating the higher echelons of administration, paying special attention to programmes

aimed at the rural poor, and to decentralising the process of development.

The advantages of decentralisation can be summarised as follows:

a. Greater people's participation;

b. Improved quality of development efforts and improved management of programmes;

c. Provision of resources and programmes for each area and for different groups inhabiting the area on the basis of an assessment of the specific area's problems, resources and potentialities;

d. Spatial planning (including the need for relaxation of uniform norms related to distance or population thresholds) for provision of services and facilities in specific areas;

e. Use of locational theory and rural growth centre or central place planning and centrality scoring techniques;

f. Greater feeling of involvement in the planning effort on the part both of lower level functionaries and of the local people.

g. Strengthening of local government bodies;

h. Locally optimal arrangement for each cluster of villages, or people within a village, to meet their own perceptions of their needs rather than through uniform standards prescribed in a uniform manner for the entire country, or state, as a whole;

i. Better consideration of available local level resources or of the lack of and need for the same, and of local problems, than would be possible through planning at higher levels;

j. Greater mobilisation of resources at the local level;

k. Evolution of participatory mechanisms to promote local level leadership, habits of self-help, motivation and willingness to undertake local plan formulation and implementation.

l. Creating a psychology for development and change at local levels:

m. Reduction in regional disparities;

n. Meeting of basic needs of the people in a better manner which could help to bring into the mainstream peripheral groups and the poor and deprived;

o. Better partnership may be achieved between the people and development agencies;

p. Small mini-projects may be individually planned for using project approach based analysis at the local or district level which may not be possible at higher levels where only generalised guidelines can be framed for particular types of small schemes;

q. Successful mix of project planning and participatory planning may prove easier at levels closer to the grassroots;

r. Local social or physical barriers not always apparent on maps can

only be considered while planning locally and not during state or higher level plan exercises;

s. Integrated and comprehensive multi-sector planning may prove easier at lower levels, while at higher levels mono-sector planning or sectorally segmented planning subsequently compiled, as is being done at present, may have to be resorted to.

International development experts and aid donors appear to have some additional expectations from decentralisation. However, following a cross-country study, Crook and Manor (1994) have indicated that many of these expectations are misplaced and unlikely to be achieved. They indicate that not much can be expected in terms of planning from below through elected local councils like panchayats because of (*a*) lack of administrative capacity and of trained manpower, (*b*) lack of information base (no inventory of capital resources, no assessment of local economy, inadequate statistical base), (*c*) a short term outlook and the liking of local politicians for keeping their list of projects open-ended and flexible at all times leading to ad hoc decisions and processes being followed, (*d*) grants from higher authorities are heavily earmarked, (*e*) decentralised planners have no control over resources, (*f*) higher authorities have little interest in decentralised planning. Similarly not much local mobilisation of resources is likely because (*a*) in impoverished areas the amount of mobilisable resources may be limited, (*b*) elected councillors hesitate to impose taxes-local elites are reluctant to tax themselves, (*c*) local people are cynical about what local councils may do with locally raised resources and the existence of under-resourced local authorities may deepen the popular cynicism, (*d*) locally raised resources are inadequate for any project but the most modest development or service provision. Hence unless major Central/State Government financial support flows in on a continuous basis, local persons may not be inclined to add their meagre locally raised resources to the available pool. Decentralisation is unlikely to reduce Central/State Government expenditure because (*i*) decentralisation is bound to entail significant starting up costs, (*ii*) decentralisation by definition involves larger number of staff and more costs on travel and honoraria etc., (*iii*) decentralised bodies need to be provided with large amounts of resources to take up activities which would win them the confidence of the people, (*iv*) for adequate monitoring a decentralised system requires a large monitoring bureaucracy.

Further Crook and Manor suggest that tasks which Central/State Government try to get rid of by devolving responsibility upon local councils are not likely to be performed adequately because of (*a*) insufficient resources, (*b*) incapacity of the local bureaucracy, (*c*) disinclination of elected local bodies to tackle any of the tasks particularly if they do not

entail construction of physical assets. (Unfortunately many in local areas wrongly equate development with construction work, a mind-set which training for panchayati raj is, consciously trying to correct). They further suggest that decentralisation will do little or nothing directly to benefit vulnerable groups or to alleviate poverty because (*a*) decentralisation empowers local and intermediate areas in which parochially minded local elites exercise dominance, or national level elites build local power bases, (*b*) the personalisation of power relations is more intense at intermediate or local levels. Accordingly, governments may be well advised to insulate programmes aimed at aiding the vulnerable or at alleviating poverty from decentralised planning and implementation. Democratic decentralisation is not likely to help much in terms of community participation because (*a*) the local councils are supra-local in character and have different interests from those of village communiues and attempts at mobilisation may cause these differing interests to come into conflict, (*b*) elections to local bodies tend to create divisions within or between local communities, (*c*) local socio-economic structures permit inequalities which allow elites to dominate and this weighs against community participation, (*d*) it is extremely difficult to combine the roles of community delegate/development animator with that of district-level politician and manager of district resources. Decentralisation cannot be expected to reduce absenteeism among public employees or to increase their work rate when they are on the job. Crook and Manor also indicate that decentralisation inflates popular expectations much beyond what can be satisfied by local councils; that people fail to understand the limitation of what decentralised or local bodies, or even local government can achieve; and that greater transparency made possible by decentralisation makes corruption more visible (and there may also occur decentralisation of corruption)—leading to a mood of popular exasperation even when corruption may actually have declined.

Despite highlighting many problem areas regarding decentralisation Crook and Manor feel that decentralisation has, especially in their Indian case study area (the state of Karnataka), positively influenced the way the the state and society interact and the popular perception of this—mainly for the better—in several ways. A similar situation has also been experienced in the state of Rajasthan, i.e. despite the likely problems of the sort indicated by Crook and Manor, the possible expected advantages of decentralisation are likely to be achieved through PR to a significant extent within a multi-level framework.

Case for Training of Elected Representatives

We have been looking at the expectations from PR and apprehensions of failure or problems of PR from the point of view of working out what

sort of skills and knowledge should be emphasised in training for panchayat officials and non-officials.

As regards training to reorient the thinking of elected PR leaders to empathise more with the poor and deprived, or for example to forego secessionist thinking where it already exists, or for attitudes like those which emphasise self-help—this may have to be attempted carefully because changing of attitudes is not easy and also because state sponsored training may not be capable of bringing about such attitudinal change. Also such training may run the risk of becoming a part of party based or ideological indoctrination, which perhaps should not be encouraged.

What may be more relevant and more likely to meet with success is to impart skills related to planning and implementation with perhaps some psychological orientation about team work, group decision-making, developing better leadership qualities, and interactions within meetings of large groups, etc.

As regards planning, unlike the elected non-officials' expectations which seem to be concentrated only upon use of sanctioning powers for government funds and what may more correctly be called governmental development budgeting rather than planning, comprehensive planning for the entire local area (district, panchayat samiti, or village) including all governmental and private activity had been advocated since long. This is similar to the views of Gadgil and V.K.R.V Rao and the Constitutional Amendment which calls for preparation of plans for economic development and social justice.

Knowledge and Skills, Required for Decentralised Planning

Accordingly, the skills and knowledge that are likely to prove relevant for decentralised planning and should be imparted to those who have to operate panchayati raj are Knowledge of: *a.* the area's needs, potentials, resources and resource gaps, *b.* state and national goals, plans, schemes and resource flows, *c.* Responsiveness to people's needs and knowledge of their aspirations, *d.* participatory planning and local mobilisation techniques, *e.*how the government administrative system and the existing market system works in the region/ area *f.* Planning and project-planning expertise, *g.* Area and spatial planning knowledge and concepts, and *h.* some knowledge of various disciplines and technical subjects having a bearing on development (i.e. basic knowledge regarding agriculture, animal husbandry, civil engineering, rural industries, health and education management and similar subjects), *i.* how to combine the above and prepare integrated and comprehensive plans based on a broad vision, and *j.*examples of successes and failures of decentralised planning and implementation elsewhere and of the reasons for such success or failure.

Such knowledge would not be available with any single individual even at the highest policy level in the country. However, teams of local administrators, people's representatives etc. could be built up gradually to develop a feel and understanding for each of the above points. For that at least initially attempts should be made to impart training not only to district and block level planners (including the elected Panchayati Raj representatives) but also to relevant state level planners in:

1. Identifying locally felt-needs (as well as aspirations, which may match neither the needs nor the available resources) and mobilising the local people to ensure people's participation and participatory planning;
2. Project/ Scheme identification;
3. The project approach and basics of project planning;
4. Area and spatial as well as locational planning and concepts like growth centre planning;
5. Integrating and compiling different aspects of plan proposals and proposals regarding various schemes/projects into a coherent district or local area plan;
6. Interacting with state government planning cells and various state government planning departments and their district level staff;
7. Interacting with (and amongst) the large sized panchayat bodies that have come into existence as a result of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment;
8. National and state level planning goals;
9. Sources of, and ways to gain access to, data available at national and state levels which could prove useful for decentralised planning; and
10. Now-a-days some knowledge in the use of computers could also be imparted as their use could make planning exercises much easier.

Having worked as guest faculty at training courses for panchayat non-officials (elected representatives) and officials both before and after the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, this author knows that the basic approach pertaining to all suggestions being made in this section can be appreciated and understood by most panchayat representatives, who do not need to learn the sophisticated techniques which the qualified experts can make use of for them when necessary. And if the PRI non-officials can understand the basic approaches then they would be sufficiently empowered to make use of the planning tools by guiding the experts or making their own rough and ready assessments.

For identification of the local needs and aspirations the techniques like problem-free analysis, or problem-matrix analysis on the one hand and rapid

rural appraisal (RRA) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA) on the other need to be taught. Of course as regards motivation of the populace there is no simple formula or technique that could be taught.

Project Identification and Local Planning

As regards project identification it could be suggested to the potential decentralised planners that new project/scheme ideas can come to them from either analytical or non-analytical sources like the following:

Analytical sources

1. Resource analysis of areas and households
2. Needs analysis
3. Demand analysis
4. Market analysis
5. Rapid rural appraisal
6. Social mapping/ cultural inventories
7. Diagnostic and strategy exercises
8. Brainstorming
9. Survey of literature
10. Project/ identification missions or groups
11. The reports of census related to population, agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, etc. conducted at regular intervals.

Non-analytical sources

1. Political directions
2. Political pressures
3. Declared government policies and objectives
4. Formal (and even informal) interaction amongst officers or between officials and non-officials.
5. Guidelines of aid giving agencies national programmes etc.
6. Replication of existing project ideas.
7. Feedback from failed projects.
8. Touring in the area
9. Common administrative or political experience.
10. Bargaining between sanctioning and implementing agencies/ departments
11. Casual reading of newspapers, magazines, books.
12. Meetings of villagers and panchayats bodies.
13. Citizens petitions and applications.

In a similar vein Curtis and Watson, while discussing planning that non-planners can do, have suggested that analytical sources of project ideas can be further divided into the sub-categories of administrative search and intellectual search. Some possible methods of the two types of search are

given below:

Administrative Search	*Intellectual (Academic) Search*
> Consult population (Surveys, local committees, discussions villagers meetings)	> Analyse Economy
> Consult local leaders and other key informants formally/ informally (even in a seminar)	>Analyse Society
> Consult Government Departments through routine meetings and special working groups	> Special problem-oriented analytical studies
> Consult research organisations/ consultants through planning studies.	> Diagnostic and strategy

Roberts Chambers has indicated the following criteria for simple project selection and prioritisation: Cost effectiveness, decision matrices, priority ranking, check listing, preparation of lists of costs and benefits.

Just as for purposes of decentralised planning the project identification needs to be kept simple, similarly project planning also need not entail full and detailed project analysis with Net Present Value (NPV). Internal Rate of Return (IRR) and cost benefit (B/C) ratios in detail not being required for each and every project appraisal.

In fact for many small projects even rough use of the project approach with a rough comparison of costs and benefits can prove adequate and would also be an improvement over the scheme budget exercise presently most often done in government. Not every project needs to have exact values assigned to the costs, benefits and rates of returns and in some cases mere qualification, and in others even identification, may be enough.

Of course, the project approach needs to be properly understood at the district and lower levels, both among administrators and amongst panchayat leaders, not only for project formulation purposes, but also for project implementation since it would help avoidance of a blind application of norms worked out by some other agency without trying to see if any special local conditions exist that would lead to unintended latent impacts of implementation which had not been anticipated by the project formulator.

Similarly, if the project approach is understood at the local planning level, then better sensitively analysis is possible since, instead of abstract generalised eventualities like percentage cost or time overrun being considered at state or regional level, at the local level locally specific likely eventualities can be better identified and quantified for sensitivity analysis with respect to each such specific eventuality.

Local planners mistakenly think of project life as only covering the period up to benefit delivery or completion of construction, and have to be reminded that the period in which the impact of a project is being felt has to be considered part of project life for pre-project appraisal purposes, and that intangible benefits and costs both have to be considered as have the possible negative impacts of projects.

It also needs to be explained to local planners as to how project analysis needs to include technical appraisal, financial appraisal, economic appraisal, sustainability appraisal, (with its sub-categories of social appraisal and environmental appraisal) and what can be referred to as acceptability appraisal (involving acceptability on the part of the beneficiaries, the non-beneficiaries in the area, and the lower, middle and senior level implementators, as well as concerned officials and non-officials since in case acceptability is not forthcoming then either the project objectives may need to be modified or special acceptability-inducing mechanisms may need to be built into the project at a cost). The second best may at times be better than the optimal or the best. Only after the above have been considered can decisions about accepting/ rejecting projects, or regarding ranking of projects be undertaken.

Area and District Planning

Most district and block-level functionaries have never really thought in terms of locational and area planning or of growth centre concepts. However, once exposed to basic area based concepts, most are quick to understand issues of both geographic and social distance and of physical and social barriers as also how to fit their projects/ schemes into a framework of spatial planning that would prove most beneficial for the area they are to plan for and implement in. They also start appreciating how sectoral plans and growth/ service centre plans can each lead to modifications in each other, so that an integrated area development plan catering to both sectoral needs and central place based planning can evolve. Use of methodological devices like Gutmans Scalogram for growth centres and for facilities provided at such centres are also easily understood by them. Experiences of the Government of India—Ford Foundation Pilot Project on Rural Growth Centres of the 1960s and 1970s, however, cautions planners that the growth centre approach has to be integrated with other approaches and cannot be the sole criteria for preparing plans.

Holistic District Planning

As regards preparing holistic district plans, many writers have set forth their views over the last few decades and numerous model district plans (e.g. Mushari, Rayalseema, Dharmpur, Wardha-NIRD plans) have also

been prepared. However it is felt that, if Gadgil's views from the 1960s, V.K.R.V. Rao's from the 1970s and those of the Hanumantha Rao (Working Group Report of 1984) are put across in a simplified manner to potential planners at the district or block levels, then many of the issues that run through most writing on district planning would get properly discussed. Of course earlier writers and thinkers on district planning could assume that rural areas while influenced by trends within the country, were by and large immune from many influences from abroad. However the present phase of globalisation coupled with improved communications has left people from all walks of life in the country and from various sectors competing with their counterparts the world over. Hence people in rural areas also are now much more vulnerable to the globalisation and its impacts. Panchayat leaders need to be given some training and orientation about both possible negative and positive impacts of globalisation, so that in their own way they can take steps to negate or dilute the negative impacts as also to seize new opportunities being thrown up by globalisation.

Modes of Training

Both for training regarding planning and for training for actually doing things (implementing), or for both the "what" and the "how", it is case studies, examples, demonstrations, films and audio-visual aids as well as discussions rather than merely lectures, which should be used for both the lower level functionaries and elected persons in panchayats. Concepts need to be simplified with the use of examples that are meaningful in the rural milieu.

Rajasthan's Panchayati Raj Training Document

Having, in the preceding sections of this article, set forth some ideas on the training content and methodologies that this author considers appropriate for panchayat personnel, and having summarised the Planning Commission Working Group's views on the matter in the introductory section of this article, it is now appropriate to turn to the Panchayati Raj Training Reference Material document of IGPRS, Jaipur.

This is the third edition of this Hindi volume of training material which was officially brought out for Rajasthan's Panchayati Raj Capacity Development Campaign 2005. It comprises brief write ups, containing subject matter considered relevant for Panchayat functionaries, as well as a section on training methodologies, exercises and games meant to be used by resource persons in panchayati raj capacity development workshops, and another on motivational songs in Hindi and Rajasthani.

The subjects covered in this volume are:

1. Expectations from PRIs

   a. Eleventh Schedule of Constitution
   b. Participation based economic development and human development
   c. The concept of social justice, secularism, equality and human rights as inspired by the Indian Constitution—Fundamental Rights. Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Duties.
   d. The Constitutional role of PRIs.
2. Main features of 73rd Constitutional Amendment and Structure of Panchayati Raj
   a. From Gram Swarajya to Poorn Swarajya
   b. Main components of 73rd Amendment
   c. Structures of Panchayati Raj.
3. Role of PRIs in Development Administration
   a. Functions of Zila Parishad
   b. Functions of Panchayat Samiti
   c. Functions of Gram Panchayat
4. Responsive and Compassionate Administration
5. Right to Information and Social Audit
6. Financial Management, Taxation and Audit in PRIs
7. Objectives and Challenges of Rural Development
   a. Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations
   b. Status of Human Development—Gender equality
8. Mutual Relations Between People's Representatives and Public Servants.
   a. Do's to cultivate team spirit
   b. Don'ts to avoid lack of coordination
9. Rights and Powers transferred to PRIs
10. Main Developmental plans/ programmes implemented by PRIs relating to
   a. Poverty Alleviation
   b. Rural Development
   c. Rural Housing
   d. Watershed Development (Haryali Guidelines of Government of India)
   e. Social Security Schemes
11. Schemes Programmes related to Health and Education
   a. Health related Schemes
   b. Education related Schemes

12. District Planning Committee, District Planning and Standing Committees
13. Role of PRIs in Disaster Management, Famine or Drought Relief and Food Security
14. Role of Panchayat Samities in Drinking Water and Sanitation Schemes
15. Empowerment of Women
16. Panchayats and land revenue related rules
17. Financial Resources of Panchayats
18. Meetings and Records of Panchayats
    a. Fortnightly meeting
    b. Ward Sabha - its functions and meetings
    c. Gram Sabha - its functions and meetings
    d. Gram Panchayat Registers
19. How to compile 16 point Human Development progress card 2005 for each Panchayat
20. Panchayat level targets—related to Millennium Development Goals and related Oaths to be taken by Panchayat representatives and workers.

Various methodologies to be employed for Panchayat training described in the IGPRS document include group exercises, group discussions, participants expression of opinions, lectures delivered by faculty, case studies. PLA (Participatory Learning and Action) including participatory mapping, village tours, seasonal reporting, metric ranking, 'chapatti[1] diagramming, participatory group discussion, role play, 'rajma dana' trading game, tower construction game, web - of relations weaving game, box of questions game, use of case films and audio-visual games, interactive sessions, problem solving circles, preparation of work plans etc.

While the above mentioned document was used for the 2005 training campaign mentioned at the beginning of this paper, in 2006 one round was conducted for reserved category elected leaders to provide greater clarity about their roles, responsibilities and powers under Panchayati Raj Act and rules. The second round was conducted to familiarise all PRI leaders and key leaders with Acts like National Rural Employment Guarantee Act and Right to Information Act and other new initiatives like National Rural Health Mission, Bharat Nirman and Total Sanitation Mission. Thus the training material being prepared is not going very much beyond the approach and contents of the 2005 IGPRS document.

As indicated above, the IGPR document is the third edition of the same and thus the choice of topics covered and material included must have benefited from feedback received on the use of the first two editions. A

comparison of the contents of *Panchayati Raj Prashikshan Sandarbh Samagree* with the training contents suggested by the Planning Commission Working Group and summarised in the introductory section of this article indicates that by and large the scope of training indicated by the Working Group has been covered by the IGPRS document.

The one point from the Working Group suggestions that has not received due attention in the Rajasthan training document is the inculcation of planning skills - and that is precisely what this author has advocated and spelt out in detail in this paper - as a major component of the knowledge and skills required by panchayat personnel so that they can undertake or supervise decentralised planning which is a major expectation from Panchayati Raj. In fact this element, along of course with the other aspects like those described in detail in the IGPRS document, used to be included in one week and other short training programmes for panchayat representatives (non-officials) as also for panchayat officials conducted at HCM Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration (HCM RIPA) in the decade of the 1990s and this author recalls having been called from time-to-time as a guest faculty for such training programmes (he also went, though much less frequently, as a guest lecturer for IGPRS training courses). Over the years HCM RIPA has cut down on the proportion of such panchayat specific courses, and IGPRS has apparently found it appropriate to concentrate more on aspects related to the functioning of PRIs and the development schemes and programmes being implemented through the PRIs and the constitutional and statutory provisions etc., rather than on also imparting planning skills. A reason for this could be that, as much available literature on the functioning of panchayati raj in Rajasthan reveals, district and decentralised planning has not yet really taken off in right earnest in the state. Another factor could be that the orientation of IGPRS and its faculty is more towards participation as it deals exclusively with PRIs while HCM RIPA, being more interdisciplinary and dealing with a variety of agencyies, has faculty specialising in both participatory aspects, as also in technical planning methodologies as well as other multi-disciplinary knowledge.

The IGPRS itself had organised review and feedback workshops in 2005 itself to draw lessons for the future from its PRI training campaign of 2005. A mimeographed summary report prepared by Anita, Professor at IGPRS, *inter alia* contains the following recommendations: a literacy campaign should precede the training of panchayat leaders, ward panch training should be for at least two days, theme wise refresher training should be conducted each year, field visits to best practice areas of panchayati raj should be facilitated, indepth training on health, water and

sanitation, watershed development, awareness of basic panchayati laws and procedures and in-depth training of women panchayat leaders should be organised in future. With the Government of Rajasthan issuing in the middle of 2006, guidelines for the formulation of district plans, short training courses were organised at district, block and gram panchayat levels to enable Panchayat functionaries to fill up prescribed performas and to prepare districs plans for 13 sectors identified to be included in the district plan. Since comprehensive district planning was not envisaged but only planning for activities to be carried out by PRIs the training was also for that limited objective. It is felt by this author that training for PRI functionaries is not enough. All district level officers, collectors, state government secretaries as well as elected panchayat representatives need such training for district planning to succeed as a comprehensive and integrated planning effort. For 2007-2008, a large number of training programmes for governments backward districts area programmes have also been planned.

POSSIBLE ACHIEVEMENTS FROM PANCHAYATI TRAINING

However, despite all the above mentioned training and capacity building attempts, it is only the more mundane expectations from panchayati raj related to the panchayats' role as an agency for development, or its internal working, that training may directly influence at least in the immediate short run. Means for panchayati raj to move towards becoming a third tier of governance, or to increase the states capability to perform better, or for the citizens' and local communities' voice to be heard better, or the creation of a psychology for self help, or reduction of social bariers to increase peoples' participation or the reduction of corruption, or the uplift of vulnerable groups and the poor, and similar objectives of PRIs are only marginally going to be affected by the training discussed above. Though perhaps repeated and sustained training may gradually start impacting in these spheres too.

In addition, many of the PR officials and non-officials who would be the trainees may have their own private agendas which may be at variance with societal expectations from panchayati raj as discussed above. They may be more interested in personal prestige and position or in capturing panchayati raj bodies for their individual or group's personal benefit, or more concerned about recouping funds spent on elections through the illegal diversion of panchayat or government funds or on obtaining a particular posting for their men, or even if having good intentions, they may be too involved in their local problems to be able to appreciate the macro issues, or techniques, or examples of successes and failures of panchayat bodies

elsewhere which are discussed during the training. They may even have come to the training institute, or training camp, not to learn but merely to visit the particular city and fulfill other personal or family objectives during the visit. Hence their expectations both from PR and from the training are different. Accordingly the impact of training and related capacity building efforts would naturally be slow. However, the sustained effort based on societies' perceptions about the objectives of panchayati raj and its expectations need to be continued. Only then would local politicians become good managers of local resources and develop constructive leadership qualities. Only then would local functionaries interact positively with panchayat leaders along with having developed their own administrative (planning, supervising and implementing) capacities. The large number of persons being trained on a sustained basis would also help gradually build up a body of locally available knowledge (even if some of the trainees would eventually cease to be members or functionaries of the panchayats once their elected term ends). Hopefully a system of continuous and repeated training with a wide coverage of topics and themes as indicated in this article would make both the officials and non-officials better community animators and better agents of development, change and the fulfilling of the communities' needs (as also capable of converting Panchayati raj into a genuine third tier of India's federal governance) and thus be a means to influence elected panchayat leaders and PR officials to build up locally available pools of knowledge which would help in achieving the objectives of, and expectations from, panchayat raj.

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THE RTI ACT AND TRAINING — BRIEF COMMENTS ON CAPACITY BUILDING AT THE STATE LEVEL

RAKESH HOOJA

The capacity building initiatives in the wake of enactment of RTI Act require a strong emphasis on conceptual clarity and sensitisation towards the utility and importance of the Act. In fact, everybody in the state governments needs to be trained and oriented about the new information regime. There is a need to develop a culture throughout the government that is oriented towards transparency in the systems. Besides the requirements of the new act, the officials at various levels also need to be trained in effective and improved record management by deploying latest available techniques and technology. Courses on evolving office procedures conducive to the RTI should also make part of the capacity building curriculum.

THE RIGHT to Information (RTI) Act 2005 calls upon the appropriate government (Central or state) to promote timely and effective dissemination of accurate information by public authorities about their activities. For this, the Act expects governments to train Central Public Information Officers (CPIOs) and State Public Information Officers (SPIOs) of public authorities and to produce relevant training materials. It is the state government and their functionaries down to the district and town/village levels who mostly interact directly with the citizenry. State governments also implement not only their own schemes and programmes but also a lot of Central Government schemes. Thus the role of state government officers and staff at various levels is extremely important for the successful implementation of the RTI Act. Accordingly, their training in the context of RTI merits careful attention.

From 2005 to 2009 the author headed a State Administrative Training Institute (ATI), the HCM Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration (HCM RIPA) at Jaipur and was also Principal Secretary (and later Additional Chief Secretary) for Training in the Government of Rajasthan. As Director HCM RIPA he was also ex-officio Secretary of Association of State Training

Institutions in India (ASTI). During that period he also managed, through HCM RIPA, the implementation in Rajasthan of a Government of India (Training Division) - UNDP project on 'Capacity Building for Access to Information under the Right to Information Act 2005' (which ran from 2005 to 2008), and initiated the implementation in the State of the training component of the Centrally Sponsored Scheme on Strengthening, Capacity Building and Awareness Generation of the RTI Act. Comments about training with reference to the RTI Act, being provided in this article, are based upon impressions formed during the above mentioned experience.

The initial emphasis has been on providing training of trainers (TOT) courses to build up resource persons for conducting RTI related training and on training courses for Public Information Officers (PIOs) and Assistant Public Information Officers (APIOs), with some training for First Appellate Authorities under the RTI Act; and some orientation programmes for the media, for representatives of civil society and common people.

However, there are other stakeholders that need to be trained. The Yashwantrao Academy of Development Administration, Pune (YASHADA) on behalf of the GOI-UNDP Capacity Building for Access to Information project which ended in 2008 had identified (as quoted in Feasibility Report for Plan Scheme for Strengthening, Capacity Building and Awareness Generation for Effective Implementation of the RTI Act, Department of Personnel & Training, Government of India, New Delhi, January 2008) the following as those who are required to be trained within each State: SPIOs, APIOs, Appellate Authorities, Heads of Public Authorities in Government, Non-Government Public Authority Heads, State Information Commission Staff, Staff of the Nodal Department charged with implementing the RTI Act, Exempted Organisations whose information need not be disclosed as per Section 8 of the RTI Act, Staff in administrative departments in the State Secretariat, Staff of Competent Authorities, and Citizens and NGOs.

This author feels that we need to add the following to the list of those who require RTI related training: officers and staff of all the various executive departments (including the heads of department) at State headquarters level, at Divisional headquarters level, and at district as well as lower levels; Divisional Commissioners, district Collectors, all district level offices (DLOs); all personnel who form part of the district administration (popularly called 'revenue administration') from district to village level; officers and staff of the local bodies (municipal as well as panchayats); personnel in Government Corporations and boards; administrative Secretaries (including Principal Secretaries to Government; Ministers; elected representatives in bodies where they perform executive functions, etc.

In fact everybody in State Government including clerical staff needs to

be oriented and trained about RTI because there is a need to develop a culture throughout government that is oriented towards transparency in government and the proper implementation of the RTI Act. Also the system of transfers in government means that persons who are not PIOs or APIOs at a particular point of time may find themselves subsequently having to perform duties of PIO or APIO under the RTI Act upon undergoing a transfer, or even otherwise, as the public authorities may find it expedient to increase the number of designated PIOs or APIOs.

Arranging for special RTI related training courses (and we are referring here to short duration courses) for each and every person in government would be a task of immense magnitude and may take a number of years before it can be properly achieved. In this context something which was tried out in Rajasthan could be considered for every state. As the then Principal Secretary (Training), this author was in a position to issue an order to all government training institutes in the State that for any training course on any theme (not necessarily related to RTI) that was designed to last three days (12 to 15 training sessions) or more, atleast one session compulsorily had to be on Right to Information. Thus many more government servants than merely those who attend courses specifically on RTI could be oriented about the RTI Act and its requirements -- and these instructions can be continued to remain in force so that in each training course of three days or more duration atleast one session continues to be on RTI -- so that more and more people undergo basic orientation about RTI.

Now to turn to courses specifically on RTI. As already indicated, most such courses so far conducted have been on how a PIO/APIO or a First Appellate Authority (and at times Second Appellate Authority) can properly perform the functions assigned under the RTI Act.

There also continues to be a need for emphasis on conceptual clarity and sensitisation towards the utility and importance of the RTI Act. Not only can this be covered at the beginning of every training course on RTI whatever may be its prime focus, but some courses could be specially designed to stress the concept and importance of RTI for good governance, the success of democracy, and a more satisfied citizenry. Such courses on the importance of open access to information could discuss international comparisons, the philosophy behind RTI, the approach of the RTI Act 2005, and frequently asked questions about the RTI Act.

Section 4 of the RTI Act about proactive disclosures is one that is often misunderstood. As per the Section, all public authorities must prepare a 17 point document about the organisation and its activities and this information should be made publicly accessible. Many officers believe that if there is a

website about their organisation, then Section 4 of the RTI Act is automatically fulfilled. Others believe that the traditionally prepared annual report of their agency can serve the purpose. However the RTI Act has specified 17 points on which proactive disclosure details need to be spelt out - and some of the information required is not easy to prepare. Separate training courses need to be organised on how to prepare the 17 point document as per Section 4 of the RTI Act -- and sample documents already prepared by some public authorities which adequately meet the requirements of the Act should be dissected and discussed in such courses.

Record management in government still continues to be storage-driven rather than retrieval-oriented. Discussions in training courses and workshops as well as meetings on RTI have brought out that often it is inadequate record management in the office that makes it difficult to provide information as is being required under the RTI Act. Accordingly, courses on Effective and Improved Record Management as a means to better implementation of the RTI Act need to be planned for and conducted.

Similarly, there could be courses on Evolving and Adopting Office Procedures Conducive to the Implementation of the RTI Act. Courses on Use of Computers and Websites for RTI Act Implementation also need to be conducted more frequently.

Training courses on taking steps to create greater mass awareness about the RTI Act are also required, though as far as possible mass awareness building should not be sponsored by government and should be left for the NGOs that are voluntarily active in this field. Of course in such states where NGOs are not already performing this function adequately, then government agencies would have to undertake it.

All these training courses, including the well-established courses on functions of PIOs/APIOs and functions of Appellate Authorities under RTI Act, should preferably be such as cater to a mix of trainees from various departments (rather than being single department oriented) since different departments would have different types of experiences of implementing the RTI Act and all good training courses involve two way dialogues between the resource persons and the trainees so that the trainees' experiences also get shared and discussed during the course.

While offering RTI related training, preference could be given to officers and staff of departments which recieve maximum number of RTI applications, which have maximum interface with individual citizens, and which are involved in implementation/delivery of government schemes at the field level.

Mention may be made of an interesting experiment in Rajasthan. A day-long State level training workshop on RTI was organised for all Principal

Secretaries/Secretaries to Government and Heads of Department of the State Government with Additional Chief Secretaries also present. About 125 persons attended the workshop. The Director of the State ATI (HCM RIPA) and the Principal Secretary of the Secretariat department which is the nodal department for implementation of RTI Act in the State were the chief resource persons along with three specially selected faculty from the State ATI. Discussion papers had been prepared and were distributed along with some training material originally prepared for use in the various RTI courses, as well as copies of RTI Act and Rules and a compilation of government instructions. The resource persons initiated discussions in five mini sessions. Functions of Public Authorities, PIOs/APIOs, First and Second Appellate Authorities, and State and Central Information Commissions; provisions of the RTI Act and Rules; selected decisions of Central Information Commission and various State Information Commissions; selected case studies being used in various RTI training courses; success stories identified and got prepared by the state ATI (along with some failure stories); some clippings of newspaper stories related to RTI; and frequently asked questions on RTI were all discussed. Free and frank discussions ensued with many issues being raised both by the resource persons and by the Secretaries/Principal Secretaries/Heads of Department. At the end of the day most issues had been clarified or resolved and a few more were identified for further detailed examination.

It is felt that such a one-day high level state RTI workshop should be held each year in each state, since not only does it clarify RTI related concepts and the actions required amongst the top levels of government -- but it also has a significant impact upon how the various government departments (both administrative or secretariat departments, and executive departments) deal with RTI Act related matters. Each state ATI should prepare for and organise such an annual high level state RTI workshop in its state.

Similar one day district RTI workshops should be held in each district headquarters once a year. The state ATI should coordinate it with the district collector and the district campus of state ATI or local campus of a Sectoral/ departmental training institute (if located at the district headquarters) collaborating. The coverage of themes and topics should be similar to that of the high level state RTI workshop described above. Resource persons should be provided by the state ATI. Participants should include besides the Collector, all DLOs, senior (regional) officers of various state government departments posted in the district, all Sub Divisional Officers/tehsildars/ block development officers (bdos or vikas adhikari)/all chief executive officers of municipalities, the zila pramukh, all panchayat samiti pradhans,

etc. Such an annual one day district RTI workshop is bound to clarify the concepts of all participants and thus have a multiplier effect in the district. Since many district level functionaries are likely to undergo the short RTI related courses discussed earlier in this article, and since both the earlier GOI-UNDP projects on Capacity Building for Access to Information and the present Centrally Sponsored Scheme on Strengthening, Capacity Building and Awareness Generation of the RTI Act envisage taking up of some districts turn-by-turn each year for the training on RTI of about 1500-2000 persons in each district (especially those who are PIOs/APIOs), the one day District RTI workshop, if conducted each year, would supplement and enhance the impact within the district of the various RTI trainings being imparted throughout the year.

Each type of short RTI training course as discussed earlier would require a separate TOT to prepare resource persons to conduct that type of course. As more and more decisions of Central Information Commission/State Information Commissions keep becoming available, and more case studies get prepared, and raising of issues regarding implementation of RTI Act takes place each year, refresher TOT courses on various aspects of RTI would be required periodically to keep the trainers up-to-date so that they can redesign the training courses as per need and then ensure proper delivery of the training. The trainers also need to be subjected to workshops to prepare training material for each type of RTI training course, as well as reading material on RTI to distribute to participants at the courses, as also to prepare material for use in awareness building about RTI.

The conduct of TOTs has to be the responsibility of the state ATI. It would not be enough to train the faculty at the state ATI and the faculty of various sectoral training institutes of various state government departments. Because a very large number of government servants at state, division, district and sub-district levels have to be trained repeatedly in various aspects of RTI, the number of trainers also needs to be large. Serving and retired government servants, university and college teachers, workers of NGOs etc. all can, and should, be trained so that they can act as guest faculty in various short RTI training courses. Thus, the state ATI should conduct the required Training of Trainers courses in various parts of the state on a regular basis.

Accordingly, the state ATI should maintain a state-wise directory of resource persons who can be used as trainers on various aspects of RTI at different locations.

The state ATI should also prepare training material, explanatory booklets and notes, information guides, case studies, success stories, work-books, lecture slides, short training films, CD Cassettes, leaflets, comic books etc.

for each type of RTI related training course as well as for the corresponding TOT. The state ATI should also maintain a website on RTI which trainers, trainees, and others (government servants and individual citizens) can consult for information and knowledge, as well as better conceptual clarity and to reconfirm their knowledge of procedures to be followed, etc. The Training Division of Government of India has already got such an online knowledge and networking hub on RTI through a web-enabled portal www.rti.org.in prepared under the GOI-UNDP project on Capacity Building for Access to Information.

As an example, mention is being made of material prepared for widespread distribution at training courses as well as in schools, colleges, government offices, in awareness camps organised by NGOs, to members of the media, etc., by the Rajasthan State ATI (HCM RIPA) during the GOI-UNDP project on Capacity Building for Access to Information under Right to Information Act. HCM RIPA prepared copies of the RTI Act (in Hindi/English or bilingual; with or without copies of rules, circulars, and notifications), information booklets (on functions and duties of PIOs/APIOs, on provisions and procedures regarding RTI appeals, on 50 frequently asked questions about RTI, on "Right to Information: Our Right" etc.); comic books (with titles like '*Jag Bhaya Jag*' and '*Pappu Pass Ho Gaya*' to explain the significance and potential of the RTI Act through a simply narrated success story with pictures), pamphlets and leaflets (explaining in simple language the contents of the RTI Act and how the RTI Act can be made use of), a book in Hindi on *Right To Information - Theory and Practice* (containing the basic principles and theory underlying access to information measures, how the RTI Act evolved, main features of the Act and comments thereon, RTI related rules of various states, discussion of selected decisions of the Central Information Commission and of the various State Information Commissions, case studies, success stories etc.); lecture notes and power point presentations for training sessions (based on newspaper reports about RTI cases, on success stories, on case studies about how certain RTI applications were dealt with in actual practice, as well as case studies about role being played by certain well-known NGOs in creating awareness as well as motivating people to make RTI applications) as well as lecture notes on procedures - (e.g. on how to prepare 17 point proactive disclosure document as per Section 4 of the RTI Act); small films or CD Cassettes for showing during a training session and then discussing it, etc.

While all Training of Trainers activity shall be the responsibility of the State ATI to either conduct itself or to coordinate the conduct of such courses; as regards training of government functionaries the training division of the state government (which in some states is located in the state ATI

with the Director of the State ATI doubling as Principal Secretary or Additional Chief Secretary to the State Government for Training, and in other States is attached to one of the administrative secretariat departments - either Department of Personnel, or Administrative Reforms, or General Services) should coordinate the requirement and planning of RTI training throughout the State, with the State ATI providing technical back up to the Training Division of the State. The State ATI is recieving Government of India funds under the Centrally Sponsored Scheme on Strengthening, Capacity Building and Awareness Generation for Implementation of the RTI Act for conduct of RTI training, preparation of a network of trainers, and the creation, updating and publication of training material and guidelines for RTI implementation. State ATIs also normally have State Government funds for conducting training in various spheres of government activity - and some portion of those funds can also be used for RTI related trainings.

Since State ATIs are responsible for both induction training and periodic compulsory in-service training of officers of the various State Services, appropriate capsules or modules on RTI can easily be made a part of such induction training and compulsory in-service training by the State ATI.

Feedback collected from the trainees at the end of each RTI related training course not only provides leads about which aspects or issues need to be highlighted or explained in more detail in similar training courses in future, but also gives an idea about the problems that crop up while implementing the RTI Act. Such problems may be due to genuine practical difficulties being faced by both information seekers and information providers. However, often times the information seeker or the information provider may deliberately try to distort the system while invoking provisions of the RTI Act. Many-a-time solutions to such problems and issues can be worked out during discussions in the training courses. In other instances, however, the issues need to be referred to the nodal department dealing with the implementation of the RTI Act in the State to clarify through explanatory government circulars or for referring to the RTI Division in the Department of Personnel and Training in Government of India. The use as indicated above of training feedback must consciously be encouraged.

The state ATIs could also periodically organise workshops of RTI practitioners (both government servants and NGO workers) at state, or divisional or district levels to obtain inputs for future capacity building efforts in this sphere.

Before ending this article, one may briefly mention some awareness generation activities undertaken by HCM RIPA under the GOI-UNDP project on Capacity Building for Access to Information under the Right to Information Act.

These included getting puppet shows and street plays (*Nukkar Nataks*) written on RTI and performed in rural areas (the impact of each such performance proved somewhat transient and the cost of the activity, payable on a per performance basis along with one time payment for developing the content and getting it validated in the State ATI, was not low); getting posters and pamphlets designed, slogans evolved, and material finalised for hoardings and for painting of messages on walls of rural buildings and on mud huts in villages (many of the ideas were obtained from college students who were specially called to the State ATI for the purpose - and distribution of posters and pamphlets was through NGOs involved in awareness generation on RTI, through government offices, schools etc., as well as during State Government campaigns in rural areas like *Jan Chetna Yatra, Jan Sampark Abhiyan*, Land Revenue Campaign, etc.); getting hoardings installed at suitable places both urban and rural, slogans written at public places and messages painted on walls in rural areas; publishing of comics for distribution in schools and through NGOs, organising radio talks on AIR, publishing districtwise directories of PIOs and APIOs for widespread public distribution within the district, etc. As the State ATI was preparing material for training on RTI, it could also simultaneously work on the above mentioned initiatives to prepare and disseminate messages, slogans, and information.

However, such measures do not form part of the 'Awareness' component of the Centrally Sponsored Scheme for Strengthening, Capacity Building and Awareness Generation for Effective Implementation of the RTI Act which envisages propagation through radio and TV, as well as through messages printed on postcards sold by Department of Posts, and RTI related texts in textbooks to be coordinated by NCERT -- all to be managed nationally. The 'Training' component of this Scheme where state ATIs and state governments have a role in capacity building has been kept separate, and we have already commented upon it above. Since state ATIs can provide back up in terms of knowledge, content and material in the form of booklets/leaflets/posters, comics etc. to the NGOs and government agencies for awareness generation as a by-product of its RTI related training efforts, the Central Government could consider modifying its scheme to provide for such a role for State ATIs.

To conclude, it is hoped that the brief comments and suggestions set forth in this article would prove useful for the various State ATIs and various State Governments while planning out and arranging RTI related training in future.

Check for updates

MEASURES TO CHECK CORRUPTION: BRIEF COMMENTS IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

RAKESH HOOJA

A diverse set of strategies is needed for checking or controlling corruption, which may include preventive, curative, penal and deterrent measures. Positive actions included in this list include motivation by rewarding the honest and upright people and an emphasis on periodical changes and pragmatic modifications in the procedures and systems. Ideas and practices that have worked in one place can be experimented in a different contextual environment. There is a need to lay adequate emphasis on the positive tactics for promoting and sustaining a culture of integrity.

CHECKING CORRUPTION is as important for good governance as is the rule of law, citizen-centric administration, effective and vigorous public service delivery and the government's ability and capacity to undertake appropriate mixes of activities and interventions with the help of a competent civil service that would result in the transformation and change of the society, the economy and the polity in desired directions. In a way corruption has become a major threat to good governance the world over; India being no exception.

Corruption can lead to large scale siphoning of public funds meant for government programmes through a combination of bribes and kickbacks whereby the desired programmes objectives are not fully met, or to the making available of government land, or other permissions and allocations at 'concessional' rates to selected individuals or entities—both of which are covered under what today are commonly referred to as scams. Or it can be 'petty corruption' involving payment of bribes, gratification or considerations in cash or kind for obtaining public (and even, at times, private) services speedily, or evasion of taxes or activities like theft of electricity or potable water and getting the concerned authority to look the other way, or following personal or caste and other, non-merit, considerations while taking various decisions regarding public matters.

Accordingly, corruption is not limited to government organisations. For example, a private school principal can use his power to favour someone while granting admission in return for a bribe.

Both the above mentioned types of corruption – large scams or petty corruption – are equally harmful for society, and are equally a threat to good governance. In fact the day-to-day petty corruption faced by the common man is not only harassment for each individual sufferer, but corrodes the moral fiber of the country as a whole. And it is both the giver of bribes, gratification, etc., and one who accepts who are to blame and who are responsible for the existence of corruption.

Naturally controlling or checking corruption has to involve a variety of diverse activities which may be preventive, curative, punishmental (or in the form of a deterrence), motivational, procedural and system-changing, and the like. The use of each of these would depend upon the various categories of actors whose behaviour and actions have to be influenced to counter corruption as well as the type of wrong doing that is to be checked.

If one were to want to concentrate on the prevention of large scams then politicians, senior bureaucrats (including technocrats) in both government and public sector undertakings, large companies which benefit from such scams (and their executives), and the "operators" (lobbyists, agents, etc.) who facilitate and become conduits, would all need to be tackled – as would senior functionaries in vigilance and investigating agencies and even the judiciary.

But when it comes to petty corruption – all sections of society including middle and lower level government servants, local politicians, the lower judiciary, small and medium manufacturers, businessmen and traders, various professionals like doctors, lawyers, bankers, engineers, chartered accountants, teachers, IT executives, persons from the print and the electronic media, and the farmers and artisans as well as wage earners in both rural and urban settings – each and every person poor or rich – all of whom may be involved as either bribe receivers or bribe givers and as users of influence, would need to be tackled. Of course, not everyone is corrupt—but each category of persons includes a significant number who are willing to undertake corrupt actions.

If everyone in every walk of life is to be reached and influenced to eschew corruption, then education has to be a major means to orient people to avoid undertaking corrupt acts. School and college education, adult and non-formal education, training for government servants, or for corporates in the private sector and by professional bodies, for the various professionals, all have to have a focus on ethics in public life, ethics in social situations, ethics in government, and on the evils of corruption. This

would help to create a ground swell, a general climate, that is 'anti-corruption', and which appreciates those who follow ethical norms. Such a general atmosphere in favour of following proper ethics and against corruption can also be positively influenced by campaigns in the mass media.

The Preface to the Fourth Report on Ethics in Governance of the Second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) which came out in 2007 asserted that "The Mahatma's vision of a strong and prosperous India—*Purna Swaraj*—can never become a reality if we do not address the issue of the stranglehold of corruption in our polity, economy and society in general".

In the first chapter of the above mentioned Report of the Second ARC, it is pointed out that the setting of standards do not, by themselves, ensure ethical behaviour; that requires a robust culture of integrity. The crux of ethical behaviour does not lie in bold words or expressions enshrined as standards, but in their adoption in action, in sanctions against their violations, in putting in place competent disciplinary bodies to investigate allegations of violations and to impose sanctions quickly, and in promoting a culture of integrity.

The Department of Administrative Reforms and Removal of Public Grievances, Government of India, had got a Civil Services Survey conducted through the Centre for Good Governance, Hyderabad, whose report came out in April 2010. Ten Central and All India Services were surveyed with questionnaires being sent to all serving members of the Services concerned. In all about 4800 responses were received which is 26.1 per cent of the total cadre strength of the ten Services surveyed. The responses in the survey indicate the perception that there are a significant number of cases where anonymous complaints are got made in a planned and systematic manner to derail an honest officer and to make him ineffective. A number of officers feel that the start of an inquiry on baseless allegations itself is punishment and that it does not matter if the person is finally exonerated at the end. Commitment to the job and integrity are not recognised. Honest and upright officers are sidelined or harassed. There is no incentive to remain honest, and the system is so designed that an officer entering service is forced to adapt to this corrupt system. A majority of the respondents felt that corrupt officers get away without being punished. In fact corrupt officers are able to get the most sought after postings. The Civil Service Survey Report also indicates that 40 per cent of the respondents felt that a majority of officers uphold ethics, rules, etc. inspite of the personal risks involved, while 23 per cent of the respondents felt that such officers who are willing to uphold ethics or rules despite the

risks were only "few" or "very few".

T.S.R. Subramanian, a former Union Cabinet Secretary and former Chief Secretary of Uttar Pradesh wrote a book *GovernMint in India: An Inside View* which was published in 2008. He has pointed out with examples that those civil servants who were willing to adjust their attitudes and behaviour and to break existing norms found it extremely satisfactory, rewarding and lucrative while others more able, conscientious and honest were condemned to sit out in a corner in insignificant postings. The weapons used for subjugation included frequent transfers, start of an interminable departmental inquiry, malicious character roles in performance appraisal reports, and the like. For assignments from the Secretary level down to Deputy Secretary in Central Ministries one often had to be demanded by the Minister concerned, who had his own reasons for inducting 'cooperative' officials into his Ministry.

Subramanian gives an example from the early 1970s. Sadly many more such examples may be found nowadays. A young officer working as managing director of a State Public Sector Corporation discovered that the State political leadership was negotiating a kickback in a foreign purchase deal. He cautioned the potential suppliers against it and negotiated a price that did not contain any "cushion" for gratifying the political leadership. They in turn blocked official approval of his recommendations. He recorded the details of the matter in internal file notings and was promptly transferred to an insignificant assignment. Hearing of his plight, the Central Government arranged a decent posting for him on deputation in Government of India. Promptly the State Government informed the Centre that such a good officer could not be spared for the Central assignment and that the State Government needed to retain him in the State. But in the State he continued to be sidelined. He took voluntary retirement and joined a private company. The politicians in the State Government did not let go and pressurised the private company to fire him, which it did. Luckily for him he later got a job in a national concern whose boss was willing to ignore the strong hints from the State politicians concerned not to hire him. It is another matter that the said officer later happened to prosper as a private businessman, but his harassment had been total and sustained. Obviously a message was being sent to all others to toe the line in future.

Subramanian points out that often an initially idealistic administrator loses his intellectual integrity within 15 to 20 years of joining service, and in many cases also loses his financial integrity. To quote Subramanian "Sadly, many of the middle level officers with growing children to educate, elderly parents to look after, can not bear the constant pressure and buckle, they either switch off or become irrelevant to the system; or they join the

politician, and all is well thereafter".

It may be added that it is not just politicians, but some senior bureaucrats, technocrats, members of investigating agencies, even of the judiciary and the media, and NGOs and public businessmen, have been known to exert pressure to get wrong decisions or actions undertaken for personal gain.

How to check corruption and to encourage honesty in all government activities and transactions?

Measures to protect honest persons, who refuse to indulge in corruption, from malicious inquiries, prosecutions and harassment need to be strengthened. Procedures need to be continually evolved and improved to ensure the speeding up and early completion of inquiries (and where necessary court trials) so as to ensure that the guilty are duly identified and punished and the innocent are exonerated. For this the investigating and enquiring agencies need strengthening and capacity building as also to be manned by honest personnel. Simultaneously we need to vigorously ensure that each accused gets full opportunity to defend himself or herself so as to establish his or her innocence. But once guilt is established the punishment should be swift and effective so as to act as a deterrent.

In addition, work procedures and processes have to be regularly reviewed and it needs to be ensured that such procedures are strictly followed in a systematic manner to make corruption difficult and thus act as preventive measures. In this context the system of office inspections also needs to be revitalised.

The audit system can be an effective tool to suggest systemic improvements and changes in the working procedures of government such that chances of corruption diminish. Effective monitoring and supervision can also reduce corruption, particularly petty corruption. The Right to Information Act, though not an unmixed blessing since its provisions can be misused to harass officers, has demonstrated the potential to place a check on corruption or to expose corrupt acts.

Some of the causes of corruption also need to be identified so as to work out solutions. For example it is suggested by many that the electoral system has become one where vast amounts of money are required to contest elections and that unless appropriate electoral reforms are thought of and implemented, corruption cannot be eliminated.

The honest also need to be encouraged and incentivised in some way or the other. However, determining who is honest may prove to be even more difficult than establishing guilt beyond doubt in corruption matters.

For government agencies and departments an Integritymark Scheme on the lines of Britain's Chartermark Scheme for good public service

delivery and effective implementation of citizen charters could be thought of. However operationalising such an Integritymark Scheme may prove difficult since it would involve conclusively identifying departments and agencies where by and large there is no corruption.

In fact none of the measures attempted to check or prevent corruption is likely to be easy to implement.

What constitutes quality governance is contextual in terms of time and place. What was required as good governance in India at the time of Independence in 1947 is quite different from what would be deemed to be good governance today. Similarly what is good in terms of governmental practices in one country or in one region of a country may differ from what is required at another place. What works at one place at one point of time due to the context cannot be transplanted unchanged to another place with the same results. Yes, some ideas that have worked at one place to control or check corruption can be first adapted and then adopted elsewhere-at least nuances if not more substantive elements may need to be modified before being tried out in a different contextual environment. Thus what worked, or did not work, in checking corruption at different places should be documented and written about extensively, so that it could lead to better understanding, followed by suitable adaptation and adoption at other places.

As already indicated above, corruption is not limited to persons having authority and power within government. In private sector also persons can misuse their power and authority – for example while granting or refusing admission to patient in a private hospital or a student in a private school or college based upon receipt of a bribe or recommendations from members of one's own caste or relatives or of an influential politician, businessman or bureaucrat. The approach suggested and discussed above in the context of government activities could be emulated for corruption in private and non-governmental institutions.

What matters is not whether a country is more or less corrupt than certain other countries. If the situation in our country is unsatisfactory from the point of view of corruption, then we need to take steps to rectify the situation regardless of our comparative position or rank as per any corruption index.

Before ending the author harps back to India's national movement. A major strength of the national movement was that countless individuals decided each in his or her own way, and as per his or her capabilities or abilities, to do something to serve the country and to work towards independence.

If in every walk of life, from each section of society, ordinary people, each man and woman, young and old, decide that they will each take a

personal step, however small it may be, to improve some aspect of life in our country (not to talk of protests but of positive and creative and tangible individual actions) then the overall impact may be stupendous. If each and every individual were to decide to eschew corruption—corruption would cease to exist.

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TRAINING IN STATE GOVERNMENTS: WHAT A MODEL STATE ATI SHOULD BE LIKE

RAKESH HOOJA

The State Administrative Training Institute (ATI) in each state has a major responsibility of capacity building among the government officials and functionaries at different levels. The Training Department of a State Government functioning through the State ATI should have the overall responsibility for effective formulation, implementation, monitoring and review of the State Training Policy. It should ensure that the training policy is strategically linked to the key transformational goals, strategies and processes of government. Accordingly it should ensure that training within the State is imparted in a systematic, integrated and coordinated manner, and that the training needs of the future are being anticipated. This is achieved by first developing appropriate and adequate training infrastructure to ensure that sufficient programmes are conducted to prepare trainers in sufficient numbers as per the diverse needs of the State.

STATE GOVERNMENT personnel implement Central and state schemes, work in the state secretariates and state level departments, at the district level, and even in local bodies. Thus the training of government servants of the state governments has to be quite comprehensive. This can range from induction training (foundational or professional) for those newly recruited to government service, to in-service courses of longer duration at fixed intervals and numerous short courses which may be domain or programme or department specific, as well as general improvement-in-administration specific, attitude and value change-oriented, or soft-skill-development related programmes. Such training needs to cover all government servants regardless of whether they are group A or B or C or D employees – and has to be aimed at both practitioners (who may be dealing with policy or with implementation) and trainers – and even those outside government who may be working

in Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) or Government-NGO partnerships. Such courses need to be delivered at state capitals, at divisional or district headquarters and even at lower levels since training is essential for all including the senior most Additional Chief Secretaries to the junior most clerks and even class IV employees.

In view of the above the state Administrative Training Institutes (ATIs) in each state have a major responsibility. Even if the head of the state ATI is not an ex-officio Secretary to the state government for training, it has to provide technical assistance to the state government Training Department. It needs to interact with each state government department and agency to identify their training needs and to help them to prepare the department's training policy which matches up with their functions and development plans. It has to suggest standards for various departmental sectoral training institutions in the state. It has to arrange numerous Training of Trainers (ToT) programmes to develop a large pool of trainers with diverse capabilities spread throughout the state. It has to develop its regional centres or liase with district Collectors (especially in districts where its regional or district centres do not exist) to arrange for training in the districts. It may need to set up within its folds Secretariat Training Institutes and training centres for category C and D staff, in addition to having its own Constituent functional/ sectoral centres like Centre for Management Studies, Centre for Good Governance, Centre for Applied Administration, Centre for Financial Administration, Centre for Disaster Management, Centre for Urban Development, Centre for Rural Development, Centre for Women and Child Development, Centre for Poverty Alleviation, Centre for Social Sector Programmes, Centre for Natural Resource Management, Centre for Multi Level Planning, Centre for e-Governance, Centre for Training on RTI, Centre on Office Procedures, Centre for Ethics in Government, etc. It should arrange for saturation training, that is providing all government employees in a particular district, or region, or sector or department, certain training at periodic intervals. It needs to cover special requirements like training for RTI, for PPP projects, consumer affairs, human rights, improved service delivery, implementation of flagship programmes, e-governance, and improvements in administration and governance. In fact each state ATI needs to act as a think tank and hand-holder of the state government to help improve its functioning. It also needs to produce a lot of training material not only for its own use but also for use in training by the various sectoral training institutes in the state. Thus it also needs to get a large number of new training modules prepared each year.

In a number of state governments the state personnel department looks after training along with many other aspects of governance and the state

ATI functions as a separate body. However a number of states follow a model where the Director or Director General of the ATI is an ex-officio Principal Secretary or Additional Chief Secretary to the Government for Training and the State Training Department is located in and serviced by the State ATI. This arrangement which ensures coordination and synergy between the two has proved to be better and should be emulated by every state.

The Training Department of a state government functioning through the state ATI should have the overall responsibility for effective formulation, implementation, monitoring and review of the State Training Policy. It should ensure that the training policy is strategically linked to the key transformational goals, strategies and processes of government. Accordingly it should ensure that training within the state is imparted in a systematic, integrated and coordinated manner, and that the future training needs of the staff are being anticipated.

Amongst other tasks that the state ATI should perform (in conjunction with the State Training Department) are:

- to help develop appropriate and adequate training infrastructure in the state and to lay down minimum standards of infrastructure for each category of governmental sectoral training institutes in the state.
- to work out strategies for enhancement of the training capabilities of trainers including a system of incentives for persons dealing with the training function and those acting as faculty at the state ATI and at various departmental sectoral training institutes.
- to ensure that sufficient programmes of Training of Trainers (TOTs) are conducted to prepare master trainers in sufficient numbers as per the diverse needs of the state.
- to formulate a policy for the state government to obtain benefits of experienced persons as resource persons for training (trainers) by re-employing them after retirement, or ensuring their use as trainers whenever required even after they may shift to non-training related assignments within their cadres or departments, or may retire.
- to review existing courses and programmes being offered by internal training providers within government and to identify gaps where new training courses may need to be developed and arranged for within government.
- to accredit external (as well as internal) training providers in domain specific (as well as general) training and education both for sending government servants to receive training from the

training providers, as also for calling such external training providers to conduct specific training programmes within the state. To prepare guidelines for the selection and invitations by various government departments of persons from suitable institutes other than government training institutes, including those from outside the state to come and deliver specific short courses or lectures.

- to liase with all government departments and public sector enterprises in the state on matters related to training and capacity building and to ensure that each department/agency prepares an appropriate departmental training policy for itself in line with the State Training Policy and the State Development Plan as well as departmental objectives and mandates.
- to review, jointly with the concerned Administrative Department of the sector, the draft Vision Document and draft Five Yearly Action Plan of each State Level Sectoral Training Institute before it is finalised.
- to coordinate a committee to screen government servants for sending them for training or for higher education and learning outside the state/outside the country particularly where course fees are payable in full or partly by the state government/Central Government.

As already indicated, the State Training Department should make full use of the officers and expertise of the State ATI in carrying out all its tasks. Thus one of the important tasks of each State ATI is to provide training related advice and executive assistance to the State Training Department.

However, basically the state ATI has to function as the primary apex level governmental training institution in the state and also act as an example for all other governmental training institutes in the state. It is also to work as the state apex level institute for various programmes and activities of the Training Division of Government of India's Department of Personnel and Training and for this purpose it needs to remain in close touch with Government of India's Training Division. In many states it also acts as the State Institute of Rural Development (SIRD) with links to National Institute of Rural Development Hyderabad, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India and State Rural Development Department (though in many states a separate sectoral training institute for panchayati raj and rural development sponsored by the State Rural Development Department functions as the SIRD). Most State ATIs also operate Disaster Management Centres with links to the National Institute of Disaster Management New

Delhi. Now the Central Urban Development Ministry is contemplating each State ATI having an Urban Development Centre during the 12th Five year Plan. The State ATI is responsible for the training of IAS officers allotted to the state cadre including the state and district training component of the two year induction training of the IAS. It is also responsible for conducting the foundation course of all the state services and subordinate services, as well as the institutional - professional course (including district training) which together with the foundational course forms part of the induction training of State Administrative Service (Provincial Civil Service), State Accounts Service and such other State Services which do not have their own specialised sectoral training institute, and of on-promotion courses for officers being promoted from a subordinate service to a state service. (When the State ATI does not itself conduct the institutional-professional or on-promotion training course it needs to lay down norms for the sectoral training institute to follow.) It conducts a large number of in-service short courses for state government personnel of various departments some of which are department and domain knowledge specific and others on common themes whose participants cut across all government departments (the situation regarding this differs from state to state, with some State ATIs conducting 500 or more courses a year, while other managing only 50 to 100 courses per annum; the number of such courses on offer requires considerable enhancement.) The State ATI is also expected to arrange for Training of Trainers and Management of Training Courses (DTS, DOT, TNA, MOT, EOT ELT as well as domain or scheme related and knowledge related courses for trainers) for faculty of various sectoral government training institutes and other government servants having an aptitude for training. It also provides training advice and training material for other training institutes in the state, and enables preparation of common training modules. (For this some of the State ATIs have a system of holding periodic meetings of heads of all state level sectoral government training institutes in the state).

A task not so far being performed by the state ATI but which merits serious attention involves Government providing funds to the state ATI for it to sponsor training programmes to be conducted in various state level or lower level sectoral training institutes or in the district collectorates and to provide assistance for upgradation of standardised training equipment in government training institutes.

The state ATI should also take steps to promote the value and importance of training throughout the government system and the public services.

In some states the State ATI is a government department. In other states the state ATI functions both as a government department plus one or more registered societies working in total synergy. This provides the best

of both the worlds as the registered society permits much more flexibility than a government department and some of the important stakeholder departments can be represented in the registered societies. It is also better than the entire State ATI becoming a registered society as then the government's involvement can get reduced and rather than catering to government's training needs such an autonomous society may start paying more attention to the commercial need to raise resources and thus planning all its activities accordingly. The state government needs to feel a sense of involvement in the State ATI's functioning rather than leaving the State ATI to act totally on its own.

In addition to the regular induction and on-promotion trainings and short in-service courses, an experiment undertaken in Rajasthan's State ATI (HCM RIPA) could be emulated in other states. For the last few years all officers of all State Services after about 10 years of service are mandated to undergo a compulsory one week course on Public Policy, and after about another five years of service they undergo a compulsory one week training programme on good governance. Two sets of similar courses at each of the two levels have been designed one for the technical (engineering etc.) State Services and the other for the non-technical State Services. The Director of HCMRIPA has been empowered to directly nominate trainees from each State Service for these compulsory training courses.

In fact State ATIs should ensure and provide for at least three compulsory training opportunities besides the induction training for each member of each and every State Service during their service career, one of which should pertain to domain knowledge and two to general good governance, responsive and effective administration, public policy, etc. For this the State ATI could also use its regional campuses. Similarly three compulsory trainings during one's entire service career need to be designed and provided for members of all subordinate services and clerical and grassroots staff. State ATIs should coordinate this and arrange trainings at all government training institutes and centres and in district collectorates.

For any training intervention or training policy to be successful, the quality of trainers is extremely relevant. At present the sources of trainers in State ATIs are as follows:

(*a*) persons recruited directly to posts at the ATI;
(*b*) persons on deputation from various services like IAS, IPS, State Administrative Service, State Accounts Service, etc.;
(*c*) persons on contractual appointment; and
(*d*) guest faculty invited to cover specific topics.

Some ATIs also take retired civil servants or academicians as Visiting Professors on the analogy of UGC's Visiting Professors Scheme to work

on full time basis in the State ATI.

Each State ATI should maintain district-wise lists of government servants and academicians (serving and retired) of persons who could be used as guest faculty, or taken as trainers on short term contracts when the training activity temporarily goes up during any particular period, keeping in mind their aptitude for training and previous experience as trainers. Such persons should also be provided access to Training of Trainers Programmes (TOTs) along with such TOTs being arranged for regular faculty. These lists or panels should be shared by State ATIs with all other government training institutes in the state.

In addition to incentives for trainers as recommended in Fifth and Sixth Pay Commissions, regular trainers could also be provided reimbursement of certain amount of funds each year to purchase books which would enhance their training capabilities.

Each State ATI should be permitted to employ trainers at least till the age of 65 years, after which wherever necessary appropriate Visiting Professorships and contractual appointments and use as guest faculty could be resorted to even beyond the age of 65.

There should be provisions for faculty (including the head) of one State ATI to visit other ATIs in other states, or Central administrative training institutes, to see how they are organising their trainings and how the faculty is functioning there. Similarly heads and faculty of the sectoral training institutes at State and lower levels (including of training institutes of grassroots workers like *patwaris or gram sevaks*) should be brought for study-cum-exposure visits to the State ATI to pick up tips about improving the training in their own institutes.

A question is often raised as to what sort of persons should head a State ATI. Some people feel that academic experts or someone who has worked in a top class management institute may be suitable. However, what is required as the head of a State ATI is a person with a deep understanding of government, government servants, and government practices. Thus, people from government services are best suited to head such institutions. Heads of the State ATIs should be selected from amongst the best civil servants available within the states; those who are much experienced in government service, have a good reputation as successful administrators, are senior enough to coordinate the training activities, and who also have an aptitude for training. In fact we have the example of West Bengal where they had re-employed a retired Additional Chief Secretary to the State Government as head of the State ATI, since earlier that person had worked as head of the State ATI and had proved to be effective.

Another issue that crops up sometimes is as to whether efforts should be concentrated at upgrading the capabilities (both quantitative and qualitative) of State ATIs, or whether more and more recourse should be taken to autonomous bodies like IIMs or even private institutes of managerial economics, social sciences and training, for the training of middle and senior level public servants. It has been found that in many cases even the faculty of institutions like IIMs or ASCI Hyderabad have limited understanding of government working in particular sectors. Thus recourse to IIMs or non-governmental institutions for public servants' training should be taken only selectively. In fact, there seems to be a misconception that a high quality educational institution would automatically be a high quality training facility. This is not necessarily true in actual practice. Faculty accustomed to teaching fresh and inexperienced young students primarily aiming at knowledge of the private corporate sector, may not be suitable for training of more mature practitioners with several years experience in government. Some reputed educational institutions often try to rely upon their name and reputation and do not take adequate interest in the quality of their training programmes beyond trying to utilise the idle capacity of their existing teachers, classrooms and hostels through offering training courses. It would thus be better to concentrate on further development and capacity enhancement of the State ATIs and sectoral government training institutes within the State.

As already indicated, not only Central or state government employees located at the state capital, but also civil servants who work at district and lower levels and in panchayat or municipal bodies, or work in coordination with NGOs and community based organisations, require comprehensive training. Thus each State ATI, in addition to its main campus, needs to have a regional campus at each divisional headquarters covering a group of four to five districts, and eventually a local campus of the State ATI may be required at each district headquarters. Till then the State ATI should also provide assistance in terms of trainers, training material and some funds to district collectors for organising certain training programmes for district functionaries at the district headquarters where locally available personnel could also form part of the faculty; and the State ATI should also play an advisory role while keeping an eye on the quality of such training.

Some of the state level departmental sectoral training centres may also need to have regional campuses at the divisional headquarters. Certain sectoral training centres meant exclusively for grassroots workers like *gram sevaks* or *patwaris* have already been created by certain departments. These may require to be set up in each district of the state.

Thus a system of training institutes for all government servants of category A, B, C and D can be built up with the State ATI as the apex

training institute in the State.

A number of states have gone in for saturation training either for functionaries of the state at all levels, or for all employees (officers and staff) in a district, or for employees working in a particular sector in a district. For this, special short term training courses have to be developed, tested, and then a series of courses rolled out for saturation training in a district, or in a particular department or sector from the state level to divisional regional level, to the district and below. Such efforts need to be led and coordinated by the State ATI in future also.

There are a number of large 'flagship' programmes being implemented by the Central or state governments which have large scale training needs as well as provisions of large training budgets. In such cases programme implementation and training need to be intimately connected. Much of this training would need to be organised at the state and district (and even sub district) levels. State ATIs need to coordinate such large training interventions jointly with the nodal department concerned for implementing each flagship programme. Use of the existing framework of government training institutes at various levels would need to be made and additional temporary training sets up got created with the help of district collectors. Such training could make use of a model of cascade training starting with the training of trainers and training of implementers at the state level. Some of the trained state level implementers could be selected to supplement the efforts of trainers in regional or division level training of implementers. Some of the trained implementers at this level could along with regular trainers be used to conduct district level implementation training, and similarly implementation related training could be organised at *tehsil or panchayat samiti* level, and even at the village level. (This is something already attempted in some states especially for panchayati raj represenatatives and functionaries.) Training material for such programmes could be centrally prepared by the Ministry concerned in the Government of India and provided to the State ATI for all the trainings within a state. Of course the State ATI would needs to adapt or supplement such material keeping in view the specific requirements of each state.

By coordinating the various types of training programmes for public servants within the state, the state ATI could ensure synergies and coordination between various type of training being provided.

Each State ATI needs to hold a series of meeting each year with the training managers of each state government department/agency where some training requirements are set forth by the concerned department/agency and some are suggested by the state ATI. The meetings can also be used to determine which training should be incorporated in the State ATI's annual

training calendar (including at the regional training centres of the State ATI) and which should be got conducted by the state and lower level sectoral training institutes, and also for which some government servants could be sent for training to existing Central Government training institutes or to private institutions of learning. Thus a sort of Training Needs Assessment (TNA) for each state government department would get finalised by the state ATI interacting with each department.

What is being contemplated here is both qualitative and quantitative upgradation of the training function within the state. This would require major efforts at strengthening each state ATI; strengthening of libraries and of computer learning facilities, provision of training equipment, development and augmentation of classrooms, other teaching spaces and hostel/guest houses, etc. Also required would be a major effort on the designing of new training modules, planning out of new courses, preparation and distribution of training materials (which should be provided extensively and free of cost to all trainees as also to all trainers), development of case studies and other documentation of government activities, processes, structures etc., development of simulational exercises, use of interactive video tapes and computers and training games involving role play and situational replays, experiential learning tools, and developing in-situ district and field training programmes as well as study tour capabilities, etc. State ATIs should be encouraged to publish training monographs, booklets, and even books. The State ATI should also conduct or sponsor action-oriented research which feeds into its other activities, and to organise seminars and workshops.

State ATIs also need to play a 'Centre for Good Governance' type of role. They should be able to suggest procedural and structural changes within government departments or agencies and then to develop training programmes and non-training interventions to help bring about the necessary change. ATIs should be able to conduct capability reviews of various government departments. Accordingly action research by the State ATI on improving and modifying government procedures, structures, delivery systems and policy making, etc. should feed into the design of new training programmes. Thus the State ATI should also act as a think tank for government.

Each State ATI needs to prepare or to periodically redefine its vision and vission statements, prepare a ten year vision document, formulate its own five year action plan, and correspondingly each years annual action plan and annual training calendar, and ensure optimal implementation of the same. Each State ATI could be helped in this by a strategic planning committee for the State ATI which once every five years undertakes a major review of the State ATI's working and future plans. In addition to the

Director and one or two faculty members of the ATI, this committee could have external members from some stakeholder departments and persons knowledgeable about training. Perhaps a former Director of the State ATI now retired from government service, or a nationally known expert on government sector training, could head this committee for each State ATI.

As regards resources for funding of training in State ATIs, the question arises as to whether training should be determined on the basis of funds which may become available from whatever source for particular types of courses, or whether it should be based on an assessment of actual training needs. Merely going by a percentage of each ministry/department's establishment budget being earmarked for training may not be the best method in all cases.

Each ATI should have a large flexible budget provided to it by government to plan out each year's courses/programmes along with the various ministries and departments according to jointly perceived needs; plus it should also be able to attract funding for specific courses from both public and private sources. The main flexible government budget of the State ATI should account for atleast 65 to 70 per cent of the training courses and the balance of not more than 30 to 35 percent courses could be dependent upon the attracting of additional funds. There needs to be a judicious mix of commercial programmes to meet part of the ATIs, operating costs and of programmes funded from the flexible governmental budget to meet the identified needs and requirements of government and of the public servants.

The State ATI as the apex training institute has to help the state training department to coordinate the entire state training effort with the various state government departments and the sectoral government training institutes. Thus periodic meetings of the heads of all government training institutes in the state need to be organised by each State ATI.

Accordingly the State ATI in each state needs to become a centre of excellence as an organisation of learning for all public servants in the state.

The State ATI has to provide major assistance to the personnel and administrative reforms department of the state government on the setting and periodically reviewing of standards of competency for each category of post in the public service with an emphasis on multi-skilling so that training can thereupon be used to develop such required competencies in the various categories of government servants. It needs to prod the personnel department to amend the various service rules so as to link training and competency building with promotions and with future postings, and to mandate for compulsory trainings at various stages in the service career. It needs to get the personnel department to (where it has not already been done) insert a

column in the annual performance appraisal form (popularly referred to as annual confidential report) for the reporting and reviewing officers to specify training needs of the individual being assessed keeping in mind his professional growth and the requirements of the organisation. Such identified training requirement as per the annual performance appraisal report should then be shared with the concerned government servant's cadre controlling authority. The State ATI has to help the personnel department to devise incentives for all public servants to be willing and receptive to receive training. It also should devise incentives for those imparting training.

The state finance department (in some states it is the finance and planning department) needs to place at the disposal of the state department of training and the state ATI a corpus (to be replenished each year by the state government) of funds for allocating resources to the various other governmental training organisations for strengthening, upgrading and maintaining the training related infrastructure, creating or developing new training modules, conducting special training programmes, organising training of trainers activities, providing special incentives for enhancing capabilities of all trainers, and for taking various other steps required to develop the state's training capabilities. It also needs to ensure that the State ATI receives a sufficiently large flexible budget each year to carry out its training activities, and in those years when a fresh batch of state service officers is recruited through the state public service commission it needs to provide extra funds to the State ATI for conducting the induction training (foundational course, institutional – professional course and district training). It needs to help the State ATI and other state level training institutes to obtain technical assistance from multi-lateral or bilateral aid agencies for strengthening of the training institute and for the conduct of desirable training programmes.

Departments like police, (land) revenue, education, medical, and rural development which have very large numbers of employees should gradually develop and expand their in-house training delivery system while continuing to make use of the State ATI for specific training courses. All medical and education department personnel should, before they are permitted to assume administrative (rather than teaching or medical treatment) responsibilities at the district level, compulsorily undergo a general administration (rules and office procedures, including financial regulations and requirements, as well as administrative leadership) course for district officers. This may even be useful for district level officers of other departments. Such courses are best conducted by the state ATI.

As regards the sectoral and other governmental training institutes, they need to prepare mission and vision statements, five yearly action plans, annual action plans and annual training calendars for their institute and to

ensure proper implementation accordingly. This needs to be done in consultation with their own parent department and under the general guidance of the State ATI. The state ATI needs to ensure that there is appropriate standard setting, accreditation and quality assurance, along with development of required training infrastructure within each such institute. Such institutes should also help the departmental training managers of their parent department to draw up the draft departmental training plans which could then be vetted by the State ATI. The Training Division of Government of India's Department of Personnel and Training and institutions like Indian Institute of Public Administration should arrange for periodic meetings of heads of State ATIs and of state training departments to be convened at the all-India level to ensure that common training issues are thrashed out, best training practices are shared, suitable training strategies are evolved, and a systematic approach to training is followed.

To sum up, a model state ATI would assist government departments and agencies to adopt such practices as are geared at better governance and improved public service delivery by empowering each government functionary to act as a catalyst for holistic, relevant, and equity – based transformation of the country.

A model State ATI would also ensure the adoption of a strategic, need-based, outcome-oriented, competency-based, performance-enhancing and value-inculcating approach to training which is directly related to the development needs of the state.

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Note

The paper has been developed from opening remarks made by the author at the Second National Workshop on Training for Governance in the States organised for Heads of State ATIs at IIPA on November 15, 2011. It has built and borrowed from some of the authors earlier publications mentioned in the References. It has also built upon the author's experience as a member of the Indian Administrative Service for 36 years (including working as Additional Chief Secretary Training Government of Rajasthan and Director of the State ATI (HCMRIPA) and earlier 2 year experience as a Lecturer at the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, as well as his experience as Director of Indian Institute of Administration, New Delhi since August 2010.

author are in complete harmony with many acknowledged works in this field. Gandhi on Women (Madhu Kishwar, 1986), Women in South Asia: The Raj and After (T. Sarkar, 1997), Women in India (Subhashin Sundararajan), Indian Women (D. Jain) and Women as Activists, Women as Symbols (S. Thapar) to name a few. Using descriptive -analytical methodology, the author presents his argument that Gandhi's insistence on non-violence as a revolutionary weapon, contributed to creating favourable conditions for women participation. Here, the author has focused on the debate whether the militant political activism that Gandhi offered to women, empowered them in the long run or not? Gandhi himself espoused the ideology of separate spheres for men and women, although he was critical of specific abuses like women's seclusion. The urgent pressures of anticolonial protest made it difficult, in any case, to focus adequately on an agenda of social reform. Gandhi wanted women to act as moral guardians of society, as social workers and do-gooders, without competing with men in the sphere of power and politics. The benefits to women of participation in the nationalist movement were always limited by their responsibilities for women's work in the home.

The book while attempting a critique, debates, that Gandhi's scheme of things never provided for a radical change in the male-dominated patriarchal norms. Besides, the idea of economic independence of women was not acceptable to Gandhi. It seems the author has ignored the fact that if "charkha" meant an independent means of livelihood to women, it automatically incorporated economic independence. Moreover Gandhi's objective was not to start feminist movement in India. His mission was to carry forward the freedom struggle. All his programmes subsumed within this argument.

This is not to detract from the usefulness of the book. Using province-wise data, the book provides a comprehensive understanding of the subject at hand. Undoubtedly it is an important reading for students and researchers alike.

—SANJU GUPTA

Public Administration: Fresh Perspectives
RAMESH K. ARORA (ED.), Jaipur, Aalekh Publishers, 2004, pp. x + 264, Rs.525.00.

Anyone wanting an overview of the development of public administration starting from Woodrow Wilson's well known article "The Study of Administration" written about 120 years ago (in 1887) to the present focus' on 'New Public Management' is likely to find the introductory paper (Ramesh K. Arora's "Public Administration: Resilience and Rejuvenation") of the book under review eminently suitable. Dr. Arora has briefly and skillfully skimmed through the Scientific Management Movement associated with F.W. Taylor, the classical school of Public Administration (White, Willoughby, etc.), Max Weber's bureaucratic model, the Human Relations researches of the late 1920s and early 1930s, the introduction of decisional analysis into administrative theory by writers like Chester Bernard and Herbert Simon, the evolution of 'developmental administration' and the comparative administration movement

after the Second World War, Fred Riggs Prismatic-Sala model, (this reviewer remembers having studied all of the above while doing an M.A. in Politcal Science from Rajasthan University at the start of the 1970s), the movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s which while drawing upon early American writings on public administration stressed upon the social relevance of knowledge and which became known as 'New Public Administration having received a fillip from Drought Waldo having organised a Public Administration conference at the Minnowbrook Conference Centre at Syracuse University in 1968, the Public Policy approach with two inter related focil (Policy Analysis and Political Public Policy), the Second Minnowbrook Conference of 1988 which revisited New Public Administration, the focus on Re-Inventing Government spurred by David Osburne and Ted Gaebler's book of the same name which came out in 1992 and the espousal of the concept of Good Governance by the World Bank in the same year, Post-modern Public Administration, based on the trinity of the post behavoural tenets of Public administration viz. 'critical theory', 'phenomenology' and the "structurian" theory, the short lived Public Choice theory, and New Public Management (or NPM) which some scholars have branded as 'neo-Taylorism'. Arora points out that New Public Management is more germane to the milieu in developed nations, while for developing countries like India traditional Public Administration continues to be more relevant with the concerns of New Public Administration and New Public Management somewhat re-energising both the discipline and the profession of Public Administration. Arora also reminds us that there has been one important shift in the thinking of NPM over the years. In the early stages there was stress on down sizing, degovernmentalisation and privatisation, while now it is being realised that government has a number of important roles to perform and that what is important is not *less* government, but *better* government.

The chapter described above by the book's editor, and one which hints at many of the issues discussed in subsequent papers, is one of two especially written for this volume, the other one being by Uma Medury on "Reinventing Public Administration: The New Public Management Perspective".

Ten of the chapters out of a total of 15 in the volume were originally published in the journal Administrative Change edited by Dr. Ramesh Arora. These are by Mohit Bhattacharya ("Changing Profile of Public Administration"), E.H. Valsan ("Globalisation and Public Administration"), Dolly Arora ("Public Management Reforms"), Dhrubjyoti Bhaumik ("Economic Reforms and Role of Bureaucracy in India: A Study in the Perspective of Administrative Reforms"), M.C. Gupta ("Civil Servant of Tomorrow"), Sandeep Shastry ("Political Control of Bureaucracy in India"), G. Srinivas Reddy ("Post - Modern Public Administration: A Critique of Discourse Theory"), M. Koteswara Rao and M. Bapuji ("Comparative Public Administration: Past Trends, Current Status and Future Prospects"), Prabhat Datta ("Development Administration: New Agenda"), and Paras Kuhad ("Official Secrecy and Right to Information").

Three chapters have been taken from elsewhere. They are N. Vithal's analysis of effective management in Government systems, Ramesh Arora's

look at the Indian experience at achieving efficiency and good governance, and Herbert Simon's John Gaus lecture delivered in 2000 a few months before the death of this Nobel Laureate and originally published in PS: Political Science and Politics Vol. 33, No.4, December 2000 under the title "Public Administration in Today's World of Organisations and Markets".

Interestingly Simon concludes that "Gradually increases in the demands for, and in the advantages of, more coordination in economic activity, together with accumulation of skills of organising brought into existence ever larger Corporations that began to emulate in size the administrative organisations of the nation State - and we were launched into our modern world. Both Private and Public Organisations have played essential roles in these modern developments, complimenting each other's functions, learning from each other, and at the same time competing for power to steer and manage the systems that have emerged. That process has not reached its end, and political science and economics must continue their mutual education, with each discipline learning from the other" (p.40-41).

Another quote this author would like to pick up and share with the readers is from the concluding observations of Uma Medury's chapter on reinventing public administration. Medury states (p. 103) that "Public administration needs to gear up to the challenges of:

- redefining the respective spheres of state and non-state actors, building mechanisms for better interaction and cooperation;
- framing suitable laws and regulations that provide necessary stability, confidence and enforcement;
- responding to citizen's demands through innovative ways; and
- building a professionalised civil service possessing necessary competence, skills, public service as well as participatory and pro-citizen ethic".

The above formulation appears to be apt and the only modification this reviewer would like to suggest is on the need to add a comparative and developmental perspective while responding to the issues highlighted by Medury.

Each of the chapters is replete with many interesting and useful insights and fresh perspectives (as promised in the subtitle of the book) which are too numerous to spell out in a short book review of this size and the chapters are well selected—though the theme of Paras Kuhar chapter (on the right to information in the Indian context) is such that it does not jell too well with the rest of the chapter in this book which are mostly related to the changing approaches to Public Administration in the West and in India over the last century. To some extent the same can be said about the article by M.C. Gupta which discusses the qualities required in future amongst Indian civil servants.

It would also have been nice if the book had been divided into two sections and chapter containing global and theoretical perspectives had been placed in the first section and the India-centric chapter in a separate second section

section, with a small concluding piece by the editor at the end to complement the introductory piece already provided by him in the book and which tied together the various chapters included in the volume under review.

Despite being priced at almost two rupees per page (Rs. 525 for 264 pages) the book definitely is value for money.

—RAKESH HOOJA

Corruption-Free Sustainable Development: Challenges and Strategies for Good Governance

R. B. JAIN (ED.), New Delhi, Mittal Publications, 2004, p.302, Rs. 595.00.

Having written or edited a number of books, Prof. R. B. Jain has now produced this volume which is an outcome of the two panels organised under his chairmanship by the International Political Science Association's (IPSA) Research Committee on Public Bureaucracies in Developing Societies at the 18th Congress in Quebec (Canada) and its mid-term conference organised at Abuja (Nigeria) in 2001. This Committee of IPSA has been chaired by Prof. R. B. Jain since its inception about 25 years ago. A number of books have been edited by him following the panels of this Research Committee and the book under review is the latest in the series.

Strategies of good governance for corruption-free sustainable development have been a major concern of governments and scholars all over the world. This book is a welcome addition to the growing literature in this field.

The book is a collection of ten papers covering different dimensions of its main theme. In the Introductory chapter Prof. Jain elaborates the meaning of good governance as explained by donor agencies (such as World Bank) and various scholars and points out as to how corruption-free sustainable development has to be its integral part. He summarises the main contents of different papers in the last chapter.

The authors of papers cover similar as well as different grounds related to the main theme of the book. Rainer Pitschas looks at the impact of New Public Management on the administrative culture and ethics in the German public sector and points out as to how the principles of managerialism adopted by Anglo-American modernisation efforts could undermine the public and common good. Alice Sindzingre looks at the nature of (poor) governance and causes of corruption in Africa. She points out as to how heterogeneous social norms and networks pose problems for modern ethical standards and why reforms should not solely concentrate on economic, organisational, technical and corrective measures but must also address the transformation of institutions, at cognitive, macro and political levels.Eung Kyuk Park looks at Korean bureaucratic culture and public ethics in the two Koreas in the post-world war era. Although he acknowledges the contribution of public bureaucracy in national reconstruction, he laments as to how the bureaucratic culture (with continuing overall impact of Confucian teachings on the society) is characterised by authoritarianism and ritualism which inhibit challenge to

contributing to health of people, especially in the case of residences of *Dalit* communities. Chapter 14 suggests certain critical and highly relevant measures towards amelioration of the living conditions of the Dalits. Finally, in recapitulation, it focuses on the perennial, sensitive, relevant, deserving and humanly justified measures to be adopted to see that the Dalits all over the country live and lead life as respectable human individuals assured of minimum standard of life. It is a valuable and informative reading for those who are interested in study of *Dalits*.

—DIPANKAR GUHA

Public Management: Old and New

LAURENCE E. LYNN, JR., New York and London, Routledge, 2006, pp xiv+210, price not stated

The author of this timely volume is a Professor of Public Affairs at the Bush School of Government and Public Affairs at Texas and A & M University USA. He has received the H. George Frederickson Award and the Dwight Waldo Award for lifetime contributions to public administration and management scholarship. Thus he is well recognised in his field and can by no means be considered a maverick.

That such a writer could come out in 2006, when the global financial meltdown of 2008 (which has led to the questioning of many western paradigms) had not been envisaged by anyone, with such a book is significant from our point of view since many established Public Administration scholars in India were at the same time stating that New Public Management (NPM) is here to stay. Certain Indian writers have of course often been suggesting that NPM may be more germaine to the milieu of developed countries, while for developing countries like India traditional public administration continues to be more relevant (see Ramesh K. Arora Public Administration: Fresh Perspective 2004 or Rakesh Hooja "Traditional Public Administration, New Public Management and New Public Administration" in Administrative Change Vol 33, No 2, 2006 and the introduction to Rakesh Hooja and Ramesh K. Arora (ed.) Administrative Theories: Approaches. Concepts and Thinkers in Public Administration, 2007) and that NPM which tries to apply principles of business management to government has had mixed results even in developed countries and has not fared any better in developing countries and has certainly not proved to be a panacea (C.V. Raghavulu "The New Phase in Administrative Reforms: Good Governance and New Public Management" in Hoshiar Singh (ed.) Expanding Horizons of Public Administration 2005). Other Indian scholars who have been critical of NPM include Mohit Bhattacharya, Dolly Arora and Uma Medury.

Laurence Lynn has gone one step further by questioning the assertion of some scholars that NPM is displacing the obsolete "Old Public Administration", and stating that NPM fevers have begun to subside. He goes on to suggest that "rather than simply note the passing of yet another ephemeral managerial fashion, in the manner, say, of Japanese management, planning-programming-budgeting, scientific management and cameralism, the widespread popularity of NPMs narrative of reform invites reflection; on what the subject of public management ought to be about".

Lynn points out that NPM emphasises incentives, competition and performance. He tends to equate NPM with managerialism that was more suited in neo-conservative times. He quotes Konig that NPM refers "to a popularised mixture of management theories, business motivation, psychology and neo-liberal economy" ("Entrepreneurial Management or Executive Administration: The Perspective of Classical Public Administration" in Walter J.M. Kickert (ed.) Public Management and Administrative Reforms in Western Europe, 1997). (Interestingly a very good recent counter to managerialism and NPM's emphasis mainly on efficiency is Chris Grey's A Very Short, Fairly Interestingly and Reasonably Cheap Book About Studying Organisations, 2005 which this reviewer had the privilege to review in Administrative Change Vol. 34 No 2 & Vol. 35 No 1, 2007).

Lynn negates the view that NPM represents a historical transformation that is realigning the relationships between the State and society, between government and citizen, and between politics and management. Instead he sets forth the argument that the old and the new, that is both public management's historical and contemporary structures, practices and institutions are intimately inter related to the paths and patterns of national institutional development. Public management is deeply rooted in national politics, law and institutional values. Thus public management reform in any country is inevitably shaped by that country's history.

Examining the ideas of a large number of analysts he finds that many have used the terms public administration and public management as synonymous. For others the two are for all practical purposes undistinguishable. While others tend to try to make a distinction without being able to establish significant differences. He also reminds us that in the 1930s and 1940s many tended to equate 'management' and 'administration and that for example President Franklin Roosevelt's Committee on Administrative Management in America tried to join the two together as 'public administration and management'. He asks readers to note that dictionaries have had a habit of using each of the terms 'management' and 'administration' to define each other, a habit that originated with 17th Century cameralists. Students of public administration and political

science in India are of course well aware that Frederick Taylor's "scientific management" has become as much a part of traditional public administration as of private sector oriented management studies. Thus Lynn reminds all readers that public management is not something new, nor very different from public administration. "In effect" states Lynn, "the history of public administration is the history of public management". He also indicates that 'governance' fits into the contours of public administration, which we all know evolved in India out of the discipline of political science.

Lynn also examines the issue as to whether the 'public' is more important in public management or 'management' is more important, i.e. which aspect should be emphasised. He concludes a brief review of the matter with the assertion that the distinctions between public and private management are distinctive. The two sectors are constituted to serve different kinds of societal interests and thus distinctive kinds of skills and values are appropriate to serve these different interests.

While Lynn has summarised the main arguments of the proponents of NPM with which most current day analysts of public administration are familiar, he has not neglected the critics pointing out that the concepts of citizen, citizens rights and citizen participation are non-existent in NPM debates and that critics feel that NPM threatens traditional values like equity, due process and general public interest.

A major part of the book (nearly four chapters out of a total of eight) under review is an examination of "old" or traditional public management, covering the period from antiquity through the 1960s in Continental Europe (France and Germany in particular), Great Britain and USA and relooking at the same four countries in terms of 'new' public management or managerialism covering developments beginning in the 1970s through the early years of the 21st Century. This Lynn feels would prove sufficient to establish the relevance of the past to the present and future of public administration.

It is not proposed to attempt to summarise or comment upon the breadth, depth and comparative sweep of the intellectual history of public administration in general and in the four selected countries in particular (whose bureaucratic developments have been most competently compared) in this book review due to considerations of space. However the point clearly emerges that innovations in public management are path dependent and are greatly influenced by a nation's history institutions and culture which influences structures and processes, the application of the craft of governance and administration, and the manner in which institutions evolve in future. As Lynn states "mediated by national differences, moderanisation produces differentiated bureaucracies". Lynn quotes Parrel Heady (Public

Administration: A Comparative Perspective, 1996) to the effect that "variations among political regimes (are) a major explanatory factor for variations among public bureaucracies". Similarly, Lynn points out that cultural effects may differentiate management strategies across countries. He quotes Lachman, Nedd and Hinings ("Analysing Cross- National Management and Organisations: A Theoretical Framework" Management Science, Vol. 40, 1994) to the effect that 'imported' practices may fail, or be ineffectively implemented, if they are inconsistent with the core values of local settings". Noted American public administration Scholar Fred Riggs has separately expressed similar views ("Exporting Governance?" in ASTI Journal of Training and Development, Vol. 4, No. 1, Jan-June '2003') where he has strongly doubted whether any models or paradigms and innovations about governance can ever be exported successfully from one country to another.

As Lynn points out shared backgrounds as in the case of Anglo Saxon common law regimes in USA and UK are no guarantee that public management trends and innovations would follow identical or even similar lines—a point brought strongly home to this reviewer when he recently attended a public management course for administrators from Commonwealth countries, who share in a common colonial past with systems of administration originally evolved and imposed by the British.

All of this speaks against some common features of NPM being uniformally applicable throughout the world and Lynn has early in the book described such common features based upon a dependence upon markets set forth by proponents of NPM like that provided by Toonen ("The Comparative Dimensions of Administrative Reform: Creating Open Villages and Redesigning the Politics of Administration" in B Guy Peter and John Pierre (eds.) Politicians, Bureaucrats and Administrative Reform, 2001).

NPM lays stress on universal "best practices" which could be emulated the world over, while in reality not many best practices are transplantable in other countries or other milieus.

In fact the second last end note of this volume by Laurence Lynn reads "Despite its apparent enthusiasm for NPM, the OECD correctly observed that there is no single modelof reform, there are no off- the - shelf solutions to the problems of the bureaucratic state". (OECD Governance in Transition: Public Management Reforms in OECD Countries, 1995).

It was interesting to learn from this book under review that the term New Public Management was coined in 1989 by Christopher Hood to describe similar administrative doctrines of allocations of resources by competitive markets. It immediately struck this reviewer that only a year later in 1990, John Williamson was to first describe the "Washington

Consensus" which characterised a philosophy of fiscal and monetary discipline, trade liberalisation, privatisation plus deregulation, emphasis on free markets and minimalist government. The "Washington Consensus" has been under strain and attack for at least the last five to six years, (see for example S.N.H. Naqvi Development Economics: Nature and Significance 2002) even Williamson was questioning it and its relevance by 2007, and now the 2008 global financial crisis has swept it away. A similar fate appears to be in store for much of NPM which would now be severely questioned, as would many tenets of business (or private sector) management theory and neo-liberal economics.

But public management and public administration would survive. As Lynn suggests, contextual variations would continue in the sphere of public management where democracy, and not global capitalism, would be the defining or driving force for the transformation of states around the world. Thus Lynn feels that the administrative state may become even stronger and indispensable, but in highly differentiated forms from country to country. In Lynn's words: "Bureaucracy (will) continue to be, as it has been historically, both solution and problem, an apparatus that provides structures, stability and capacity to modern states but, at the same time (posing) challenges to institutions of democratic control and participation". Lynn suggests that in the new century, the thrust may be away from NPM type initiatives towards what may be described as "enlightened public governance" a term used by Wettenhall and Thyne ("Public Enterprise and Privatisation in a New Century/Evolving Patterns of Governance and Public Management" in Public Finance and Management Vol. 2, 2002). As some Indian scholars have been suggesting what is required is not less governments but better government with related administrative arrangements.

What is the lesson for India and Indians from this book which was written for western students of public management? Indian scholars and observers should overcome their fascination and awe for NPM prescriptions. We have to work out our own solutions of public administration which fit into our own context. This reviewer has separately pleaded for Indian social scientists to be contextual (Rakesh Hooja, "The Contextuality of Social Sciences and Social Science Research" in Management in Government Vol 38, No 4, 2007). Similarly he has written on the contextual character of Good Governance (Rakesh Hooja "The Contextual Character of Good Governance" in Ramesh K Arora and R N Khendelwal (eds.) Good Governance: Initiatives and Impact 2008) and of the discipline of management (Rakesh Hooja "Enhancing the Quality of Management Education" in Management in Governance Vol 39, No 2, 2007). We need to understand what are our needs in our Indian context. We need to appreciate

what is being attempted and conceptualised elsewhere in both western and non-western contexts and then try to select what from abroad could be adapted and tried out in India. We also need to evolve our own Indian path of modern public administration.

Lawrence Lynn's "Public Management Old and New" is a work of immense scholarship and clear logic. It is both an intellectual history of public administration and a synthesis of existing theory. It contains excellent insights on various aspects of public management and public administration. It should be read by social scientists of various hues as well as by all those interested in government, development and administration. It would also be useful for scholars for picking up leads and tips for 'the future development and (evolution of the academic discipline of Indian public administration (where much needs to be done as this reviewer has suggested elsewhere in Rakesh Hooja "Reflections on the Required Scope of Public Administration Syllabi in Today's Indian Context" Prashasnika Vol 35 No 1, 2008) as well as by those trying to reform Indian public administration in practice.

—RAKESH HOOJA

PLANNING FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RAJASTHAN*

Rakesh Hooja & Harsh Sethi

IN this article, we have tried to examine India's Industrial Policy Resolutions and the plan formulation and implementation machinery with respect to the State of Rajasthan. We have also attempted a survey of Rajasthan's industrial potential, a critique of the industrialization process in the State, and an analysis of the factors that limit the efficacy and efficiency of developmental administration structures in India.

OBJECTIVES OF PLANNING

Soon after our Independence, the Indian Government, composed of the members of Congress decided to opt for a system of mixed economy—planned economic development in a broad framework of parliamentary democracy.

The Constitution of India enunciates Directive Principles of State Policy, which, though not enforceable by any court are "nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws". Two of these Articles, Article 38 and Article 39 (a), (b), (c) are cited in the resolution of March 15, 1950 by which the Planning Commission was set up.

> "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life." (Art. 38).
>
> "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing (*a*) that the citizens, men and women, equally, have the rights to an adequate means of livelihood; (*b*) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the country are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; (*c*) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment." (Article 39).

*The authors are grateful to P. C. Mathur, Research Associate, Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur for suggestions made during frequent discussions prior to the writing of this article.

In practical implementation, the four main objectives of the government became to secure: (*a*) Growth; (*b*) Equity (this includes balanced regional development); (*c*) Self-reliance; and (*d*) Full Employment. In a 'socialistic pattern of society' which is what our country is aiming at evolving, the overriding aim of a 'Planned Economy' is achievement of these objectives. It is against this that we shall judge the efficacy of the 'Industrial Policy Resolution'; the entire planning and implementation structure, the actual policies followed—in short, our success and failure. All through, of course, let us keep in mind that the feasibility constraints—posed by the system—should not be ignored.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY RESOLUTION

The Government had declared its intention, "to secure that technologically feasible rate of growth—which would provide full employment inside the country". In accord with this it formulated an Industrial Policy. The basic policy dates back to 1956, and though periodic revisions were made in the policy—and a new resolution was announced as late as 1972—the entire pattern still follows from the 1956 set-up.

In the light of the success of the First Five Year Plan, the provisions of the 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution were as follows:

Industries were classified into three categories:

(*a*) those which were the exclusive responsibility of the State;

(*b*) those which were to be progressively state-owned and in which the state would set up new enterprises, but in which the private enterprise would be expected to supplement the effort of the state; and

(*c*) all the remaining industries to be left to the initiative and drive of the private sector.

Category (*a*) contained 17 industries—like arms and ammunition, all heavy industries (iron and steel etc.,) coal, oil, shipping, railways, etc. This core sector was to be the kingpin of our development strategy.

Category (*b*) contained 12 industries: mainly mining, aluminium, chemicals, essential drugs, fertilizers, etc.

The attempt was to create a mixed economy in India for :

(*i*) fair and non-discriminatory treatment for the government sector;

(*ii*) encouragement to village and small-scale enterprise;

(*iii*) the need for removing regional disparities;

(*iv*) need for the provisions of amenities for labour; and

(*v*) attitude towards foreign capital. The need for this was recognised, but it was made clear that as far as possible, the ownership and effective control should be in Indian hands.

With this basic structure in mind, the government instituted its policies for licensing, financial aid to the private sector, tax concessions, etc., and suitable revisions to the basic policy were made in the procedure for Industrial licensing—after the publication of the Hazari Commission Report 1966—and the Dutt Committee Report, July 1969—for Monopoly Control.

In February 1970, the government announced its new Industrial Policy—keeping a sectoral classification of industry and adding the concept of a joint sector—wherein the public and the private sectors will jointly collaborate in major projects involving investments ranging from Rupees one crore to five crores—in all sectors other than the basic core sector.

The broad outlines to be followed at the national level hold good for Rajasthan also. No other important point has been made in the government decisions regarding its industrial policy.[1]

INDUSTRIAL POTENTIAL OF RAJASTHAN[2]

Before embarking upon a survey of what is available in the State and then attempting to formulate precise directions for policy, it should be kept in mind that Rajasthan has (1) surplus land, (2) deficit water.

Rajasthan has a rich haul of minerals—chiefly copper (reserves 112MT), beryl ore, zinc and lead ores (97MT), high grade iron ore deposits (11MT), manganese, tungsten, calcite mineral, gypsum, fluorite, mica, rock phosphate—all are available in adequate quantity—and offer possibility of industrial exploitation. The RIMDC and the GSI are undertaking further prospecting work and are carrying out in-depth studies for selected minerals. Mineral-based industries and chemical industries have good scope in view of the availability of raw material.

Because a large cattle and sheep population exists in the State, the sheep and wool industry has good scope in the State. Inadequate and uncertain

[1] See *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan—Rajasthan* 1974-79, Jaipur, 1973 and *Approach Paper—Perspective Plan for Industrial Development*, 1974-84, Jaipur, 1973.

[2] The material for this section has been drawn from:

(*a*) *Industrial Potential Survey—Rajasthan*, Jaipur, 1972.

(*b*) *Growth, Potential and Prospects—Industrialisation in Rajasthan*, Jaipur.

(*c*) *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan—Rajasthan*, 1974-79, Jaipur.

(*d*) *Approach Paper—Perspective Plan for Industrial Development*, 1974-84, Jaipur, 1973.

availability of fodder suggests the establishment of units for manufacture of cattle and poultry feed based on local raw materials.

The Dyeing and Printing industry, manufacture of handicrafts—all have a base in the State—and further expansion can easily be facilitated by expert help from the RIMDC. Manufacture of scooter parts (Alwar district), ceramic products, extraction of oil—all hold good prospects for development—especially in the SSI (Small-Scale Industries) sector.

Establishment of medium- and large-scale industries depends upon a variety of factors and inputs. We have surveyed the raw material resources above, and we now indicate the availability of other inputs like power supply, transport, labour and government assistance

(*a*) *Power*

Rajasthan has now entered the phase of abundant power availability. By 1974, the State will have thermal capacity 110 megawatts; nuclear capacity 350 megawatts; hydro capacity 194 megawatts; and total capacity, 654 megawatts.[3]

As an incentive to industrial consumers, concessional rates are offered to both MSI (Medium-Scale Industrial) and LSI (Large-Sale Industrial) units.

(*b*) *Transport*

The road system in the State is extensive and the state government is undertaking a major programme of further construction.

Table 1

Road Length and Number of Vehicles

Year	*Length of Road*	*Road Length/100 km.*	*Private Carriers*	*Public Carriers*
1963-64	28,904	8.5	1302	9429
1966-67	30,854	9.1	2124	12302
1968-69	31,376	9.3	2928	16136

Basic Statistics Rajasthan, 1970).

The rail system is haphazard and one has frequently to shift from narrow gauge to meter gauge and to broad gauge.

The total railway mileage is 6225 km.; meter gauge, 5818 km.; broad gauge, 293 km. ; and narrow gauge, 114 km. This is definitely unsatisfactory.

(*c*) *Labour (skilled and unskilled)*

Because of widespread unemployment, unskilled labour is cheap in most parts of the State. However, the required technical skills are lacking, though four engineering colleges (Jaipur, Pilani, Jodhpur and Udaipur), six

[3] *Source*: Rajasthan State Electricity Board.

polytechnics, and 15 I.T.Is., with an annual intake capacity of 3284 students, are very much easing the situation.

(*d*) *Governmental Assistance*

This is available in the form of tax concessions, subsidised power rates, liberal marketing assistance (especially cottage and SSI) which are entitled to a 15 per cent price preference over goods manufactured by MSI and LSI. Local goods are given a 3 per cent price preference over goods from other States. Now as per the Fifth Five Year Plan, the government is embarking on a major industrial expansion (over Rupees 30 crores in industries and mining). Thus industrial units should not suffer from lack of a market.[4]

Our brief survey indicates definite possibilities for industrial development in Rajasthan in spite of a lack of water supply and certain infrastructural facilities. Some definite projects identified by the Industrial Potential Team are:

(1) Billets and steel castings with electricity and furnace (Kota).

(2) Pig iron Unit 2 lakh tons/year (Udaipur).

(3) Increasing capacity of zinc smelter—of Hindustan Zinc from 18,000 to 48,000 tons/year.

(4) Manufacture of ferro-manganese.

(5) Establishment of cryolite/aluminium projects (Durgapur).

The list identifies about 30 more projects.

Against this let us briefly survey the actual industrial development in the State in both the public and privtate sectors—and their plans for expansion (Fifth Five Year Plan).

During the Fourth Plan considerable growth has been registered in the industries sector. The number of registered factories rose to 2800 (1973). The total investment in the four central public sector enterprises (Hindustan Zinc, Hindustan Copper, Hindustan Machine Tools and Instrumentation Ltd.) is expected to increase from Rupees 16.86 crores (1966-67) to Rupees 105.28 crores (1973-74). In the private sector, significant increases have been recorded in the production of cement, vanaspati, fertiliser, synthetic fibres, chemicals and engineering goods. The trend in growth is also noticeable from the increase in loan assistance extended by the Rajasthan Finance Corporation (RFC). From 1964-65 to 1968-69, RFC disbursed a total loan of Rs. 449.9 lakhs to 146 units. What appears is a rosy picture. But many licences and letters of intent have not fructified mainly because of local disadvantages faced by entrepreneurs.

[4] For further information *see* the *Handbook of the Department of Industries*, Government of Rajasthan.

Our employment-generation has been shoddy. Only 3.26 lakhs of additional employment was generated outside the agricultural sector in the Fourth Plan. As against this, we hope to create additional employment to the tune of 6.7 lakhs in the Fifth Five Year Plan. All this time the category of educated persons, registered as unemployed has risen from 35906 (1967) to 91355 (1972).

Table 2

Growth of Investment and Employment in Public and Private Sectors in Rajasthan

	1964			1969		
	Pvt.	*Pub.*	*Total*	*Pvt.*	*Pub.*	*Total*
Number of Units	675	103	778	844	119	963
Capital (Rs. Lakhs)	5077	5901	10978	10101	18931	29032
Employment (Number of persons)	49786	26430	76216	62947	34739	97686

One feature of industrial development in Rajasthan is that industries have mainly been concentrated in the Kota, Jaipur, and Ajmer divisions. However, as per the Fifth Five Year Plan, the lop-sided industrial development of the State will be corrected by setting up more industrial units in the western and more under-developed section of the State.

STRUCTURE OF DEVELPOMENTAL MACHINERY

Plan Formulational Machinery

Much has been written about the formulation of National Plans.[5] However, it would be more appropriate here to consider the state-level planning processes with reference to industries.[6]

[5] See for example, Rakesh Hooja and Abhay Bhargava, "The Planning Experiment since Independence" in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *Administrative Change in India*, Aalekh, Jaipur, 1974. We are not attempting a description of national planning here.

[6] This description is developed from the arguments stated in (1) M. S. Mogra, "Planning Process in Rajasthan" in Ziauddin Khan, V.M. Sinha and K.D. Trivedi (ed.) *State Administrative in Rajasthan* (Asha, Jaipur, 1973 and (2) S. S. Tanwar, *Planning Administration at the State Level: A Case Study on Rajasthan* (Master's dissertation), Department of Public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur 1969.

The State Planning Department (see Chart I) fixes, on the basis of the national draft plan, the approach paper to the State Plan, and its reading of the varying requirements of State government departments, tentative targets and financial allocations for the industries department. It also suggsets, after discussion with officials of the industries department and directorate (see Chart II) (and, perhaps, discussions in a development and planning committee) a list of schemes and projects to be initiated in the next plan-period.

This tentative information is sent to various District Collectors, Zila Parishad Secretaries, and Vikas Adhikaris (Block Development Officers) by the Industries Department after it has split it up on a district-wise and panchayat samiti-wise basis.

Various Panchayat meetings at Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad level are held, some attended by District Industries Officers, and finally Panchayat Samiti plans are formulated and compiled into a District plan. In practice, the suggestions of the State Planning and Industries Departments are faithfully adhered to. (In some districts, District Planning Committees have also now been set up).

The Zila Parishad and District Planning Committee meetings are also attended by the Deputy District Development Officer and the District Plans are then sent up to Jaipur for compilation into a State Plan (with a section on industries) by the Planning Department.

Simultaneously another process has also been taking place. The field officers in the district have, upon orders, been sending a list of their needs for continuing projects and suggestions for new ones to the Collector and the directorate, and through it to the department of industries. This information is also forwarded to the State Planning Department for inclusion in the State Plan after senior-level officers' discussions.

Throughout the planning process, the Collector acts with the knowledge that he shall also bear responsibility for the implementation of his plan.[7]

Plan Implementation Machinery

The implementation of industrial plans is dependent upon the regional and district officers of the Directorate of Industries and on the Collector,

[7] For some more details about the process of Planning at the State level and the shortcomings of such a process see: (1) P. C. Mathur, "Multi-level Planning in Rajasthan" *in Voluntary Action*, Vol. VII, No. 4, July-August, 1966. (2) Rakesh Hooja, "District as a Planning Unit", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, special issue on Multi-level Planning, July-September, 1973, (3) D. K. Saxena, "Planning from Below in Rajasthan", *Political Science Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October, 1962; and (4) Rakesh Hooja, "District Planning Approaches', *Journal of Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration*, No. 2, 1974 (in press).

CHART I

Department of Planning

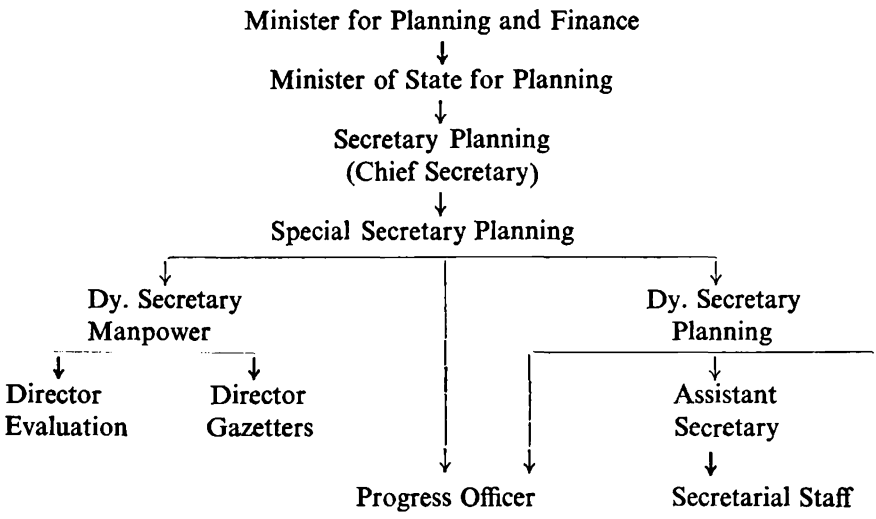
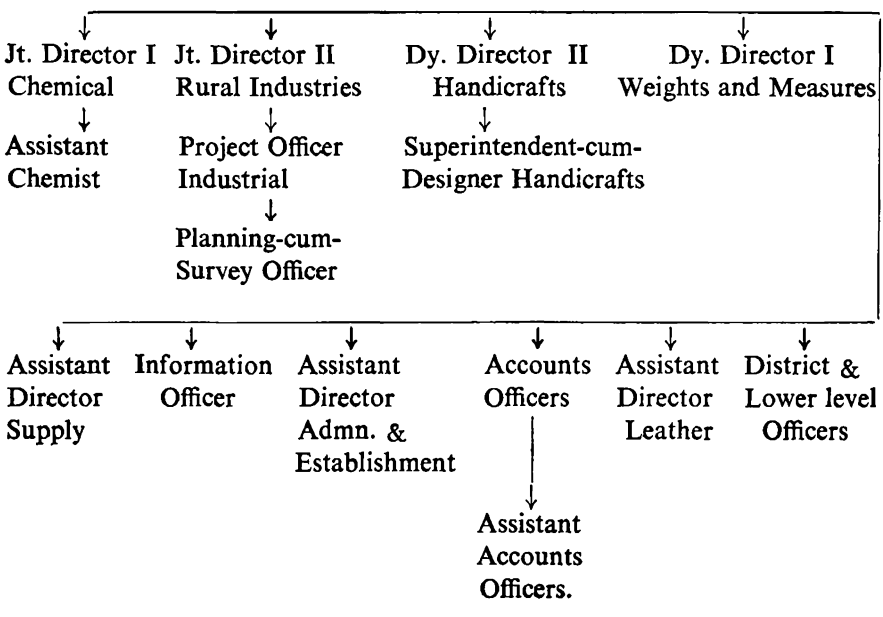


CHART II

Organizational Chart of Directorate of Idustries



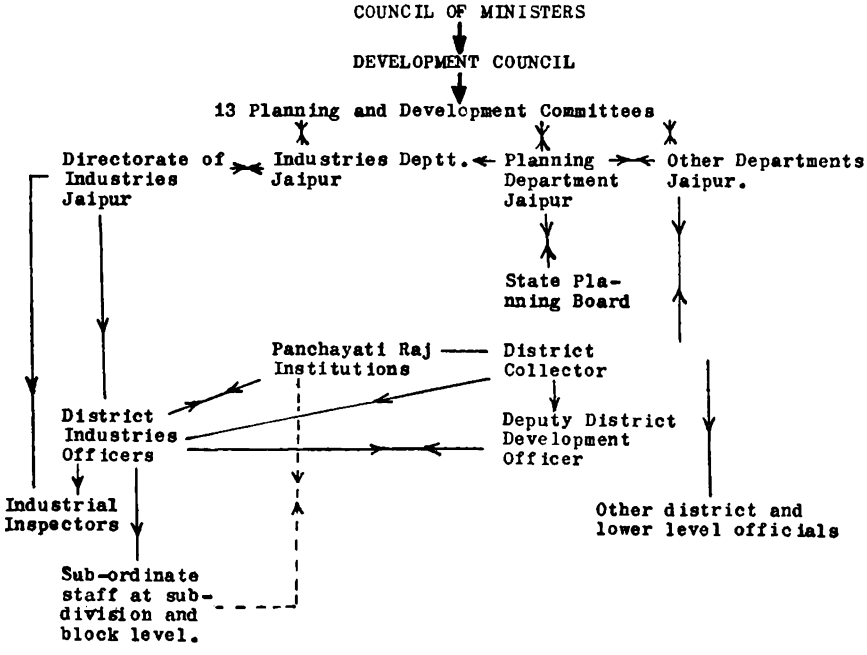
Deputy Development Officer and Panchayati Raj institutions[8] (see Chart III) as also on the Department of State Enterprises (for public sector activities). It would be most appropriate to limit ourselves here to the role of the Directorate of Industries and of the District Industries Officer.

The Directorate performs: (1) advisory functions: suggesting schemes for implementation and advising entrepreneurs regarding the location of industries and technical know-how regarding them, statistical information about raw material availability and market demand, and the specialized agencies like the Agro-Industries Corporation, Finance Corporation, Industrial and Mineral Development Corporation, Industrial Development Corporation, Small Industries Service Institute which may be of help to them; (2) developmental functions: assisting entrepreneurs in securing land, water

CHART III

Communication Flow Chart of Plan Formulational and Implementational Machinery with reference to Industries

(*Note:* The bias is towards delineating field organizations and as such headquarters offices like that of Chief Secretary and Development Commissioner have not been spelt out fully).



[8] For details about the role of the Collector, Deputy Development Officer and Panchayat Bodies *see*: (1) C. P. Bhambhri, *Administration in India*, Vikas, Delhi, 1973; and (2) Rakesh Hooja, "The District As a Planning Unit—Style and Locus", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, July-October, 1973.

and power facilities, loans and subsidies, setting up Industrial Estates, assisting in quality improvement efforts and providing market outlets to entrepreneurs, encouraging Industrial Corporatives and itself providing loans; (3) supply functions: issuing permits, controlling the supply of, and even making available, scarce materials, like copper, zinc, lead and tin and even assisting industrial units to get imported materials; (4) providing technical assistance: conducting surveys to explore economic potentialities of areas, running a laboratory to serve entrepreneurs, preparing designs (for handicrafts) and project reports, providing training for workers and would-be enterpreneurs and making known quality control measures and techniques; (5) coordinating functions: coordinating provision of supplies, etc., and thus the functioning of state and centrally administered enterprises, of private entrepreneurs and chambers of commerce, providing them with liaison facilities *vis-a-vis* the State Government and the Ministry of Industrial Development at the Centre; and trying to make various regions industrially complementary to each other through coordinated sector-wise development; (6) supervisory functions: directing regional and district industries officers, ensuring absence of malpractices regarding weights and measures, making periodical checks of units to which it has supplied raw material and other facilities, and ensuring decent working conditions and the general welfare of labourers in various industrial units; and (7) miscellaneous functions: special relief and rehabilitation work in times of emergency and distress.[9]

The key officer in the field is the District Industries Officer[10] (DIO) who is assisted, among others, by industries inspectors and assistant inspectors. The Directorate of Industries has delegated responsibility for the development of industries in the District to him and thus he forms the link between individual entrepreneurs and the Director and even Secretary, Industries, at the same time, working in collaboration with the Collector, Deputy District Development Officer and Panchayat institutions to ensure integrated District development. The DIO collects information about existing industries, raw materials and other facilities available to the entrepreneurs in the District. He advises about suitable sites for setting up their units and approves of schemes for the establishment and development of small-scale industries and handicrafts in his District. He is also responsible for the development of large-scale industries but his attainments in this respect are negligible. He is associated with both the formulation and (after it is approved by the Planning Department) implementation of District Plans and can, with this end in view, recommend that the Directorate of Industries

[9] For details, see Kailash Kumar Puri, The Directorate of Industries and Supplies, Jaipur, Rajasthan (unpublished Masters dissertation, Department of Public Administration, University of Rajasthan) though, as is evident, the description is slightly dated.

[10] An interesting article in this respect is K. J. Christopher, "The New Role of the District Industries Officer", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 2, April-June, 1966.

conduct certain surveys. He is empowered to grant loans up to Rs. 5,000 each to industrial units and cooperatives and is also a member of the District Loan Committee headed by the Collector. Applications for higher loans have to be recommended by him to the Directorate of Industries and other financial institutions. The responsibility of loan recovery is also his, as is that of issuing permits for the supply of raw materials, ensuring the execution of quality control schemes, supervising the regulation of Weights and Measures, and Shop and Commercial Establishments, as well as the Firm Registration Acts, and the management of any scheme entrusted to him.

Other important field officials are the Project Officers of the Directorate of Industries who (assisted by Planning-cum-Survey Officers) conduct industrial surveys, and various Extension Officers who are either posted at block headquarters to assist the Panchayat Samiti-administered rural industries programmes or manage the various Industrial Estates set up by the government.

ECOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS ON SOUND FUNCTIONING OF ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The burden of both plan implementation and formulation naturally falls upon the civil service which in many respects finds itself limited in its capabilities. A major reason for this is the fact that the Indian personnel system, instead of being based on the principle of the least number of people doing the most amount of work in the best possible manner, is based upon the need to create more and more jobs to combat unemployment, thus overwhelming the system with numbers. Further, in the prevailing atmosphere of cynicism, corruption and nepotism, the danger of manipulation of promotions is great. To offset this, seniority (being an objective variable) becomes the major criterion for promotions, killing all incentive to doing hard work and exercising one's own initiative. In fact, since good work cannot be rewarded but bad work punished, not doing anything becomes a virtue. While this is regrettable what is worse is that ascriptive (as opposed to efficiency-oriented) criteria have become dominant and by and large personal goals now dominate organizational or societal goals inside all government organisations.

Moreover, government organisations[11] are bound by impersonal rules and regulations which may prove detrimental in specific cases. Bad ministerial guidance may paralyse them and the prevailing one-party dominant system may keep legislatures from controlling inept or corrupt Ministers. The

[11] S. C. Dube, "Bureaucracy and Development" in Finkle and Gable (ed.), *Political Development and Social Change*, 1966.

clerical staff, lacking in idealism, but aware of its numerical strength in a democratic system, may prove arrogant and uncooperative and thus hinder good administration. What is worse, however, is that prices rising faster than salaries may tempt some officers to become corrupt.

The inherent defects of the administrative system inherited from the British are further aggravated by another legacy of India's past: a tendency on the part of the people to look to government to do everything for them instead of trying to help themselves. (Perhaps this tendency is linked with our tradition of fatalism). This attitude about government is coupled with the belief that government property, being everyone's property, is no one's property. Thus not only is wilful destruction of government property treated lightly but people see nothing wrong in loss to government through inefficiency or the lack of a will to do work.

Another wrong tendency in present-day India (and one that most under-developed countries suffer from) is to politicize, ideologize, or personalise all issues. Thus decisions are not taken on the basis of economic, or administrative reasons but on political, even regional or parochial, grounds. As a reaction to this dominance of politics in developing societies some people also tend to decry everything political and start expecting miracles from the 'scientific and rational' economists. Both tendencies are wrong; decisions have to be based on both politics and economics.[12]

The preponderance of politics brings us to the question of socialism. The achievement of socialism can, by lessening friction in society and thus the frustrations of the deprived, strengthen the country's ability to combat its problems in a unified manner. However, many people tend to take a vulgar view of socialism, and thus in the name of socialism, they set forth the demands of their own class or group (which they claim is thoroughly exploited by the system) and claim privileges which they would deny others. This increasing tendency to claim to be the exploited and make demands has led to the spate of strikes which has so adversely affected India's development. (This does not mean to say that we believe all strikes to be so motivated and thus wrong. What we feel is that some politico-administrative machinery—like perhaps the system of initiative in Switzerland—has to be evolved to separate genuine demand-making from the spurious variety and thus to avoid the destructive modes of protest now prevailing.)

There are other cultural restraints to efficient developmental effort in India. Ours is a rural or peasant society where an industrial ethos and labour

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[12] *See* Introductory Section of Rakesh Hooja & Abhay Bhargava, "The Planning Experiment Since Independence", *op. cit.*

force habits are both lacking[13], fatalism is dominant. Social and geographic mobility, considered so essential for progress, is negligible here. Even our entrepreneurs do not have the proper orientation; they are not willing to take risks and thus indulge not in "productive capitalism", but in, what we choose to call, "speculative" or "middle-man-capitalism" only. And here also they prefer to use, not their own, but borrowed public money. In Rajasthan, another problem is to be faced. Its feudal heritage is still evident in the way in which government functions. Thus what in the modern, western idiom of doing things is considered corrupt, is considered natural in the traditional, feudal idiom which still survives (examples are the practices of *bakshish*, *nazrana* and *dali* which in the modern idiom are considered bribes). Thus many people consider bribery to be natural.

Other constraints are: (1) The fact that the heavy cost of elections and the existence of the mixed economy have resulted in a parallel black money economy, which further results in links between businessmen and clerks, businessmen and bureaucrats, and businessmen and political leaders (both governmental and opposition). Thus vested interests of business may affect India's development; (2) The mathematics of elections strengthens not only the businessman who has money, but also trade unions which possess votes in the form of members and can also thus at times override what is administratively correct; (3) No more are the people willing to sacrifice today in the hope of a better tomorrow for their children which does not seem to be in the offing;[14] (4) Our approach to planning has unfortunately been limited—economic growth isolated from social change and political development is impossible and, while physical targets and financial locations are set out in plans, little attention is paid to the need for things like labour problems, the electricity position, and the possibility of physical or man-made emergencies.

However, what is most dangerous today is a lack of a sense of responsibility and a disinclination to do hard work.

It is with this ecological framework in mind that India's performance in the developmental sphere has to be assessed.

CRITIQUE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS IN RAJASTHAN

A critical review of the Industrial development in Rajasthan can be

[13] Some people claim that Hinduism is not conducive to industrial development, while Protestantism is.

[14] P. C. Mathur, "Prosperous Posterity Theory", *EPA Digest*, Jaipur, Annual Review 1961, where he points out that people asked to face current deprivations for a prosperous posterity may not be inclined to obey thus causing problems in democratic countries where sacrifice for a better tomorrow cannot be enforced.

made at two levels:

(1) We can attempt to pinpoint what is wrong with the theoretical structure of our policies—and the basic contradictions in both our objectives and the approach to achieve the objectives.

(2) Faults can be found with the specific policies followed keeping in mind both our basic objectives and our socio-political structure.

A basic contradiction appears in our system when we attempt to reconcile the maximisation of both private and social gains. We talk of 'planning for public good'—the growth of public enterprises—so that the public sector becomes the key sector in the economy, the regulation of monopoly and private enterprise, the slow easing out of foreign private capital—and at the same time permitting of a system of parliamentary democracy with costly elections—so that the rich and powerful have an unnecessarily strong hold upon the system. With such confusion in the background, the 1956 IPR is a masterpiece—with the true Indian genius of compromising between two irreconcilables.

We have talked of both growth and equity. Whenever our industrial growth rate falls—more licences are issued to the private sector. Because the monopoly houses have more contacts with the government, have more technical, financial and managerial experience at their command—they normally manage to corner the licences. Then what happens to all our talk about equity?

The *Dutt Committee Report*, 1969 clearly highlights the hogging of licences by the private sector (74 per cent of the licences) as against only 26 per cent issued to the public sector. Even inside the private sector—"73 large houses accounted for 55.5 per cent of the total proposed investment on machinery by the entire private corporate sector. Similarly, 70.4 per cent of the value of import of capital goods by the entire private corporate structure was accounted for by 73 large houses".

The situation in Rajasthan is not any different from the one demonstrated at the national level. A major share of all licences are accounted for by the Sahu Jains, J. K.'s, Birlas, Jhunjhunwalas, etc. A look at the investment made in the private sector as compared to the public sector clearly shows that the public sector is very small—and though its growth rate is faster—for a long time to come it is going to be in no position to ensure the success of our planned objectives.

Similarly, the much talked of 'joint sector' of the 1970 and 1972 Policy Resolutions has been left deliberately vague so that the concept can be moulded to defend the government's present policy.

Shri R. P. Dutt suggested the formation of a joint sector, since he felt that as the government and the government agencies were already financing private economic development, especially in the LSI sector—it would be preferable if the government saw to it that this money was utilised in a manner maximising social gain.

On the other hand, the private sector also welcoming the concept of a joint sector, stated in the much-quoted "Tata Memorandum". "A joint sector enterprise is intended to be a form of partnership between the private sector and the government in which the government participation of the capital will not be less than 26 per cent, the day-to-day management will normally be in the hands of the private sector partner." This is an admirably worded statement which clearly implies that while the government finances the industry, the policies are made by the private sector and the government can share the profits. Is this any different from 'state capitalism'? Where does the maximisation or even the consideration of public welfare come in?

The joint sector is so vacuous a concept and the government desires to centre its entire industrial policy around it. Any kind of decent industrial growth is obviously hampered with a structure like this to back it.[15]

We have thus seen that the theoretical structure underpinning our industrial strategy has been deliberately left vague—to be suitably altered as the situation demands. The actual performance of Rajasthan, therefore, must be judged rather charitably in view of the muddle-headed directives issued by the Government of India. Another theoretical critique of the IPR can be made on the basis that policy formulation in Rajasthan (at the theoretical level) is primarily at an economic level. There is no inclusions of any 'feasibility constraints' in planning.[16] Thus in actual implementation when ideological, political, social difficulties are encountered, we reach an impasse. For successful overall development, industrial policy formulation must not be interpreted narrowly but rather an inclusion of related sectors with all computation of externalities is desirable.[17]

We have managed substantial industrial growth during the planned era. It must, however, be noted that the growth rates look impressive 'partly because of the very poor base'.

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[15] Aurobindo Ghose, "Control of Indian Monopoly," *Economic and Politics*, Weekly, June, 1974.

[16] Refer to A. K. Sen, *Feasibility Constraints in Planning*, ed. EAG Robinson, Economic Development in South Asia.

[17] For theory see, T. Scitovsky, "Two Concepts of Externalities," *Journal of Political Economy*, April 1954.

As per the recommendations of the Study Team—an Industrial Potential Survey—Rajasthan 1972, certain sectors were highlighted. This has been noted and taken care of as the Fifth Year Five Approach Paper shows.

In our High and Medium Investment sector, we have: (*a*) 4 LSI in the public sector (Central); (*b*) 14 cotton textile units, 2 synthetic fibre plants, (*c*) 4 cement plants (22 lakh tonnes functioning)—3 (12 lakh tons/year) in progress and 3 (21 lakh tons/year) under consideration; (*d*) 10 vanaspati units either functioning or under consideration (there was only one in 1967); (*e*) Fertilizer plants at Ganganagar and Kota are already functioning and two more are under way. A big complex (250 crores) based on the rock phosphate deposits at Jhamarkotra is under planning; (*f*) 5 woollen mills at Jodhpur, Kota, Bikaner, Churu and Ladnu; (*g*) While important water meter, transmission tower plants, electricity meter plant, wagon factory, etc., are already functioning, 22 more LSI's in the engineering sector are likely to come up in the near future. Similarly, 20 industrial development areas have been set up and it is proposed to increase investment in the SSI and the Rural Handicrafts. The record of the government is not too unimpressive.

However, certain undesirable points need to be noted: (1) The phenomenal growth of the private sector especially LSI controlled by the large business houses is not helpful towards the maintenance of equity in the system. (2) The slow growth of employment potential and the rapid growth of unemployment[18] clearly shows that unemployment is on the rise. The choice of techniques strategy followed by the government regarding decisions taken about specific projects as well as for sectors needs considerable review and change. (3) The programmes for investment in industrial units noted in the approach paper to the Fifth Five Year Plan shows that while the RIMDC intends to invest in scooters and T.V. receiving sets, its plans for investing in the core sectors are very marginal (only one Mini Steel Plant is being considered). The faulty government policy for permitting the wastage of national resources in the non-crucial sectors, in light of the low saving and investment rates of the State are extremely damaging. Not only can we not afford to invest enough—we do not even invest in the right directions. (4) The government policies followed over the planning period have resulted in a concentration of industrial ventures in the Jaipur, Kota and Ajmer regions —while leaving other areas non-industrialised—creating regional anamalies inside the state.

Though we would not agree with either the view of Prof. Gadgil, who claims that we have been "planning without a policy frame"[19] or the

[18] As indicated by the work done by Kanta Ahuja, Lecturer, Economics, University of Rajasthan.

[19] EPW, Annual Number, February 1967.

view of Ashok Rudra[20]—that "the Indian government has a conscious policy of advocating that they will bring in socialism while they actually bring in capitalism", we would tend to be rather critical of the timid and self-contradictory policy resolutions which the Government hands out every once in a while. Possibly they can do nothing else in a system like this.

SOME SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

An excellent idea of the desires of the government as regards the industrial development of Rajasthan can be had by studying the policy with respect to mineral development in the state.

(1) *Mica Industry*[21]

"The invidious state of the State's rising industry is nowhere more typically exemplified than in the mica field. At present, all the mica produced in the State is despatched to Bihar in crude or cut form and most of the work of processing is done by buyers who derive all the profits from these operations."

"The mica industry in Rajasthan bears a higher tax burden (a multiple one—Dead Rent, Royalties, Surface Rent, Sales Tax, Customs and Excise Duties Octrio and Cess) than Bihar. In spite of tremendous potential in the field, the Government only recently seems to have awakened to the growth and revenue possibilities."

(2) *Rock Phosphate*

All surveys on the Industrial Potential of Rajasthan mention rock phosphate. Present realisation is nil. The major hindrance seems to be that mining rights in that area belong to an important politician's son. Result —No major decision seems to have been taken for fear of either antagonising the politician or creating a scandal.

From the analysis of the mineral industry in Rajasthan, it becomes difficult to isolate a government policy which is adhered to. It appears that government decisions, even the major ones, are taken on a very *ad hoc* basis. The policy changes dramatically depending upon the minister in power, the party the government is dealing with, etc. The case of Bikaner gypsum clearly indicates that differing policies are followed with regard to the public sector *vis-a-vis* the private sector—and even in the private sector—the decision depends upon how powerful the industrialist is.[22]

[20] K.C. Nag Memorial lecture—St. Stephens College, March 1974.
[21] K. S. Mathur, Mica Industry in Rajasthan, 1969.
[22] *Rajasthan Patrika*, June 2, 1974.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

(1) What is really required is a joint approach to planning. This not only cuts across different sectors, but also across different fields of study. A really broad outlook is desirable in policy formulation.

(2) Further use of the economic expertise available is desirable. Project evaluation studies for all major schemes should be conducted and published so that public criticism can be accounted for before undertaking any major project.

(3) The major declared objective of the government in a socialistic set-up is the provision of employment. A suitable choice-of-techniques policy should be formulated. An avoidance of over-capitalisation and progressive automation is desirable, though in no case, should efficiency and productivity be lost sight of. A brilliant case for a hierarchy of techniques has been made by Michael Kaleski,[23] which our planners and administrators would do well to read.

(4) In the provision of licences, the government should institute a policy that favours wage goods (necessities) and capital goods—infrastructural facilities. In no case, should valuable savings be misallocated into luxury goods (*e.g.*, scooter factory at Alwar).

(5) A policy favouring balanced regional development is desirable. Though in the earlier stages, it pays to concentrate industries in areas where inputs are locally available, concentration of industries in the long run results in a complexity of problems which might be very much costlier to deal with later.

(6) It may be desirable to minimise the politicians, hand in dealing with economic problems.

(7) Marwaris are brilliant entrepreneurs outside Rajasthan. The percentage of operating capital in Rajasthan owned by Marwaris is less than in West Bengal, M.P., Gujarat and Bihar.[24]

(8) Efficient plan implementation needs specially trained men. Ordinary law-and-order and revenue-collection oriented administrators may not be able to deliver goods.

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[23] "Theory of Growth in a Socialist Economy", 1969.

[24] A comprehensive scheme to attract Marwari talent and capital back to the home state is made by H. M. Mathur, 'Entrepreneurial functions and location of industry with special reference to Rajasthan'. It is because such a scheme of giving incentives is lacking that we face this problem.

(9) Provision should be made for better processing of non-governmental plan suggestions.

(10) Well-trained planning officers should be permanently located in Vikas Khand (block), sub-division and district headquarters to facilitate better "planning from below".[25]

Thus we see that while Rajasthan is sufficiently endowed as far as inputs for industrialisation go, a major change in approach is required for successful development of the State.

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[25] For other shortcomings of planning *see*:

1. M. V. Mathur and Iqbal Narain (ed.), *Panchayati Raj Planning and Democracy*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1969.
2. Iqbal Narain, "Development Administration under Panchayati Raj—the Rajasthan Experience", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV, Jan-March, 1968.
3. C. N. Bhalerao, "Changing Pattern of Development Administration in the District", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1966.
4. For a detailed exposition of the drawbacks of a 'law and order' bureaucracy trying to implement centralised planning *see* D. R. Gadgil, "Planning and Administration", *Barve Memorial Lecture*, Delhi, March 6, 1968.
5. H. C. Riegir, "Bureaucracy and the Implementation of Economic Plans in India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1967.
6. B. S. Minhas, *Hindustan Times*, 10, 11, 13 May, 1974.
7. Paul Streeten and Michael Lipton (ed.), *Crisis of Indian Planning: Economic Policy in the 1960*, London, O.U.P. 1972.
8. A. H. Hanson, *The Process of Planning: A Study of India's Five Year Plans*, 1950-64, London, 1966.

Administrative Reforms for Rural Development at State and Lower Levels in India

RAKESH HOOJA

THERE WAS a time in the none too distant past when public administration and its parent discipline political science seemed obsessed with 'General Theory', the postulates of which would hopefully apply to all eras and all areas alike, and whose 'laws' would be as fixed and absolute as those in the natural sciences where similar stimulus is likely to lead to similar responses. Of course even in economics, the most quantified of the social sciences, this search for commonly applicable principles and ideal types has proved a chimera as social behaviour (both individual and group) has proved to be unpredictable, and even to comprehend it, recourse has perforce had to be taken to trying to understand all human phenomena in terms of certain specific settings and conditions. It is perhaps a reaction to the above mentioned obsession that many have started (believing) that while trying to plan the most suitable administrative system (encompassing its structures, processes and procedures, administrative culture and administrative style) one should look at the needs of a small agro-climatic region with its people having a district social sub-culture and then to work out the governmental programmes and schemes considered desirable and found technically feasible for the particular area and its inhabitants and only then to plan out an appropriate administrative apparatus for the specific or particular activities thus decided upon for implementation and accordingly to modify or reform the existing administrative system.

As mentioned above this is perhaps a reaction-going to one so called practical extreme from the other academic extreme of the search for general principles and the appropriate viewpoint would perhaps be somewhere in between. In addition such planning of administrative systems for each small area is likely to prove very difficult, nigh impossible, when even the preconditional step of planning out the specific schemes for each area (except through general norms or guidelines of governmental objectives and the steps to achieve them which are applied by the government almost uniformally all over the country or a state) has proved impossible even

though it is generally considered desirable.

Hence the attempt here is to discuss certain changes which appear to him to be called for in the Indian context. While admitting the diversity of the country and state to state differences in the administrative system and its attendant capability to adopt and innovate, it is being assumed that the reforms being discussed for the state and lower levels, while based primarily on the author's Rajasthan experiences, have some general relevance all over the country in view of the quasi-federal nature of the Indian polity and the fact that there are similarities in the condition of India's agraria despite regional variations. Accordingly it is intended to comment on some of the administrative structures, personnel policy, planning process, etc., which have a bearing on the rural delivery system.

II

Let us start with the nature of governmental planning. It can be debated whether what is currently being attempted is statisticians' planning or accountants' planning with state planning or finance departments trying to fix departmentwise ceilings of expenditure on the basis of a few meetings where each department tries to ask for more, usually on the grounds of certain liabilities already standing committed, and then asking each department to furnish its scheme/programmewise break-ups of expenditure with corresponding physical targets and then compiling the same into a draft plan which may then form the basis for funds release provided the resources availability anticipated while fixing departmental expenditure ceilings holds true and therefore actual funds release does not have to be curtailed during the year. No wonder except for broad schemewise discussions the detailing of proposals by various departments and the compilation at the state government level is often left to statistical or accounts staff at not very senior levels.

Even this above mentioned exercise is done for so-called 'Plan' funds with another similar exercise being simultaneously done for 'non Plan' funds except that there the state finance department does not even provide any proposed expenditure ceilings to various departments while asking for proposals which are processed in separate meetings. Further while some institutional finance estimates are compiled in the draft plan, what may be called 'extra plan' funds, i.e., funds (except for institutional finance being obtained as loans to government bodies or individuals) not in the state budget under 'Plan' or 'non Plan' heads but which may be tapped from various sources for developmental purposes are not, so to say, planned

for. In fact in Rajasthan it sometimes appears that the plan department wants expenditure to be made against non Plan heads controlled by the finance department while the state finance department wants the same expenditure to be made against Plan heads controlled by the plan department. The difference between Plan and non Plan funds is after all only a budgetary classification and it should not be allowed to become sovereign.

The obvious solution is that all Plan, non Plan, institutional finance, and extra-plan funds that can be anticipated for should be assessed at one time each year jointly by the state plan and finance departments and then a single planning exercise should be undertaken. This is important for another reason and that is that so-called regulatory functions like land revenue or civil supplies administration funded under non Plan at present also directly affected developmental efforts and should be planned for alongwith developmental activities.

This exercise should not follow the present two-fold classification of committed and new expenditure proposals for establishment and works being classified and examined separately because in actual practice it means that committed expenditure rarely gets examined in detail during the annual planning and budget exercises (and is instead examined rarely and only at times of special economy efforts) and most discussion centres around new esablishment and new works proposals in isolation from the existing works and existing staff on the concerned department. To my mind each year's departmental budget proposal should be reviewed in detail without differentiating between so-called committed and new expenditure both of which should be scrutinised in equal detail and especially for staff; in fact the total staff required for the total effort to be made by the department should be examined in a unified or integrated manner.

The scrutiny at present is made vis-a-vis some physical targets which the department feels can be met by certain staff and works expenditure. Rarely is the likely impact of the endeavour discussed in the annual planning effort -- it being assumed that after the plan and budget are approved, and before actually making the expenditure, the department will get a detailed scheme or project prepared and get it cleared from the state planning and finance departments and at that time more detailed appraisal shall be done. Only for some special or very large projects where Central Government or international assistance may also be involved is this process reversed when actually before the annual plan exercise is undertaken projects alongwith their likely benefits and not just figures of likely expenditure (euphemistically referred to as financial tar-

gets) and physical targets are made available to the state plan department when normally they should be made available to the state plan department in all cases of proposed expenditure and the planning department should then be able to review the desirability or otherwise, and the priority in view of limited funds, of each proposal before it is included in the annual plan. Even for schemes where general guidelines have been drawn up by the Central or state governments the different impacts, costs and difficulties likely to be faced during implementation in different regions of state should be examined in advance. This sort of planning exercise would also help in the eventual plan progress monitoring which today gets limited to recording shortfalls in achieving physical and financial targets rather than in a review of the objectives and impact of any governmental effort.

On the subject of project planning while this writer has had occasion earlier to place his ideas in print regarding the problems and possibilities of local level projectisation vis-a-vis projectisation at state headquarters levels, and the difficulties of appraising rural projects as compared to urban industrial projects due to the differences in their nature (the chief being that for rural areas countless farmers, etc., take individual decisions which affect the project's eventual impact unlike in the more controlled factory conditions of implementing industrial projects) however it may be emphasised that even where in the few cases that government departments take up project planning in earnest the conventional appraisal in financial, economic, technical and institutional terms has to be supplemented by what this author has over the years started calling 'acceptability appraisal' (at one time he used to call it 'cultural appraisal'). That is the examination in the light of the cultural (or socio-cultural political geographic) setting of the project and the governmental organisation to examine the likely acceptability or otherwise on the part of the likely beneficiaries or other population in the project area and of members of the delivery system to examine whether the project is likely to succeed or needs to be modified or even dropped on this account. Unfortunately at present even where analysis takes place it is limited more to financial and some technical appraisal often with middle or lower level staff blindly applying some departmentally approved formulae. Such appraisal also assumes that the departmental activity is being carried out in isolation from other government or non-governmental efforts, hence the appraisal is further in danger of getting distorted. However, this problem of excessive departmentalism in Indian administration shall be touched in somewhat more detail later.

Lest I be accused of taking an extreme view about the need for

sophisticated project analysis in each and every case, let me hasten to add that I am not advocating that all appraisal techniques should be fully applied with all their complexities to each and every project proposal as that may prove too costly or difficult for many smaller projects, but that some calculation of costs and benefits over a specific time frame should be a must and that left to themselves various governmental departments, even scretariat or administrative departments performing staff functions unlike the executive departments performing line functions, do not today undertake such an exercise for every case as a matter of routine. Hence it appears that the planning department at the state level should insist on itself appraising medium size and larger projects (for this categorisation proposed outlay of the project could be the rough indicator) and for smaller projects it should pressurise departments into conducting their own appraisals by calling for more project details than at present before agreeing to include it in the governmental development effort. The state planning department has thus to act as a leader and a catalyst in getting more micro and intermediate level planning done rather than just in fixing macro level (i.e., state level targets). (Incomplete projects every year should again be put to project analysis in the ensuing year to work out the desirability or otherwise of modifying, completing or abandoning them in view of the changes in costs and benefits that occur).

The state planning department would also have to think about multi-disciplinary micro, or intermediate, level planning exercises instead of just compiling different departmental proposals for an area into say a Tribal Sub Plan when the interlinkages and interactions of various types of governmental efforts and their likely consequences need to be planned for.

Another change in the planning sphere relates to what are called Centrally sponsored schemes (or CSS schemes) where the Central Government provides certain funds for specified activities provided the state government provides matching funds and agrees to fit its activities into guidelines and norms prescribed by the Central Government. While what I have to say may hold more true for Rajasthan which is a financially weak state, however, I suspect that many state governments sometimes earmark part of their scarce funds for CSS schemes merely because such schemes exist and Central assistance is available, though some other schemes may be more valuable for them. While of course states may suggest new items to the Government of India for inclusion under Centrally sponsored schemes, such Central decisions can take very long as various states may need to be consulted, the concerned Central Ministry and the Planning Commission convinced and then funds found for the new scheme by the

Central Government, which may mean having to wait for the next Five-Year Plan period even if a majority of states find the proposal acceptable. I wonder if every year the Government of India could earmark some funds for each state for Centrally sponsored schemes not already predetermined by the Central Government (which however could specify sectors eligible for the funds) whereby each state could propose to provide matching funds for an activity which is likely to be of special utility for the concerned state and the state would only have to convince the Central Government of the utility of the scheme which may not necessarily be one which is useful for other states. This would not only enable special problems of particular areas/states to be catered to, but also avoid pre-emption of state funds for existing CSS schemes which may be less valid for a particular state.

Mention has already been made of the need for progress monitoring not merely in terms of target achievement but on the basis of the impact achieved. This is because even attempted concurrent evaluation tends to become a long-term academic type exercise whose results become available after a time lag and on the other hand implementors tend to forget the programme objectives and to restrict their efforts to mere target achievement by any means without thought to the impact of the target achievement. Such impact monitoring would in effect mean a change in the nature of the targets being fixed. For example for the bank credit based individual beneficiary programme of Integrated Rural Development instead of number of benefits delivered and funds spent, the target should be number of families whose income increases by a certain range within a certain time. As it is foreign scholars have been impressed by the way in which our delivery system reaches down to every village for identification of beneficiaries, selection of proper benefits, benefit delivery and some attempts at follow-up. This could be a good sector to initiate impact monitoring as suggested above as an integral part of IRD implementation.

Impact monitoring may also lead to a system whereby each agency tries to identify the stages or points in the delivery system where leakages can occur thus reducing the desired impact of the administrative effort. Accordingly each organisation would start thinking about mid course modifications in programmes, procedures and structures to reduce possible leakage points for better achievement of governmental goals.

III

As regards structural issues, the first point which comes to mind

is the organisation of secretariat or administrative departments. Till recently in Rajasthan state enterprises and cooperatives had one administrative secretary and agriculture and public health engineering another secretary. Similarly one special secretary was looking after health and family planning as well as work of the special schemes and integrated rural development department. The point is not only that for some officers parts of their assignment were unrelated to each other, but also that if one man was to be assigned more than one department, if related departments were assigned to him, then at least he could effect better coordination between them in the prevailing ethos where people's departmental loyalties are very strong and government servants often tend to place departmental interests over what may be termed the general or common interests or interests of the government as a whole. At present in Rajasthan we have a development commissioner, a secretary, agriculture and cooperation, another for command area development and ground water, a third for animal husbandry, dairy and sheep and wool, one for special schemes and integrated rural development (popularly called SSO) another for afforestation, one for famine relief and civil supplies and at least five special secretaries to the state government whose work is related to only one ministry in Delhi that of agriculture and rural development, while of course rural development is the concern of many other Central ministries also for which the state has its own array of secretaries, special secretaries and deputy secretaries (which perhaps could even be reduced by one third without harming the work output). We also have a different sort of example of the special schemes and IRD department (in which this writer has had three postings) preparing various types of rural development projects related to various state government departments and at some time or the other antagonising each of the above mentioned state government officers attached to other departments, and of dealing with at least five different Central ministries regarding the schemes it gets implemented through the District Rural Development Agencies with the help willingly or grudgingly given by functionaries of various state government departments. Either the SSO should deal with all aspects of rural development and have its own field level staff in all spheres, or a rationalised department by department distribution of work with strengthening of coordination mechanism should be evolved with no SSO type body stepping on anyone's toes.

No formulae about the ideal organisation of the state secretariat can be given and with more experience perhaps even this writer may change his views. However, perhaps today's system has evolved in response to certain circumstances which had a certain importance at

that point of time which may have resulted in both considered or even ad hoc decisions. Or today's pattern may be due to person related reasons. Accordingly it may be worthwhile today and say every three to five years to take an overall view of the secretariat structure with a view to rationalisation of posts and departments. Of course there is also the danger, witnessed at times, of over reaction and frequent tinkering with, the organisation, which would have to be simultanesouly avoided.

The executive or technical departments can also perhaps do with such scrutiny. For example today's sheep and wool, animal husbandry and fishery departments all perhaps need to be merged; fishery because it is perhaps too small in Rajasthan to warrant a separate full time director; and sheep and wool and animal husbandry because with their similar training and education their veterinary doctors could tend to all sorts of animals, instead of having to duplicate veterinary dispensaries (mobile and stationary) of each department in each area and also so as to give a common head of department sufficient full time work.

The agriculture department has gone one up by having divided its work into different streams, e.g., plant protection, horticulture, extension, soil conservation, etc., with officers transferable from one stream to another at will yet in the field each trying to retain its separate identity, reporting to its own higher functionary, and trying to avoid getting involved with the work of another stream, even though they all deal with the same farmers in the area and the work of each stream is complementary. This tendency has in the last two years been arrested to a large extent at least in my state. However, one of the reasons for this is that for each activity separate posts under different budget heads are got created/approved from the planning/finance departments instead of the department or even a number of departments taking an integrated view regarding functions and posts required for a micro area before creation/ extension of posts.

Even for desert development where the special schemes and IRD department has tried to take an integrated view they have failed to fully succeed even for posts funded under DDP, while posts funded from regular department budgets have never fully come under their review.

Another tendency which has to be guarded against is that of creating many posts equal or nearly equal to that of the head of department within each executive department. While this may be good for personal promotions within the cadres, it has been known to create coordinational problems within the concerned department.

Rationalisation amongst departments and within departments is

but one solution to the problem. Experience in a Command Area Development (CAD) Project where there was a unified budget and all officers from various departments were placed under one authority (that unusual arrangement, unusual even for CAD projects, has now got watered down), has convinced me that since the people and natural resources (including land) of the area, require a multi-pronged and multi-dimensional effort for their development, instead of officers from various functionally divided departments of government approaching the area with their segmented departmental schemes, theoretically each region (agro-climatic cultural sub-region) should have its own integrated area development agency performing both developmental and regulatory functions, which are inter-related, and possessing personnel having different types of qualifications and experiences so that all types of technical and administrative inputs can be provided to the sub region by the same angle agency instead of the present often bewildering array of functionaries and bodies. This theoretical ideal type solution if taken to its logical conclusion would imply that at the state level also functional departments should be replaced by territorially divided departments.

However such a drastic change from the present may not prove practical. Many studies about area planning have suggested that even though district boundaries are arbitrary and do not follow natural regions, yet historical and other administrative advantages of the district make it the best planning unit, with some variations. Similar reasons would perhaps work in favour of continuing with the present district based administrative system in which various functional departments have their district level officers and hierarchy in place. This could be supplemented with special programmes being run in an integrated manner through a unified agency created for each sub area. For this either the existing DRDA should be converted from a funding and supervisory or coordinating agency as at present into its own implementing agency, or keeping in view differing needs of different types of areas special desert, or hill area, or command area, etc., agencies for each region should be set up and the DRDAs merged into them and these should function in coordination with the district administration and representatives of some general functional departments. The Collector can hold a position both in the agency and the district administration for better coordination. Even this may prove a major change which can only be possible to achieve in a gradual, piecemeal, manner and would require corresponding changes at the state and secretariat levels also. In fact the special area agencies would most probably cover more than one district and we may end up with the special agencies even forming a link between the state and the districts.

Such area agencies would also mean that the rural populace does not have to interact with numerous governmental agencies as at present. Of course they would still have to separately approach banks for credit and here coordination through the Collector and the District Level Bankers Coordination Committee he heads, would have to be effected with the special agencies.

In fact I personally feel that for each region potential growth centres should be identified along with their attached hinterlands and all governmental activities required for the growth centre and its hinterland should be planned and implemented in an integrated and comprehensive manner.

As regards panchayat bodies, while there is a school of thought that for each village the exploitation of its natural resources should be fully left to the gram panchayats with the state government only interfering if the gram panchayat abdicates its responsibilities and not otherwise. I personally feel that the Panchayats cannot be expected to raise their own resources and with them to fully manage their villages and develop their natural resources. However, panchayat bodies and other beneficiary groups can certainly form the link between the special area agencies, or the district administration and the inhabitants of the area.

IV

A word about the so-called developmental approach versus the so-called revenue or regulatory administration approach. It has generally been held that regulatory functions need much more detailed record keeping, and a system of prescribed checking and inspections and determination of various types of forms (proformas) and registers for common use and greater reliance on precedents, etc., while developmental administration involved greater contact with farmers, a willingness to innovate and an ability to get things done and at most to statistically get physical and financial progress compiled along with a willingness to perhaps bend some rules so as to get expenditure made to achieve objectives. In fact this has even been corrupted by some to the view that a correct developmental approach is the ability to spend and thus to achieve financial targets.

However of late this author has been moving towards the conclusion that the so-called developmental 'can-do' approach has resulted in a lack of institution building which is detrimental in the long run. While some dynamic developers may have been good to break from conventions and jolt slow moving departments and schemes into action, in the long run it is the fixing of new routines and procedures to suit new tasks which is called for. Otherwise the whole

machinery may slow down and for example what at one time were essential visits to verbally sell and supervise a new scheme may eventually degenerate into meaningless visits to villages for no concrete purpose whatsoever. Many of the developmental departments are now finding that new touring, inspection and work norms, new rules and conventions, new proformas for maintaining new types of records and old procedures for monitoring of disposal of decision cases and letters are essential to maintain the gains of developmental work as also the impetus of developmental departments. Hence, what after the departure of the British had started getting devalued in regulatory administration, is now likely to prove vital even for developmental work and job charts, office procedures, work norms, better monitoring of files movements and disposal of cases, maintenance of guard files and such office management practices, which had started getting neglected need revitalisation and in fact in many new developmental departments, like the one presently manned by the writer, they have never been tried and thus have to be worked out afresh and in many cases even rules and legislation may need to be amended to systematise and consolidate such efforts in relation to work in the field. Simultaneously simplification of financial and accounts procedures has assumed greater importance as the nature and complexity of developmental efforts has changed and in some cases even commercial considerations have also crept in for which the governmental accounting system is unsuited. This also entails drafting or amending rules or creating new institutions like the DRDAs and corporations and boards. I personally feel that if a government department can deliver the goods, perhaps with simplified or modified rules, it is preferable to a corporation or board if only to keep overheads down as also because such bodies with their financial flexibility, while perhaps helping speed up developmental meausres, also enable greater irregularities and even misuse or waste, or misappropriation of funds to occur. Surely commercial profitability and norms can also be built into such government departments as require them in the context of new developmental or regulatory needs.

An insistence on good routine administration involving timely disposal of all cases including those related to public or government servant grievances (the second type are more frequently received) is also essential if the prevailing tendency to administer through campaigns is to be countered. And surely perpetual campaigns on some issue or the other cannot be very effective.

Such emphasis on good office procedures and monitoring of files, papers, etc., may also help overcome a human failing that many of us have of assuming that an order has automatically got implemented the

minute we sign it. Such procedures would ensure decisions are followed up till compliance reports are received.

It is perhaps ironic that this writer has found himself devoting this whole section of this paper to repeated emphasis on the need to return to strict routine, well laid down procedures, and better office and record management as advocated by the British before 1947 and has set it forth as a reform most pressingly called for. But there it is -- sometimes we forget what is good in the old and then have to re-establish it. (My wife -- also a government administrator -- never tires of repeating that even if one only routinely gets all cases processed in a decent time frame, then the relief felt by the populace as a whole is immense.)

V

In a piece of this nature it is but possible to hint at some changes which may improve the system -- all such measures dear to the writer's heart cannot even be listed, let alone detailed. But before ending one would like to talk about the nature of the implementors or the members of the governmental delivery system. At the district and regional levels some one person has to be the focus; the leader of the team, and the coordinator. Historically the Collector has performed this role and, by whatever name he may be called, someone has to do this work. Hence the Collector should continue as kingpin of both regulatory and developmental aspects of administration at the district level. At the special area level if a special agency is set up its head would have to play a role which would be an amalgam of that of the present-day Collector and of head of department at the state level, even though district collectors would also need to be intimately involved in the special area agencies' work. Other functionaries both technical specialists and coordinatory experts at administration and management whatever their initial academic training would also be required. It is these executives to coordinate and lead the teams at various levels whose selection can pose a problem. In Rajasthan we have a system whereby in addition to IAS and Rajasthan Administrative Service (RAS) officers who are posted as Additional Collectors Development in DRDAs, officers from some other developmental technical service cadres can offer themselves for special selection for the job and if selected on the basis of their annual performance appraisal forms and an interview, they receive a higher special pay as long as they hold the special selection job in the DRDA with a maximum ceiling being fixed at seven years. Something similar should be attempted in all states where the best officers of all state cadres (not just those

presently eligible for special selection in Rajasthan) can offer themselves for selection for key developmental posts based on their previous work record, an interview, and, if necessary, an examination. Higher emoluments, etc., should accrue to them as long as they keep delivering goods at a higher level in their selected jobs failing which they could revert to their regular pay scales and cadres. This would also bring in the element of incentives for better work presently lacking in government service without threatening the average worker who would continue to be eligible for his regular promotions in due course of time in his regular cadre. Of course the selection procedure and screening for continuation in the special posts would have to be devised so as to work only on the basis of excellence in performance and ability and not on extraneous circumstances.

The IAS today forms a major part of the rural development set-up. In fact even for technical departments at times IAS heads are preferred since they can take a broader view than just that which is visible from the limited viewpoint of a particular department -- and also because they are free from the antagonistic factions which exist in many such departments and which are often so pervasive that all departmental staff have to join some faction or the other to survive and have nurtured lifelong distrust against those belonging to other groups in the department amongst their members. Before an IAS officer fully gets identified with one clique or the other he has normally moved on to a new job. IAS officers in various departments may also help in achieving better coordination between those departments. Thus it would help if the IAS were made more broad-based and versatile. At present there is a provision for special selection from the states' technical service which can continue unchanged as could the process of direct recruitment and even special recruitment to induct fresh blood through the Union Public Service Commission. However at present there is a provision for 33 per cent promotion from amongst the seniormost officers of the State Civil Service (RAS in Rajasthan, PCS in some other states). This could be reduced to 25 per cent and on an experimental basis 8 per cent persons be recruited to the IAS from amongst the Central Services Officers of say 8 to 10 years service. A review of previous work performance could be combined with an examination and interview for this purpose. Surely such persons would bring a breath of fresh air into the IAS and improve its efficiency.

Also important is the training of state functionaries. For middle level officers many courses exist -- it is the top level officer (Secretary to Government) and the bottom level functionary (for example Patwari or Village Level Workers or Veterinary stock-

man) who needs much more training and orientation. And like in the army training and the evaluation of performance during training should also be considered while giving promotions alongwith performance on the job. Failing this there exists a general tendency to either avoid going for the training, or to treat it as a paid semi-holiday.

CONCLUSION

However the best reform would be in case we would orient both the personnel and the institutions so that instead of reacting to situations in the field, or of obtaining data and analysis of the recent part and planning on that basis as is presently being done, our administration learns to anticipate conditions 10-15 years hence and to plan schemes, projects and activities in a coordinated and multi-disciplinary manner for those projected eventualities. This is the challenge of the fast changing world today.

STATE LEVEL PLANNING
THE RAJASTHAN CASE

Rakesh Hooja

A GREAT literary debate has been going on about national planning ever since planning was introduced in India. In the last 5-6 years the concept of district planning has also come in for detailed examination. However, planning at the State level, perhaps the most important tier of all, has remained relatively undiscussed.

This paper first describes the State level planning organisation and process in Rajasthan and then undertakes a limited critique of planning at the State level.

IMPORTANCE OF STATE LEVEL PLANNING

The State is not only the administrative unit which compiles the data and facts on which our plans are built, but it also sets forth suggestions which contribute to the formulation of our national plan frame, and then, within that frame, prepares detailed proposals for approval of the Planning Commission and later implements them with or without modifications. The State is also the monitoring and evaluating unit and the Planning Commission primarily relies on the State for information in this regard (the lower level administrative units being totally controlled by the State level administration). This naturally makes the State the key link in the process.[1]

Another factor which makes State planning important is the nature

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The starting point for this paper is M.S. Mogra, "Planning Process in Rajasthan" in *State Administration in Rajasthan* (ed.), Ziauddin Khan, *et. al.*, (Asha, Jaipur 1973).

[1]This is not to say that district as a planning unit is not desirable. Refer to the writer's article: (*i*) "The District as a Planning Unit—Style and Locus" in *The Indian Journal of Public Administration* (New Delhi), Vol. XIX, No. 3, July-Sept. 1973, pp. 393-406; (*ii*) "District Planning Approaches" in *The Journal of the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration* (Mussoorie), Vol. XIX, No. 2, Summer 1973, pp. 365-370; (*iii*) "District and Regional Planning—Some Aspects with Regard to India", in *The Journal of the LBS National Academy of Administration*, Vol. XX, No. 1, Spring 1975, pp. 191-204; and *et al* (ed.) Indian Administrative System—Essays in Honour of Prof. Ziauddin Khan (in press) all have supported the pleas of many economists and regional scientists to make the district the key operational unit. However, district planning is yet to come of age in our country. (*iv*) "District and Regional Planning in India—Some Reflections" in Ramesh K. Arora.

of our federal system. Because we have the Union, State and Concurrent Lists of subjects enumerated in our Constitution, the State naturally has a greater responsibility while making plans for such sectors as agriculture, irrigation, power, education, health, social services, small scale industries, etc. while the Central Government is concerned more with planning of large-scale industries, railways, national highways, major ports, shipping, civil aviation, communications, defence, fiscal and monetary policies etc.

The Organizational Set-up

While each Government department contains some sort of machinery for planning, the main organ of planning at the State level in Rajasthan is the Planning Department (also called the Department of Planning and Finance in some other States) in the State secretariat set up in 1953. (*See chart* for the present organizational set-up).

The division of work between the functionaries, subordinate to the Special Secretary Planning of the Planning Department, is as follows:

1. Deputy Secretary Planning:

   (*a*) Administration of the department
   (*b*) Progress reporting and monitoring of projects and sectoral programmes
   (*c*) District planning, including sectoral plan formulation of the minimum needs programme and other district programmes
   (*d*) Perspective planning
   (*e*) Project appraisal
   (*f*) Planning and development coordination committees
   (*g*) Assembly and parliamentary questions
   (*h*) Plan publicity

2. Director and Ex-officio Deputy Secretary (Manpower, Evaluation and Gazetteer):

   (*a*) Manpower planning
   (*b*) Evaluation department
   (*c*) Gazetteers

3. Deputy Secretary (Planning Board and Statistical Services):

   (*a*) State Planning Board matters (of which he acts as the secretary)
   (*b*) Statistical services

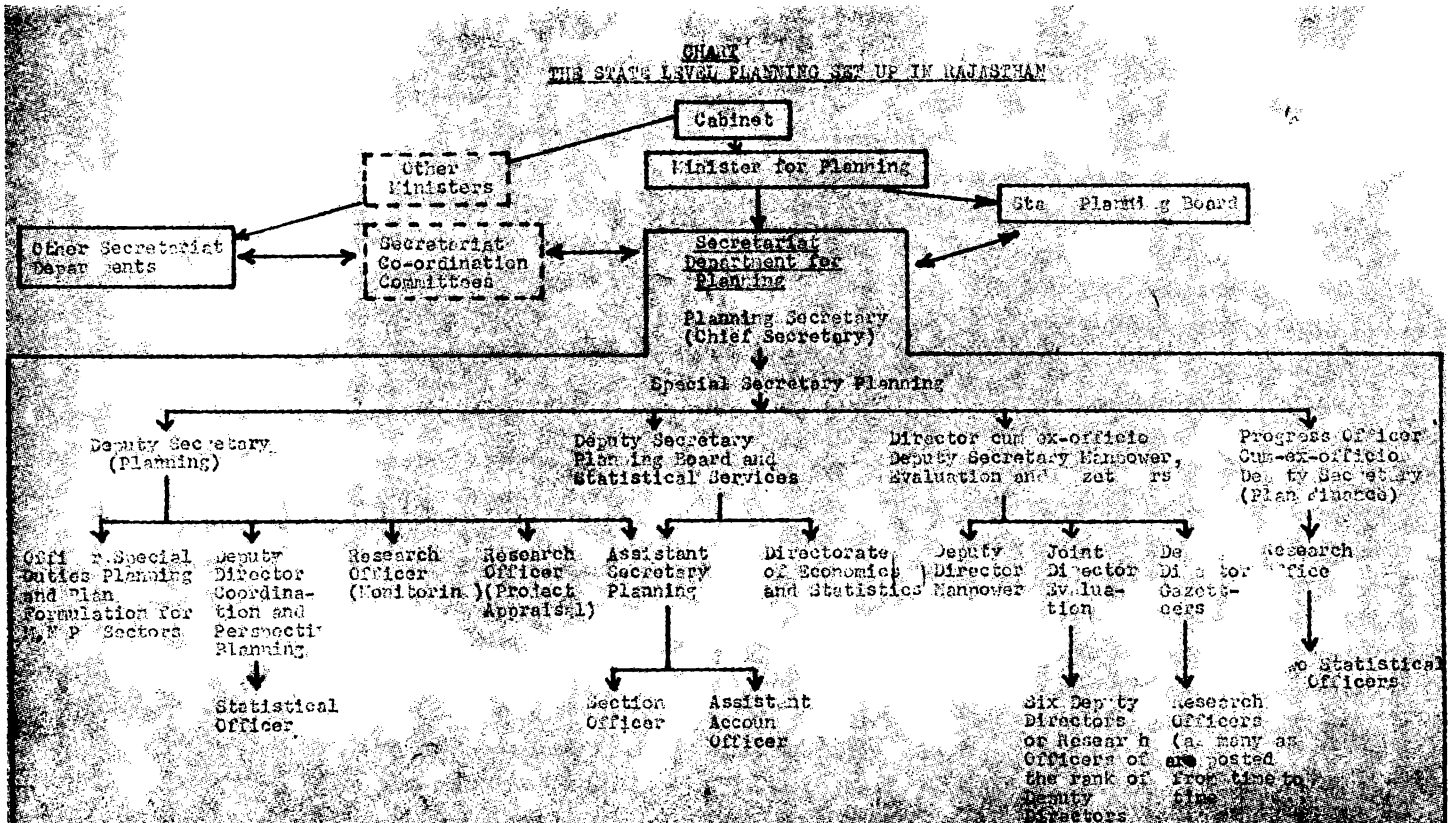
CHART
THE STATE LEVEL PLANNING SET UP IN RAJASTHAN
Cabinet
Other Ministers
Minister for Planning
Sta Planni g Board
Other Secretariat Depar ents
Secretariat Co-ordination Committees
Secretariat Department for Planning
Planning Secretary (Chief Secretary)
Special Secretary Planning
Deputy Secretary (Planning)
Deputy Secretary Planning Board and Statistical Services
Director cum ex-officio Deputy Secretary Manpower, Evaluation and zat rs
Progress Officer Cum-ex-officio De ty Sec etary (Plan finance)
Offi r Special uties Planning and Plan Formulation for P Sectors
Deputy Director Coordination and Perspecti Planning
Research Officer (Monitorin)
Research Officer (Project Appraisal)
Assistant Secretary Planning
Directorate of Economics and Statistics
Deputy Director Manpower
Joint Director Evaluation
De Di tor Gazett- eers
esearch ffice
Statistical Officer
Section Officer
Assist nt Accoun Officer
Six Deputy Directors or Resear h Officers of the rank of Deputy Directors
esearch Officers (a many as are posted from time to time
o Statistical Officers

4. Progress Officer and *ex-officio* Deputy Secretary (Plan Finance):

   (*a*) Formulation of annual and five year plans
   (*b*) Budget finalization committee meetings and liaison with the Finance Department and preparation of revised estimates.
   (*c*) Identification of savings in various departmental outlays for purposes of diverting them to other uses.
   (*d*) Inter-departmental references (except minimum needs programme and district programmes), inter-departmental (I.D.) cases, new projects which he refers to the project appraisal cell.
   (*e*) Central assistance cases
   (*f*) Coordination of Central and Centrally sponsored schemes

5. Officer on Special Duties (Planning)

   (*a*) District planning (heads the district planning cell)
   (*b*) Sectoral plan formulation of the minimum needs programme and other district programmes
   (*c*) Miscellaneous functions relating to the work of Deputy Secretary, Planning

6. Deputy Director Coordination and Perspective Planning

   (*a*) Assembly and parliamentary questions
   (*b*) Planning and development coordination committee meetings
   (*c*) Perspective planning
   (*d*) Plan publicity
   (*e*) Library of the Planning Department
   (*f*) Organization of conferences/seminars
   (*g*) Collection of data regarding utilization of plan outlays under various programmes and schemes for taking decisions about diversions of funds.

7. Assistant Secretary (Plan):

   (*a*) Administration of the Planning Department
   (*b*) Statistical services
   (*c*) Administrative work of the Planning Board

Before turning to the State level planning processes, it would also be appropriate to refer to the various committees set up to facilitate the work and to the State Planning Board and the Planning Department.

The State Planning Board was set up in February 1973 as a high level advisory body for advising the State Government on matters of perspective planning, determination of sectoral priorities, formulation of five yearly and annual plans, and effective implementation and evaluation of various plan programmes. It consists of nominated experts and administrators and is assisted by 7 working groups set up in 1975 consisting of nominated public men, experts and officials. These working groups are:

1. Working group on implementation and coordination
2. Working group on resource mobilization
3. Working group on irrigation and power
4. Working group on agriculture and allied sectors
5. Working group on livestock and dairy development
6. Working group on transport and industries and mineral development.
7. Working group on social services.

Ten[2] State level planning and development committees exist in which the progress of plan schemes and development efforts are discussed. These committees are presided over by the Chief Secretary with the concerned Secretaries of secretariat departments and heads of executive departments and representatives of the Finance Department attending. The Special Secretary, Planning, is the member-secretary of all these committees. The following are the ten committees:

1. Agriculture production, forests, cooperation and community development (including soil conservation, warehousing and marketing)
2. Animal husbandry and dairy development
3. Drought prone areas programme and tribal sub-plan (including other special programmes of the special schemes organization)
4. Irrigation and power
5. Rajasthan canal project and chambal command area development
6. Industries and mines
7. Tourism and publicity
8. Roads, building, housing and urban development
9. Education, social welfare and labour
10. Medical and public health (including water supply)

A couple of months ago five committees of direction for the perspective

[2]Originally, in 1967, twentyone such committees had been set up. They have now been reorganised into ten (in between 1972 and 1976 there used to be nine such committees)

plan of Rajasthan have also been set up with the Director, Economics and Statistics, as member-secretary of all the five and officials as members.

These Committees are :

(*a*) Agriculture (chairman—Agriculture Production Commissioner)
(*b*) Fisheries, livestock and dairy development (chairman—Commissioner, Dairy Development)
(*c*) Industries and mines (chairman—Industrial Adviser to State Government)
(*d*) Irrigation and Power (chairman—Commissioner, Irrigation, Power and P.W.D.)
(*e*) Rural development (chairman—Special Secretary, Planning).

Special sectoral working groups were also set up previously for each five year plan formulation exercise.

PERSPECTIVE PLANNING

Now to turn to the planning process. We might start with perspective planning. The State Government has undertaken to formulate a perspective plan for 15 years with 1988-89 as the terminal year. The National Council of Applied Economic Research has been given the task of formulating this plan on the basis of data supplied to it by the State Government. Officials of the NCAER have discussed the matter with the concerned heads of secretariat and executive departments. They are working under the supervision of the committees of direction for the perspective plan and their work is being reviewed every quarter. Draft chapters prepared by them are then discussed by the working groups of the State Planning Board. If approved, they will be discussed by the State Planning Board and, after the necessary modifications are made, the draft shall be submitted for approval to the State Council of Ministers. It is hoped that the perspective plan will be useful while formulating the Sixth Five Year Plan.

FIVE YEAR PLAN FORMULATION

Now to consider preparation of five year plans[3], the broad guidelines

[3]The brief description of plan formulation in Rakesh Hooja and Harsh Sethi, "Planning for Industrial Development in Rajasthan", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XX, No. 3, July-Sept. 1974, pp. 662-680, is applicable to both five year and annual plan formulation though more so to five year plans. Also see M.S. Mogra, *op. cit.*, and Rakesh Hooja, *op. cit.*, note 1. S.S. Tanwar, *Planning Administration at the State Level: A Case Study on Rajasthan*, Department of Public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur 1969 and P.C. Mathur, "Multi-Level Planning in Rajasthan", *Voluntary Action* (Delhi), Vol. VIII, July-Aug. 1966, pp. 23-33, also describe plan formulation at the State level.

and strategy of development are indicated by the Planning Commission in Delhi. Keeping these in view the State Planning Department determines the State's own plan strategy. For this, the investment required in the plan period is worked out on the basis of the economic objectives enunciated, the natural, material, and human resources that have been available in the course of the previous plans, fresh resources which are likely to be generated, the employment position, the present and desired rates of growth of the economy, continuing plan schemes, and sector-wise growth potential.

It is hoped that the perspective plan of Rajasthan valid till 1988-89 will be ready in time for the Sixth Five Year Plan formulation period. Earlier, special working groups used to be set-up to spell out sector-wise plan frameworks which spelt out the factors to be considered while formulating the sectoral segments of the plan.

At this stage the tentative plan size and sectoral allocations are also determined in the light of indications received from the Planning Commission after a meeting of the National Development Council.[4] This plan document (approach paper to the plan) is approved by the State Council of Ministers and thereupon corresponding sector-wise expenditure ceilings are sent to all heads of departments for preparing detailed proposals.

The heads of departments have already been receiving, from their field staff, a list of the additional requirements for continuing projects and suggestions for the setting up of new projects. They now discuss those schemes with their subordinates in the light of the directives from the State Planning Department. Tentative targets and financial allocations are worked out and discussed in the concerned planning and development committees. Meetings are also held in which Secretaries and heads of executive departments discuss matters with representatives of the planning department.

After these discussions, a preliminary memorandum on the five year plan is compiled, approved by the State Council of Ministers and submitted to the Planning Commission. Comments of the concerned divisions of the Planning Commission are sent to their counterparts in the State Government through the State Planning Department and further discussions ensure at the State level and also at the Planning Commission in Delhi where a host of State

[4]For some idea of what happens at the Central level see (1) C.P. Bhambhri, *Public Administration in India*, Vikas, Delhi, 1973, (2) D.R. Gadgil, *Planning and Economic Policy in India*, Orient Longmans, Delhi, 1972, (3) *Report on Machinery for Planning of the Administrative Reforms Commission*, Delhi, 1968 and (4) Rakesh Hooja and Abhay Bhargav, "The Planning Experiment Since Independence" in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *Administrative Change in India*, Aalekh Publishers, Jaipur, 1974, pp. 235-255.

level officials go to meet their counterparts in the Planning Commission. Thereupon a finalized plan is prepared.[5]

ANNUAL PLAN FORMULATION

The annual plans are prepared in the light of the broad objectives enunciated and the financial and physical targets laid down in the five year plan documents. The preparation of the annual plan precedes the preparation of the budget. Each annual plan seeks to provide not only for the following year but also includes investments and preliminary action whose benefits are intended to accrue in later years.

For this purpose, each September, the Planning Department requests all heads of departments to intimate their requirements of spill-over expenditure on continuing schemes, funds required to meet the commitments already made by the Government, as also to maintain the tempo of development, and the requirements for new proposals that are proposed to be taken up in the next year, subject to availability of resources. These are discussed in a series of meetings convened by the Planning Department and attended by the concerned heads of the administrative (secretariat), as well as the executive, departments and modified accordingly.

About the same time information about the quantum of Central assistance being made available is received from the Planning Commission and subsequently the State Planning Department and Finance Department hold consultations to make an estimate of the resources available as well as to work out additional resources that could be made available in the coming year.

Keeping the estimated requirements and resources in mind, as also the overall priorities (with the 'core sectors' receiving top priority), a tentative annual plan ceiling, along with its sectoral and departmentwise break-up (financial and physical), is worked out and submitted to the State Council of Ministers.

After the Council of Ministers approves the plan size and its sector-wise break-up, all the departments are informed of their respective sectoral financial allocations and are asked to submit scheme-wise proposals for the scrutiny and approval of the Planning Department before including them in the

[5]In the case of the Fifth Five Year Plan, the total size of the Plan not yet having been finalised by the Planning Commission, only a *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-75, Rajasthan* (Planning Dept., Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1973) has been got finalised after discussions with the Planning Commission and forms the basis of the annual plans for this period. This document is also a useful reference for understanding the organisational and functional set-up for planning in Rajasthan.

draft plan. While compiling the next year's draft plan the Planning Department keeps the following points in mind: (*i*) the assessment of the previous annual plan's progress in both financial and physical terms, (*ii*) the expected fulfilment of the current year's annual plan; (*iii*) spill-over expenditure from the current year and other unavoidable or committed expenditure; (*iv*) the possibilities of utilizing the infrastructure already created; (*v*) stage which projects in hand have reached; and (*vi*) further developmental gaps that have to be filled up. The Planning Department finalizes the draft annual plan proposals after a further series of meetings with the concerned departments and submits them again for approval to the Council of Ministers.

The proposals so approved are sent to the Planning Commission where they are discussed by members of the Planning Commission's working groups and representatives of the State Government. The Programme Adviser, Planning Commission, suggests sector-wise allocations, based on the recommendations of these working groups, to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. The Planning Commission then finalizes the proposals in consultation with the Chief Minister and the Ministers of Finance and Planning.

The sectoral ceilings, as finalized by the Planning Commission, are sent by the Planning Department to the various heads of (executive) departments and (administrative) Secretaries for the preparation of scheme-wise budgetary details to be included in the budget. These proposals are discussed in the Budget Finalization Committees (BFCs) consisting of representatives of the Finance, Planning, and concerned administrative (secretariat) departments and of the heads of (executive) departments. The details finalized at these BFC meetings are incorporated in the budget. After the voting of the budget by the legislature, the heads of departments are asked by the Planning Department to prepare scheme-wise details of financial outlay (showing what comes under the revenue head and what under capital) and physical targets along with their district-wise break-ups. The details are again finalized through a series of meetings in the Planning Department and a publication entitled 'annual plan' is brought out. Simultaneously district-wise[6] break-ups of the annual plan are also prepared and published by the Planning Department.

[6]While district planning itself is outside the scope of this paper, some mention of district planning is inevitable. It may also be clarified here that a district-wise (and simultaneously department-wise) break-up of the annual plan as mentioned above is not district planning. Nor is the panchayat samiti oriented Fourth Plan effort district planning. (see Rakesh Hooja *op. cit.*, *note*. 1)

Some sort of limited district planning for the minimum needs programme and for the drought prone areas programme will be described later in this paper. However, it would be appropriate here to mention that the Planning Department is now attempting to formulate

(*Continued on page 558*)

PLAN FORMULATION AND THE MINIMUM NEEDS PROGRAMME

Starting with the Fifth Plan it was decided that planning for the minimum needs programme (MNP)[7] should be district based. Hence, once the district-wise annual outlays for the MNP have been decided, according to the procedure described earlier for the formulation of annual plans, these outlays and guidelines for proposals concerning the MNP are sent, not to heads of departments, but to district planning committees at the district headquarters which are presided over by the Collector (in his capacity of district development officer) and were set up in 1974.

These district planning committees consist of the three executive engineers for waterworks (P.H.E.D.), for buildings and roads (P.W.D.), and for electricity (R.S.E.B.), the district medical and health officer, the district social welfare officer, the district education officers (boys and girls both), the zila pramukh, all MLAs of the district, and the additional district development officer as member-secretary. The district planning committee prepares proposals for MNP schemes in the light of the guidelines and financial outlays prescribed and recommends them to the Department of Planning which accepts them as they are.

However, paucity of funds (and thus of allocations for the MNP) has hamstrung the effectivity of the district planning committees.

SPECIAL SCHEMES SECTOR IN THE PLANS

A special schemes organization (SSO) has been set up in the agriculture department to coordinate the work of the two command area development projects (Rajasthan Canal and Chambal), the tribal sub-plan area, the drought prone areas programme (D.P.A.P.), small farmers development agencies, marginal farmers and agricultural labourers agency, etc. (The command area projects work is also coordinated by the command area department which is a part of the agriculture department of the secretariat). In their case, the special schemes organization performs some of the functions normally performed by the Planning Department, of course, with the assistance by the Planning Department. In the light of the Government of India

(*Continued from page 557*)

comprehensive 10 year integrated district plans for the districts of Chittorgarh, Jhalawar, Sirohi and Sawai Madhopur. For details see the writer's review in *Development Policy and Administration Review* (Jaipur), Vol. 1, No. 2, July-Dec. 1975, pp. 150-154 which demonstrates how the Planning Commission's *Guidelines for the Formulation of District Plans* (1969) is being applied in these four districts of Rajasthan.

[7]For details about the MNP see *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79*, Government of India, Planning Commission, Delhi, 1973, pp. 87-91, and *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79 Rajasthan, op. cit., note* 5, pp. 25-26 and 27-34.

guidelines the SSO has prepared project reports for these schemes. The project reports form the basis for the preparation of annual plans for these special programmes. The allocation of funds also is dependent more on fixed Government of India or World Bank criteria. Thus, after the lump-sum allocations for these projects have been worked out in the annual plan by the Planning Department, the SSO in consultation with the Planning Department and the Planning and Development Coordination Committees, works out the detailed scheme-wise allocations and finalizes them on its own.

To take an example of the DPAP here the decision-making about phasing of inputs and location of works has been left primarily (subject to the project reports and the guidelines) to the district development authorities headed by the Collector (district development officer) in the concerned districts and having all the district level officers (DLOs) as their members. These decisions are, of course, subject to SSO scrutiny and even may have to be cleared by the Government of India. Here again, as in the MNP, decisions are not taken on a department-wise basis.

MANPOWER PLANNING

Estimates are being made of the likely backlog of the unemployed, likely additions to the labour force, existing employment opportunities, additional employment opportunities likely to be generated by the five year or annual plan and the employment potential of various areas. These estimates are both aggregate and broken up according to various categories. Separate forecasts are attempted for each category of technical personnel with regard to their demand and supply and the existing imbalances between the two. The problem of wastage and stagnation of trained personnel is also under study. In addition to the manpower planning wing of the Planning Department, an inter-departmental standing panel on unemployment has been constituted. Quarterly surveys of employment and under-employment are being carried out by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics for the Planning Department, which also happens to be its administrative department. It is hoped that these studies will help in the formulation of employment generating schemes as also provide the data for the fixing of priorities between various types of training and educational institutions to be set up.

IMPLEMENTATION : MONITORING, APPRAISAL AND EVALUATION

Based on the BFC minutes, the heads of administrative departments (Secretaries) issue the necessary administrative and financial sanctions for taking up new programmes or for continuing old ones to the heads of executive departments for implementation. Thereafter the heads of departments are

required to send monthly, quarterly and annual progress reports to the Planning Department in prescribed formats which have recently been revised to enable better coordination. The new formats came into use starting with the quarter ending December 1975.

The new formats provide for information about physical targets, financial allocations and expenditure, power requirements, inter-departmental problems, institutional finances raised, credit progress, employment data, including training and recruitment needs, etc.

Apart from this general monitoring of all plan schemes, 12 important programmes/projects have been selected for special, more comprehensive, monitoring, with more detailed proformas being used. These projects are: command area project, Rajasthan canal (I.D.A. assisted), command area development, Chambal project (I.D.A. assisted); dairy development (I.D.A. assisted); Rajasthan canal stage I (construction); Rajasthan canal stage II (construction); DPAP Jodhpur (I.D.A. assisted); DPAP, Nagaur (I.D.A. assisted); Mahi project (irrigation); Jakham irrigation project; Gopalpur irrigation project; extra high tension transmission lines project; and rock-phosphate (Rajasthan State Mines and Minerals Limited).

The progress reports received from the various heads of departments are closely scrutinized and the performance recorded is discussed from time to time in the concerned State level planning and development coordination committee.

In addition to this monitoring, concurrent and post completion evaluation of plan programmes is also being done regularly to assess the impact of the plan programmes by the Evaluation Department which is controlled at the secretariat level by the Planning Department. Every year, 10 to 12 development programmes/schemes are so studied and evaluation reports published. The programmes/schemes to be evaluated are selected each year by a high power committee of directions. Certain brief studies are also taken up at the local level mainly for use at the district level.

A project appraisal cell has also been set up recently in the Planning Department to conduct ex-ante appraisal of project reports in order to determine the priorities and likelihood of success of the various projects.[8]

[8]Now that the structure and process of State level planning has been described the *Draft Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79—Rajasthan, op. cit., note* 5 would prove interesting as a point of comparison between the Planning Department's hopes about improvements in the planning machinery as described there, and what has actually been achieved.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE PLANNING SET-UP

A few reactions to the working of the State level planning are described above.[9]

The first thing that comes to mind is the huge data gap between requirements and availability, because the technical expertise and resources to collect comprehensive and detailed data are lacking. The various departments lack in sufficient planning expertise (in fact even the Planning department seems to be lacking in it). Perhaps functionaries in the various secretariat and executive departments even lack in the perspective geared to planning. Hasty, *ad-hoc*, fund-based projects on guidance from above are the rule of the day. Centrally sponsored model schemes are blindly adopted. Few departments care to work out all the implications of a scheme as they do not yet have faith in plan exercises which they consider to be a lot of show; for them planning often depends upon the availability of funds and personnel given to them and not on needs and environmental circumstances. They seldom look upon their work from an integrated point of view. Departmental jealousies as well as rules and conflicting priorities blind them to all but the problems of their department, and even there they tend to look upon each problem separately in isolation. They do not dovetail the schemes they prepare and are quite willing to see continuous *ad-hoc* changes being made as they go along.

It was once written, perhaps in jest, in a letter to the editor that "planning from below" means that the secretariat department endorses the endorsement by the executive department's director of his lower staff's proposals and that the executive department's proposal means the lower division clerk's proposal as dittoed by the upper division clerk, section officer, deputy director and director. Unfortunately this is often true; as Satish Kumar[10] has described in the case of the Finance Department, the Planning Department seems to be one of the two (the other being Finance) departments that carefully scrutinise

[9] However, the remarks here will have more meaning for the reader if he knows what the writer's belief and value preferences about planning are for he can then place his remarks in that perspective. The writer's beliefs can be gleened from the following articles: (1) Rakesh Hooja, "Administrative Development—The Concept Re-explored", *Administrative Change*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July-Dec., 1973, pp. 78-91; (2) Rakesh Hooja and Abhay Bhargav, "The Planning Experiment Since Independence" *op. cit., note* 4; (3) Rakesh Hooja, "Administrative Development—The Debate Continued", *Administrative Change*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Jan-June 1976, pp. 80-86; (4) Rakesh Hooja, *op. cit., note* 1.

[10] "Administration of State Finances—Some Observations" in *State Administration in India, op. cit., note* 1, where Satish Kumar has also given reasons which are equally valid in the case of the Planning Department.

proposals; other departments merely seem to function as post offices transmitting proposals up and allocations and targets down.

Another problem is that of there being a profusion of different types of 'areas' (desert, tribal, river or lake command area, special backward region, capital region, etc.) which are overlapping. This leads to overlapping of plan exercises at times. While such special 'command area schemes' are meant to overcome department-wise segmentation of administrative efforts, the degree of coordination thus achieved is questionable. There have even been alleged instances of different people belonging to different departments writing different chapters, which tagged together constituted a project report.

The emphasis on achievement of physical targets rather than on impact on society is also not desirable.[11]

However, these criticisms should not negate the plus points of the existing system. Just as the Department of Planning has been changing for the better, so also there are signs that the entire administrative set-up is becoming more and more efficiency-oriented and planning-conscious, and the emphasis on development after the declaration of the emergency of June 1975 has contributed to this trend.

[11]This entire section can be profitably compared with D.R. Gadgil, "The Basic Requirement of Planning in Maharashtra", *Planning and Economic Policy in India, op. cit., note* 4 especially pp. 235-246. Another critique which the writer would tend to endorse is that by V.R. Gaekwad, "Management of Rural Development Programmes—Organizational Deficiencies and Strategies for Improvement", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXI No. 4, Oct-Dec. 1975, pp. 649-662.

Planning for Rural Development by Field Staff—A View from Rajasthan*

Rakesh Hooja

MUCH IS often[1] written about the importance of intermediate and lower level planning so as to reduce the gap between the planning agency and the area of implementation and consequently to enable location, specific needs, and solution to be spelt out in the light of both local resource availability and national developmental priorities, keeping in view local socio-administrative practices and inter and intra local area economic linkages. Such local/intermediate plan documents would not only make sectoral financial outlays easier to decide, but also enable better coordination between the various sectoral allocations for an area and better physical, spatial and human (including individual beneficiary) planning. The lower the level of the plan, the smaller the plan area is likely to be, and thus, the more detailed the plan document, making its implementation easier. Also in case people closer to the implementation level do the planning then such plans are also likely to be much more practical and realistic from the implementation point of view. So the theory goes. And unless tried out in real earnest it can neither be proved nor disproved.

Such an approach if taken to its logical conclusion implies that the field level implementation staff should prepare its own village block/district plans as also its own special developmental micro-projects and then also implement them. Or at most that the local citizenry, or other experts specially placed at the local level, associate with the local implementation agency to undertake such plan and project formulation.

It is the purpose of this brief paper to examine existing trends (as are visible to this observer) in this direction in Rajasthan's rural development efforts to try and figure out whether such a trend is likely to continue until a situation

*The thoughts expressed herein are purely personal. The author has, however, benefited from discussions with, P.C. Mathur, lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan and Meenakshi Hooja, Deputy Director, Census Operations, Rajasthan.

[1]A recent example of such writing is the debate covered by: (1) Sandeep and Aruna Bagchee "The Dantwala Committee and After", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (*EPW*), June 7, 1980, Vol. XV, No. 23, and M.L. Dantwala, "Block Level Planning Revisited", *EPW*, Vol. XV, No. 30, July 26, 1930.

is achieved in which local plan/projects can be prepared and implemented locally. This question can be phrased in another manner—whether the field implementation agencies shall ever be able to develop the capability to be able to undertake their own local planning/projectisation (on their own or with some assistance from local citizenry and locally situated experts). The question as to whether such an eventuality would be desirable can then be commented upon.

PANCHAYATI RAJ AND LOCAL PLANNING

It would be appropriate now to turn to the last two decades in Rajasthan and to provide a simplified account of the trends as visible to this observer.

For the third and fourth plans the panchayati raj structure (both panchayat officials and panchayat non-officials) were involved in what was called district planning.[2] However, what in effect occurred was that while the non-officials added more and more to the lists of demands and expressed felt needs, the officials tried to follow the lead of the district/State level officers from their departments and get districtwise break-up of the State plan approved. The resulting compromise documents were often forgotten after drafting. Even otherwise this effort should not be considered to be a true planning exercise because detailed resource and problem inventories were never conducted and only either political compilations of charters of demands or bureaucratic listing of districtwise break-ups of the State plan were properly attempted.

After that the entire arena of development administration in Rajasthan underwent a change. Panchayati raj started to lose its vitality as elections were put off. Special project agencies for marginal farmers and agricultural labourers development (MFAL), small farmers development (SFDA), command area development (CAD) and drought prone areas programme (DPAP) and tribal sub plan area development were set up and they cut into the importance of both the panchayat structures and of the regular State government departments. As the approach of such specialised schemes was different from the old community development—panchayati raj approach, the need for greater sophistication in project/scheme/action plan preparation also emerged. This was accentuated by greater use of institutional finance as financing agencies like the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), the Agriculture Refinance and Development Corporation (ARDC) and the World Bank, as well as commercial banks asked for better examination of schemes based

[2]For the third plan see: (1) D.K. Saxena, "Planning from Below in Rajasthan", *Political Science Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1962, and (2) Yoginder K. Alagh "Formulation of State Plan—Rajasthan—A Case Study, *Economic Weekly*, 7 June, 1962. For the fourth plan see P.C. Mathur, "Multi Level Planning in Rajasthan—A Study of the Formulation of the Fourth Plan in Jaipur District", *Voluntary Action*, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1966.

on improved appraisal technique and their own norms of the bankability of a project/scheme.

Simultaneously the Planning Commission issued detailed guidelines in 1969[3] which envisaged techno-economic resource inventories before detailed analysis, which would lead to better district planning. Simultaneously academicians were also talking of more sophisticated planning based on, for example, the concept of rural growth centres.[4]

Hence the old panchayati raj based attempt at local planning died a natural death.[5] What came instead was greater reliance on the preparation and sanctioning of institutional finance projects and an attempt at pilot studies on detailed district planning. The special project agencies and departments in the meantime continued turning out and implementing what can at best be called action plans which contained physical and financial targets and outlays based on prompting from above.

As project formulation for institutional finance assistance grew in importance a special schemes organisation evolved in the State's secretariat agriculture department in 1971-72. This not only looked after the implementation of the special schemes of the Government of India mentioned above and State government schemes like Antyodaya as the administrative secretariat department, and acted as its own executive department, but it also set up its own project formulation cell for formulating special district or block projects for, say, minor (well) irrigation, soil conservation supply of milch/drought, etc., animals, market yard development, fruit development, drought prone areas development and for getting them sanctioned and implemented. This cell contains experts from various government departments that are concerned with rural development who visit or correspond with the district

[3]*Guidelines for the Formulation of District Plans*, Planning Commission, Delhi, September, 1969.

[4]Examples of such thinking in India can be found in: (1) Lalit K. Sen (ed.), *Readings in Micro Level Planning and Rural Growth Centres*, NICD, Hyderabad, 1972, (2) Multi Level, Planning—A Special Issue of *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, Aug.-Sept. 1973, (3) Special Issue on District Planning, *Journal of LBS National Academy of Administration*, No. 1, 1975, (4) Venugopal Reddy, *Multi Level Planning in India*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1979, (5) R.P. Misra and K.V. Sunderam, *Multi Level Planning and Integrated Rural Development in India*, Heritage, Delhi, 1980. This author has trial to summarise prevailing conceptual thinking on district planning in articles in both the *Indian Journal of Public Administration* and *Journal of LBS National Academy of Administration*. Special issues mentioned above in this note. Also likely to be useful are the mimeographed documents of the UNIDS National Correspondence Seminar organised jointly by the Institute of Development Studies, University of Mysore, the Planning Commission, Delhi, and the United Nations Social Development Division.

[5]For the Panchayati Raj based system of planning there prevalent see M.V. Mathur and Iqbal Narain (eds.), *Panchayati Raj Planning and Democracy*, Asia Publishing House, 1969. For the general decline of Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan, see P.C. Mathur, (1) "Performance of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Rajasthan, 1959-74—A Critical Survey", *Social Change*, Vol. VII, Nos. 3 & 4, Sept.-Dec., 1979. (2) "Report from Rajasthan", *Seminar* No. 234, Symposium on Grassroots Democracy, February, 1979.

level special project agencies to obtain data for their project formulation.[6]

Simultaneously by 1974 the State planning department was setting up district planning cells in four of Rajasthan's twenty-six districts to try and undertake detailed district planning as per the Government of India guidelines.[7] However, somehow the resource inventories and then plan drafting have dragged on till this year—especially since no clear decision about how these detailed district plans would be sanctioned and implemented has been taken and because government programme/scheme implementation has gone on as usual in the absence of these plans.

In 1978-79 the special schemes organisation was also asked to undertake *Samagra* gram vikas[8] (whole village development) rural growth centre[9] planning, and comprehensive block planning[10] and, by 1979, district planning cells (with skeletal official staff and hardly any statistical or clerical assistance) were in position in all the districts. Such cells are under the administrative control of the special schemes organisation and have been located in the SFDA/DDA (district development agency) which are the implementational special project agencies in each district so as to integrate the plan/project formulational and implementational wings at the district level. The residuary detailed pilot district planning work earlier being got done by the State planning department has also been transferred to these district planning cells as has work of the recently started integrated rural development (IRD)[11] and of block credit project[12] formulation which is

[6]See *A Project Approach to Accelerated Agriculture Development in Rajasthan* (mimeo), Special Schemes Organisation, Jaipur, January, 1978.

[7]The State Government Planning Department issued its own mimeographed guidelines also.

[8]*Samagra Gram Vikas—Whole Village Development—Guidelines for Identification Survey Formulation and Appraisal of Village Projects*, Special Schemes Organisation, Jaipur, December, 1979.

[9]S.S. Acharya, "Rural Growth Centres" (mimeo), training note circulated at the Workshop on Project Formulation (IRD/SGV/RGC) January 22-24, 1980, organised by Special Schemes Organisation in Jaipur. This RGC (Rural Growth Centres) scheme is different from Panjab's 'Focal Point' scheme because in Rajasthan an attempt is being made to scientifically identify each centre's hinterland, its resources and problems before planning and implementation are taken up for that centre.

[10]*Guidelines for the Formulation of Comprehensive Block Development Plans* (mimeo), Special Schemes Organisation, Jaipur, January, 1980. These guidelines were developed independently of the *Guidelines for Block Level Planning*, Planning Commission, Government of India, December, 1979 though both the State and national guidelines have drawn from *Report of the Working Group on Block Level Planning* (Dantawala Committee) Planning Commission, 1978. Also interesting to see for Block Planning is Prodipto Roy and B.R. Patil (ed.), *Manual for Block Level Planning*, Macmillan, 1977.

[11]See, *Manual of Integrated Rural Development Programme*, Ministry of Rural Reconstruction, Government of India, January, 1980.

[12]*Guidelines for Formulation of Block Level Credit Projects (Banking/Credit Plans) under Integrated Rural Development Programme*, Special Schemes Organisation, Jaipur, May, 1980.

controlled by the special schemes organisation at the State level. Special technical cells for the formulation and implementation for community lift irrigation from rivers and *dehs* have also been placed in the SFDA/DDAs.

Other special project works as for example UNICEF sponsored area development schemes or tribal mini-block development through the modified area development approach (MADA) are also entrusted to the special schemes organisation and through it to the district planning cells.

Thus theoretically both at the State level (special schemes organisation) and the district level (district planning cells located in the SFDAs/DDAs) the area plan/project formulators and implementors are the same agency. Thus to hypothesise that in the coming decades such integration of planning/projectising and implementation is likely to go down to the village level (and that comprehensive block planning and preparation of block credit projects now have been initiated for all the 236 blocks in Rajasthan shall be followed by the spread of the formulation of pilot *Samagra* gram vikas village projects and rural growth centres—now being undertaken sparingly—to all 33,000 odd villages and 1,265 identified rural growth centres in Rajasthan) appears realistic.

However the actual practice raises some doubts.

SHORTCOMINGS IN LOCAL PLANNING

While the SFDA/DDA with, or without its district planning cell is capable of preparing its own draft action plans in the light of previous action plans, it manages little more than that independently. Even where minor (well) irrigation schemes, already sanctioned by the ARDC, have to be re-phased the district staff normally has to be called to the special schemes organisation (SSO) for discussions before a supplementary minor irrigation scheme can be finalised. For *samagra* gram vikas/rural growth centre projects the district planning cell prepares the first draft as per the SSO guidelines. Thereafter this draft has to be got rewritten at least twice by SSO officers before it can be considered for appraisal at the SSO level. For block credit projects, the SSO officers are moving from district to district to ensure that the credit requirement projections being made at the district level prior to the drafting of the project report have been projected correctly. In the case of soil conservation watershed works under DPAP or DDP (desert development programme—also looked after by SSO),[13] the water-

[13]As a number of Government of India schemes have been mentioned in this paper interested readers may like to consult Rakesh Hooja, "Delivering Benefits to the Rural Poor—A View from Rajasthan" (mimeo), paper presented at the Government of India—U.N. ESCAP *Working Party on Public Service Delivery Systems for the Rural Poor*, organised at Delhi, 8-12 November, 1979, which contains a list of Government programmes and of the various parts of the government delivery system which contribute to the implementation of these programmes. For details about these programmes, see *Rural Development in India—Some Facets*. NIRD, Hyderabad, 1979.

shed works proposal prepared at the field level by the technical staff of the DDA has to be technically got checked at the assistant/additional director soil conservation levels and still, when submitted to the SSO, may have faults. The above are only examples. In fact the only programme where field level work plans, called 'chak files' of on farm development (OFD) catchments, do not need much revision at levels higher than that of the project, known to this observer, is the CAD project at Chambal and Rajasthan Canal. These exceptions prove the rule, especially because in these projects, officers of the levels of chief engineer/additional chief engineer have been placed at the local project level.[14]

But what is the reason why, in practice, local (in this case district) level plan/project formulation has shortcomings?

One reason is that at lower levels, the project area becomes smaller and detailed micro planning instead of aggregate planning becomes necessary. Most government servants are not used to such detailed planning which is possible only after sufficient field data is collected. This observer has seen examples where rough calculations on the basis of estimated size of the proposed work and a schedule of what are called basic standard rates (BSRs) have been sent up to the SSO from the SFDA/DDA because that is what the government engineer has been accustomed to doing before getting a sanction. However, with smaller areas being planned in more detail, the SSO now requires actual field data about the availability and cost of raw material, labour costs, survey of land and actual measurements and design of the proposed work, as also the actual expected beneficiaries and incremental benefits of the proposed works to be worked out and cost rates compared with anticipated incremental benefits before sanctioning.

Another reason is that often personnel at the lower levels[15] lack technical knowledge of sufficient standard and also lack information about policies and decisions of the government (because being in the field they are too

[14]For the organisational chart of CAD Chambal—Rajasthan Project, see Rakesh Hooja, B.N. Maheshwari and S.R. Mittal, "CAD and On Farm Development in Chambal Rajasthan Project" forthcoming in Satish Batra (ed.), *Administration in an Indian State*, Associated, Delhi, 1980.

[15]Some articles which give an idea of the nature of implementation of rural development programme in India, and thus of the nature of the implementors also which can profitably be consulted are: (1) D. Aurora, "Adaptation of Administration for Rural Development with Special Reference to Poor", *BehaviouralSciences and Rural Development*, Vol. II, No. 1, January, 1979. (2) Bhupendra Hooja, "Functional Approach to Panchayat Development—A Post Ashok Mehta Perspective", *Administrative Change*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1 & 2, July, 1978—June, 1979. (3) Mohit Bhattacharya, "Administrative and Organizational Issues on Rural Development", Proceedings of the *22nd Annual Conference of Members of IIPA*, IIPA, Delhi, 1979. (4) P. C. Mathur, "Administrative Realignments for Rural Development: Some Policy Issues in the Context of India", *Indian Journal of Political Sciences*, Vol. XL, No. 1, 1979. (5) V.R. Gaekwad, "Management of Rural Development Programme: Organisational Deficiencies and Strategy for Improvements", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1975, and (6) Rakesh Hooja, *op. cit.*, *note* 13.

junior) as well as of financial institutions like banks. In fact, regarding banks, they even lack an idea of the culture, style and processes of commercial/ cooperative bank working which can differ from bank to bank. They often also lack commercial information about rates and supply of goods, etc., required from outside the local area. And more than that they even usually lack the knowledge and orientation about what is the concept of a project or of a proper plan. Having worked all their life with Basic Standard Rates, or budgets based on establishment costs and rough work costs based on : (*a*) physical targets, and (*b*) the rough norms of cost per unit of physical target to be achieved, they find it difficult to adjust to a more detailed examination of proposals and the calculation of anticipated benefits required for projectisation. In fact many persons in the field today refer to an action plan or rough schematic budget estimate as a project or detailed plan because they do not know otherwise. Even proper training to overcome this has only started being developed on a large enough scale in the last couple of years.[16]

Other reasons are that the local officials are more easily swayed by vested interests and local political forces because they are more involved in the local milieu as also because, being junior, they cannot easily stand up to such pressures, and because often their mental horizons are not broad enough to see the need to resist such pressures. Nor are their service conditions such that better, more idealistic, knowledgeable, and courageous persons would man such posts.

Local officials are also often likely to press for lower targets or easier objectives so as to have less problem in implementation. They may also for the same reason, stress easier to perform rather than vital tasks while planning. Also they may not be able to work out the possible adverse consequences that can follow for areas outside their jurisdiction from proposals being made by them.

The fact that no local area is a closed system either economically or administratively also means that the local planner cannot plan only locally. He has to know the external supply points for benefit delivery and the likely supply bottlenecks (*i.e.*, for fertilisers which may have to be imported into the local area. For this he needs information from outside his area. And if he himself is responsible for obtaining and importing government benefit supplies into his area before they are got delivered by him, then he may not even have the time to plan anything except the immediate receipt and delivery of government benefits.

Another reason is that just as many government decisions and policies which could affect the nature of the plan/project being made are not known at the local level, similarly much data for example from the regular census,

[16]Notably the Training Division of the Department of Personnel, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India is sponsoring a number of such courses all over the country.

the agriculture and livestock censuses, compiled figures of the licensing of certain items, etc., is available only at the State level. Even the statistics department of the State often gets data collected through district statistical officers—but gets it compiled only at the State capital. Hence, the district planners have to obtain such data not from the field but from the State capital. The problem is further compounded when even at the State level data may be found compiled on a tehsil by tehsil basis and not blockwise. Not only is the data collected at field level compiled only at the State level, but often the sample size, as for example in crop cutting experiments to determine agricultural yield figures, is too small for reliable estimations at levels lower than that of the entire State. Also ground-water, soil and geological surveys (to name a few) are centrally managed at the State level and this data is seldom available at the district or lower levels. Facilities like aerial photo interpretation laboratories are also located at most in one or two places in the State. Thus the accessibility of adequate data, knowledge and skills is all lacking at local and intermediate levels.

An additional problem is that even at the State level many government departments have not yet started functioning at such higher qualitative standards of projectisation and detailed planning; they function as in days of yore on the basis of some scrutiny based on common sense and administrative experience. Even in these State departments where change is occurring (especially due to Government of India or international agency prodding) the change is usually at the highest or near summit levels. Thus the gap between this level and the SFDA/DDA or the departmental district level officers in touch with the SFDA/DDA is huge. Hence the SFDA/DDA often cannot get sufficient guidance from some of the departments. At times due to this reason they try to copy projects prepared in other districts or circulated as model reports by the SSO in a blind manner or try to resist projectisation and press for a commonsense scrutiny of schemes instead.

In fact today even the State plan is not prepared in such a detailed manner in many departments as is now being conceived for the preparation of comprehensive block plans, because the State plan of a department often is a rough break-up of the plan outlay ceiling given from above to the department, with some details of old (committed) and newly proposed posts and establishment costs and old (committed) liability of works with the remainder being roughly calculated and ascribed to new proposed works.[17] When

[17]For a description of how State Planning is currently undertaken in Rajasthan *vis-a-vis* theoretically approaches, see: (1) Kanta Ahuja (ed.), *District Planning in Rajasthan* (HCM SIPA, Jaipur 1977), (2) Rakesh Hooja (*a*) "State Level Planning—The Rajasthan Case," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, July-Sept. 1976, (*b*) The District as a Planning Unit—Style and Locus, *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, *op. cit.*, *note* 4, (*c*) "District and Regional Planning—Some Aspects with Regard to India", *Journal of LBS National Academy Administration, op. cit.*, *note* 4, and (3) Rakesh Hooja and Harsh Sethi, "Planning for Industrial Development in Rajasthan", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, July-Sept. 1974.

State level departmental plans are thus prepared after little economic or financial analysis, to expect junior officers of those departments to undertake economic, financial, technical, and administrative feasiblity analysis of block/district/growth centre/village projects is perhaps expecting too much.

Further, as there is a tendency amongst Indians to look upwards for decisions, beliefs, etc., as is evident from the institution of the *karta* of the joint family system of some years ago, or the old tendency to look upto the zamidar/jagirdar/maharaja/company bahadur, most government servants also feel more comfortable when plans/projects are thrust down from above, than when they have to send up proposals on their own for examination at higher levels.

It may be added in an aside—that in Rajasthan the new breed of professionalised voluntary agencies are scarce and only the older variety of 'social worker' bodies inspired by the national movement exist and they do not possess the technical and professional expertise which could supplement at the local level, the planning efforts of the government planning workers. The expertise these older type voluntary agencies do possess is chiefly in the sphere of motivating and educating the people, but these are more germane to implementation than to planning/projectisation.

SOPHISTICATED LOCAL LEVEL PLANNING POSSIBLE

The above appears to paint a very gloomy picture. However, when the situation is compared to a few years ago, this observer feels that there is cause of optimism in view of the trend that is visible. As the general level of education increases, the level of education of junior local officers (as also of other persons in the local area who could possibly influence or contribute to local level planning) is also likely to increase leading to an overall improvement in their quality. Further, just as the style of functioning has changed in favour of more sophisticated analysis and projectisation/planning at the Government of India level and has started to change at the State level, similarly this is likely to spread downward to the district and intra district levels because that is how most administrative innovations have spread in India. It can also be assumed that as more and more sophisticated techniques of projectisation/planning are evolved by academicians, the academic-practising-administration-gap notwithstanding, some changes in government functioning are inevitable. Also, due to the influence of international financing agencies and the demonstration effect of foreign administrative systems which have already adopted more sophisticated techniques; as also due to communicational and technological break-through such as increased use of calculators and computors which both make data available at lower levels and its more rigorous analysis possible there; the trend in the coming decades is likely to be towards more sophisticated lower level planning. This is also likely to increase as technological changes raise the cost magnitude of investment

decisions at all levels and thus necessitate more detailed investment planning.

Further, as more and more developmental activity is undertaken, the complexity of what is left to be done will increase, simpler and cheaper tasks having already been achieved earlier. This would also necessitate more detailed planning for the remaining complex problems of all regions/units of settlement.

Hence this observer's intuitive feeling is that planning/projectising of smaller and smaller areas at lower levels is inevitable in the coming decades. Also the need for feedback from local areas and about local level implementational problems is likely to increase as such detailed planning/projectisation increases. Thus even if the local field staff itself does not do the planning, it is likely to be closely associated with it. And the most likely devise for this, as of today, is likely to be the placing of the local planner and the local implementor in the same local administrative agency. The only alternative is one mobile planning team being attached to 2-3-4 local implementing agencies which would mean almost the same in terms of the relative closeness and a stable relationship between the planner and the implementor.

The question now left is whether such an eventuality is desirable. Theoretically there can be no doubt that detailed planning for smaller and smaller units shall prove useful. The doubt is about the desirability of the planning and implementing functions being situated in the same local level agency, or being closely related. Western theories of administrative development[18] often follow the structural functional formulation that greater structural differentiation is a sign of development or modernisation or rationality. The point raised earlier about the implementor trying to tone down the proposals so that he would end up with lower targets also seems to point towards the need for separation of the functions of implementing and planning in a manner similar to the arguments advocated in favour of the separation of powers theory in the field of constitutionalism.

However, if detailed local level plans are made, then keeping the two functions separate may not be possible both because the interaction between planner and implementor (where separate) is likely to be greater in local face-to-face communities and also because in very small communities reasons of economy are likely to cause the same person(s) to be made planner(s) and implementor(s). Another factor in this is the fact that planning

[18]For the concept of administrative development, see Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *Perspectives in Administrative Theory* (Associated, New Delhi, 1979) which contains the following three articles: (1) Rakesh Hooja, "Administrative Development—The Concept Re-explored", (2) Kumud Sogani, "Administrative Development—Some Conceptual Premises", (3) Rakesh Hooja, "Administrative Development: The Debate Continued" all of which have drawn from Fred W. Riggs, "Administrative Development—An Elusive Concept" in John D. Montgommery and William J. Siffin (ed.), *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1966.

at a given point of time has perforce to build on the results of previous implementation or the absence of it.

Only when projectising/planning has moved down to lower levels as envisaged in this paper is empirical data likely to become available which will either support or negate the structural differentiation thesis, at least in this context.

□

Effect of Deforestation

Deforestation increases food production in the less developed countries (LDCs) wherever it leads to an increase in the arable land area. As the limits of arable land are approached, however, continued deforestation suppresses agricultural production. The negative effects include direct environmental processes, such as the siltation of irrigation works, and indirect effects. As wood has become scarce in South Asia, for example, cattle dung and crop residues that once functioned to maintain soil fertility have been used for fuel. In India, Pakistan, Java, Madura, and in parts of Central America and West Africa, the negative effects of deforestation have already begun to constrain food production. It appears likely that by the year 2000, the effects will be severe throughout the tropical regions. Both fuel and food shortages could result in increased LDC demands for aid, and suppression of the LDC economies may reduce markets for the products of the industrialized economies.

—*The Global* 2000 *Report to the President*, Volume 2, Washington, 1980.

Machinery for Delivering Benefits to the Rural Poor: A View from an Indian State

Rakesh Hooja

IN THIS paper[1] I intend to start by stating my theoretical assumptions, and then categorising, according to schemes, the existing benefits and delivery system in Rajasthan. Thereafter my ideas for reform are expressed either as appendages to the ideas of others or independently. The reference point is Rajasthan's administrative system.

Skipping over the semantic debate about the proper definition of the rural poor, I intend to use the term rural poor in a general, layman's sense, of rural inhabitants who are economically disadvantaged. Otherwise an entire paper may be separately required to explain and examine this concept in detail.

The next issue is one of what is to be delivered. The benefits[2] to be delivered can be divided into three categories—developmental or productive benefits; social services benefits; and the socio-administrative prerequisites

[1]This is a twice revised version of a paper entitled, "Delivering Benefits to the Rural Poor—A View from Rajasthan" presented at a Government of India./ESCAP Working Party on Improving Public Service Delivery Systems for the Rural Poor held at Delhi from 8th to 12th November, 1979. The views expressed in this paper are personal. The author is grateful to Shri P.C. Mathur, Research Associate, University of Rajasthan, Shri Bhupendra Hooja, former Managing Director, Rajasthan Land Development Corporation, and Smt. Meenakshi Hooja, Dy. Director, Census Operations, Rajasthan for discussions before the paper was written. (The last mentioned also commented on the first draft). He has also benefited from and used his experiences as Additional Area Development Commissioner, Chambal CAD Project, Kota, Project Officer, SFDA and DPAP, Ajmer, Deputy Secretary to the Government of Rajasthan, Agriculture (Special Schemes), and Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan. Interested Readers may also *see Kurukshetra*, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 6 & 7, 1st January, 1980, and *Administrative Change*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1 & 2, July 1978-June 1979, which are special numbers on this theme. Also see UN-ESCAP: (*i*) *Rural Development Administration in India—Some Emerging Policy Issues* (1979), and (*ii*) *Public Service Delivery System for the Rural Poor* (1980), and *Dynamics of Rural Development* (mimeo.) US-ICA, New Delhi, 1980.

[2]Those unfamiliar with existing development schemes in India may like to see B. Hooja and Rakesh Hooja, "Government Development Programmes and Modernisation of Agriculture in India" (mimeo) paper presented at the seminar on Modernisation in South Asia, Jan. 6-8, 1978, University of Rajasthan also published it in *The Administrator*, Vol. XXV, No. 4 Winter, 1980.

without which the above benefits cannot be properly utilised. In this paper I intend to focus on developmental benefits whether they be delivered through target group oriented schemes, or through diffusion down to the poor, from area based or 'broadcasted' schemes.[3] Such broadcasted or area based schemes may be comprehensive and integrated, or they may be single sector or multi-sector schemes that are not necessarily integrated. Thus the delivery of civil supplies, or provision of a good land revenue system, through part of the public delivery system, shall be excluded from my paper on grounds of convenience and my personal experience and background. As already implied above, delivery of both individual and community benefits come within the purview of this paper.

I may also point out that I intend to treat the delivery system as one which, to use the example of rural credit,[4] is both a delivery system and a recovery system. Thus the delivery system has to be a two way process and not merely one which involves only giving. Similarly, the delivery system is taken by me to include not only 'line' functionaries doing actual execution work, but also 'staff' functionaries doing planning and scheme/project formulation. After-care or post benefit delivery follow up[5] of the beneficiary is also a part of the delivery system.

PUBLIC DELIVERY SYSTEM

The existing delivery sub-systems (though part of one overall public delivery system) may also be divided into the following categories:

Revenue Agency

This is a popular term for the land revenue administration based system of the district administration headed by the district collector. This is normally saddled with responsibility for execution of all sorts of government schemes as also with all aspects of regulatory administration.

Departmental Staff

This in a way is a part of the above category since the staff belonging to the various departments of government (including corporations), *i.e.*, irri-

[3]Also see P.C. Mathur, "Participation of Weaker Sections in the Development Process—An Essay in Disaggregation" in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *People's Participation in Development Process*, HCM SIPA Jaipur, 1979.

[4]For details of the rural credit system please see: Rakesh Hooja, "Micro Level Credit Planning and the Rural Delivery-cum-Recovery System", in *Administrative Change*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1 & 2, July 1978-June 1979.

[5]See for example Rakesh Hooia: (*a*) "Thoughts on Follow up Action for Antyodaya —Some Reflections" paper presented at All India Seminar on Antyodaya at HCM State Institute of Public Administration, Jaipur 26 to 28 November 1979, published in *Kurukshetra*, March 1, 1980 issue, and (*b*) "Follow up Action for Raising Productivity of Rural Term Loans", *Financing Agriculture*, Vol. 9, Nos. 3 & 4, 1978-79.

gation, agriculture, animal husbandry and the like, are coordinated at the district level by the collector, in addition to being controlled by their state level heads of departments.

Development Agency

This is also a popular term used in the field and includes two sub-categories:

(*a*) *Panchayat samiti officials* who were part of the previous programme of community development; and

(*b*) *the elected panchayat non-officials* and specially the *gram panchayats.* Both are inter-related and have close links with the revenue agency as the collector is an important part of this system also. The development agency functions at three levels : the village or gram panchayat, the block or panchayat samiti and the district or zila parishad.

New Agriculture Extension Agency[6]

This has recently emerged, as village level extension staff has been detached from the developmental agency and set up independently under the state agriculture department.

Special Projects

These have been specially set up by the state or central government for special purpose and have to often rely on all the above listed agencies as also the next category to a large extent. Collectors are normally associated with them [*e.g.*, SFDA, CAD, DPAP, etc. Each district has now a district rural development agency (DRDA)].

Institutional Credit System

This comprises of the cooperative and commercial banks as well as regional rural banks, whose attempts supplement those of all the above categories.

Voluntary Agencies

These often use government funds to execute government approved schemes. (The term non-governmental organisations often used for such agencies is one that doesn't endear itself to me.)

[6]For details see Bhupendra Hooja: (*a*) "Agriculture Extension: A New Programme for Training at all Levels", *Kurukshetra,* Vol. 27, No. 7, 1st Jan. 1979, (*b*) "People's Participation in Agriculture Development—Some reflections" in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *op. cit. Note* 3, (*c*) "Agriculture Administration in Rajasthan" in Satish Batra (ed.), *Administration in an Indian State* (Associated 1979), and Rakesh Hooja, "T & V in Rajasthan: An Attempt at Better Downward Communication Through Agriculture Extension" in *The Administrator,* Vol. 23, Nos. 3 & 4, July-Dec. 1978.

Beneficiary Associations

Government aided or sponsored water user associations, milk producers/ rural artisans/scheduled castes, cooperatives, etc., district adult education associations, and committees to monitor shortcomings in governments and land development programmes are other examples.

Normal Trade Channels

Government often uses normal trade channels, especially in the co-operative sector, to make available supply of fertiliser, etc., for sale.

Mass Media Network

The mass media network for dissemination of knowledge and ideas.

EXISTING SYSTEM OF DELIVERING BENEFITS AND SCHEMES

It would be appropriate to categorise some of the benefits and schemes (as well as the types of delivery sub-systems necessary for them) that are extant in Rajasthan which I shall try to discuss in this paper.

Type of Government Development Programme	*Type of Benefit*	*Type of Delivery System*
1	2	3
1. *Target Group Programmes*		
(*a*) Small Farmers Development Agency,[7] Integrated Rural Development, and Antyodaya[8] and Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)(based mainly on subsidies and institutional finance as well as extension demonstration and training) which focus on	(*a*) *Individual benefits* (*i*) Livestock credit and subsidy. (*ii*) Minor irrigation (ground water based) credit and subsidy. (*iii*) Short term credit and subsidies for inputs (coop. loans). (*iv*) Loans and credit for improved implements and equipment.	Revenue agency, development agency (both gram panchayat and panchayat samiti officials) departmental staff, new agriculture extension agency, special projects, institutional credit system.

Continued

[7]See Rakesh Hooja: (*a*) Some Field Level Problems of Rural Credit in SFDA Districts in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *op cit. Note* 3, (*b*) "MFALs Rural Artisan Scheme", *Indian Journal of Adult Education,* Vol. 38, No. 12, December, 1977, and B.M. Desai (ed.), *Interventions for Rural Development,* IIM Ahmedabad, 1979.

[8]See Rakesh Hooja "Antyodaya and the possible Role of Panchayat Non-officials in Executing Development Schemes" in *Political Science Review,* Vol. 17, Nos. 1 & 2, Jan.-March & April-June 1978, and Rakesh Hooja, 'Antyodaya' in *Seminar,* No. 234, February 1979, which in addition to Antyodaya also discuss issues directly relevant to this paper. Also see Bhupendra Hooja, "Towards Antyodaya (unto the last)—Some Observations on the Experiment in Rajasthan" in *Rural Development Digest,* Vol. 2, No. 3, July 1979.

Continued

1	2	3
target groups like the antyodaya or poorest of the rural poor.	(*v*) Training and credit-*cum*-subsidy assistance for rural artisans. (*vi*) Land allotment and credit for land development/reclamation. (*vii*) Old age and disability pensions. (*viii*) Provision of employment.	
(*b*) Bonded labour, rehabilitation, scheduled castes development, etc.	(*b*) *Community Benefits* (*i*) Loan and subsidy for community irrigation schemes. (*ii*) Market yard development. (*iii*) Support to Amul type dairy schemes like managerial subsidies for milk producers co-operatives. (*iv*) Credit facility and planning and execution of watershed based soil conservation and land development works (these may also be deemed to be individual benefit schemes).	
2. *Area Based Schemes*		
(*a*) Comprehensive schemes	(*a*) *Individual Benefits*	
(*i*) Command area development[9] area based schemes which also have links with SFDA, IRD. The planning and execution of works and provision of credit and subsidies are all part of the scheme.	(*i*) assured and timely water supply as per rational norms. (*ii*) Agriculture, extension message. (*iii*) Inputs including credit. (*iv*) Drainage system including field drains. (*v*) Farm roads.	Special project with assistance of other types of delivery systems and especially beneficiary associations (waterusers associations for internal rotational irrigation or warabandi).

Continued

[9]See: (*i*) Rakesh Hooja and S.R. Mittal "CAD and SFDA, Loaning Problems and Procedures at the Field Level in *Financing Agriculture*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Jan-March 1979, (*ii*) Rakesh Hooja, B.N. Maheshwari, and S.R. Mittal, "CAD and on Farm Development in Chambal Rajasthan Project" in Satish Batra (ed.), *op. cit. Note* 5 (*iii*) Rakesh Hooja, "Development of Catchment Areas in Chambal Rajasthan Project" in mimeographed volume *Readings in Management Development*, HCM SIPA, Jaipur, 1979, also being published in book on *Administrative Innovations in Rajasthan* (ed.) by Mohan Mukerji.

Continued

1	2	3
(*ii*) Tribal sub plan area development schemes.	(*vi*) Land development. (*vii*) Consolidation of land holdings. (*b*) *Community Benefits* (*i*) Protection of table land through soil conservation land development and afforestation. (*ii*) Development of market yards. (*iii*) Development of a road network. (*iv*) Development of new settlements in virgin areas being provided with irrigation for the first time.	
(*b*) Samagra gram vikas (whole village development rural growth/ service centres schemes (minimum needs programme approach also fits in with the above scheme)	(*a*) *Community benefits* (*i*) Provision of infrastructural facilities. (*ii*) Provision of social services. (*b*) *Individual benefits* Similar to those for SFDA, IRD, Antyodaya, CAD, etc. (*c*) Community benefits as per requirements of the area.	The State Government is proposing an eclectic approach with the use of whatever government agency is available, (efforts to involve private business houses and voluntary agencies shall also be made), gram panchayats with assistance from revenue and panchayat samiti officials as well as departmental staff.
3. *Multi Sector Area Based Schemes* : (Through sectorally implemented)		
(*a*) DPAP/DDP	Same as in 2(a) above.	Same as in 2(a) above.
(*b*) Food for work/ NREP.	Community assets, services infrastructure.	Chiefly departmental staff with some role of development agency.
4. *Departmental Works* (may be area or beneficiary oriented)	Depending upon the department.	Departmental Staff.

It may be pointed out that voluntary agencies at times play a supportive role in the execution of the above schemes. I believe this limited role is more appropriate for them than independent attempts at benefit delivery. The following tasks could profitably be performed by voluntary agencies:

1. Raising the level of consciousness and awareness amongst the

beneficiaries including the politicisation and organisation of the rural poor.

2. Providing professional facilities and technical skills in rural areas by training the rural folk as also by placing their own workers in villages.
3. Experimenting with new types of schemes which could later be adopted on a regional or national basis by the government.
4. Identification of non-institutional resources (*e.g.*, human skills) available in the villages, and of the felt needs of the villagers.
5. To act as a feedback channel between the government and the rural poor.

APPROACH TO THE SET-UP

One approach in this paper could have been to take up the above scheme/programmes[10] of the government and to describe how each aspect of theirs works along with the required componentwise organisational and procedural charges, or reforms, that come to mind. However, considerations of space preclude such detailed analysis. Thus I shall content myself with referring to some other papers[11], where descriptions of the programme for those not already in the know (and personal suggestions for the others) are available.

Instead I shall examine here four papers on.the subject of organisational changes required for rural development in India before trying to set forth my conclusions including views about leakages involved and the different types of recipients of the delivery system. The selection of the papers has also been influenced on the basis of their accessibility to me.

[10]A useful introduction to development programmes in Rajasthan can be found in Part III of Kanta Ahuja (ed.), *District Planning in Rajasthan* (HCM SIPA) Jaipur 1977. Also see five year plan documents of the planning Commission, Government of India, as well as Rakesh Hooja, *Formulation and Implementation of Rural Development Progress* (mimeo.), Government of India, Training Division, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, Delhi, 1980, issued as part of their Training Programme for Overseas Administrators on Administering Development Programmes.

[11]*See op. cit. Notes* 4,5,6,7 *and* 8. For this writer's views on the development planning system in India also see: (1) Rakesh Hooja and Abbay Bhargav, "The Planning Experiment Since Independence" in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), "Administrative Change in India" (*Aalekh*, Jaipur 1974), (2) Rakesh Hooja, "State Level Planning: The Rajasthan Case", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, July-Sept. 1976, (3) Rakesh Hooja, "The District as a Unit of Planning Style and Locus" in *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, July-Sept. 1973, (4) Rakesh Hooja, "Distict and Regional Planning: Some Aspects with regard to India" in *Journal of LPS National Academy of Administration*, Vol. XX, No. 1, Spring 1975, and (5) "Planning for Rural Development by Field Staff: A View from Rajasthan", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, October-Dec. 1980. Also see Rakesh Hooja, "Area Development for Land Water Management", (Seminar Report) in *Rural Development Digest, op. cit. Note* 7.

Aurora[12] has raised the issue of whether taking the planning and project formulation function down to the district and block levels could improve the capacity of the delivery system. Unfortunately recent government attempts demonstrate that we in India have not yet managed to develop the requisite technical expertise for successful district or block planning without details and intensive guidance from the state capital. In Rajasthan a special schemes organisation has had to be set up in the secretariat department of agriculture for project formulation, programme planning and guidance; coordination, and monitoring of the executions of all the special projects, even the directorate of agriculture has found it impossible to perform these functions let alone the district administration or the project staff. The special schemes organisation has now also set up district planning cells to assist in local level planning and project formulation, but despite more than a year's experience, the cells cannot yet function independently.

Aurora has also suggested that the present Indian concept of a welfare state be changed and that government facilities and social services be provided to the people at cost—only the rural poor (and the very poor at that) being entitled to free services or facilities. Even technical advice should be available free only to the rural poor. I doubt whether such a major policy change is politically possible now that the people have got used to the government providing these facilities free of cost. The *antyodaya* approach of trying to ensure that the poorest of the rural poor (or antyodayis) get priority in receiving benefits from normal government schemes without the non-poor being deprived of the facilities appears to be the maximum presently possible now that the masses (both poor and non-poor) have got used to looking to the government for assistance, services and facilities of various sorts. In Rajasthan the villagewise antyodaya has now been replaced by panchayat samitiwise classification of the poorest for being given priority under IRD.

Aurora has also suggested that the political leadership must consciously and actively support new orientations or organisational innovations geared at genuinely serving only the rural poor, and the rural poor must be educated and mobilised to look after their own interests and thus become a part of the delivery system. How this change would be brought out is not fully clarified, nor is it clarified whether the administrative system can do so without losing its administrative character. In fact Harsh Sethi[13] and fellow 'activists' feel that the 'dominant ideology' and the state and party in power or even the opposition parties can never even attempt the mobilisation of the poor and that instead people belonging to the 'dissenting ideology' but working within the existing system shall have to attempt it individually or through politicised or politically neutral voluntary agencies.

[12]Aurora "Adaption of Administration for Rural Development with Special Reference to Poor", *Behavioural Science and Rural Development*, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1979.

[13]Harsh Sethi, "Between Myth and Uncertainty—The Making of a Vision" mimeo. report of a meeting of activists, *Indian Council of Social Science Research*, May 1979.

This is a subject on which I find myself unable to comment; time only will tell.

Aurora has also suggested that a marriage of the two streams of people's participation through panchayati raj and the 'technical innovation' of special project agencies located by the government in the field with other related administrative reorientations (all of his suggestions were not fully spelt out) may be the right solution.

This appears to be the proper time to turn to an examination of Bhupendra Hooja's paper.[14] Taking a 'Post Asoka Mehta Committee' view, Bhupendra Hooja has advocated going further than the Committee in that not only execution of developmental schemes but even regulatory (law and order, etc.) functions, as also the management of all the natural resources of the village should be handed over to the village which would act through the gram panchayats and only if they mismanage things should the (state) government step in. Of course the work of the gram panchayats should be open to inspection by State Government functionaries and mismanagement by the panchayats could lead to appointment of government administrators as is presently the practice in the case of cooperative socieites. While the merits/demerits and practicability of such a village based delivery system can be debated (it appears to ignore contradictions and cleavages within the 'face to face village community' eulogised by Bhupendra Hooja), it is theoretically more logical than Aurora's shotgun wedding between the bureaucratic government directed special project agencies and the decentralised but politicised gram panchayats which may even be in total disagreement with the state/national governments policies. Bhupendra Hooja has also suggested basing the gram panchayats on nominations/elections from caste (or jati) panchayats in the village.

Bhattacharya[15] has quoted the Dantwala Committee on block level planning (1978) which states that the panchayati raj institutions act as a 'gatekeeper' and prevent flows of benefits to the weaker sections. The problem posed by the dichotomy (and even possible enmity) in a village appears to imply that a different model of a sort of 'proportional panchayati raj'

[14]Bhupendra Hooja, "Functional Approach to Panchayat Develoment—A Post Asoka Mehta Perspective", *Administrative Change*, *op. cit.*, *Note* 4. Also see Iqbal Narain, "Panchayat Raj, Democracy and Development in Rural India" in Ramesh K. Arora (ed,) *op. cit.*, *Note* 3, Bhupendra Hooja has suggested a similar Panchayat based civil supplies system in "Civil Supplies Administration in Rajasthan" (mimeo.), paper presented at workshop on Citizen and Administration at HCM SIPA May 1978, and a similar Panchayat based land-water management system in "Land Water Management—Some Points on Agenda for Action", paper presented at a 'Seminar on Desert and Drought Prone Areas' at HCM SIPA, Jaipur, March 1981.

[15]Mohit Bhattacharya, "Administrative and Organisational Issues in Rural Development", (discussion paper) proceedings of the *22nd Annual Conference of Members of the Indian Institute of Public Administration*, IIPA, New Delhi, 1979.

(analogous to proportional representation in parliamentary democracy) system has to be evolved which is not tied up with spending all its time in a balancing act, but can also be an effective administrative agency. (The beneficiary/non-beneficiary dichotomy argument could however also be applied to the state or national government levels—after all the non-homogeniety of society has to be accepted but we don't mind national committees advocating a non-democratic 'technocracy' at the national level when they suggest that technical experts know what is best for the villagers, and should be able to make decisions without the interference of panchayati raj institutions). Therefore this idea does not appear to be feasible.

Bhattacharya has also referred to what he calls the 'area function dichotomy', *i.e.*, functional government departments have become insular empires leading to balkanisation in the rural development field. Functional inter-dependencies at the ground level are ignored and the client (prospective beneficiary) is forced to run from pillar to post. The problem is acerbated because the field level departmental functionaries do not have the requisite authority delegated to them, but have to go to higher departmental levels for clearance. Thus even the coordinating efforts of the district collector cannot always solve the problem. One possible solution that suggests itself is based on the Chambal Rajasthan CAD project model where the area development commissioner has been made the controlling authority for subordinates from a number of government departments and the area development commissioner has been delegated powers of all the concerned heads of departments. A similar but more integrated project organisation at a district, division or sub-district level could be thought of which would at least integrate the revenue agency, the panchayat samiti, the new agriculture extension agency, the departmental staff, the special projects and the cooperative bank part of the institutional credit system into one coordinated delivery system, providing prospective beneficiaries with a single integrated agency to deal with. (The tribal subplan concept of a plan within a plan also has the germ of the idea of a similar organisation). However this would necessitate corresponding reorganisation at the state and national levels which should not be attempted at least until the whole proposal has been examined in much greater detail. Now the idea has been mooted for a separate area development officers cadre drawing officers from various departments and disciplines for purposes of a more integrated execution of CAD schemes.

The above mentioned proposal would also take care of another problem mentioned by Bhattacharya; that special projects presently set up are chiefly funding agencies who require the assistance of other regular line agencies in the government for execution purposes and find it difficult to obtain this assistance. (It may be pointed out that some efforts at strengthening DRDA/SFDA/DPAP staff are now being made and the tasks assigned to them are also now being increased to try and make them, in conjunction with

the collector who is chairman of the SFDA/DPAP, the main rural development agency in the districts, at least in Rajasthan).

Bhattacharya however feels that if an agency looks after development schemes for both the antyodaya (or other target group) and other rural folk also then spill-over of benefits meant for the poorest to other beneficiaries is possible. Hence he feels that separate special agencies for the poorest amongst the rural populace would be desirable to avoid spill-over leakages. However wrong selection (deliberate or due to bonafide mistakes), and misrepresentation by the rural rich as themselves being poor, could still negate Bhattacharya's suggestion even if the developmental agencies were separated according to categories of target groups. Bhattacharya has also suggested conscientisation of the rural poor, emphasising that the impulse for charge cannot come only from the administrative system.

Mathur[16] points out that the collector by being made the head of the revenue agency, of the panchayat samiti officials, and of many special projects, has found it difficult to do justice to all roles, specially because his best organisation and traditionally sound hierarchy (the revenue agency) has not been assigned (except now for antyodaya, which point Mathur fails to note) the other tasks where the collector operates through a weaker (developmental) hierarchy. He also emphasises the fact that in the process the 'revenue functions' have lost in priority. This has not only weakened the land administration system (which is the base for all rural development) but also lowered the prestige of the collector and his revenue hierarchy—which also has an effect on the prestige of the other district hierarchy. Mathur advocates better dovetailing between the revenue and development bureaucracies with provincial/all-India civil service block development offices as the key functionary. But the block is perhaps too small a unit for this. The district or a group of districts would perhaps be better.

Mathur has also deplored the tendency of the secretariat (state or central) to directly administer projects in the field. He feels that decision-making is becoming more centralised, that 'staff' postings are being considered more important than 'line' ones that "planning has become more glamorous than development as such". He suggests that the 'planning' or secretarial functions should also be decentralised now that "action points are becoming decentralized". The decentralisation of planning or secretarial functions could be possible, I feel, in two ways: through smaller states (as advocated by some), or through integrated area development commissioner's organisations suggested above.

Mathur has advocated the return of village level workers from the new extension programme to the panchayats where they can again become multipurpose functionaries instead of being only agriculture extension

[16]P.C. Mathur, "Administrative Realignments for Rural Development: Some Policy Issues in the Context of India", in *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 1979.

workers. I would have thought two parallel teams of multipurpose functionaries and agriculture extension workers would be better.

The problem of the machinery and procedures for the identification of the rural poor has also been highlighted by Mathur. Quantitative measures may not be enough. Academic norms are too impersonal, while the village gram sabha can be too subjective. This stage of delivery is also the most vulnerable to corruption. I personally feel that (the poorest not themselves being sufficiently aware) selection by an outside agency and not by the village community would be preferable even though the question of what sort of development and future life style and values is suitable for the rural poor would then be decided externally.

CONTINUING CAMPAIGNS

I have already given some of my views while commenting on the above mentioned papers. However I shall now try to touch on other points which have so far been left out.

An issue which comes to mind is of a system of continuing campaigns, *versus* regular routine work, *versus* intermittent regular routine work and campaigns. The tendency today is to routinise campaigns (whereby nothing is done without a campaign) and thus negate their value without the gain of speedier implementation because of the campaigns. A better way would be to rely on the organisation of numerous temporary camps in villages and take the officers and headquarters nearer to the villages, and try and stick to routine work in offices along with some touring for the provision of the benefits. Inspections and feedback could, of course, still rely chiefly on touring. Touring today is not very effective as adequate board and lodging and transport facilities have not developed—thus officers either enjoy the hospitality of the village rich or of their own subordinates or they tend to rush back to headquarters at the earliest opportunity. Increasing responsibilities for more paper work in offices has also induced many officers to adopt a policy of short tours and longer spells in offices. The oil crisis is making movement more difficult. More offices in the interior and lesser touring seems to be the pattern required in future. This may in the long run also facilitate decentralisation.[17] The source of funding for the rural delivery system is another point that comes to mind as an important issue because my impression is that voluntary agencies or gram panchayats are less effective because they don't have their own funds but rely on government sanctions (government sponsored non-government organisations seems a contradiction in terms) and thus expend a lot of time and energy in securing the funds rather than in delivering benefits.

[17]See : Meenakshi Hooja, "Touring and Management of Rural Development Projects" (mimeo), paper presented at the workshop on 'Effective Management of Rural Development Programmes' at HCM SIPA, Jaipur, October 4 to 6, 1978.

(Of course a theory has also been propounded that voluntary agencies have succeeded only in Christian environments, but not in Islamic or Hindu ones). Similarly, if private business houses invest in rural development only because of income tax exemptions, then the benefit delivery itself is likely to receive second priority.

The implementors lack full and proper understanding of the programmes and thus easy-to-perform-tasks often get priority over primary tasks especially when uniform programmes conceived in the national capital are implemented all over the country.[18]

Lack of understanding of, or empathy for, the beneficiary is another problem that affects all our rural development agencies. Either the functionary doesn't think of the beneficiary at all or he thinks of him as a target or a statistic. More enlightened functionaries develop a prototype concept in their mind about the rural poor. It is rare that we find a member of the guidance or delivery mechanism attempting to categorise the beneficiary. Such categorisation may be on occupation/income, caste, etc., lines, it may also be based on the degree and manner or receptivity or otherwise to the benefit. The beneficiary's response to and thus utilisation of the benefit depends chiefly on how he has been understood and tackled by the field level government functionary. Feedback essential for effecting improvements shall also be impossible to receive unless the confidence of the beneficiary is gained.

Another reform required is to examine progress not merely in terms of money spent (an atrocious method that encourages waste) or beneficiaries covered/benefits distributed, but in terms of utilisation of the benefits, or the impact on the beneficiary (or his community) of having received the benefit. Such progress monitoring would change the orientation of both field and secretariat staff. Not only would the field delivery of the benefits improve, but even the planning of the scheme, and its very nature may be changed by this. *post facto* evaluation, as done now, can never fully serve this purpose.

It must be admitted here that the manner of changing the orientation of the functionaries and giving them a sense of zeal and dedication are universal administrative problems and no amount of restructuring of the delivery system can overcome this human factor. In fact unless corrective measures are taken both 'political will' and 'administrative will' may tend to become lukewarm about benefits for the poorest members of the agraria except as a sort of sop to rural peace, even though many dedicated workers are to be found at work.

[18]This point has also been made by V.R. Gaekwad, "Management of Rural Development Programmes : Organisational Deficiencies and Strategy for Improvements", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, Oct-Dec. 1975.

LEAKAGES OF BENEFITS

While thinking of the elements of a desirable rural delivery system it would also be useful to determine points or stages where leakage occurs. They may be categorised as follows:

1. Recommending and fixing norms for identification of both beneficiaries and benefits as also for checking misuse of the benefits being delivered, at policy making levels.
2. Communicating norms as per 1 above to operational staff and their being understood by such staff.
3. Identification of beneficiaries in the field.
4. Wrong selection of particular benefit from point of view of the beneficiaries' or the communities' needs.
5. Securing/selecting/constructing/approving the benefits (for example selection and purchase of milch/draught animal or pump set, or faulty civil work construction).
6. Untimely (or unseasonal) and delayed, or piecemeal, providing of benefit to beneficiary.
7. Lack of delivery of: (*a*) knowledge necessary on part of beneficiary, and (*b*) infrastructural facilities, for the beneficiary to be able to optimally utilise benefit.
8. Wilful transfer of benefit to another after receipt by the beneficiary.
9. Forced transfer of benefit to another after receipt by the beneficiary.
10. Premature reporting of delivery progress resulting in the delivery transaction remaining indefinitely incomplete as after making the report the delivery agency loses interest in the case (*i.e.*, paper progress instead of real progress).
11. Misappropriation by some outsider of repayment of loan made by beneficiary causing his debt liability to increase and thus negating the value of the benefit.
12. Faulty working of mechanism to check misuse of benefit. (Such a mechanism could serve as a good deterrent provided it functioned efficiently.)
13. Natural calamity causing loss of benefit given.

Thus these possible leakage points shall have to be kept in mind along with other issues discussed throughout this paper before a new 'ideal type' delivery system can be fin sed. Such a system could be an area development commissioner based on single integrated agency system.[19] A less practical

[19]The benefits of an integrated single line of control organisation for CAD projects has also been set forth by K.K. Singh, "Alternative Organisational Strategies for Command Area Development", *Proceedings of the Commonwealth Workshop on Irrigation Management*

(*Continued on next page*)

alternative could be a village panchayat based system.[20] These two would be examples of administrator dominated and politician/population dominated ideal types respectively. Another possible ideal type could be a system where administrators and politicians stick to their own specialised and differentiated roles without interfering with each other and maintaining only formal contacts. Bjorkman[21] has suggested yet another ideal type, a system of moderate administrator-politician conflict; conflict to avoid complacency and moderation to keep things from getting out of hand. What could perhaps be stated as a long term or ideal objective is the politicisation, consentisation and organisation of the rural poor themselves, so that they can receive and manage the benefits in a better manner.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Considerations of time and space have prevented this writer from reviewing here the administration development theory[22] and assessing the direction, mode, and degree of development of the existing delivery system based on the following theoretical criteria:

1. The functioning pattern of the delivery system itself and of the larger national/international system that forms the environment of the delivery system (including intra-system conflicts, if any).
2. The resources—material, cultural, and psychic—that the system can draw upon under various circumstances.
3. The response pattern of both the political and administrative elites (national and local) and of the beneficiary rural poor to system challenges.

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in India, 17-27 October 1978 (mimeo.), Commonwealth Secretariat, London on date. A Single line control organisation has also been advocated by this author in Rakesh Hooja, "The Development Delivery System in a Desert District", paper presented at a Seminar on Desert and Drought Prone Areas, *op. cit.*, *Note* 14 and by Bhupendra Hooja in his paper on Agriculture & Allied Activities in the Seminar on "Administrative Reforms in Rajasthan —Prospect and Retrospect" held at Jaipur, July 1981, as well as in Bhupendra Hooja, "Development Administration in India", Session Chairman's paper at the IX Rajasthan Political Science Association Conference at Sikar, March 1981.

[20]Also see special issues on Panchayat Raj and democratic decentralisation of *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, July-Sept. 1978 and *Seminar* No. 234, February 1979.

[21]James Warner Bjorkman—*Politics of Alienation in India's Development Programmes*, Ajanta Publishers, Delhi, 1979.

[22]See the debate on the theory and concept of "Administrative Development" in issues of *Administrative Change* now reprinted in Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *Perspectives in Administrative Theory* (Associated, Delhi, 1979) and Rakesh Hooja, "Administrative Development—The Basis of the Concept" in *Political Science Review*, Vol. 16, Nos. 3 & 4, July-Sept. and Oct-Dec. 1977.

4. Development in the environment.
5. The type of problems that the system is facing.
6. The system goals, present and future, and the goals of various sub-systems or groups of actors within the delivery system.
7. The type of capabilities that the delivery system has developed, in absolute terms, as well as in relation to systemic goals (including capabilities of self transformation through institutionalised means if and when required).

It would be appropriate to end with a word of caution. Many functionaries, especially in the field, but also in higher positions, tend to gradually come to believe in narrow definitions of rural development as comprising of only those schemes presently looked after by the state development department. Similarly 'integrated rural development' to some means merely that which is covered in the Government of India guidelines of the scheme called the integrated rural development (IRD). It should always be remembered that technological changes, changes in the politico-administrative environment, and changes in development strategies and the benefits available for delivery are always possible. And any such change will cause a reappraisal of the delivery system in existence. Thus planning a new delivery system should also involve attempting to anticipate such future conditions as may not be part of a continuous trend, but brought about by a major breakthrough in some field or the other. Inbuilt mechanisms for institutionalised adoption by the system itself are thus most desirable. It is of course also to be desired that the 'dependency model' that exists in India today is eventually replaced by a 'self reliancy' model in which the rural poor themselves become capable of managing their own productive resources and basic amenities and the role of the government delivery system is correspondingly reduced.[23]

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[23]The task force report at the ESCAP working party of 8-12 November 1979 on "Improving the Administration of Delivery Systems for the Rural Poor" (Rapporteurs Rakesh Hooja and T.K. Jayaraman) published in *Rural Development Digest*, Vol. IV, No. 1, Jan. 1981, and other papers presented at the ESCAP working party may also prove of interest to readers, especially see T.N. Chaturvedi, "Organisation and Administrative Issues in the Design of a Public Service Delivery System with Special Reference to the Rural Poor", subsequently published in *Kurukshetra*, Malathi Bolar, "Integrated Rural Development, its Concept, Objective and Strategies with Special Emphasis on Participation of the Rural Poor"; and Bhupendra Hooja, "Managing Rural Development through Panchayats—A Functional Approach", subsequently published in *The Administrator*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, Winter 1980.

Land-Water Management and Productivity

Rakesh Hooja
and
Bhupendra Hooja

PERHAPS THE biggest challenge of the campaign for productivity lies in the agricultural sector, or to be more precise, in respect of land use and water management. Yet unless this challenge is met successfully, the other more threatening and persistent challenge, that of poverty which besets half the world and mostly the third world or developing countries like India cannot be resolved or mitigated.

Unlike the industrial sector where productivity is linked with the scale of the venture or the level of technological or administrative efficiency, the human skills or the relationship of man to machine, land and water management has also to concern itself with the immediate and the long range objective so that the productivity (or fertility) of land does not decrease through constant or unplanned use, over-exploitation and threats of wind or water erosion, etc. Further, it has to be adjusted to the fact that different categories of land, because of their potentialities and limitations related to soil and agro-climatic conditions, are suitable only for specific though different uses like afforestation, agriculture, pasture development, animal husbandry or non-agricultural use like residential houses or industries. (Even within the sphere of crop husbandry different lands are suitable for different crops)[1]. Therefore, land productivity cannot be measured merely in quantitative terms, but in terms of whether a particular type or class of land is being prepared and used to produce the type (or a mix) of products it is best suited for in view of its soil features, the local weather conditions, rainfall patterns, etc.

Of course, the conventional productivity issues like management, research and extension, inputs including credit, seeds, fertiliser, pesticides and tools, skills and processes of manufacture, etc., also become relevant for particular

[1]For example for Rajasthan Bhupendra Hooja has made certain suggestions on "Land Use Pattern in Rajasthan—A Plea to Change the Priorities" in *Prashasnika*, Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2, January, June, 1980, a point indirectly borne out by B. Hooja and M. Pathak, "Production and Availability of Foodgrains in Rajasthan During Seventies", *Rajasthan Economical Journal*, Vol. 4, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan.. July, 1980, where it is stressed that greater emphasis needs to be placed on production of coarse grains in Rajasthan.

holdings of land. Whether the best seeds are being used or the best implements and the best input-mix and agronomic practices? Whether the ownership and management (*e.g.*, absentee landlord *versus* peasant proprietor) patterns are suitable? And whether or not the size of operational holdings is viable or optimal, and so on, there are some illustrative considerations for land uses.

The first two issues of land water management are best examined through the comparatively more recently developed concept of the watershed, which we describe in detail later.

Another difference between the agriculture sector (which includes animal husbandry, farm forestry, etc., also or production on or from the land) and industry is that agriculture is indeed a way of life at least in countries like India, in spite of all the changes which have taken place during recent times. So many of our social customs, cultural traditions and religious rituals, the way our rural masses live and function are in fact the results or off-shoots of the manner in which the land resources have been managed in the past.

Agriculture is also the largest private sector enterprise in which the decision-making ultimately vests with millions of big and large as well as small and marginal farmers and not on government rules, controls, licensing or restrictions and policies or policy guidelines (like the Industrial Policy Resolutions). Even government incentives or subsidies or the market pulls and price factors occasionally fail to make a dent in the decision-making process of the millions in the set-up of a subsistence economy. The farmer's goals of greater profits and risk reduction may, in fact, conflict with the government goals[2] of: (*i*) uplift of the poor farmers and agricultural labourers, (*ii*) increased aggregate agriculture production, and (*iii*) more production per unit of input be it land, water, credit, seeds and fertilizers, manpower or managerial stall (with some attention now being paid to optimum land utilisation) which themselves may prove contradictory in practice. In agriculture, the human factor and the institutional support, the environmental limitations of land-type and water availability, as well as the tools and technologies and village social customs and land ownership and cultivatorship break-ups, etc., interact upon each other and play a major role thus complicating matter more than in the organised industrial and service sectors.

Response of the farmers brings to the fore the problem of what is euphemistically called 'people's participation' in the development process.[3] This situation also creates an administrative-cum-managerial problem which is that for industries or mining or for the services sector there

[2]Also see Bhupendra Hooja and Rakesh Hooja, "Government Development Schemes and the Modernization of Agriculture in India", *The Administrator*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, Winter 1980.

[3]See Ramesh K. Arora (ed.), *People's Participation in Development Process*, HIMSIPA, Jaipur, 1979.

is normally only one concerned nodal government department or ministry. And even where more departments or agencies exist, over the years systems of dovetailing them have evolved, *e.g.*, the industries department concerns itself with sales tax concessions or the provision of power to industries, etc. In the agriculture (or rural development) sector on the other hand, there are many departments of the government like agriculture, cooperatives, animal husbandry, sheep and wool forests, soil conservation, ground water, irrigation, public works department, power, community development and panchayats and even departments which are normally considered to be regulatory (as opposed to developmental) like (land) revenue, (land) survey and settlement, civil supplies, police, etc. which provide the pre-requisites for development.

Though the initiative chiefly lies with the beneficiaries, each one of these departmental or their service agencies have to contact or cater to hundreds and thousands of individual farmers and beneficiaries without any effective inter-linking, institutions having been built up to bridge the gaps between each department or its agencies. This creates immense problems of coordination due to the inbuilt departmentalism and inter-departmental (and even intra-departmental if more than one wing exists in a department) rivalries that pervade the Indian administrative delivery system.[4] When various departments have difficulty in working together, the chances of their managing to evoke people's participation on a large scale in government projects (like those of soil conservation, etc.) are scanty. Similarly they seldom manage to influence the decision-making of the farmers, livestock breeders, agricultural labourers, etc. Thus in a way the government has developed a split or splintered personality in respect of the agriculture sector causing the beneficiary-supplicants to run from pillar to post. In fact as no single window on behalf of the government exists for the agriculturists; the district rural development agency (DRDA) dealing only with some aspects of agriculture and rural development, unlike the district industries centre (DIC) which deals with all aspects of industrial development] the government's efforts at land-water management or optimal land water utilisation can seldom affect the farmers in a coordinated manner.

Another difference between industries and agriculture which flows from the above mentioned differences is that while more industrial projects are formulated by private individuals who intend to implement the projects themselves (even in the case of the public sector projects, the implementing organisation is provided for in the project itself), in the case of agriculture

[4]For example N.K. Jaiswal and N.V. Kolte, *Development of Drought Prone Areas*, NIRD, Hyderabad, 1981 have quoted the *Report on Integrated Rural Development* of The Task Force on Integrated Agriculture Development in Drought Prone Areas of the Planning Commission, Government of India, 1973 which states: "In this administrative background there is a real danger that any integrated plan of development of a drought-prone area may flounder on the rock of departmentalism."

projects the government formulates projects which it hopes individual farmers shall (separately or jointly as a community group, or co-operative society) implement, or make use of, under government sponsorship.

Small wonder that increasing productivity in the agriculture (or land water management) sector is more complex a task than in other sectors. The complexity increases when we try to decide whether productivity per unit land or water is more important than productivity per unit credit, or inputs, or manpower.

DISCIPLINE IN WATER USE

The question of agrarian productivity is becoming vital for India not only because India is a primarily agrarian country, but also because there is a limit to which increased water or fertiliser application or increase in cultivated area, or irrigated area, or decrease in absentee landlordism and decrease in mismanagement, can increase productivity. All lands or soils are not suitable for cultivation, or even for afforestation, or pasture development and livestock rearing. Similarly, while the network of irrigation has expanded at great cost, even if the entire surface and ground water irrigation potential is tapped (and conjunctive use of surface and ground water stepped up) large tracts in many states are likely to remain uncovered. Even in the irrigated areas we remain dependent upon, and constrained by, the monsoon factor.

Thus the cost in real terms of each unit of water available for irrigation emphasises the need for a controlled and regulated use of water (and in drier areas even moisture) so that maximum production per unit of water can be achieved. This shall also naturally lead to the development of various crops, trees and grass varieties to suit different soil and agro-climatic conditions.

Many experts have commented that in India (especially in the naturally well endowed areas) there is a tendency to waste our land, water and other inputs in an extravagant manner, while other countries with less quantities of water available, and less variety of soil and agro-climatic conditions have achieved miracles through emphasis on discipline in irrigation and application of other inputs only at critical stages of plant growth and only in the required quantities, no more and no less.

Even for drought prone or arid and semi-arid areas, and areas of adverse soil or weather conditions, techniques of dryland farming for rainfed, drought resistant, and saline water tolerant, crops have been developed[5]

[5]See for example *Report of the Seminar on Development of Drought Prone Areas.* HIMSIPA and IIPA, Rajasthan Regional Branch, Jaipur, 1981 as well as: (1) *Development and Transfer of Technology for Rainfed Agriculture and the SAT Farmer,* ICRISAT, Hyderabad, 1980, (2) *Socio-Economic Constraints to Development of Semi-Arid Tropical*

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by institutions like central arid zone research institute (CAZRI) Jodhpur and international crop research institute for the semi-arid tropics (ICRISAT). However, their impact on the mass of farmers has so far been marginal.

It is of course true that the country has progressed in respect of the production, distribution and application of modern and sophisticated inputs like high yielding and hybrid seeds, chemicals, fertilisers and pesticides for different crops, soils and agro-climatic conditions, new tools and machines, and credit (both short term and long term). An agriculture extension network has also been evolved based on a training and visits (T & V) system.[6]

However, while new peaks of production have been achieved, it appears that perhaps the existing methodologies and tools have brought us to a plateau where all the productive efforts seem to indicate almost a stagnant level of growth and there are still many institutional, technological and even physical constraints which need to be surmounted.

OPTIMAL STRATEGY

It is our contention that one of the basic reasons for the stagnation like situation is that different efforts have been going on in different directions by different agencies[7], and sufficient and continued attention is not being paid towards the very base of agriculture production which is the identification and harnessing of the potentials of our national resources such as land, forests, water, the sun and the wind.

Future efforts at greater agricultural productivity will have to follow the dictum that each unit, or tract or region of land should be looked upon

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Agriculture, ICRISAT, Hyderabad, 1980. (3) *Desertification and Its Control*, ICAR, New Delhi, 1977; (4) Special Issues on Arid Zone Research and Development (in two parts) of *Annal of Arid Zone*, Vol. 19, Nos. 3 and No 4, September, 1980, and December, 1980. and other back issues of the *Annals*; (5) *Improved Dryland Agriculture for Western Rajasthan*, Technical Bulletin, No. 1, CAZRI, Jodhpur, September, 1976; and (6) *Outlines of the Techniques for Reconstruction of the Arid Zone*, Technical Bulletin, No. 7, CAZR, Jodhpur, December, 1980.

[6]On the T&V system see: (1) Daniel Benor, *Report on Chambal Command Area Development Project Extension Service*, World Bank, Washington, January, 1974; (2) Bhupendra Hooja, "Agriculture Extension—A New Programme for Continuous Training at All Levels", *Kurukshetra*, Vol. XXVII, No. 7, January 1, 1979; and (3) Rakesh Hooja, "T&V in Rajasthan—An Attempt at Better Downward Communication Through Agriculture Extension in CAD and non-CAD Areas". *The Administrator*, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 3 and 4, July, Dec. 1978.

[7]For an overview of governmental developmental programmes being implemented in rural India, see: (1) *Rural Development in India—Some Facts*, NIRD, Hyderabad, 1979; (2) *Rural Development Administration in India—Some Emerging Policy Issues*, ESCAP, Bangkok, DP/AARD/18, 1979; (3) *Public Service Delivery Systems for the Rural Poor*, ESCAP, Bangkok, ST/ESCAP; 105. 1980 and (4) Rakesh Hooja, "Machinery for Delivering Benefits to the Rural Poor", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, January-March, 1982.

in an integrated or holistic manner and provided with a comprehensive multi-disciplinary, multi-sectoral mix of governmental activities and inputs that the region or tract requires, and from each such unit, tract, or region, we should only hope and endeavour to obtain what it can offer according to its capacity or potential and no more (despite the pressure of human and livestock population on the land). Each tract may require that a different strategy be adopted. We shall also have to ensure that the inhabitants of the tract can be persuaded to accept the optimal strategy including its strong points and its limitations whatever they be.

Only this can be the key to productivity.

PROTECTION OF LAND RESOURCE

We are concerned with the challenges and strategies of land and water management for increasing or even maintaining productivity levels in the agricultural or pastural spheres because of the following important considerations, among others.

Since agriculture has been a continuous activity in many so called fertile parts of India for thousands of years, the soil has been continuously under cultivation. It is doubtful whether, in the past, our ancestors, even though they were good at their job, really managed to put back into the soil all that was taken out or used from season to season or year to year. Besides, the pressure of human population (and successive waves of invasions) and of cattle have been constantly on the increase. More and more aborigines or original settlers have been pushed down into the harsh and inhospitable interior in the hills or on the desert under the pressures of fresh inroads and invasions. For centuries, the fertile plains have remained the battlefield of constant internecine warfare. Then these lands have passed through long phases of feudal regimes and land structure as also of colonial rule with the inevitable impoverishment of the people and their basic land resources.

Before amends could be made and remedial measures initiated on scientific lines with the available technical skills and tools, the demands of 'social justice' and immediate welfare or social security of the rural masses resulted in allotment of millions of hectares of government surplus land or land vested in the government as a result of land ceilings. Thus even marginal and sub-marginal lands have been allotted or taken possession of and brought under the plough causing much widespread irreparable damage. Trees and woodlands and even shrubs have been cleared in a haphazard manner, baring and exposing the dry soils to the hazards of wind, sun and rain.

It is indeed alarming that as per the trends of the last two census operations, the density of human and cattle population has been increasing in the hilly tribal areas or in the desert lands where poor soil conditions cannot sustain such pressures.

To some extent, even the programme of land reforms and land ceiling, has proved counter-productive. First, because the new tenants, though secure in their direct relations with the state, and more so the fresh allottees of small parcels of land, did not have the wherewithal to look after and tend their holdings or to repair the past damage and to rebuild their fertility. Secondly, even after ceilings the 'social institution' of absentee landlords and the existence of large 'benami' holdings have combined to prevent proper investments in the protection or preservation of the land resource.

According to the Ministry of Agriculture estimates, which have been repeatedly quoted by crusaders for land and water management like B.B. Vohra, Dr. Swaminathan and many others, out of nearly 143 million hectares of agricultural land in use in the country nearly 87 mill. ha. or 61 per cent are 'sick lands'. Leaving aside urban and non-agriculture lands or those which are barren and uncultivable, we have nearby 226 mill. ha. including agricultural lands, forests and permanent pastures, culturable wastes and fallows. Of these 175 mill. ha. are degraded land affected by soil erosion, water-logging and salinity. With such a poor base how can any one expect better yields? We wish to emphasise the point that our poor or degraded soils can only breed poverty. Or, to put it differently, if we wish to remove poverty, we have no choice but to improve our soil and water resources.

It has been estimated that if a fairly long-term or medium-term programme is drawn up for reclamation, an investment of at least Rs. 50,000 crores with corresponding human efforts will be needed during the next 15 years or so. Such is the dimension of this challenging task.

While the programme of land reclamation and soil or water conservation ought to and must be taken up in a sustained and systematic manner, we wish to suggest that such efforts should not be separated from the programmes or on-going activities of land and water use. Reclamation, conservation, protection and preservation and such other works programmes on a macro or mini-scale should be taken up and dovetailed or integrated with cultivation of crops, raising of cattle, sheep, goats, management of fallows, waste lands or grazing-lands, the up-keep and management of water (irrigation) sources, the preservation of vegetation cover, the bushes and trees and so on. Agencies or techniques may be different for different purposes or soils, but the approach should be common, integrated, mutually supporting and complementary.

Fortunately, such a concept has emerged at least at the thinking and planning levels in different parts of the country over the recent years under the special area development programmes. But corresponding administrative changes have not yet taken place.

Another reason why we wish to advocate and emphasise the adoption of an integrated approach for development and use of land resources according to their respective area or regionwise potentials emanates from a comparative view of the agricultural developments or achievements of different

regions and states. Per hectare yields of different crops in different states can be taken as good indicators of these differences, which have become all the more prominent in respect of crops mainly covered under the green revolution strategies. For example average yields of rice are higher in Punjab, Haryana, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, according to 1978-79 data than other states. Similarly in wheat, also Punjab and Haryana lead the way with Gujarat, West Bengal, Orissa and UP or Bihar trying to catch up. In jowar Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and U.P. are quite high. Gujarat leads in bajra with Punjab and Tamil Nadu just trailing behind. (The drylands of Rajasthan are far behind).

An analysis of such available data viewed against the neutral physical features, the soil and whether conditions of the area and the technologies evolved or put in use can help in working out a reasonably scientific pattern of land use with proper guidelines for present and long-term management. But a more correct picture will emerge if the various regions or their smaller manageable segments are identified and taken up on the basis of soil classification or soil zones (as is presently done in the land settlement operations in a slightly less scientific though pragmatic manner).

It is the intention of this paper to examine, in the light of the above comments the watershed concept of land-water management, and the administrative or organisational arrangements required for better land-water management and productivity.

WATERSHED PLANNING

As one of the authors has written elsehwere[8]: "Watershed management requires an integration of all scientific knowledge from many disciplines and a combination of technologies, strategies and techniques with the development and use of available but appropriate tools. In other words, it should be conceived as a multi-disciplinary, or inter-disciplinary development effort, within the natural boundaries of an established but identified drainage area so that the land or water and plant resources can be identified, conserved and developed in such a manner that both the immediate and long term needs of the people continue to be met in a somewhat regulated but sustained manner." We may add that the human and livestock resources of the area and even the industries and service sector ventures should be taken into account while planning the land and water utilisation in a watershed and persuading the local people to follow the land-water use break-ups and land-water management practices being recommended. Watershed development is not a single department activity, nor is it only soil conservation, or duty farming as many seem to believe.

[8]Bhupendra Hooja, "Land Utilization and Watershed Management", (micro) inaugural address delivered at a workshop on Watershed Management at CAZRI, Jodhpur, 5 February, 1981.

It must once again be stressed that land must be looked upon as a multi-purpose but basic factor of production rather than as incidental to various schemes of various governmental departments or to the diverse plans of various private individuals. In the words of B.B. Vohra[9]: "The habit of considering land as incidental to narrowly conceived departmental schemes, instead of a single indivisible resource which needs attention in its own right, needs to be rooted out. Today the irrigation engineer looks at the land as something to terrace and bund, the forester as something to grow trees, and planner as something which can create large scale employment opportunities."

A watershed[10] has been loosely defined as a catchment or drainage basis. We may say that it refers to an area which has a ridge-line on three sides and whose surplus run-off (of water) is drained from a drainage point. Thus even the catchment area of a small seasonal stream may be considered a watershed. Big watersheds separate drainage basins. Each watershed or catchment is a part of some bigger and larger watershed—and cannot be developed in isolation. The smaller unit ultimately has to fit into the jigsaw of the larger area.

A watershed[11] may be 50 hectares in a hilly area (and consist of even a single holding) and may even go upto 10,000 hectares or more (covering more than one district) elsewhere. It is rarely that a watershed's boundaries coincide with the boundaries of existing administrative units or of existing land holdings, both of which have evolved historically.

The size of the watershed to be selected for land-water management or development will depend upon the main use or mix of uses that the area is to be put to, which in turn depends upon agro-climatic and soil conditions, the density of population, the proximity to and links with commercially developed areas, the presence of minerals, or of water and of energy sources, and the life-styles and skills of the population inhabiting the area.

The above would influence the main objective or objectives of watershed planning in a region. The objectives of such planning can be one or more of the following : (*a*) conservation of moisture in rainfed areas for optimal production, (*b*) to check soil erosion, (*c*) to control problems of drainage, salinity, alkalinity, etc., (*d*) flood prevention and flood control, (*e*) to check siltation in reservoirs, (*f*) collection of surplus run-off in farm

[9]B.B. Vohra while inaugurating a seminar on Land-use Planning at Trivandrum, October 21, 1980.

[10]On watershed development also, see: (1) *Guidelines for Watershed Management*, FAO, Rome, 1977; (2) B.B. Vohra, *Land and Watershed Management Problems in India*, Training Division Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, New Delhi, 1979; (3) N.K. Jaiswal and N.V. Kolte, *op. cit.*

[11]The ensuing paragraphs are based on certain portions of Rakesh Hooja, "People's Participation in Comprehensive Watershed Development Programmes" forthcoming in Hoshiar Singh (ed.), *Rural Development Administration in India*, 1982.

ponds and its recycling for crop use, (*g*) to recharge ground water or increase the water table in wells, (*h*) collection of surplus run-off for meeting the drinking water requirement of the cattle and human population in desert areas, (*i*) to improve the main and on-farm irrigation systems for increased area under irrigation, increased irrigation efficiency and thus increased productivity in the crop-husbandry, afforestation, horticulture, sylvipasture fields, etc; (*j*) better industrial and other commercial uses of land and water, and (*k*) the setting up of a new human settlement or the expansion or improvement of an old settlement leading to changes in the land-water utilisation pattern, etc. The dominant objectives in a region would affect the watershed management practices adopted for watersheds in the region.

The size of the watersheds is also affected by the factor of how big the beneficiary group (or the population) living off the watershed can be and still permit meaningful interaction. Linked to this is the question of how many different groups and factions are likely to be covered by a watershed, for the lesser number of groups, factions and villages, the easier it would become to ensure meaningful participation on the part of all beneficiaries.

Similarly sometimes the optimal land water use patterns cannot be achieved because the objectives of the local populace clash too drastically with the optimally recommended solutions. 'Second best' options may have to be accepted in such cases. However there is a limit to which technical considerations can be sacrificed for administrative or socio-political convenience for otherwise the entire objective of watershed development and management may be lost. For example at many places the boundaries of existing holdings may have to be changed on technical grounds.

Detailed and uniformly acceptable guidelines and norms for watershed selection are yet to be evolved.[12] However the selection of each individual watershed would entail detailed soil, topographical, hydrological, land holdings and land use pattern, population occupational break-up and livestock, etc., surveys and a study of the potential for agriculture, industries, animal husbandry, horticulture afforestation, etc., in the area. We may call such a study an "Integrated Basic Resource Survey".

After the identification of watersheds comes the issue: which watersheds should be picked up for early development? Priority watersheds can be selected on the basis of the following: (*i*) maximum returns per rupee investment on unit area, (*ii*) availability of technical manpower for survey, planning and implementation of watershed management programmes, (*iii*) availability of inputs, (*iv*) availability of good water, (*v*) availability of suitable soils, (*vi*) socio-economic return, (*vii*) intensity of problems, (*viii*) willing-

[12]Though *Operation Watershed Management* proceedings of the National Seminar on Watershed Management, Jan. 28-February 2, 1980, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, New Delhi, 1980 (mimeo) is a useful guide.

ness or keenness of the local farmers for the work, and (*ix*) awareness of the local farmers (or livestock breeders, etc.) so that they shall be able to benefit from the watershed development through use of appropriate cropping pattern/animal hunbandry techniques, etc.

Then for each watershed a suitable mix of developmental works as well as land and water use practices shall have to be worked out and got implemented both by the government and by the private landowners and other dwellers in the area.

WATERSHED MANAGING AGENCIES

This brings up the question of who will undertake the watershed development and land water management work especially since departmentalism (as it exists today in India) is the very anti-thesis of good land water management.

One response can be the people themselves through either beneficiary associations,[13] or through existing panchayati raj institutions,[14] of which more later.

A second response can be that special integrated watershed development agencies be set up like some of the more comprehensive command area development (CAD) projects[15] where staff from various disciplines and fields of expertise is placed directly under the agency which is asked to both plan and implement in an integrated and coordinated manner for the area assigned to it. A list of the activities that can be assigned to such an agency

[13]See Bhupendra Hooja, "Beneficiary Participation Through Irrigation Sichai Groups", *The Administrator*, Oct.-December, 1979.

[14]See Bhupendra Hooja: (*a*) "Managing Rural Development Through Panchayats—A Functional Approach", *The Administrator*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, 1980; (*b*) "Functional Approach to Panchayats—A Post Asoka Mehta Committee Perspective", *Administrative Change*, Vol. 6, Nos. 1 and 2, July 1978 and June 1979.

[15]See K.K. Singh, "Alternative Organisational Strategies for Command Area Development" and Anthony Bottial, "Evaluating the Organizational and Management of Irrigated Agriculture" both in *Proceedings of the Commonwealth Workshop on Irrigation Management*, Hyderabad, India, 17-27 October, 1978 (mimeo), Commouwealth Secretariat, London, on the need for a comprehensive and integrated multi-disciplinary agency for CAD Projects. Also see Rakesh Hooja, B.N. Maheshwary and S.R. Mittal, "On Farm Development in Chambal Rajasthan Project", forthcoming in S. Betra (ed.), *Administration in an Indian State* (Associated, Delhi). For the description of a particular CAD Project's organisation.

For the desert areas the need for an integrated or coordinated agency has been set forth by Rakesh Hooja in "The Developmental Delivery System in a Desert District", paper presented at a seminar on Desert and Drought Prone Areas, 6 to 8 March, 1982 and now being published in *Prashasnika*.

in the irrigated area is being provided below[16] (a similar list could be worked out for such an agency in dry rainfed, areas).

A. Watershed Management above the headworks.

B. Improvement of existing Irrigation System (including minors and sub-minors)

1. Lining, desilting and deweeding of canals (and redesigning canal system, if necessary).
2. Construction and operation of control structures.
3. Rationalisation of outlets.
4. Proper maintenance.
5. Canal capacity works and canal modernising.
6. Enforcing water discipline and warabandi (rostered rotational irrigation).
7. Stabilisation of canal banks through: (*a*) plantation, and (*b*) engineering works.
8. Rotational running of canals.
9. Maintaining full supply levels of canals.
10. Conjunctive use of ground and drainage water for irrigation.

C. Drainage Works

1. Construction of main drains, carrier (or linkage) drains and seepage (or interceptor) drains.
2. Maintenance of the above.

D. Flood Control Measures

E. On Farm Development (OFD)

1. Farm drainage works.
2. Watercourse works including re-alignment of water-courses where necessary.
3. Farm road works.
4. Realignment of field boundaries and updating of land records and revenue maps.
5. Lining of watercourses.
6. Individual wells for supplemental irrigation.
7. Protection of marginal lands and already developed OFD lands through soil conservation and afforestation techniques for gully and rain control.

[16]An earlier version of this list had been prepared for Rakesh Hooja, "Area Development for Land and Water Management—A Preliminary Prospective Report on a Winter School on CAD projects" *Rural Development Digest*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1979. The related problems of a particular CAD Project have been set forth in Rakesh Hooja, "Effective Land and Water Management—A Statement of issues from the Chambal, Rajasthan Viewpoint", *The Administrator*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, Winter 1980.

8. Reclamation of saline and alkaline lands.
9. Suitable treatment of unirrigated or non-command patches that fall within the larger command area.

F. Agricultural

1. Intensive agriculture extension system.
2. Adaptive and adoptive research to feed the extension system.
3. Monitoring of supplies of inputs and water and tie up of the extension system with co-operatives and canal water distribution.
4. Popularising better on farm irrigation and cultivation techniques.
5. Popularising water users associations.

G. Macro Development of Command Areas

1. Roads.
2. Market yards and storage facilities.
3. Processing Industries.
4. Forestry and pastures and horticulture.
5. Development of Human settlements in virgin areas being brought under irrigation.
6. Development of both milch and drought animals.
7. Containment of water borne human and animal diseases.
8. Aquaculture.
9. Development of rural artisans and rural industries.
10. Special programmes for the rural poor like the Government of India programme of integrated rural development (IRD).
11. Land reforms and consolidation of holdings, if necessary.

H. Institutions

1. Integrated management of irrigation engineers, agriculture engineers, (land) revenue staff, agriculture extension and research set-up, cooperative structure, PWD, afforestation staff, agriculture produce marketing committees, dairy and animal husbandry staff, and district level functionaries of various government departments who are placed under the supervision, control and/or coordination of the project administrator.
2. Coordinating with special credit institutions[17] for providing: (*a*) short term credit for agriculture inputs, (*b*) Term credit for OFD works, and (*c*) IRD credit for small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans and other rural poor.

[17]See Rakesh Hooja, "Rural Credit in CAD Areas—OFD and SFDA Loaning", forthcoming in *The Administrator*, No. 1, 1982. Also see Bhupendra Hooja, "Rural Credit for Development in India—An Overview", Occasional Paper, Series No. 2, Paper No. 1, Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur, 1982.

For the coordination of such agencies, reorganisation at the state government level[18] would also be necessary so that proper coordination of the work of such integrated multi-disciplinary project agencies can be achieved. Instead of the existing functional departments two different wings of the land water management department should be set up, one for irrigated areas and the other for rainfed areas. While government managed implementation can be more controlled, it has a drawback that more emphasis may get paid to achievement of physical and financial targets than to the actual impact of the government work.

SELF-MANAGING AGENCIES

As regards implementation through the beneficiaries,[19] one possibility is that the land, water and natural resources of each village may be placed at the disposal or under the care of the various gram panchayats, or panchayat samities for them to manage themselves with some technical advice being given by the government functionaries or other agencies of experts and consultants. The local populace knows best its area and its problems as they crop up from day to day and season to season and it has learnt to live with these problems or challenges according to the indigenous pool of knowledge, technology, skills and resources available at that level. But if the local community can be provided with the latest knowledge about the limitations and potentials of its natural resources or the environment and about the techniques for optimal utilisation of these resources and provided with necessary wherewithal beyond what it can mobilise through its own initiative and orgnisation, then it can easily set up its own multi-disciplinary teams and feel much more responsible or involved in the planning and implementation of various programmes than even functionaries of the above recommended special multi-disciplinary government agencies or who are often reluctant or shy of exploring the rural areas. Self-management, not merely participation, should be the key-word for mobilising the local communities into the campaign for rehabilitating or rebuilding, conserving and developing the basic land and water resources of any single or group of

[18]The idea of a Land Use Commission at the all India level with a Ministry of Basic or Natural Resources (dealing with land water management) and a separate Division of the Planning Commission with similar reorganisation at the inter-state and state as well as lower levels has been suggested in Bhupendra Hooja, "Land and Water management—Some Points on Agenda for Action", (mimeo) paper presented at seminar on Desert and Drought Prone Areas at Jaipur, 6 to 8 March, 1981.

[19]See n. 14. Also see T.K. Jayaraman, "Strategy for Mass Mobilization and People's Participation in the Implementation of Watershed Management Programme" in Seminar on *Strategy of Mass Mobilization and People's Participation in Implementation of Watershed Management Programme*, (mimeo), Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, October, 1980.

watersheds linked together in easily manageable units of development administration.

This process requires almost at the start a fresh orientation or reorientation of the outlook and approach of the rural communities or masses. For example, after the basic survey is over they have to be made aware of both the limitations and possibilities of development or exploitation of the available resources, motivated about the need for disciplined use, imparted with the necessary knowledge, helped with defining the development strategies, and the acquisition of skills and then induced to proceed with the programme through their own efforts in the first instance and with outside support or help from other neighbouring communities where necessary and to the extent possible.

Broadly speaking the development effort of the local communities will have 3 or 4 segments of activities: (*a*) entirely local or more or less self-contained schemes or programmes based on their own resources and efforts and leading towards self-sufficiency, (*b*) schemes or programmes requiring help or guidance or technical and financial support from outside, (*i*) either from the nearby or neighbouring communities, or (*ii*) some specialised agencies of the government or the cooperative and private sector; or (*c*) economic programmes and efforts dependent on outside trade or aid in procurement of raw material, energy, machinery or credit and channels for trade and marketing, through private or co-operative or state trade channels.

But in the case of managing land and water resources, it may be appreciated that much work can be accomplished at the local level at least in respect of micro-watersheds. It is only when a number of watersheds, complementing each other, are linked or strung together, and large tracts of lands with different types of physical features, soil profiles, etc., are taken up for a large watershed, or sub-regional and regional or area development approach that a more sophisticated type of managerial and coordinating agency with suitable field level set-up, is required.

A number of organisations of the latter type have been established (with more or less integration within the organisation's structure) all over the country in the command areas, desert or drought prone areas, the tribal or hilly areas and so on. But their one weakness which is now becoming more and more noticeable has been that such organisations have not had their firm or solid (grass) roots in the collective mind of the local people. Their field level agent has been a paid or hired functionary, not the local community organised on a representative or functional basis. If the base of any local area development organisation can be built or rooted in the local community or its representative body, and then the organisational hierarchy is sought to be built up, we can have not only the participation but actual involvement of the beneficiaries in the process of development—prospecting, planning, implementation and monitoring—in a more responsive and responsible manner.

Of course where the local communities fail to undertake their responsibilities seriously (or to give up factional interests[20] for the sake of general communitarian interests) safeguards can be built into the system so that the government can then assume powers to undertake watershed development and ensure proper landwater management through its special integrated multi-disciplinary agencies. Such an approach, which should not be confused with 'decentralisation', would simply mean that the local resources and the power or the authority as well as the means to develop them, use them, and preserve them for the future generation as well, should be considered (or accepted) to belong to the local community. Secondly, the latest and most appropriate scientific and technological knowledge for survey, prospecting, planning, use and preservation should be available to (and within reach of) the local community, which should also have the opportunities to develop and utilise the local skills or to import skills from outside. Education, training, and employment facilities should be land oriented; at least that must be their common main thrust. The local community should then proceed to create and build up suitable technical representative managerial and operational as well as economic institutions, to subserve its needs and the task of land and water management. Perhaps the existing departmental set-up, controlled and regulated from the remote state headquarter, will have to go. That seems to be the broad approach or possibility. The local community, the local farmer, forester, cattle breeder on the spot will have to enter the stage and become its centre, if ultimately productivity per unit of manpower has also to be ensured with the productivity of per unit of land or per unit of water or per unit of any other input.[21]

SUMMARY

To recapitulate, the watershed concept of land-water management envisages the following steps:

1. Identification and demarcation of watersheds.
2. Survey of natural resources physical features, soil conditions and characteristics, land use and ownership-management patterns, pressure of human and cattle population and identification of

[20]A description of how the various vested interests of, and conflicts between, intra-village groups may affect development programmes has been given in Rakesh Hooja, "Agrarian Structure and Rural Development", *New Quest*, No. 27, May-June, 1981.

[21]An earlier attempt at applying the authors thinking which is being set forth in this paper, in the Rajasthan context, is Bhupendra Hooja, "Rajasthan in the Eightees—Some Challenges and Strategies of Agriculture Development" paper presented at the seminar on Administrative Reforms organised by IIPA, Rajasthan Regional Branch, Jaipur, 2-4 July, 1981. That paper is now being re-developed as an occasional paper in the Rajasthan context for the recently established Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur.

problem areas of over-exploited, degraded, eroded-lands as also untapped resources.

3. Technical understanding and appreciation of existing problems and hazards and identification of appropriate remedial preventive, protective, productive and appropriate technologies suitable for the area.
4. Identification of available local tools and technologies, skills and experts so as to list out the spheres of activity in which outside help or guidance would be necessary.
5. Assessment of requirement of funds for immediate medium term and long term operations for works required to protect or develop the land, water and forest resources, etc. (through rural works like contour bunding, terracing, training of streams and gullys, sand dume stabilisation, afforestation, range management, and soil conservative works, small anicuts and, development or rehabilitation of waste lands and saline lands and the like.
6. To inform, educate and motivate the local people affected by the problems or the hazards and who are likely to benefit from the protective and development measures so as to prepare them for necessary community effort at the local or mini- or micro-watershed level. This process of dissemination of information or extension both by the official and technical departmental agencies and through voluntary action must necessarily become a continuous ongoing activity.
7. On the basis of the existing cropping pattern and land use data particularly in the rainfed and dry land areas to evolve and propogate a suitable but more scientific and planned land use system so as to maintain the natural balance between the land capability and the actual production. This process may involve (in certain watersheds) actual reduction in the cultivated area and earmarking of more and more lands for permanent pastures grazing lands, grove lands or tree crops for fuel, fodder and other purposes. Or it may involve decrease in the area under cereal crops with more and more lands earmarked for, say, fodder development.
8. The preparation (after compilation of the above indicated data about the natural resources, the problems and hazards, the remedial measures, the possible directions of change, the requirement of necessary inputs) of local watershed development plans including both measures of immediate urgency and programmes of long term gestation. This plan should also contain marketing and raw material input tie ups and linkages with allied activities like sheep, goat and cattle rearing, rural industries, etc.
9. To create and establish suitable organisations, institutions, agencies, and services for carrying out in a comprehensive, integrated and

multi-disciplined manner the above mentioned watershed development plans, either singly or in manageable groups of two or three or more watersheds, depending upon the nature of the area, its problems, means of communication, resources, etc.

10. Implementation of the various programmes in a dovetailed manner with proper coordination, control, supervision and monitoring so as to ensure that all necessary segments activities are taken up side by side. It may be mentioned that the programme requires constant attention and concurrent evaluation so that the shortfalls and distortions can be checked at the earliest. The constant evaluation should not only be of the programme's implementation but also of the still available resources of the area and their possible new uses.
11. The planning or coordinating agency should not only be able to win popular support and confidence, but also should be armed with the necessary authority to enforce discipline, for example against uncontrolled and overgrazing, or against indiscriminate lopping off trees, or damaging of soil conservation and protective works, cultivation of marginal lands, and uncontrolled or extensive irrgation, as also to ensure realignment of field boundaries where technically desirable.
12. The community must also be taught and trained to maintain and look after the works and to exercise self restraint from over exploitation or use of uneconomic and inefficient land-water use practices.

□

Employee's Performance

Generally, performance appraisal is a systematic evaluation of the employee by his or her supervisor or some other qualified person who is familiar with the employee's performance on the job. Performance appraisals are usually made by means of a standardized form that is adapted to the needs of that particular organization. Normally, ratings are made at periodic intervals. A performance appraisal most often becomes a permanent part of the employee's record with a given organization and is part of the record that may be used by management in subsequent promotion, transfer, or layoff decision.

—Symposium, Conference Report,
Recapturing Confidence in Government—Public Personnel Management Reform,
February, 1979.

DROUGHT POLICY FRAMEWORK– SOME PERSONAL REFLECTIONS[1]

RAKESH HOOJA[2]

Droughts have been affecting lives, livelihoods and economic condition of the people dependent on agriculture in the arid zones of country. Policies and action plans have been formulated both at the central and state level to tide over the difficult situations arising out of drought conditions. However, a successful drought policy framework needs to look not only at drought relief in affected areas, but also measures at drought proofing of the economy of the region and drought prevention in the non-drought periods and years.

Besides discussing essential components of an effective drought policy the article focuses on measures to mitigate impact of drought action plan on drought relief and the system of monitoring and evaluation of these measures.

INTRODUCTION

DROUGHT IS a complex phenomenon[3]. There are agricultural droughts, meteorological droughts, hydrological droughts, etc.(In fact some of the words used in Rajasthan for famines: *Ankal* great famine, *Jalkal*- scarcity of water, *Tinkal*-scarcity of fodder, *Trikal*-scarcity of fodder, water and grain, all indicate local perceptions about different kinds of famines.)

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[1]A request to prepare a presentation for a National Symposium (since postponed) coincided with the return of the author to the Government of Rajasthan after almost seven years in the Government of India where matters like drought did not concern him. It has enabled the author to consider afresh the issue of a drought policy framework based on his earlier 23 years experience in Government of Rajasthan and his reading and writings on issues related to land-water management, rural development and droughts, etc.

[2]The ideas expressed by the author in this note are purely personal and academic and do not represent those of any agency where he has worked. The author has deliberately avoided referring to recent literature regarding drought management in the hope that he would be able to come up with some fresh or new ideas while writing this article.

[3]P. Sainath, *Everyone Loves A Good Drought: Stories from India's Poorest Districts* Penguin Books India, 1996.

A drought affects irrigation and crop production, availability of food, fodder, calorie intake, drinking water, livelihoods, incomes (including incomes in the non-farm sector) in both rural and urban areas since the rural and urban economies are interdependent. Also affected are entitlements, rural indebtedness, health and malnutrition and life expectancies (of both human beings and of animals), livestock, agro-based activities and allied activities, the State's governmental or administrative machinery (which in periods of severe drought turns almost all its attention to and focuses its funding towards providing drought relief in a mission mode, to the detriment of various other regular governmental tasks), and the overall economy of the region which faces a drought.

For anyone living in Rajasthan, the word drought is invariably related to the concept of drought relief. Such is our present mindset that even the chief government functionary assigned drought related responsibilities is referred to as the Relief Commissioner, and he is normally expected to fully activate himself only during periods of severe drought.

Three Components of a Drought Policy

Thus we can divide drought policy into three major components: (*a*) drought proofing/drought prevention whose activities would be chiefly carried out in good years but would also need to be continued in the not so good years, (*b*) mitigation of impact of droughts in years of moderate droughts, (*c*) drought relief operations in years of severe drought.

While components (*b*) and (*c*) above can together be viewed as components of Drought Management with the difference between the two merely being one of degree, component (*a*) above would involve integrated development and resource management of drought prone areas (which in many ways would encompass much more than the activities that have been part of Government of India's Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP) and Desert Development Programme (DDP) since, as has been emphasised [4], "life in arid areas is a perpetual struggle where consequences of lack of proper resource management can be very grave". All three components are related to each other and efforts in any one sphere would impact the other two. However the approach to implementing activities as per component (*a*) shall perforce need to be different from that for components (*b*) and (*c*). Activities as per component (*a*) would continue to be carried out concurrently with those under components (*b*) and (*c*).

While working out the drought policy framework, one needs to look not only at examples of various government driven interventions across the country, but also at how the local populace has been adjusting and adapting

[4]Rakesh Hooja and Rajendra Joshi (ed.), "Desert Drought and Development: Studies in Resource Management and Sustainability", Rawat Publications, 1999.

to meet drought situations.[5] Such adaptive strategies on the part of local communities can be ecological, economic, social, and the like.

Administrative Arrangements

Before going into details of what the three above mentioned components of a drought policy involve in terms of the activities to be covered, it would be appropriate to briefly look at the implementing and coordinating authorities and structures required for successful implementation (some of this administrative structure already exists albeit in a somewhat different form).

As regards coordination of drought management (including both mitigation and relief), the present Relief Commissioner should be redesignated as the Drought Management Commissioner who would report to the state government's Group of Ministers (GoM) for drought management and to a Committee of Secretaries and Heads of Departments (HoDs) of relevant departments (which should be headed by the Chief Secretary, or by the Principle Secretary Disaster Management). The Drought Management Commissioner should operate through the Divisional Commissioners and the District Collectors and activate the concerned HoDs to ensure that the District Level Officers (DLOs) cooperate and accept the supervision and guidance of the District Collector who is the key implementor. The District Collector should also chair a District Drought Management Committee.

The existing system of a very senior state government officer being assigned a district to review and monitor all drought relief activities in severe drought years, and of similarly appointing a Minister in-charge for drought relief work in each district, could also be continued.

As regards the Integrated Development and Resource Management of Drought Prone Areas, the Development Commissioner- cum- Principal Secretary Rural Development should be the key functionary at the State Government level. He should head a Committee of Directions (CoD) for the Integrated Development and Resource Management of Drought Prone Areas comprising selected Secretaries, HoDs, Divisional Commissioners and experts of Agriculture Universities or regular Universities. The concerned Departments through their DLOs and the Panchayati Raj

[5]Carol Henderson, "Resource Use, Drought and Desertification: Adaptive Strategies, the Community and Economic Stratification" in Hooja and Joshi, *op.cit.*, No. 4. As Henderson points out, general ecological and economic strategies by which agricultural populations adapt to drought have been documented in Brian Spooner and H.S. Mann "Desertification and its Control: Dryland Ecology in Social Perspective", Academic Press, New York 1982, H.S. Mann (ed.) "Arid Zone Research and Development" Scientific Publishers, Jodhpur 1980,and J.V. Lovett (ed.) "The Environmental, Economic and Social Significance of Drought Angus and Robertson Publishers" , Sydney, Australia, 1973.

Institutions (PRIs) should implement the various developmental activities with the District Collectors and *Zila Pramukhs* coordinating and supervising/managing them at the district level. There should be Division level and District level Integrated Development and Resource Management Committees in each drought prone district or division with the Divisional/Area Development Commissioner or the District Collector, as the case may be, functioning as its chairman. At the district level an Integrated Development and Resource Management Planning Sub-committee should also be constituted.

In both the above cases, *i.e.*, drought management (including Relief) and Integrated Development and Resources Management of Drought Prone Areas, the roles[6] of community based user groups, panchayat bodies, NGOs, private entities, the institutional credit system (including agriculture and livestock breeders cooperatives), university and research institutions, and various government agencies respectively need to be spelt out as part of the drought policy framework.

In the case of Drought Management (including Relief) the powers and responsibilities of the Drought Management Commissioner and of the District Collector (who could also be designated as ex-officio Deputy Commissioner for Drought Management) may need to be spelt out in a new Drought Management Act which, along with its rules, should replace the Famine Code which is an administrative document having no statutory authority. The District Deputy Commissioner (District Collector) could also, through provisions in the proposed Act, be armed with powers to requisition services of manpower, vehicles and other resources for emergency drought relief operations.

For Integrated Development and Resource Management of Drought Prone Areas, it may not be necessary to go in for a new Act, but governmental guidelines may suffice.

Now to turn to a consideration of the activities that should be taken up as part of a drought policy.

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[6]In this context, the author's two articles "Administrative Delivery System in Desert Areas (With Special Reference to Western Rajasthan)" and "The Development Delivery System in a Desert District" in Horst G. Mensching and RC. Sharma (ed.) Resource Management in Drylands (The Raiasthan Example), Rajesh Publications 1984 may prove interesting. Also see the papers in part II of Rakesh Hooja Administrative Interventions in Rural Development, Rawat Publications, 1987.

For the role of panchayat bodies see Meenakshi Hooja and Rakesh Hooja "Institutions of Self-Governance or Agencies of Development: Panchayati Raj in India", in *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies*.

Activities that form part of The Various Components of A Drought Policy

Integrated Development and Resource Management of Drought-Prone Areas

The Integrated Development and Resource Management of Drought Prone Areas would need to be taken up on an area basis in a holistic manner. This would involve water harvesting[7], ground water recharge and efficient use of both surface water and groundwater, diversification of crops and of agriculture, greater agricultural productivity per unit water and per unit land, extension efforts pertaining to agriculture, irrigation and livestock, improved water management[8], watershed development and management,[9] the spread of irrigation canals into desert and drought prone areas[10], Participatory Irrigation Management (PIM) canal systems[11], soil and water conservation in both rainfed and irrigated areas, development of drinking water sources and supply systems, livestock development (cattle, goat, sheep etc.)[12], encouragement of crop-livestock mixed farming, afforestation and

[7]Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (ed.) "Dying Wisdom: Rise and Fall and Potential of India's Traditional Water Harvesting Systems", Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 1997 R. N. Athavale, "Water Harvesting and Sustainable Supply in India", Rawat Publications, 2003, and P. M. Natarajan and S. Kallolikar "Rainwater Harvesting: New Approaches for Sustainable Water Resources Development" 2004.

[8]Rakesh Hooja "The Administration of Water for Agriculture: Essays in Management of Irrigation, "Watersheds and Drainage", Rawat Publications, 2005. Also see Anil Agarwal, Sunita Narain and Indira Khurana (*ed.*) "Making Water Everybody's Business", Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 2001.

[9]C. H. Hanumantha Rao, "Watershed Development in India-Present Experience and Emerging Issues", Loveraj Kumar Memorial Lecture, Society for Promotion of Wasteland Development, New Delhi 2000. (paper based upon the lecture published in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 35, No. 35, November 4, 2000).

[10]B.H. Farmer, "Agriculture Colonisation in India Since Independence", Oxford University Press, London, 1974 and Rakesh Hooja, "Greening the Desert: Motivating Settlers" in Rawat Publications, 2001.

[11]L.K. Joshi and Rakesh Hooja (ed.) "Participatory Irrigation Management: Paradigm for 21st Century (2 volumes) Rawat Publications 2000, Rakesh Hooja and G. Pangare," Some Reflections on Software Aspects of Water Policy: CAP, PIM, Watershed Development and Management and Water Harvesting. India NPIM Working Paper/ Monograph No. 13, January 2003, Rakesh Hooja, "Revisiting Participatory Irrigation Management in India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 49, No. 3, July-Sept 2003,and Rakesh Hooja "Water Users Associations as Part of the Fourth Tier in Indian Federalism", *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, June 2004.

[12]For integrated development and resource management of drought prone areas it is increased productivity and maximising of economic returns at the macro level, as well as breed improvement, which would be the goals of livestock activities, while for drought mitigation and relief the focus would need to be on the security and livelihood

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pasture development (including sand dune stabilisation and fodder development), improved management of common property resources, increasing the efficiency of both human and animal health services, handicrafts and artisan activities, marketing infrastructure for agriculture, livestock, handicrafts etc. rural produce, agro-processing and storage of agricultural produce, non-farm agro based activities like the wool based activities in the *khadi* sector in Rajasthan, non-farm non-agricultural activities (which are less likely to be affected by droughts) like mining, decentralised and alternate energy systems and rural electrification, rural industries, development of the institutional finance network (banks RRBs– regional rural banks– and cooperative institutions) to ensure better supply of credit, and greater people's participation and community management of local land-water assets. Since watershed development forms an important part of both the integrated development and resource management component and the mitigation component, it is proposed at this point to set forth some objectives of watershed development that find common mention in the 2001 and 2003 watershed guidelines of the Ministry of Rural Development. The two guidelines agree on factors like mitigating adverse effects of drought and desertification; need for simple, easy and affordable technological solutions and institutional arrangements; encouraging the village community towards sustained community action for operation and managements of assets and development of natural resource potential in the watershed; promoting overall economic development and improving the socio-economic condition of the resource poor and disadvantaged sections; employment generation; poverty alleviation; community empowerment and development of human and other economic resources in the rural areas; restoring the ecological balance by harnessing, conserving and developing natural resources like land, water, vegetative cover etc. The two guidelines differ somewhat wherein the 2001 guidelines stress developing wasteland/degraded lands, drought prone and desert areas keeping in view the capability of the land and the local needs and conditions, the 2003 guidelines talk of harnessing every drop of rainwater for irrigation, horticulture, floriculture, pasture development/fisheries etc. to create

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dependence aspects of livestock as they impact upon rural households. Also see Rakshat Hooja, "Towards a Policy for Livestock in Watershed Development Programmes: Livestock-Environment-Watershed Interactions in India: A Draft Document based on Five State Level Studies", (Draft), unpublished document International Water Management Institute (South Asia Office, Patancheru), 2004 .Also see Rakshat Hooja " The Need for Synergies Between Watershed and Livestock Policies", forthcoming in *Social Change*.

sustainable sources of income for the village community, and provide drinking water supplies[13].

Planning for Integrated Development and Resource Management

Planning for the integrated development of drought-prone areas would be somewhat similar to district or sub-district planning. It would need to be area specific planning rather than individual beneficiary or beneficiary group planning. It would not be confined to the planning of governmental programmes, but be much broader encompassing the planning for both governmental and private activities at the local or district/ regional level and would need to tap into resources available from Central or state government schemes as well as resources available locally. It would need to be guided by advice and guidelines issued at Government of India, or state government ministries and departments and would also be sensitive to local suggestions flowing from the people *via* PRIs or community based organisations and user groups.

The Integrated Development and Resource Management Sub-Committee as suggested above, would need to work in close coordination with the District Planning Committee and District Planning Cell which already exist in each district.

Suggestions[14] of the Economic Area concept[15], the Hanumantha Rao

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[13]It would be interesting to compare the above set of objectives with those worked out by the author in a list of objectives that was initially developed in 1979-80 and published in Rakesh Hooja "Peoples' Participation in Comprehensive Watershed Area Development" in Hoshiar Singh (*ed.*) "Rural Development in India". Printwell 1985 and then slightly revised for the author's contributions to Social and Institutional Issues in Watershed Management in India OIKOS Delhi and IIRR Phillipines, 2000. The list reads as follows : (*i*) conservation of moisture in rainfed areas for optimal production, (*ii*) to check soil erosion, ensure soil and water conservation, (*iii*) to control problems of drainage, salinity, alkalinity, (*iv*) flood prevention, (*v*) to check siltation in reservoirs, (*vi*) collection of surplus run-off in farm ponds and its recycling for crop use, (*vii*) to recharge groundwater or increase the water-table in wells, (*viii*) collection of surplus run-off for meeting the drinking water requirement of livestock and human population in desert areas, or for partially irrigating a small patch of land, (*ix*) to improve the main and on-farm irrigation systems for increased productivity and increased area under irrigation, (*x*) to achieve optimum productivity per unit land and per unit water, (*xi*) the balancing of non-agricultural (industrial, domestic and human settlement) uses of land and water with agriculture, animal husbandry and allied uses, (*xii*) generation of income and employment in harmony with land and agro-climatic conditions.

[14]D. R. Gadgil "District Development Planning", Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economoics, Pune, 1966.

[15]V. K. R V. Rao "District Planning Concept" in V.L.S. Prakasa Rao *et al*, Working Paper on District Planning Officers Programme, Institute of Social and Economic Change, Bangalore.

Committee which uses the growth centre concept[16], and the 10th Five Year Plan Working Group on decentralised planning and panchayati raj[17] with reference to district planning, can be adapted for use while undertaking planning for integrated development and resource management of drought prone areas.

As the Hanumantha Rao Committee suggests, the plan should not be a mere collection of various departmental or sub-departmental proposals, nor a mere spelling out of targets and financial allocations, but a much more comprehensive document, which, keeping in mind financial constraints, spells out logical relations between sectoral and departmental plans and between various Economic Areas in a district, and which determines the chronological order in which schemes are to be started and implemented. It is to be based on calculations of demand and supply where the need for equipment, trained personnel, buildings raw material, skilled and unskilled labour etc. have been checked against available supply and an attempt made to improve the internal organisation of the implementing agencies. The committee goes on to suggest that given the knowledge of Central and state projects in the area and the corresponding inflows of financial outlays, as well as of local natural resources, production, land uses, credit supply, infrastructure and social service facilities, etc., the planner should give priority to the development of socio-economic overheads and to resource development.

Similarly the Hanumantha Rao Committee has set forth the following functions of the planning body: (*i*) crystallisation of the local needs and objectives within the broad framework of national and state level objectives, (*ii*) taking stock of the natural and human endowments of the district and regions within the district as well as the level and pattern of development attained so far, (*iii*) listing and mapping of amenities at the village, block and district levels, (*iv*) formulation of plans in their socio-economic, temporal .and spatial dimensions along with their linkages with the rest of the economy, (*v*) formulating of policies, programmes and priorities relevant for the district, (*vi*) coordination and implementation of the plan, (*vii*) monitoring and review of implementation of the plan and programmes with due regard to their linkages and dependencies.

Planning for integrated development and resource management of drought prone areas would adopt the approaches and methodologies being

[16]Report of the Planning Commission's Working Group on District Planning (Chairman CH. Hanumantha Rao) 1984, Government of India.

[17]Report of the Working Group on Decentralised Planning and Panchayati Raj Institutions for Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007), Planning Commission, Government of India, November 2001.

adopted and recommended for district planning[18] with the difference that the former concentrates upon drought proofing of the economy and making the area resistant to droughts, while the latter is aimed at the over-all development of the district.

DROUGHT MANAGEMENT

Mitigating Impact

Drought Mitigation, or reducing the impact of droughts on an area's economy, involves activities like watershed development, pasture development and afforestation, regulation of use of surface and ground water to ensure water conservation. It may also involve some activities which fall in the nature of relief works. Fodder banks may need to be created. In addition, individual beneficiary schemes of self-employment and poverty reduction based upon credit and subsidies for people below the poverty line to enable them to obtain assets, and employment generation programmes (like the employment guarantee schemes), which are implemented even in good rainfall years, are important for mitigating the impacts of droughts. The employment guarantee schemes find their scope and magnitude extended in times of severe famines when they assume the form of relief works with many of the norms for employment works being relaxed in view of the need for drought relief.

For mitigation of the impacts of droughts which are not too severe but when there is shortage of water and the soils are hard and dry, the scientific establishment should have ready suggesstions on practices and cropping patterns (cash crops, food crops, fodder crops) which the farmers could adopt. These would be based upon traditional knowledge as well as modern scientific research. Similarly practices for optimal surface and groundwater management and for modified management and care of the livestock and of common grazing grounds should also be propagated through the agriculture, irrigation and livestock extension networks. In this context initiatives like ITC company's '*e-chaupal*' to provide better information and knowledge to farmers and pastoralists to enable them to take proper decisions as per existing conditions also appear to be worth emulating.

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[18]See Rakesh Hooja "Training For and Expectations From District Planners" in Maliipal (ed.) Decentralised Planning and Development in India, Mittal Publications, forthcoming 200C*Rakesh Hooja and B. Yerram Raju (ed.) Decentralised Planning in Multi-Level Framework, Rawat Publications, 1993, and Rakesh Hooja Bibliography on Multi-level and District Planning, Madhya Pradesh Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain, 1995.

Drought Relief

States having arid or semi-arid ecosystems are prone to droughts which recur with regularity and severity. Thus drills have been worked out whereby the entire district administration gets involved in drought or famine relief as soon as a severe drought becomes imminent. Over the years Famine Codes initially prepared in the directly ruled provinces of British India have been worked upon and rewritten as per experience of famine relief operations. Thus this is a component for which not much new thinking needs to be undertaken, except for trying to increase implementational efficiency and having shelfs-of-works (or shelfs-of-projects) kept ready so that relief works leading to construction of productive assets can be undertaken whenever a severe drought occurs.

At times of such famines, when the crops totally fail and fodder ceases to be available, drought relief works are started to provide employment and incomes to the poor. For the infirm, old and the destitute old-age pensions and food doles are distributed. Arrangements for providing drinking water and water for domestic use are made including water tankers by roads or by rail. It is ensured that food stocks are available throughout the state, and that the poor have access to food through the public distribution system. Fodder is imported and fodder depots opened. Land revenue (even though it is now only a nominal amount) collection is suspended, and, if the famine extends over a number of successive years, is even written off. Cooperative loans are re-scheduled to ease the problem of rural debt during years of famine. Special medical teams are deputed throughout the famine affected areas, as are veterinary teams.

All such steps are undertaken on a war footing with government agencies, Panchayats and NGOs as well as user groups being involved- thus GO-NGO-CBO (government organisation- non-government organisation-community based organisation) interactions and coordination assumes importance. Action plans for drought relief are prepared and their implementation monitored in physical and financial terms at various levels. In fact in a way the entire state government gets involved in drought relief work.

Monitoring and Evaluation

It will be seen that the drought mitigation component or stage bears a closer relationship to the relief component or stage than to the integrated development and resource management component. Unlike the comprehensive and multi-disciplinary development plans required for integrated development and resource management of drought prone areas, practical action plans are the need for mitigation and relief efforts. The

type of monitoring systems required would also differ accordingly particularly since relief (and even, to some extent, mitigation) is taken up as an emergency exercise, while integrated area development and resource management involves regular, on-going and complex efforts.

One activity which has not been receiving sufficient attention is evaluation (both concurrent and *post facto*) of the impact of the efforts undertaken. This is as important for relief and mitigation activities as for the integrated development and resource management.

There are often charges of corruption in the implementation of drought relief works. Greater transparency in operations and increased peoples' participation should help check possible corruption. However, before concluding, we would like to suggest that a careful listing should be undertaken of all possible leakage points or stages at which leakage can occur in the implementation of the various activities under the three components of the drought policy, so that anticipatory steps to prevent leakage at each such leakage point/stage may be worked out in advance and made an integral part of the policy framework[19].

[19] This author had, in the early 1980s, evolved a similar list of leakage points/stages pertaining to poverty alleviation schemes in the rural delivery system which was originally published in "Machinery for Delivering Benefits to the Rural Poor" *Indian Journal of Public Administration.* Vol.28, No.1, Jan-March, 1982, and, in " India's Credit Based Anti-Poverty Programme" in *The Administrator*, Vol. 30, No.1, Jan-March, 1985.

THE RURAL DELIVERY SYSTEM AND THE VARIOUS ENTITIES INVOLVED IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT*

RAKESH HOOJA

Bringing government closer to the rural people improves the match between diverse local preferences and public services. In a country of India's size and diversity, rural development is humongous and highly complex endeavour. Rural development has of course to be planned and pursued within national development model subsuming the interdependent and interactive growth of both rural and urban areas. There is a need for comprehensive planning for rural development which postulates to involve itself not only with activities undertaken by government agencies or local bodies but also private sector, NGOs and the rural communities.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT involves economic, social as well as cultural development in their various dimensions where development can be defined as such growth and change as is positively valued or such quantitative and qualitative transformations as have been or are being desired. It is related to the human development of all peoples, all sections of society, in the rural areas as well as the physical development of all rural geographic spaces. While certain rural development initiatives may be focused or concentrated upon the rural poor or upon other disadvantaged groups, or on backward areas or regions, the more privileged people living in rural areas and the rural areas which are already comparatively developed are also desirous of, and have to be catered to, in rural development efforts. While some aspects of rural development are achieved through conscious efforts of government or of the people (which can have both manifest and latent impacts), rural development also occurs due to combinations of various factors that induce developments in rural areas. At times the results are not as are being desired and accordingly certain sections, or all sections, of the

*This article has drawn on the author's ongoing administrative experience of over 36 years as a member of the Indian Administrative Service.

rural population and certain areas may witness a decline or negative change in some aspects of growth and development. Much of rural development in the contexts of countries like India takes place in the agriculture (agriculture being defined in a broad manner to include crop husbandry, horticulture, livestock management, pasture development etc.) sector, however the non-farm sectors in villages are also important for rural development. Rural areas are also in need of the development of both social and physical infrastructure.

Thus rural development perforce has to be very broad in terms of scope and involves changes in attitudes, customs, beliefs, values, utilisation of (and access to) natural and human resources; use of technology and access to it; spatial as well as social relationships; migratory trends; power structures; factors of production and production relationships; productivity, production and outputs in both qualitative and quantitative terms; incomes and income patterns; employment patterns and magnitudes; rural lifestyles and cultural patterns; living standards; livelihoods; food security; diversification of the economy; self-sufficiency and sustenance; prices and markets; management of land and water, livestock and forests; physical as well as social infrastructure; supporting services and facilities (social and commercial) and input-supply systems; policy initiatives and governmental interventions; institutional and organisational frameworks; organisation and administration; coordination and integration of activities; peoples involvement and participation; role of community based organisations; backward areas and deprived sections of society, areas enjoying certain comparative advantages; equity and inclusiveness; growth and welfare; gender issues; rural-urban balances and complementarities; and multi-level and comprehensive planning.

Keeping the above in mind rural development programmes can be broadly categorised as follows (though in specific programmes there may be some overlap between the categories):

- Programmes with focus on area development : desert area development, hill area development, coastal area development, drought prone areas development, irrigation command area development, rainfed area development, development of livestock predominant areas, backward area development, development of industrial areas including Special Economic Zones, development of hinterlands and periphery areas of large habitations which act as growth centres where rural-urban linkages are extremely significant (rurban areas), etc.
- Programmes with focus on disadvantaged or other identified groups : tribals, the poor, unorganised labour, migrants, other

socially disadvantaged groups, small and marginal farmers, artisans and craftsman, women and children, etc.

- Programmes with focus on human resource development : literacy, education, employability, livelihoods, nutrition and food security, population, health, responses to demographic changes, building upon existing culture and heritage, etc.
- Programmes with focus on natural resource use, management and development : land, water, livestock, energy, environment, etc.
- Programmes with focus on provision of basic services, facilities, amenities and infrastructure : Minimum Needs Programme, provision of urban type facilities in urban areas, rural infrastructure development, etc.
- Comprehensive programmes that cover two or more of the above five categories.

That brings us to the question of comprehensive planning for rural development which needs to involve itself not only with activities undertaken by government agencies or local bodies like panchayats but also those of the private and NGO sectors, and of the rural communities. Since in India the district is the basic administrative unit, such planning would be in the form of comprehensive district planning. Comprehensive district planning would, *inter alia*, need to comprise of the following:

(*i*) district natural resources inventory and resource use planning
(*ii*) district manpower survey and employment (including self employment) planning
(*iii*) district livelihoods planning
(*iv*) district agriculture, livestock and afforestation planning
(*v*) district industrialisation and mineral development planning
(*vi*) district food security planning
(*vii*) district institutional credit and potential linked banking plan
(*viii*) district drought/flood proofing and disaster management planning
(*ix*) assessment of all on-going government (and private) programmes in the district to identify spheres, sub-sectors, and geographic areas requiring special attention in future
(*x*) mapping of village-wise infrastructure, facilities and services already available, and of further requirements of the same, so as to facilitate locational and spatial or area planning
(*xi*) identification of potential for the raising of resources locally for district planning and earmarking sources for raising such resources
(*xii*) assessing local aspirations and expectations of the people and

prioritising amongst them

(*xiii*) working out measures for convergence and integration of various developmental activities in the district

(*xiv*) assessing existing administrative and institutional capabilities of implementing the district plans and identifying where administrative or institutional strengthening is required for effective implementation as well as plan/project formulation

It is clear that given the variety of rural development initiatives and interventions required and the vast scope of comprehensive district planning for rural development called for, no one single agency or institution (not even a Government Rural Development Department) can undertake all that is required to be done on its own.

The institutions/agencies/individuals at the district level who have to play a role in rural development comprise of the following:

(*a*) the district collector,

(*b*) the land revenue administration based district or revenue agencies (collectorate, SDO offices, tehsils, down to patwari or talati) which deals with many issues of general administration and development,

(*c*) district level officers (DLOs) and other officers and staff of various state government departments and public sector enterprises stationed within the district,

(*d*) Panchayati Raj institutions (PRIs or the 'development agency') including elected representatives (who earlier were commonly referred to as 'non-officials') and the officers and other functionaries in the PRIs who are state government personnel deputed to the panchayat bodies,

(*e*) Special project agencies created by government to implement specific programmes or projects,

(*f*) the institutional credit system – banks etc.,

(*g*) cooperative institutions working in various sectors like dairy, agriculture (crop husbandry), horticulture, minor irrigation, sale of forest produce in tribal areas,

(*h*) offices of Central Government organisations at the district level

(*i*) district police set up,

(*j*) district and lower level judiciary,

(*k*) municipal bodies and urban development agencies,

(*l*) NGOs and voluntary agencies including entities created by Public-Private Partnership, Public-NG.O partnership, Public-Private-Community Based Organisation Partnership, Public-Private- N.G.O. partnership, etc.

(*m*) community based organisations (CBOs), beneficiary groups,

user groups,

(*n*) district level/local associations of farmers/traders/industrialists, etc.,

(*o*) normal trade and private sector channels – private enterprises, industrialists, traders,

(*p*) mass media network,

(*q*) local level politicians (whether or not elected to public office), political parties and pressure groups,

(*r*) individuals : farmers, artisans, livestock breeders, labourers, traders, etc.

We shall be briefly discussing some of the above entities slightly later in this article.

Traditionally many observers and writers have been referring to the entities mentioned at (a) to (g) above as together constituting what has been called 'development administration' (though by now it is well recognised that the differentiation earlier made between development administration and regulatory administration does not have much validity since each impacts on the other – for example land revenue administration has been considered to be part of regulatory administration, but every developmental activity requires land and therefore having correct and updated land records and record of rights over land as well as timely and proper resolution of land disputes including those related to land acquisition, is vital for development administration.

In any case the entities as per (a) to (g) above, which constitute the core of government's rural delivery system, each individually or a combination of them, have to interact with each other and all the other entities identified above and with the local population, or various segments (based on class, caste, region, religion, profession, etc.) of the local population who themselves may be operating within a web of interlocked factor markets and socio-politico-administrative relationships, as also with external change agents whether from the public, private, or what is now being called the third (NGO) sector from outside the district.

Entities located outside the district which either directly interact with the district level role players involved in rural development, or otherwise impact upon the rural development effort in the district, also need to be noted by us.

Divisional Commissioners and regional officers of state government departments and public sector enterprises are formally assigned supervision, coordination, control, monitoring and inspection functions regarding the developmental efforts in the districts under their jurisdiction. Many states have a system of appointing a minister-in-charge for each district as also a

secretary-in-charge of each district to periodically visit the district to review and guide the development efforts.

The local MLA and MP who represent parts of, or the entire, district naturally take a lot of interest in the development efforts and influence both the planning and outcomes.

The state government at state headquarters (Chief Minister, Ministers of various departments, the administrative secretaries of various secretariat or administrative departments, directors and chief engineers who head the various executive departments, heads of public sector enterprises, etc.) formulate programmes and schemes, provide funds, get implementation carried out in the districts and supervise, coordinate, monitor and direct the same through visits and tours to the rural areas, review meetings, and otherwise.

Pronouncements in court in various cases by the state level judiciary can have a significant impact on rural development efforts.

The various ministries of the Central Government formulate many Central Sector or Centrally sponsored schemes for development in rural areas. They then get the schemes and programmes (including many 'flagship programmes' of the Central Government) implemented through the state governments – though they do occasionally send review teams to observe developmental activities in the field.

Bilateral or multilateral foreign aid agencies influence the rural development efforts through projects funded by them. But it is for the Central Government (along with concerned state government) to decide whether or not to accept aid for particular projects, as also to determine the locations of the project areas; and the details of the projects are negotiated between the donors and the state and Central governments before such projects are implemented in the field. However, the frequency of supervisory and review missions on behalf of the donor agencies visiting state capitals and the rural areas to observe project implementation has increased.

National and international NGOs and national/inter-national private companies through their operations also influence rural development in various parts of the country.

With the vast expansion of the media (both print and electronic) reporting in the national and state level media on developmental/rural development issues has also increased. This naturally has significant impacts in the formulation, implementation and review of development programmes.

Whatever may be the impact of entities above the district level, it is within the district that actual implementation related to rural development takes place. Thus it is proposed to briefly discuss some of the district level entities already listed above.

Let us start with the district collector. It was way back in 1786 when

the court of directors of the East India Company had initially assigned a prime position in the local administration to the Collector. Despite many ups and downs, the collector continues to be the fulcrum of field administration in India. While the role and level of importance of the collector (also referred to as deputy commissioner or district magistrate in some States) differs from state to state, broadly speaking (despite some variation from one state to another) today's collector is directly responsible for, or has a coordinating function at the district level, in the following spheres (not listed as per order of importance) : (*i*) public order, law and order and criminal administration, (*ii*) land record administration and land revenue court work, land reforms as well as land acquisition, (*iii*) supervision of the district treasury, (*iv*) civil supplies and public distribution, (*v*) district development, (*vi*) disaster management and drought relief, (*vii*) conduct of elections, (*viii*) urban and municipal affairs, (*ix*) social welfare and social security, (*x*) industries (*xi*) agriculture, (xii) cooperatives, (*xiii*) district planning and district statistics, (*xiv*) registration and stamps, (*xv*) excise and commercial taxes, (*xvi*) consumer affairs, (*xvii*) removal of public grievances, (*xviii*) conduct of census–human, livestock, agricultural, industrial etc., (*xix*) coordination with bankers, (*xx*) MPs/MLAs Local Area Development Fund activities, (*xxi*) procurement of agricultural produce, (*xxii*) conduct of special campaigns, (*xxiii*) arms licensing, (*xxiv*) cinema licensing, (*xxv*) regulation of fairs and festivals, (*xxvi*) public relations, (*xxvii*) e-governance, (*xxviii*) supervision of jails, (*xxix*) protocol, (*xxx*) various miscellaneous or residual matters which can be grouped under a category of general administration and which may differ from state to state. Collectors are also being associated with health and education, or water management programmes. They are also being expected to arrange Public-Private-Community Group partnership activities and to review and coordinate public service delivery ventures of many government departments. Many government departments often expect the collector to supervise, coordinate and monitor at the district level important projects, schemes, programmes and campaigns being implemented by the department. Collectors are often expected to check absenteeism of grassroots staff of various government departments posted in rural areas, as also to be associated with physical verification and social audits of various activities.

Thus the collector acts as the captain of the team – supervising, funding, coordinating, interacting with, supervising, or controlling (as the case may be) the other district level entities involved in rural development.

While the collector directly interacts with all various entities involved with rural development at the district level, for much of his work he makes use of the district or revenue officers, who act as his secretariat and also

undertake field visits and conduct certain meetings on his behalf. Particularly the additional collectors and other officer-in-charges of various sections in the collectorate act as the collectors lieutenants as regards developmental and other work. The collector also makes use of sub divisional officers and tehsildars to sort out many issues at the local level. In addition, as already indicated above issues related to correct records regarding land titles, as also land acquisition and resolution of land disputes, which are all extremely relevant for many developmental activities, are handled by the district revenue administration.

Much of the implementation of development schemes and programmes of government is done by DLOs and the officers and staff of various state government departments and public sector enterprises posted in the district (the other major district implementors being PRIs or special project agencies). Scholars and researchers new to the subject of rural development often make the mistake of thinking that only the programmes of the State Rural Development Department, or of the Central Rural Development Ministry, comprise rural development. However, as has already been stressed above, the scope of what constitutes rural development is very vast, and thus practically every department of government has programmes which relate to and impact upon rural development (many departments implement some programmes/schemes specifically designed for rural areas and rural peoples). This point can be further brought home with reference to '*Prashashan Gaon Ki Or*' (reaching administration to every village) campaigns which are periodically organised by state governments in every district. In these campaigns, which may last a couple of months, activities related to a number of state government departments like land records, rural development, agriculture, horticulture, cooperatives, animal husbandry, women and child, social justice and empowerment, roads and buildings, power, irrigation, command area development, rural drinking water (public health engineering department), school education, medical and health, food and civil supplies etc. are taken up simultaneously at each village camp because both the state government and the people feel that all of them have a bearing on rural development. In fact at each village camp the collector (who coordinates the *Prashashan Gaon Ki Or* campaign in the district), representatives of the district and revenue agencies, elected representatives and functionaries of panchayat bodies, as well as the DLOs and district functionaries of all the concerned state government departments, as well as of local cooperative societies, banks etc. all congregate, and at times the Minister-in-charge of district, Secretary-in-charge of district or Divisional Commissioner, and regional officers of the state government may also visit the some of the village camps.

The fact that many state government departments have to work together for rural development can be demonstrated with the example of water. The Water Resources Department is concerned with irrigation and drainage as well as groundwater. However, domestic and drinking water issues (including for rural areas) is the subject matter of Public Health Engineering Department. On-field water application on farmers fields and propagation of sprinklers and drip irrigation is the domain of agriculture department as is watershed development (though in some states the panchayati raj and rural development department manages this). Like agriculture Department, the industries department is concerned with utilisation and availability of water. Some states have placed some of the larger irrigation projects under a Command Area Development Department which looks at the multi-disciplinary and multi-sectoral development of the irrigation command areas. Some smaller water bodies and smaller land-water related construction and maintenance works, (including maintenance of hand-pumps for drinking water and domestic water use) fall under the ambit of the PRIs and thus of the rural development department. The environment Department is concerned with water quality and sufficient minimum flows in streams and rivers to ensure that impurities do not get concentrated at certain places. Due to urban-rural linkages and the fact that at many places water from rural areas is transported to urban areas, the urban development department also has to coordinate regarding rural water use. The medical and health department is concerned with water bourn diseases and with sanitation and cleanliness.

Many similar other inter-departmental linkages can be identified when we take a look at other aspects relevant for rural development.

This would also be the appropriate place to compare integrated implementation of certain programmes cutting across departments with departmentally segmented schemes implementation being coordinated in a certain area. Both tribal area development (TAD) and command area development (CAD) have been implemented through either of the two models indicated above. Some CAD/TAD projects involve all activities related to CAD/TAD for a certain area/sub-region being assigned to a specially created CAD/TAD project agency which functions under a common project manager (TAD or CAD Commissioner) who gets all implementation undertaken in an integrated manner, as officers and staff of various concerned departments is placed on deputation in the integrated organisation, which has its own budgets. In such integrated projects the developmental planning is also done in an integrated manner. In other places, TAD/CAD activities are carried out in a departmentally segmented manner by various departmental staff who have their own separate budgets. In

such cases the TAD/CAD commissioner (or project manager by whatever name) coordinates such works of the various DLOs which relate to either tribal area development or to command area development.

Interestingly results and impacts have normally been much more satisfactory in integrated projects where both planning and implementation has been done in an integrated manner, than in the cases where departmentally segmented planning and implementation with some special coordinational efforts has been undertaken. This would suggest that all rural development should be undertaken through an integrated area development approach being adopted for each agro-climatic sub-region (may be a district, part of a district, or more than a district). But the world over the model of administration that prevails is based upon functionally segmented government departments rather than upon multi-functional and integrated area development organisations, because in all sorts of situations throughout history that has been found to be more convenient. Even in India everyone is used to the system of functionally segregated departments with their efforts being coordinated to some extent where necessary. Any change in this pattern is likely to prove difficult; the transitional costs likely to be too high, the time and effort taken to create and stabilise the new pattern likely to be very high, and there being no guarantee that after we have disturbed the existing system, the new system would take roots and stabilise and provide the desired results. Thus, except for a few special area development projects which could be taken up in an integrated manner, the existing model of various government departments (including the state rural development department) contributing to rural development in each district appears to be the most practical. In such a situation the coordinating role of the district Collector is likely to remain crucial.

Now to turn to PRIs. The first reference to panchayats in the modern era is in the 1870 Bengal Chowkidari Act. However these panchayats were to be nominated members and to be set up by district magistrates in villages for the panchayats to levy and collect taxes to pay for the chowkidars or watchmen engaged by the panchayat in the village. While Village Panchayat Act had been passed in some of the British provinces and some princely states prior to independence, it was only after the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee Report (1958) and introduction of statutory panchayati raj in various states from 1959 onwards that PRIs were significantly involved in rural development work.

The Balwant Rai Mehta report had recommended setting up of a three-tier system of panchayati raj with multi-level linkages between the tiers, and also that the panchayat samiti operate as the fulcrum of development activity in the area and also that the district tier of panchayati raj be an

advisory body. However different states adopted different models - some of which were zila parishad based, while others were panchayat samiti based. The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee had recommended that, though each tier comprise of elected representatives (non-officials) as well as officials provided by state governments, the district collector be the chairman of the zila parishad. However, most States opted for an elected non-official (zila pramukh) as the chairman.

It may be pointed out that there are many who advocate that the panchayats function as institutions of local self government rather than merely as agencies for carrying out development works. It is not proposed to comment upon this issue in the present paper, which is focusing on the different actors or entities who are presently involved in rural development - which include panchayati raj institutions.

Since panchayati raj falls under Item 5 of list II (State list) of the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution, each state government has been competent to decide the type of panchayati raj that it would like to have in its state. The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution has laid down certain mandatory as well as optional parameters about the constitutional Panchayati Raj that came into force in 1993, but the powers of state government vis-a-vis the panchayats have not been withdrawn, nor lessened.

Accordingly whether it was the era before the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, or after that, various state governments have from time to transferred activities or functions to the PRIs or withdrawn them, as per the changing views of the state government concerned. Even the list of 29 subjects in the new Eleventh Schedule added to the Constitution by the 73rd Amendment is one whereby functional competency regarding the 29 subjects may be transferred by the State legislatures to the PRIs. Thus the list is indicative and each state government may choose to transfer less or more subjects or activities as per its discretion. In fact the 29 subjects in the Eleventh Schedule are listed in such a manner that in practical terms only some parts of a subject can be transferred to the panchayats, while other parts of the same subject would need to be dealt with by the state government (and in some cases some aspect may even require action at the Central level).

Panchayat bodies in every state have been empowered to levy taxes and fees but have generally been reluctant to levy and collect such resources. Thus there are few instances of the panchayats using their own funds to carry out rural development activities. They depend almost totally on state government or Central funds.

In fact PRIs tend to depend almost totally upon state governments to provide them with functions, funds and functionaries.

As regards functionaries, the regular functionaries placed in panchayat bodies to provide the secretariat for the internal administration and management of each panchayat body are normally transferable state government personnel. In some states state rural development service/ state rural engineering service have been created whose personnel are transferable by state government from one panchayat body to another. In other states some personnel drawn from the various existing state government departments involved in rural development are deputed to the panchayat bodies for tenures which are never too long. Even personnel for a PRI to carry out an activity or to implement a programme on behalf of the state government, are deputed from the concerned state government department. Naturally their primary loyalty remains to their parent department where they would eventually return even when they are posted in a panchayat body.

Since each panchayat body functions as an executive agency, the head of the panchayat body at each level - sarpanch in gram panchayat, pradhan in panchayat samiti and zila pramukh in the district level zila parishad - (along with the officer who performs functions of Secretary of the body) tend to be more important in actual practice than the other elected members or the panchayat body as a whole. Earlier an additional or deputy district development officer, who also reported to the district collector (district development officer) used to be secretary of the zila parishad. this post has subsequently been redesignated as chief executive officer zila parishad and de-linked from the Collector. A Block Development Officer (BDO) or vikas adhikari is the main administrative officer placed in the panchayat samiti. For a number of gram panchayats a common secretary (group sachiv) is provided.

A complex system of multiple controls has evolved. For example the BDO has, while implementing rural development activities, to look up to and to follow the directions of (*i*) elected pradhan, (*ii*) elected zila pramukh, (*iii*) district collector, (*iv*) chief executive officer zila parishad, (*v*) various district level officers of various state government departments whose schemes the panchayat samiti is implementing, (*vi*) Member of legislative assembly, (*vii*) Member of Parliament, (*viii*) director/commissioner panchayats and rural development department at the state level, (*ix*) Minister-in-charge of the district concerned (*x*) secretary-in-charge of the district concerned, (*xi*) divisional commissioner, (*xii*) elected members of panchayat samiti, etc. At the zila parishad level the position of the chief executive is somewhat similar.

The elected chairpersons of the panchayat bodies tend to try and avoid having to perform unpleasant tasks. For example most elected non-officials

claim that they cannot check absenteeism and poor performance at the local level in public jobs as that would lead to unpleasantness with friends and relatives in the village. They prefer that outside bureaucrats come in and act as monitors regarding the work of grass root workers (i.e. primary school teacher, medical assistant, ICDS worker, village level worker, etc.).

PRIs are also associated in district planning. However, in actual practice the district planning exercise in which PRIs are associated tends to be planning of panchayat activities and not comprehensive district planning. Here, since the activities are basically dependent upon state government funding under various schemes and programmes, it becomes more a matter of coordinating with various DLOs to implement existing schemes to utilise available funds. In this the coordinational role of the Collector becomes more important than that of elected panchayat representatives. The elected panchayat representatives, since they know that they do not have to arrange for or provide the required funds, tend to set forth "shopping lists" of demands for various development activities - few of which eventually get accommodated in the district plan approved upto the zila parishad level and submitted to the district planning committee.

Some advocates of panchayati raj are keen that eventually zila parishads assume the form of district governments who would then be responsible for all rural development work. However, state governments have repeatedly and regularly shown reluctance to transfer too many activities to panchayat bodies. Politicians at state or Central level (elected or otherwise) tend to see panchayat level representatives as their competitors and rivals for local political influence and power. Like the politicians, most technocrats and bureaucrats are reluctant to support transfer of functions or powers to PRIs since they feel more comfortable reporting to and working for the state government and they would not like to either report to panchayat bodies, or to see their state government departments loosing functions, funds and influence vis-a-vis PRIs. So in the immediate future it appears as if PRIs would continue to be one of the group of entities that form part of the rural delivery system.

As it is, evidence does not indicate that the PRIs because of their representative and participatory character, have proved to be significantly more efficient and cost-effective, or altruistic or less corrupt, in implementing all sorts of development schemes.

A number of government departments have created special project agencies to implement specific programmes or projects (or a group of programmes/projects) and still continue to do so. Such special agencies may be multi-disciplinary and integrated, or they may be single department oriented. Many of them are headed by the district Collector - though that is

not always the case. The best known such agency has been the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) headed by the Collector and registered as a Society which has been involved in the implementation of a large number of schemes mostly of the Rural Development Department/Ministry of the State Government/Central Government. In some States the DRDA has now been merged into the zila parishad but kept separate within the zila parishad as a rural development cell where the collector continues to have a significant role. In other states the DRDAs still functions as a separate entity.

Obviously state governments feel that certain government activities need to be got performed by special project agencies rather than by the regular DLO set up, which is why such bodies continue to be created.

Cooperative institutions are now less important as compared to the first three or four decades after independence since many gram sahkar samities and some district level cooperative banks have become non-viable due to large over-dues and defaults. Comparatively dairy cooperatives and district level cooperative milk unions are more active. The spread of the private sector in rural areas has also reduced dependence on cooperative bodies for either input supply or sale of rural produce.

Community based organisations (CBOs), whether statutory (like irrigation water users committees in some states), or registered as societies, or even informal groups come up because of locally felt needs of the people. They tend to possess a lot of social capital. However activists advocate of panchayati raj, and the panchayat bodies, which keep pressing the State governments to grant them political space, autonomy, funds, functions, powers, as well as perquisites for the elected representatives, tend to take the stand that such CBOs (which they call "parallel bodies") should not be permitted unless they are placed under the "control" of the panchayat bodies. However, it is often found that such CBOs are performing a useful role, and in fact if the panchayats were serving the purpose, these would not have got created in the first place. These are citizens bodies and are not government entities, thus they cannot be placed under any other agencies hierarchical control. Thus the more appropriate view would be to treat such CBOs as independent parts of the fourth tier of Indian federalism which interact constructively with the third tier (panchayats and municipal bodies) and with representatives of the second tier (state government and its district administration).

Thus it will be noted that this brief review of the rural delivery system and the various entities involved in rural development in the districts and at higher levels reveals that rural development is extremely diverse and variegated as well as complex - and accordingly the rural development

administration and related institutions which have evolved in India, and continue to evolve to produce results. In fact each state has its own nuances regarding how the system can be effective in its delivery. Perhaps no simple single line agency system may serve the purpose of rural development in contemporary rural India.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Communication in India—Experiments in Introducing Changes by J. E. KIVLIN, PRODIPTO ROY, F.C. FLIEGEL, LALIT K. SEN; National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, May 1969, pp. iv+56, Rs. 4.00.

Readings on Micro-level Planning and Rural Growth Centres, Ed. by LALIT K. SEN, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, July 1972, pp xv+350, Rs. 35.00

While both the books are concerned with rural development; the approaches to the subject, focus of interest, and problems highlighted, differ vastly.

Communication in India is part of a project on the study of the Diffusion of Innovations undertaken jointly by the Michigan State University and the National Institute of Community Development and is a follow-up to the 1967 NICD report on *The Impact of Communications on Rural Development in India.*

The study team concentrated on six villages near Lucknow that had already been surveyed twice and been found to be similar in nature. Two villages were then subjected to the impact of radio-farm forums, two to literacy classes, and two were left devoid of any specific communicational stimuli. An effort was made to see how the attitudes of the villagers responded to the new communicational inputs they were receiving and whether the entire village system's responsiveness to change and innovation was affected or not. The indicators used were the knowledge, trial, and adoption of agricultural, health, individual and family planning practices, and the attitudes towards social change as they existed before and after exposure to the communicational influence. Also tested were other variables like the extent of transformation, if any, in internal communication system of the village (that is the relationship of the opinion leaders to the others), or the general changes induced in the individual's awareness—and opinion-maps of the villagers. It was found that the radio farm forum villages showed the most "Progress" (measured in terms of the indices already listed), followed by those exposed to literacy classes. It was realized that a lot of farming practices continued to be similar in all six villages and that levels of adoption of all practices were low in all villages. Still the impact of radio was found to be immense and, since the literacy classes had cost more, in terms of time and money, than the radio forums, it was concluded that a well-run radio-farm forum should result in rather immediate accelerated development. Literacy programmes should be considered either as a long-term investment in development or as a social welfare measure.

It would be presumptuous to evaluate this effort at correlating communication and rural development only on the basis of this one book. The authors state that they hope the villages shall eventually

reach a stage of take-off, when fresh communicational aid may not be necessary. While hoping for the same, one cannot judge the validity of their conclusions without a look at all the reports of the project on Diffusion of Innovations. If we view the book independently, then the limited nature of the sample becomes glaring.

Readings on Microlevel Planning is a much more ambitious effort. Asserting that, for effective development, integrated (as opposed to sectoral) planning at the lowest levels is an imperative, Sen has put together a number of lectures delivered at the National Institute of Community Development in 1970-71 on the theory of the selection and location of rural growth centres to serve as the focus of integrated planning for the development of small areal units. The entire exercise, it is hoped, will lead to a more scientific concept of district-level planning, (Foreword, p.v). The absence of empirical illustrations is admitted by Sen, as is the fact that the articles are slightly loose in structure, since they are in reality unedited lectures that have been taken down by stenographers. It would perhaps be best to view the compilation as serving the purpose of a theoretical framework for future empirical study that is now being indulged in by Sen and others.

The book is divided into five parts. The first sets forth the need for micro-level planning in India and defines the concepts, especially those of rural growth centres and integrated planning. The second part analyses the rural infrastructure taking up such variables as agriculture, cooperatives, rural credit, communications, education, administration, industries, demography, social imbalances, and the role that small towns can play in inducing rural change. These variables are dealt with separately (sector-wise) only so that each can later be placed appropriately in the integrated plan. The third part deals with concepts and methodological tools for the siting and locating of a "central-place" and the delineation of its hinterland, and the development of a growth model for such an area, followed by a survey of existing research literature. Part four describes the rural planning process as followed under the first four Plans and offers a critique of the existing sectoral approach. The fifth part suggests ways of linking integrated (central-place-based) area plans with national plans, either with or without the help of intermediary regional plans. Sen's final chapter on Guidelines for the Preparation of a Micro-level Plan has been enlarged by him into a training volume *Integrated Area Planning—Concepts and Methods* (Department of Personnel, Cabinet Secretariat, Delhi, September 1972), where the need for district or block level plans and a suggested procedure for the formulation of such plans is fully spelt out. It has also been suggested that the District, Block, or Taluka (Tehsil) may be the only practicable unit for such integrated plans as have been advocated by the compilation under review.

Being a theoretical volume, *Readings*...can best be tested only on the basis of the efficacy of plans formulated in the manner recommended by it. While that is not yet possible, studies made on the basis of the framework set out in this book, one example of which is Lalit K. Sen (ed.) *Planning Rural Growth Centres for Integrated Area Development: A Study in Miryalguda Taluka* (NICD, Hyderabad 1971), seem to indicate that the approach is sound, though one shall have to wait for more results of the Research Project on Integrated Area Development and Rural Growth Centres of the NICD,

before passing final judgment. Other thinking of the subject of District Planning, though less theory-oriented, also seems to be pointing in roughly the same general direction, as is indicated by, to take but three examples, D.R. Gadgil, *District Planning* (Bombay, Asia 1967) with its concept of "mandi-areas", *Guidelines for the Formulation of District Plans* (Planning Commission, Delhi 1969), and *Working Paper on District Planning Officers' Training Programme* (Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, 1973). However, these other works all approach the problem in a more pragmatic, less theory-oriented manner, from the integrated District Planning side and only later develop "Economic Area" type concepts.

—RAKESH HOOJA

Comparative Public Administration by RAMESH K. ARORA, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1972, p. 191, Rs. 30.

Dr. Ramesh Arora's 'Comparative Public Administration' (An Ecological Perspective) is a very welcome addition to a rather new and yet to establish sub-discipline of Public Administration. Originally approved as a doctoral dissertation by the University of Kansas (1971), the study attempts an analytical 'overview of the environment as well as the substance of the emergent field of comparative public administration'. As noted by the author, the major purpose of the study is to elaborate the essential elements of the "ecological" approach to public administration. In this attempt, the study is claimed to be the first attempt to evaluate the context as well as the contents of comparative public administration and to synthesize the models of Weber and Riggs from the ecological developmental perspective.

The volume—crisply written and neatly phrased —has indeed accomplished the task successfully. The findings in the study have been adequately conceptualized which makes it easy to assimilate and appreciate. As Prof. Edwin O. Stene in his Foreword rightly remarks "administration is an art as well as a field of scientific study.... while the generalization may be cross-cultural in large part, the art of applying them for the development of a particular national system needs the stimulation of intensive *conceptual* analysis". This has been well achieved by Dr. Arora in his thesis that 'assuming the need to respond to the universal challenge of rapid and fundamental change—ecological and developmental perspectives of comparative public administration require further strengthening'.

The evolution of comparative public administration as outlined makes an interesting study. Right from the comparative elements in early administrative theory, to the more recent behavioural movement, and the comparative politics movement, there runs a common thread which seeks to emphasize the cross-cultural components of comparative public administration. Even in the intensive study of the subject in U.S., it has been noted by serious analysts that comparative public administration has borrowed concepts, tools and findings from various social sciences to develop an inter-disciplinary orientation. Even though Siffin (1957) described comparative public administration as a field abounding in confusion and novelty, a few essential conceptual bases have been identified from time to time. According to Dr. Arora, the three major conceptual approaches in comparative public

Family Planning in India—A Descriptive Analysis by SHANTA KOHLI, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1977, pp ix+43, Rs. 15.

Population Control in India—Policy-Administration-Spread by A.P. BARNABAS, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1977, pp. vii+121, Rs. 30.

It is a pity that publishing in India is such that the gap between the manuscript stage to printed book ready for distribution to booksellers (and reviewers) is noticeable. Both the books under review suffer from this as the data quoted have a tendency to end with the Fourth Plan and the 'present' of the authors seems to be about the time the initial approach to the Fifth Plan had just been issued. Thus the implications of the experience of the immediate pre-emergency days, the unfortunate pressures of the Government induced nationwide sterilisation race with the shift to an unwarranted strategy of coercion, and the new, post-election, strategy of family welfare, as currently adopted, fail to find their due place in the two books. Hence the books cannot provide us with policy options for the present; many recommendations made by the authors have ceased to be relevant. And one wonders why the IIPA should not have spaced the release of the two books that are on the same topic and follow a similar outline.

Kohli's book is the more descriptive of the two and it is no surprise to note that the slim volume is a dissertation for a diploma course, slightly modified for publishing. It starts with a statistical table of population growth in India and refers to the consequent need for birth control so as to be able to achieve better standards of living. The family planning strategy of the first four plans is mentioned and the various schemes tried out have been listed. A case for the administrative integration of family planning with general health and overall development measures is made out with the help of references to the Singapur and Turkey experiences. A five-year plan-wise and itemwise breakup of Government allocations is shown; so too the statistical breakup of the number of people who have adopted each of the various means for birth control (all figures being till 1973), with a slightly more detailed analysis of data regarding sterilisations. Efforts have been made to show the percentage of fertile couples covered and the 'number of births averted'. All this is followed by one and a half pages of recommendations, a small section on 'conclusions', and a bibliography.

If IIPA could get Shanta Kohli to update the volume and then reissue at a reasonable price, say, Rs. 3.00 or less, it could prove to be a useful factual introduction to family planning/welfare in India for school and undergraduate college students.

Barnabas's book is more analytical

and also detailed though the main text is only 75 pages, the rest being a bibliography and a few appendices. In a post-script he has also mentioned some data and Government policy statements up to 1976.

In addition to following the outline used by Kohli, Barnabas has also a section on how the Government has tried to ensure that large-scale Government organizations, like the Railways and the Defence Ministry, can provide birth control facilities for their own employees. While the chilling possibilities of what can be done if such organizations pressurise their employees have become known during the last two years, this sort of work deserves serious thought because scattered extension work amongst the general public is likely to be more costly than persuasion and explanation through the employers' auspices to concentrations of workers in large organizations.

Barnabas has rightly focused attention on training and research, for it is research (both biological and social) that can help us to evolve new methods of birth control that are likely to be more acceptable to the populace at large, and it is research (surveys) that will enable us to find out which method, approach, or administrative innovation is proving most effective.

Another interesting fact pointed out is that Tamil Nadu was proving successful at family planning in the pre-five-points-of-the-Congress days. The reason for such a regional success should be found out, for it offers us hope for success at the national level.

The management techniques that Barnabas advocates for evaluation of family planning schemes raise doubts in this reviewer's mind. After all PPBS has been discredited even in the USA and the data information systems in Indian administration are not that reliable.

If Barnabas built on the work done by him in the book under review and carried out an assessment on the state of the family welfare programme today and the people's reactions to it, then this reviewer feels that a very welcome addition to the writings on this field could be made.

—RAKESH HOOJA

India: A World in Transition by BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB, New York, Praeger Publishers, 4th ed., 1975, pp. 428. Notes, Bibliography, Index. $ 5.95.

Students of Indian public administration and related disciplines will profit greatly from reading Lamb's *India: A World in Transition*. The main reasons for this positive assessment are: (1) The book is a comprehensive and substantive introduction to India, especially for non-Indians interested in obtaining a clear perspective and basic context of Indian history, society, and culture; and (2) this perspective will enrich anyone concerned with directed socio-cultural changes, especially planners,

PANCHAYATI RAJ IN RAJASTHAN—POLICY ISSUES AND CONCERNS

MEENAKSHI HOOJA AND RAKESH HOOJA

The authors highlight the problems arising from systemic changes emanating from 73rd constitutional amendment in terms of steep rise in the number of non-official (elected) members of PRI (most of them being first-timers coming from reserved categories, like women and backward castes) and radical change witnessed in the dynamics of functioning of these bodies flowing therefrom. They then focus on the PR scenario in Rajasthan underscoring its problems and implications of the amendment for the state. In the process, they raise a large number of issues and concerns (for academic exploration) having serious bearing on realising good governance at local level through PRIs.

PANCHAYATI RAJ in India has always been considered as a means to good governance and the 1993 Constitution Amendment was effected in the hope that it would lead to better governance. However, it is now perhaps time to think of going beyond the amendment and considering various policy issues and academic concerns which would enable us to achieve the objectives of good governance through Panchayati Raj (PR). Accordingly, we have in this article, used our experiences of PR in Rajasthan to highlight certain points which need to be considered and debated and then converted into appropriate policies and practices in the interests of making PR more effective.

POST-CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT CHANGE IN PANCHAYATI RAJ

Growth in Number of Non-Official Members

Following the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, the number of elected non-officials, in PR has gone up dramatically. For example, in Rajasthan before the amendment about 50 to 60 thousand panchas (or members of gram panchayats) used to be elected and they chose their sarpanch for the Gram Panchayat who automatically became member of the panchayat samiti. The pradhan elected by the sarpanch-*cum*-member-panchayat samiti became a member of the zilla parishad for electing the zilla pramukh. If we add coopted members, presidents of gram sahakari samitis, who before the amendment automatically used to become members of the gram panchayat, and MLAs and MPs, who were also members of panchayat bodies, even then the total of

non-officials in panchayat bodies did not go up significantly. But after the amendment, the members of zilla parishad (997) are separate from the pradhans of the panchayat samiti (237), the members of panchayat samiti (5257) are different from sarpanchas (9185) and the number of ward panchas has gone up to over one lakh. Thus, a large number of persons have been elected for the first-time. The number of first time electees has gone up because, in addition to the earlier reservation for the scheduled castes (SC) and scheduled tribes (ST), reservation has been added for women and for other backward classes. In fact, 33,566 women were elected out of a total of 1,19,419 total elected non-officials in Rajasthan's 1995 PR elections (see Table 1).

Problem of Training the First-Timers

The large number of persons elected to panchayat bodies for the first time means that their training requirements are different from, and greater than for those who have earlier held elected office in the PR bodies. This is because their knowledge and earlier experiences, as well as current expectations from PR, would be different. The large total numbers as well as greater first-time electees also increase the likely number of semi-literate, and even illiterate, elected non-officials requiring training. Further, the reserved seats would change after the term of those elected ends—a woman's seat may become a seat for an ST, or an SC seat may become a general seat, and so on. Thus, the system would ensure that many persons presently elected would be ineligible to seek re-election from the same seat once their term ends. Accordingly, each election will now repeatedly throw up a batch consisting of a large proportion of newly elected representatives. Thus, large-scale training (including training for the large number of people elected for the first time) would have to become a regular feature between each election.

Change in Dynamics of Functioning

The fact, that at each level, the PR body would be much larger than in the pre-amendment era, as also the breaking of the earlier organic link between each level of PR (though each state can, and many states have, made the gram panchayat sarpanch and panchayat samiti pradhan, respectively, a member of the next higher body) has changed the internal dynamics of the functioning of the panchayat body at each level. The debating aspect in each body may now far outweigh the executive tasks which would shift much more to the standing committees of the particular panchayat body.

Even the District Planning bodies provided for through the 74th Amendment Act, which provides for District Planning Committees to consolidate the plans prepared by Panchayats and municipalities in the district and to prepare a draft district development plan, envisage at least four-fifths of the members being elected non-officials, thus ensuring that these bodies would be more populist (and perhaps participatory) in nature than techno-economic or administrative-managerial, and correspondingly more oriented to debating than to policy-making or reviewing of implementation. [And as Crook and Manor (1994) remind us, it is extremely difficult for any elected

TABLE 1: STATEMENT SHOWING THE DETAILS OF ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IN PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS OF RAJASTHAN

Elected Representatives at Different Levels	*No. of posts (General)*			*No. of posts (SCs)*			*No. of posts (STs)*			*No. of posts (OBCs)*			*Total*		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
1. District level															
Zilla Pramukh	11	4	15	4	2	6	3	2	5	3	2	5	21	10	31
Member Zilla Parishad	366	181	547	118	58	177	103	51	154	79	40	119	666	331	997
2. Panchayat Samiti Level															
Pradhan	83	42	125	27	14	41	24	12	36	23	12	35	157	80	237
Member Panchayat Samiti	1935	950	2885	629	314	943	536	268	804	417	208	625	3517	1740	5257
3. Panchayat Level															
Sarpanch	3334	1671	5005	1095	548	1643	985	492	1477	707	353	1060	6121	3064	9185
Member Ward	39042	18015	57057	11935	5967	17902	10411	5205	15616	8758	4379	13137	70146	33566	103712
TOTAL	44771	20863	65634	13808	6904	20712	12062	6030	18092	9987	4994	14981	80628	3871	119419

representative to combine the roles of community delegate with those of development animator, district level politician and manager of district resources].

Be that as may be, the post Constitutional amendment PR is expected to be different (some idea of the features of PR specified through the amendment are being provided later in this article). Accordingly, it would be worthwhile to look at some academic concerns as well as policy issues that are relevant for today's PR.

The Background

Let us, first have a brief background on PR in Rajasthan. Prior to the Constitutional Amendment, the main Constitutional provisions regarding PR were contained in Article 40 of the Constitution in Part IV relating to Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 40 reads as under:

> *Organisation of Village Panchayats:* The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and give them such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.

In Rajasthan, two important legislations, *viz.*, The Gram Panchayat Act 1953 and The Rajasthan Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act, 1959 formed the legal basis of functioning of Panchayati Raj system.

Accepting the main recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta Report, Rajasthan pioneered the movement and Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the same at Nagore on October 2, 1959. Rajasthan quickly became known for its Panchayat Samiti oriented PR as opposed to some other states which had opted for a district or Zila Parishad based system, or those which in late 1970s tried to evolve a Mandal Panchayat based system.

Main Problems

Started with great hope and idealism, some of the major problems and shortcomings that developed in the working of the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) can be broadly identified as follows:

- — Elections not being held on a regular basis and frequent extension/ appointment of administrators is taking place.
- — Lack of adequate transfer of powers and resources to PRIs.
- — Lack of PRI bodies to generate their own resources through taxation and other sources, such as tax on sale of land.
- — Non-representation of women and weaker sections in the elected bodies.
- — The PR bodies remained ill equipped in terms of manpower and resources to undertake planning exercises.

IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The Constitutional Amendment has been made to overcome many of the shortcomings. It has certain features which are binding on the State

Legislatures and others where they can exercise discretion. The main features, which are binding, are as under:

1. Constitutional status to PRIs, including to the Gram Sabha.
2. Mandatory reservation of seats for SCs/STs and women at all levels, including that of chairperson.
3. Direct elections every five years of members at all the three Panchayat levels with fresh elections becoming mandatory before ending of term or within six months in case of dismissal.
4. Financial Commission to be set up by State Government to devolve funds and suggest ways of financing PRIs; and
5. Election Commission at State level to conduct PRI elections.

In certain areas, the State legislatures have been given discretion to provide *inter alia* for:

1. Reservations for OBC's and association of MP/MLA's in PRIs in *ex-officio* capacity;
2. Association of Chairpersons of Panchayats at intermediary (Panchayat Samiti) level and Panchayat Samiti Chairpersons at district (Zila Parishad) level; and
3. Endowment of PRIs with powers, authority and responsibilities for preparation of plans for economic development and social justice and implementation of schemes especially for the 29 activities listed in the XI Schedule.

On the basis of the Constitutional Amendment, Rajasthan passed its new legislation called Rajasthan Panchayat Act, 1994. After the passage of this Act, elections have also been held under the supervision of the specially constituted State Election Commission and these institutions have come into position after March 1995. As already indicated in Table 1,1,19,419, representatives have been elected from the Gram Panchayat to Parishad level.

Emerging Issues

All these elected bodies have now been in position for more than three years. It is thus important to see whether the aims and objectives of the Constitutional Amendment and the aspirations generated by it have been met and, if so, to what extent. Various meetings, conferences and discussions are being organised from the village to the national level to discuss implementation of the Constitutional Amendment and many issues are debated as a result of this new experience. Two issues which are central in this debate relate to: *(i)* devolution of finances to, and exercise of power and responsibility by, the PRIs, and *(ii)* the efficiency/ effectiveness of the PRIs on account of structural changes introduced including mandatory provisions, like direct elections at all levels, rotation of reserved seats, and option of provisions of *ex-officio* membership at one-above level.

Agenda for Research and Emperical Analysis

Accordingly, academic concerns which have assumed importance and thus

deserve to be studied in depth from the point of view of PR in Rajasthan include the following:

1. How has the structural change regarding direct elections to all levels of PRIs affected their working. Previously as per the Acts in force in Rajasthan, there were direct elections for Panch and Sarpanch only and thereafter all the sarpanchas became members of the Panchayat Samiti, and Pradhans of the Panchayat Samiti became members of the Zila Parishad. There were no direct elections for members of Panchayat Samiti or Zila Parishad; elections of the Pradhans of the Panchayat Samiti and Pramukhs of the Zila Parishads were indirect. In view of over 5,000 members of Panchayat Samitis and about 1000 members of Zila Parishads being in position over and above the Sarpanchas of 9185 Panchayats, there is a definite need to study the role and responsibilities of the directly elected members and the problems being encountered due to lack of vertical interaction—an important feature of the earlier Act. The office bearers of the Cooperative Societies (Gram Sahkari Samitis) were also associated as *ex-officio* members in the PRI bodies, a provision which is not possible now in view of the Constitutional Amendment.

2. In view of the mandatory provisions regarding rotation of reserved seats for members/chairpersons, whether this is likely to affect the commitment of the public representatives to carry on long-term development work. Also, would the enforced single-term nature of elected members/chairpersons due to the rotation adversely effect the available skills expertise within the PR system.

3. Whether the PRIs in the new set-up have improved their position regarding devolution of powers and financial resources in view of the provisions relating to setting up of Finance Commission and powers and responsibilities as per the XI Schedule. In Rajasthan (as in many other states), the State's Finance Commission has submitted its report.

4. What has been the impact of the reservations, especially for women, and to what extent this has helped the weaker sections and women to participate more actively in the PR system and to focus attention on neglected issues. (There is need to go beyond the simplistic reports about how some husbands or brothers accompany, or even substitute for, elected women Sarpanchas because this may not continue beyond the initial transitional stage.)

5. What would be the implications of application of "The Provisions of the Panchayati Raj (Extension of the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996" in the tribal areas of Rajasthan which stand scheduled under the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (as well in the State's non-scheduled areas), since hitherto PR in Rajasthan had never differentiated between tribal and non-tribal areas, as also since the tribal traditions in Rajasthan are different from those in many other states and especially from tribal life in the North-East.

6. Did the activities listed in the XIth Scheduled receive any serious thought keeping in view the intentions of Article 243 G of the Constitution before the State legislation demarcated the activities to be taken up by the Panchayats, and were the subsequent government orders sufficient to enable

the PR bodies to function effectively?

7. What sort of training and orientation would be required for the newly elected Panchayat non-officials thrown up after each election and for the non-elected officials, who would be called to work with them.

8. Are the PR structures and processes such that they would enable PR bodies to contribute to: (*a*) meaningful planning from below, (*b*) local mobilisation of resources, (*c*) benefiting vulnerable groups or to alleviating poverty, (*d*) evoking large-scale community participation, (*e*) reducing absenteeism among public employees or to increasing their work output, or efficiency, while on the job (the experience of middle and primary education being placed under the Panchayats has not been very encouraging), (*f*) reducing or checking corruption, and (*g*) improving the quality of the developmental effort in the rural areas, by creating a psychology for development and change, and creating a better partnership between the people and the development agencies.

9. What sort of steps may be necessary for integration of municipal and panchayat planning.

10. Is there an optimal mix of administrative decentralisation and democratic decentralisation which could make PR more effective? After all MP, MLA, District Collector, District Level Officers (DLOs), the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) and Panchayat bodies each of them would continue to have a role to play in ensuring economic development and good governance.

11. What steps can be taken to offset the growing apathy and cynicism that has gradually developed as regards PR as the memories of the "golden era" of PR in Rajasthan during the 1960s fade. (Even the "golden era" had witnessed only partial decentralisation and limited participation.)

It may be added that the studies being suggested by us should be more policy oriented studies than mere academic exercises.

Policy Issues Pertaining to Planning

Now to turn to some policy issues related to PR and decentralised planning/ administration. Issues that need resolution and consequent action at policy making levels include:

1. What should be the main level of decentralised planning? Should Rajasthan try to build further on its earlier traditions of Panchayat Samiti (Development Block) based three-tier PR or should the district and Gram Sabha which have received more emphasis in the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments be permitted to become two basic area units of PR in the State?
2. District Planning Committee would now become a large (perhaps even unwieldy) body. What should be the machinery/organisational setup to operationalise decentralised planning and implementation?
3. What functions would be most appropriate at which level in the multi-level framework of State Government and panchayat bodies?

4. What are the changes which would be required at the State Government level?
5. Are safeguards or mechanisms necessary, or feasible, to keep local elites or vested interests from capturing the PR bodies or from distorting the decentralised planning process?
6. Would pulls from certain parts of the area (say the elected District President's or Local MLA's home village) or other ascriptive considerations compromise efficiency criteria in allocating, managing and utilising funds and resources?
7. When the planning and implementing body become one and the same (*i.e.*, Panchayat Samiti, Village Panchayat) which is inevitable as one moves to lower levels, how can it be ensured that the planner would not fix for himself as targets easy to perform tasks rather than more vital activities, or that the planner-implementors are not overly influenced by immediate short-term problems and goals rather than being able to take a broad long-term perspective?
8. How could it be ensured that the Panchayat elections do not lead to creation of further divisions and fracturing within local communities?
9. What special measures, in addition to those already adopted, may be required to cater to special needs of specific areas, or communities, or of the women folk, or the extremely poor?
10. How can potential conflicts between different Panchayat levels or between PR and the State level be avoided?
11. Should a separate PR Development Service or cadre of officials be created in each state or should Rajasthan's present practice of persons being temporarily seconded from the functional/technical departments to PR bodies be continued with? Should the earlier practice of having IAS Block Development Officers (BDOs) in Panchayat Samitis be revived and how can the system of some BDOs being from the RAS and all the Chief Executive Officers, Zila Parishad being from the RAS be strengthened?
12. How can a genuine participation, involving mobilisation and raising or resources on the one hand, and use of the necessary techno-economic and managerial skills on the other, be ensured within a PR framework?
13. With separate natural resource based users-groups (such as for Participatory Irrigation Management or for Watershed Development) emerging, how would PR be able to accommodate the autonomy of functioning that is necessary for such participatory groups (whose area boundaries as well as goals, objectives and concerns would all differ from those of PR bodies which have normally developed to become coterminus with historically evolved administrative boundaries)?
14. How can the prevailing general apathy towards, or cynicism about,

PR be removed? (It may be noted that this is especially being set forth both as an issue for policy-makers to tackle and for academicians to study. For other points also—*i.e.*, the role of the District Collector, MP, MLA, DRDA, etc. which were mentioned as an academic concern one would find different levels of justifications for including them in both lists.

Need for Further Debate and Consequent Action

In this brief article we have assumed some knowledge among readers of how PR has actually been functioning in various states of the country and tried to flag certain themes based on our joint experience of PR in Rajasthan to stimulate debate. Other such lists of issues may also be available (*e.g.*, Palanithurai 1996) on a countrywide basis. However, each state may require to have its own debates on PR before countrywide, as well as state specific, recommendations for vitalising PR can emerge and be implemented.

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CAPACITY BUILDING FOR RAJASTHAN'S PANCHAYAT REPRESENTATIVES AND FUNCTIONARIES: WHAT THE TRAINING EFFORTS SHOULD COVER

RAKESH HOOJA

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment has also heightened the expectations from decentralisation of democratic institution at the grassroots. Many representatives elected to these bodies require training in the basic skills of developmental planning. Same is the case with state functionaries who have to familiarise themselves with the decentralised planning and implementation. This article discusses the desired content of training programmes for the elected representatives as well as panchayat officials. It emphasises that the training approach should keep in mind the impact of specific customs, traditions and conventions of the people whom it intends to train.

INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD round of panchayat elections to the post-Constitution Amendment of panchayat bodies in Rajasthan were held in 2005. Within three months of the elections to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) a round of training for all the newly elected PRI representatives along with their key official counterparts was provided in a campaign mode spread over 75 days from April to June 2005. The joint orientation training campaign covering representatives from ward panchas to Zila *Parmukhs* on the one hand and Gram Sewaks, Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of Zila Parishad on the other included about 1,000 camps held at the district, block and sub-block levels. A total of 1.25 lakh persons were exposed to training inputs.

Threafter PRI Refresher Training Campaigns were planned for 2006 with one round covering elected representatives of reserved category (especially SC, ST and women) and a second round covering all PRI leaders

and key officials. The refresher courses were primarily planned out as one or two day sessions.

It would be appropriate to take a look at what is being covered in the capacity building efforts for panchayati raj and whether the scope of training inputs in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudinal change inducing efforts should be enlarged.

The Planning Commission Working Group on Decentralised Planning and PRIs for the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) had suggested that the scope of training for Panchayati Raj functionaries (both elected representatives or "non-officials" and the officials attached to Panchayati Raj Institutions - or PRIs) should include training about the following:

1. Duties and responsibilities and powers and authority of PRIs.
2. Financial management—resource mobilisation, accounting, auditing etc.
3. Social issues—reproductive health, child development, environental issues, human rights etc.
4. Constitutional provisions, concerned acts, rules and regulations, development schemes etc.
5. Training content should also include how to work in a group, building *e-spirit-de-corps*, developing leadership skills, decision-making acumen, motivation and morale building etc.
6. Self-governance, social justice and ethics in public affairs.
7. Training can be organised under the following heads for Panchayats and municipalities:
   (*a*) Participatory Poverty Assessment
   (*b*) Participatory Vulnerability Mapping
   (*c*) Participatory Resource Planning
   (*d*) Participatory assessment and action related to education, health and infrastructure.
   (*e*) Participatory Heritage Mapping.
8. Training content should aim at linking training interventions to development programmes.
9. Emerging areas like Natural Disaster Management, micro-level planning etc. should also be included in training programmes.
10. Gender Sensitisation.

The Working Group also suggests that training programmes for panchayati raj related functionaries should concentrate on providing basic skills of planning to the rural population and that the training must focus on the significance of preparing people for proper planning for socio-economic development in the light of the area where they live. Further, it has been

suggested that the training approach should keep in mind the impact of specific customs, traditions and conventions of the people whom it is intended to train. The Working Group also asserts that such training for panchayat functionaries cannot be a one time effort, but has to be a continuous process.

Later in this article it is intended to examine to what extent the training document *Panchayati Raj Prashikshan Sandarbh Samgree* (Panchayati Raj Training Reference Material) of *Indira Gandhi Panchayati Raj Evam Gramin Vikas Sansthan* (IGPRS which is the recognised State Institute for Rural Development in Rajasthan) prepared for the Panchayati Raj Capacity Development Campaign 2005 of Rajasthan referred to at the beginning of the article, corresponds to the above mentioned recommendations of the Planning Commission Working Group.

However, before that, it is intended to take a look at the need for the largescale and modified panchayat training that has become necessary after the 73rd Constitutional Amendment in the light of the expectations from decentralisation through PRIs. In fact, since the scope and nature of training would depend upon the expectations that society has from the panchayati raj system as a whole this article shall, after indicating some impacts of the Constitutional Amendment upon training, go into a brief discussion on the various views about the multifarious objectives of panchayati raj, i.e., what people expect 'can be achieved (or not achieved) through panchayati raj including some expectations that may prove to be Utopian. Accordingly, the article tries to analyse the desired content of training programmes for the elected representatives as well as panchayat officials, as also the need to impart such training in a manner that is easily comprehensible to the trainees who come from rural backgrounds and many of whom may even be illiterate.

TRAINING IMPACT OF 73RD CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Following the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, the Government of India has been sponsoring a large number of orientation training courses for the elected representatives of panchayati raj as also for functionaries of the PR institutions. The number of persons requiring training has also gone up. For example in Rajasthan before the Amendment about fifty to sixty thousand panchas (or members of gram panchayat) used to be elected and they chose their sarpanch who automatically became a member of the panchayat samiti. The pradhan elected by the sarpanchas-cum-members-panchayat samiti automatically became a member of the zilla parishad for electing the zilla pramukh. If we add coopted members, members of gram sahakari samiti who automatically used to become members of gram panchayat and

MLAs and MPs who were also members of panchayat bodies, then also the total of non-officials in panchayat bodies did not go up significantly. After the Constitutional Amendment the members of zila parishad (997 in 1995 which went up to 1008 in 2000) are separate from the pradhans of the panchayat samiti (237), the members of panchayat samiti (5257) are different from Sarpanchs (9185 in 1995 which went up to 9186 in 2000) and the number of ward panchas has gone up to over 1,00,000. The total number of elected PR representatives in Rajasthan is thus almost 1,20,000. Thus, the number of first time electees has gone up because in addition to the earlier reservation for the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST), reservation has been added for women and for other backward classes and the reserved constituencies change from one election to another. In fact 33,566 women were elected out of a total of 119,419 elected non-officials in Rajasthan's 1995 PR elections which went up to 40,543 women out of 120,555 by the time of the 2000 PR elections in the state.

The larger number of persons elected to panchayat bodies for the first time automatically means that their training requirements are different from, and greater than for those who have earlier held elected office in the panchayati raj bodies. This is because their knowledge and earlier experiences, as well as current expectations from panchayati raj, would be different. The large total numbers as well as greater first time electees also increases the likely number of untrained elected non-officials requiring training. Further, the reserved seats changes after the term of those elected ends—a women's seat may become a seat for an ST or an SC seat may become a general seat, and so on. Thus, the system would ensure that many persons presently elected would be ineligible to seek reelection from the same seat once their term ends. Accordingly, each election will now automatically throw up a batch consisting of a large proportion of newly elected representatives. Thus, large scale training (including training for the large number of people elected for the first time) would have to become a regular feature between each election. In Rajasthan during 2003-2004 out of 18,372 elected sarpanches and appointed gram sevaks approximately 17,000 sarpanches and gram sevaks underwent one week residential training by December 2003 and about 63,000 ward panchas out of 1,05,000 ward panches underwent one day orientation camp training. While arrangements had been made for cent percent training, about five per cent absenteeism occurred in the case of sarpanches and gram sevaks and 40 per cent absenteeism in the case of ward panchas. In addition gram sevaks were provided refresher training, and in two rounds of centralised training 38,000 and then 30,000 elected women representatives were trained in the same period. In addition three day and one week institutional and thematic courses

for Zila Pramukhs. Chief Executive Officers Zila Parishad, Panchayat Samiti Pradhan's and Vikas Adhikaris (Block Development Officers), Panchayat Extension Officers and accounts and engineering staff of Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads were also organised. Mention has already been made at the beginning of this article about the training imparted in 2005 and that planned for 2006. The three day and one week institutional and thematic courses have also been planned for 2006-07 along with two week condensed foundation courses for persons being appointed as BDO for the first time.

The fact that at each level, the PR body is now much larger than in the pre-amendment era, as also the breaking of the earlier organic link between each level of PR (though each state can, and many states like Rajasthan have, made the gram panchayat's sarpanch and panchayat samiti's pradhan, respectively, a member of the next higher body) has changed the internal dynamics of the functioning of the panchayat body at each level. The debating aspect in each body may now far outweigh the executive tasks which would shift much more to standing committees of the particular panchayat body. This also has an effect on the type of training required by the elected representatives as well as by other functionaries who have to work in these changed circumstances.

Expectations from Panchayati Raj and Decentralisation

Decentralisation through PR institutions can, according to Amitav Mukherjee, be seen as a means to increase popular participation, to improve development efforts (improved management of programmes), and as a means to bring about a dimunition of secessionist tendencies. Das has suggested .the enabling of (*i*) strengthening autonomous local self-government institutions; (*ii*) each local village cluster to meet their own perceptions of needs through locally optimal arrangements rather than through some minimum standard of meeting needs to be uniformly applied; and (*iii*) greater adaptability, as objectives of such decentralisation. For V.M. Rao the expectation is that such decentralisation would enable (*a*) bringing the peripheral groups of the poor and disadvantaged within the mainstream of economic processes, (*b*) the stable and dependable provision on an adequate scale of relief and supply of minimum needs to the poor and disadvantaged (*c*) planning to effectively cover resources of local level significance and the specially dispersed economic activities carried out on a small scale at the household and village level, (*d*) the promotion among the people of a feeling of motivation, self-help, local level leadership and an active role in strategic and planning decisions. ESCAP/APDI Expert Group (quoted in FAO 1985) saw it as a means to a close partnership between government and the rural population, on organising and coordinating the higher echelons of administration, paying special attention to programmes

aimed at the rural poor, and to decentralising the process of development.

The advantages of decentralisation can be summarised as follows:

a. Greater people's participation;

b. Improved quality of development efforts and improved management of programmes;

c. Provision of resources and programmes for each area and for different groups inhabiting the area on the basis of an assessment of the specific area's problems, resources and potentialities;

d. Spatial planning (including the need for relaxation of uniform norms related to distance or population thresholds) for provision of services and facilities in specific areas;

e. Use of locational theory and rural growth centre or central place planning and centrality scoring techniques;

f. Greater feeling of involvement in the planning effort on the part both of lower level functionaries and of the local people.

g. Strengthening of local government bodies;

h. Locally optimal arrangement for each cluster of villages, or people within a village, to meet their own perceptions of their needs rather than through uniform standards prescribed in a uniform manner for the entire country, or state, as a whole;

i. Better consideration of available local level resources or of the lack of and need for the same, and of local problems, than would be possible through planning at higher levels;

j. Greater mobilisation of resources at the local level;

k. Evolution of participatory mechanisms to promote local level leadership, habits of self-help, motivation and willingness to undertake local plan formulation and implementation.

l. Creating a psychology for development and change at local levels:

m. Reduction in regional disparities;

n. Meeting of basic needs of the people in a better manner which could help to bring into the mainstream peripheral groups and the poor and deprived;

o. Better partnership may be achieved between the people and development agencies;

p. Small mini-projects may be individually planned for using project approach based analysis at the local or district level which may not be possible at higher levels where only generalised guidelines can be framed for particular types of small schemes;

q. Successful mix of project planning and participatory planning may prove easier at levels closer to the grassroots;

r. Local social or physical barriers not always apparent on maps can

only be considered while planning locally and not during state or higher level plan exercises;

s. Integrated and comprehensive multi-sector planning may prove easier at lower levels, while at higher levels mono-sector planning or sectorally segmented planning subsequently compiled, as is being done at present, may have to be resorted to.

International development experts and aid donors appear to have some additional expectations from decentralisation. However, following a cross-country study, Crook and Manor (1994) have indicated that many of these expectations are misplaced and unlikely to be achieved. They indicate that not much can be expected in terms of planning from below through elected local councils like panchayats because of (*a*) lack of administrative capacity and of trained manpower, (*b*) lack of information base (no inventory of capital resources, no assessment of local economy, inadequate statistical base), (*c*) a short term outlook and the liking of local politicians for keeping their list of projects open-ended and flexible at all times leading to ad hoc decisions and processes being followed, (*d*) grants from higher authorities are heavily earmarked, (*e*) decentralised planners have no control over resources, (*f*) higher authorities have little interest in decentralised planning. Similarly not much local mobilisation of resources is likely because (*a*) in impoverished areas the amount of mobilisable resources may be limited, (*b*) elected councillors hesitate to impose taxes-local elites are reluctant to tax themselves, (*c*) local people are cynical about what local councils may do with locally raised resources and the existence of under-resourced local authorities may deepen the popular cynicism, (*d*) locally raised resources are inadequate for any project but the most modest development or service provision. Hence unless major Central/State Government financial support flows in on a continuous basis, local persons may not be inclined to add their meagre locally raised resources to the available pool. Decentralisation is unlikely to reduce Central/State Government expenditure because (*i*) decentralisation is bound to entail significant starting up costs, (*ii*) decentralisation by definition involves larger number of staff and more costs on travel and honoraria etc., (*iii*) decentralised bodies need to be provided with large amounts of resources to take up activities which would win them the confidence of the people, (*iv*) for adequate monitoring a decentralised system requires a large monitoring bureaucracy.

Further Crook and Manor suggest that tasks which Central/State Government try to get rid of by devolving responsibility upon local councils are not likely to be performed adequately because of (*a*) insufficient resources, (*b*) incapacity of the local bureaucracy, (*c*) disinclination of elected local bodies to tackle any of the tasks particularly if they do not

entail construction of physical assets. (Unfortunately many in local areas wrongly equate development with construction work, a mind-set which training for panchayati raj is, consciously trying to correct). They further suggest that decentralisation will do little or nothing directly to benefit vulnerable groups or to alleviate poverty because (*a*) decentralisation empowers local and intermediate areas in which parochially minded local elites exercise dominance, or national level elites build local power bases, (*b*) the personalisation of power relations is more intense at intermediate or local levels. Accordingly, governments may be well advised to insulate programmes aimed at aiding the vulnerable or at alleviating poverty from decentralised planning and implementation. Democratic decentralisation is not likely to help much in terms of community participation because (*a*) the local councils are supra-local in character and have different interests from those of village communiues and attempts at mobilisation may cause these differing interests to come into conflict, (*b*) elections to local bodies tend to create divisions within or between local communities, (*c*) local socio-economic structures permit inequalities which allow elites to dominate and this weighs against community participation, (*d*) it is extremely difficult to combine the roles of community delegate/development animator with that of district-level politician and manager of district resources. Decentralisation cannot be expected to reduce absenteeism among public employees or to increase their work rate when they are on the job. Crook and Manor also indicate that decentralisation inflates popular expectations much beyond what can be satisfied by local councils; that people fail to understand the limitation of what decentralised or local bodies, or even local government can achieve; and that greater transparency made possible by decentralisation makes corruption more visible (and there may also occur decentralisation of corruption)—leading to a mood of popular exasperation even when corruption may actually have declined.

Despite highlighting many problem areas regarding decentralisation Crook and Manor feel that decentralisation has, especially in their Indian case study area (the state of Karnataka), positively influenced the way the the state and society interact and the popular perception of this—mainly for the better—in several ways. A similar situation has also been experienced in the state of Rajasthan, i.e. despite the likely problems of the sort indicated by Crook and Manor, the possible expected advantages of decentralisation are likely to be achieved through PR to a significant extent within a multi-level framework.

Case for Training of Elected Representatives

We have been looking at the expectations from PR and apprehensions of failure or problems of PR from the point of view of working out what

sort of skills and knowledge should be emphasised in training for panchayat officials and non-officials.

As regards training to reorient the thinking of elected PR leaders to empathise more with the poor and deprived, or for example to forego secessionist thinking where it already exists, or for attitudes like those which emphasise self-help—this may have to be attempted carefully because changing of attitudes is not easy and also because state sponsored training may not be capable of bringing about such attitudinal change. Also such training may run the risk of becoming a part of party based or ideological indoctrination, which perhaps should not be encouraged.

What may be more relevant and more likely to meet with success is to impart skills related to planning and implementation with perhaps some psychological orientation about team work, group decision-making, developing better leadership qualities, and interactions within meetings of large groups, etc.

As regards planning, unlike the elected non-officials' expectations which seem to be concentrated only upon use of sanctioning powers for government funds and what may more correctly be called governmental development budgeting rather than planning, comprehensive planning for the entire local area (district, panchayat samiti, or village) including all governmental and private activity had been advocated since long. This is similar to the views of Gadgil and V.K.R.V Rao and the Constitutional Amendment which calls for preparation of plans for economic development and social justice.

Knowledge and Skills, Required for Decentralised Planning

Accordingly, the skills and knowledge that are likely to prove relevant for decentralised planning and should be imparted to those who have to operate panchayati raj are Knowledge of: *a.* the area's needs, potentials, resources and resource gaps, *b.* state and national goals, plans, schemes and resource flows, *c.* Responsiveness to people's needs and knowledge of their aspirations, *d.* participatory planning and local mobilisation techniques, *e.*how the government administrative system and the existing market system works in the region/ area *f.* Planning and project-planning expertise, *g.* Area and spatial planning knowledge and concepts, and *h.* some knowledge of various disciplines and technical subjects having a bearing on development (i.e. basic knowledge regarding agriculture, animal husbandry, civil engineering, rural industries, health and education management and similar subjects), *i.* how to combine the above and prepare integrated and comprehensive plans based on a broad vision, and *j.*examples of successes and failures of decentralised planning and implementation elsewhere and of the reasons for such success or failure.

Such knowledge would not be available with any single individual even at the highest policy level in the country. However, teams of local administrators, people's representatives etc. could be built up gradually to develop a feel and understanding for each of the above points. For that at least initially attempts should be made to impart training not only to district and block level planners (including the elected Panchayati Raj representatives) but also to relevant state level planners in:

1. Identifying locally felt-needs (as well as aspirations, which may match neither the needs nor the available resources) and mobilising the local people to ensure people's participation and participatory planning;
2. Project/ Scheme identification;
3. The project approach and basics of project planning;
4. Area and spatial as well as locational planning and concepts like growth centre planning;
5. Integrating and compiling different aspects of plan proposals and proposals regarding various schemes/projects into a coherent district or local area plan;
6. Interacting with state government planning cells and various state government planning departments and their district level staff;
7. Interacting with (and amongst) the large sized panchayat bodies that have come into existence as a result of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment;
8. National and state level planning goals;
9. Sources of, and ways to gain access to, data available at national and state levels which could prove useful for decentralised planning; and
10. Now-a-days some knowledge in the use of computers could also be imparted as their use could make planning exercises much easier.

Having worked as guest faculty at training courses for panchayat non-officials (elected representatives) and officials both before and after the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, this author knows that the basic approach pertaining to all suggestions being made in this section can be appreciated and understood by most panchayat representatives, who do not need to learn the sophisticated techniques which the qualified experts can make use of for them when necessary. And if the PRI non-officials can understand the basic approaches then they would be sufficiently empowered to make use of the planning tools by guiding the experts or making their own rough and ready assessments.

For identification of the local needs and aspirations the techniques like problem-free analysis, or problem-matrix analysis on the one hand and rapid

rural appraisal (RRA) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA) on the other need to be taught. Of course as regards motivation of the populace there is no simple formula or technique that could be taught.

Project Identification and Local Planning

As regards project identification it could be suggested to the potential decentralised planners that new project/scheme ideas can come to them from either analytical or non-analytical sources like the following:

Analytical sources

1. Resource analysis of areas and households
2. Needs analysis
3. Demand analysis
4. Market analysis
5. Rapid rural appraisal
6. Social mapping/ cultural inventories
7. Diagnostic and strategy exercises
8. Brainstorming
9. Survey of literature
10. Project/ identification missions or groups
11. The reports of census related to population, agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, etc. conducted at regular intervals.

Non-analytical sources

1. Political directions
2. Political pressures
3. Declared government policies and objectives
4. Formal (and even informal) interaction amongst officers or between officials and non-officials.
5. Guidelines of aid giving agencies national programmes etc.
6. Replication of existing project ideas.
7. Feedback from failed projects.
8. Touring in the area
9. Common administrative or political experience.
10. Bargaining between sanctioning and implementing agencies/ departments
11. Casual reading of newspapers, magazines, books.
12. Meetings of villagers and panchayats bodies.
13. Citizens petitions and applications.

In a similar vein Curtis and Watson, while discussing planning that non-planners can do, have suggested that analytical sources of project ideas can be further divided into the sub-categories of administrative search and intellectual search. Some possible methods of the two types of search are

given below:

Administrative Search	*Intellectual (Academic) Search*
> Consult population (Surveys, local committees, discussions villagers meetings)	> Analyse Economy
> Consult local leaders and other key informants formally/ informally (even in a seminar)	>Analyse Society
> Consult Government Departments through routine meetings and special working groups	> Special problem-oriented analytical studies
> Consult research organisations/ consultants through planning studies.	> Diagnostic and strategy

Roberts Chambers has indicated the following criteria for simple project selection and prioritisation: Cost effectiveness, decision matrices, priority ranking, check listing, preparation of lists of costs and benefits.

Just as for purposes of decentralised planning the project identification needs to be kept simple, similarly project planning also need not entail full and detailed project analysis with Net Present Value (NPV). Internal Rate of Return (IRR) and cost benefit (B/C) ratios in detail not being required for each and every project appraisal.

In fact for many small projects even rough use of the project approach with a rough comparison of costs and benefits can prove adequate and would also be an improvement over the scheme budget exercise presently most often done in government. Not every project needs to have exact values assigned to the costs, benefits and rates of returns and in some cases mere qualification, and in others even identification, may be enough.

Of course, the project approach needs to be properly understood at the district and lower levels, both among administrators and amongst panchayat leaders, not only for project formulation purposes, but also for project implementation since it would help avoidance of a blind application of norms worked out by some other agency without trying to see if any special local conditions exist that would lead to unintended latent impacts of implementation which had not been anticipated by the project formulator.

Similarly, if the project approach is understood at the local planning level, then better sensitively analysis is possible since, instead of abstract generalised eventualities like percentage cost or time overrun being considered at state or regional level, at the local level locally specific likely eventualities can be better identified and quantified for sensitivity analysis with respect to each such specific eventuality.

Local planners mistakenly think of project life as only covering the period up to benefit delivery or completion of construction, and have to be reminded that the period in which the impact of a project is being felt has to be considered part of project life for pre-project appraisal purposes, and that intangible benefits and costs both have to be considered as have the possible negative impacts of projects.

It also needs to be explained to local planners as to how project analysis needs to include technical appraisal, financial appraisal, economic appraisal, sustainability appraisal, (with its sub-categories of social appraisal and environmental appraisal) and what can be referred to as acceptability appraisal (involving acceptability on the part of the beneficiaries, the non-beneficiaries in the area, and the lower, middle and senior level implementators, as well as concerned officials and non-officials since in case acceptability is not forthcoming then either the project objectives may need to be modified or special acceptability-inducing mechanisms may need to be built into the project at a cost). The second best may at times be better than the optimal or the best. Only after the above have been considered can decisions about accepting/ rejecting projects, or regarding ranking of projects be undertaken.

Area and District Planning

Most district and block-level functionaries have never really thought in terms of locational and area planning or of growth centre concepts. However, once exposed to basic area based concepts, most are quick to understand issues of both geographic and social distance and of physical and social barriers as also how to fit their projects/ schemes into a framework of spatial planning that would prove most beneficial for the area they are to plan for and implement in. They also start appreciating how sectoral plans and growth/ service centre plans can each lead to modifications in each other, so that an integrated area development plan catering to both sectoral needs and central place based planning can evolve. Use of methodological devices like Gutmans Scalogram for growth centres and for facilities provided at such centres are also easily understood by them. Experiences of the Government of India—Ford Foundation Pilot Project on Rural Growth Centres of the 1960s and 1970s, however, cautions planners that the growth centre approach has to be integrated with other approaches and cannot be the sole criteria for preparing plans.

Holistic District Planning

As regards preparing holistic district plans, many writers have set forth their views over the last few decades and numerous model district plans (e.g. Mushari, Rayalseema, Dharmpur, Wardha-NIRD plans) have also

been prepared. However it is felt that, if Gadgil's views from the 1960s, V.K.R.V. Rao's from the 1970s and those of the Hanumantha Rao (Working Group Report of 1984) are put across in a simplified manner to potential planners at the district or block levels, then many of the issues that run through most writing on district planning would get properly discussed. Of course earlier writers and thinkers on district planning could assume that rural areas while influenced by trends within the country, were by and large immune from many influences from abroad. However the present phase of globalisation coupled with improved communications has left people from all walks of life in the country and from various sectors competing with their counterparts the world over. Hence people in rural areas also are now much more vulnerable to the globalisation and its impacts. Panchayat leaders need to be given some training and orientation about both possible negative and positive impacts of globalisation, so that in their own way they can take steps to negate or dilute the negative impacts as also to seize new opportunities being thrown up by globalisation.

Modes of Training

Both for training regarding planning and for training for actually doing things (implementing), or for both the "what" and the "how", it is case studies, examples, demonstrations, films and audio-visual aids as well as discussions rather than merely lectures, which should be used for both the lower level functionaries and elected persons in panchayats. Concepts need to be simplified with the use of examples that are meaningful in the rural milieu.

Rajasthan's Panchayati Raj Training Document

Having, in the preceding sections of this article, set forth some ideas on the training content and methodologies that this author considers appropriate for panchayat personnel, and having summarised the Planning Commission Working Group's views on the matter in the introductory section of this article, it is now appropriate to turn to the Panchayati Raj Training Reference Material document of IGPRS, Jaipur.

This is the third edition of this Hindi volume of training material which was officially brought out for Rajasthan's Panchayati Raj Capacity Development Campaign 2005. It comprises brief write ups, containing subject matter considered relevant for Panchayat functionaries, as well as a section on training methodologies, exercises and games meant to be used by resource persons in panchayati raj capacity development workshops, and another on motivational songs in Hindi and Rajasthani.

The subjects covered in this volume are:

1. Expectations from PRIs

   a. Eleventh Schedule of Constitution
   b. Participation based economic development and human development
   c. The concept of social justice, secularism, equality and human rights as inspired by the Indian Constitution—Fundamental Rights. Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Duties.
   d. The Constitutional role of PRIs.
2. Main features of 73rd Constitutional Amendment and Structure of Panchayati Raj
   a. From Gram Swarajya to Poorn Swarajya
   b. Main components of 73rd Amendment
   c. Structures of Panchayati Raj.
3. Role of PRIs in Development Administration
   a. Functions of Zila Parishad
   b. Functions of Panchayat Samiti
   c. Functions of Gram Panchayat
4. Responsive and Compassionate Administration
5. Right to Information and Social Audit
6. Financial Management, Taxation and Audit in PRIs
7. Objectives and Challenges of Rural Development
   a. Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations
   b. Status of Human Development—Gender equality
8. Mutual Relations Between People's Representatives and Public Servants.
   a. Do's to cultivate team spirit
   b. Don'ts to avoid lack of coordination
9. Rights and Powers transferred to PRIs
10. Main Developmental plans/ programmes implemented by PRIs relating to
   a. Poverty Alleviation
   b. Rural Development
   c. Rural Housing
   d. Watershed Development (Haryali Guidelines of Government of India)
   e. Social Security Schemes
11. Schemes Programmes related to Health and Education
   a. Health related Schemes
   b. Education related Schemes

12. District Planning Committee, District Planning and Standing Committees
13. Role of PRIs in Disaster Management, Famine or Drought Relief and Food Security
14. Role of Panchayat Samities in Drinking Water and Sanitation Schemes
15. Empowerment of Women
16. Panchayats and land revenue related rules
17. Financial Resources of Panchayats
18. Meetings and Records of Panchayats
    a. Fortnightly meeting
    b. Ward Sabha - its functions and meetings
    c. Gram Sabha - its functions and meetings
    d. Gram Panchayat Registers
19. How to compile 16 point Human Development progress card 2005 for each Panchayat
20. Panchayat level targets—related to Millennium Development Goals and related Oaths to be taken by Panchayat representatives and workers.

Various methodologies to be employed for Panchayat training described in the IGPRS document include group exercises, group discussions, participants expression of opinions, lectures delivered by faculty, case studies. PLA (Participatory Learning and Action) including participatory mapping, village tours, seasonal reporting, metric ranking, 'chapatti[1] diagramming, participatory group discussion, role play, 'rajma dana' trading game, tower construction game, web - of relations weaving game, box of questions game, use of case films and audio-visual games, interactive sessions, problem solving circles, preparation of work plans etc.

While the above mentioned document was used for the 2005 training campaign mentioned at the beginning of this paper, in 2006 one round was conducted for reserved category elected leaders to provide greater clarity about their roles, responsibilities and powers under Panchayati Raj Act and rules. The second round was conducted to familiarise all PRI leaders and key leaders with Acts like National Rural Employment Guarantee Act and Right to Information Act and other new initiatives like National Rural Health Mission, Bharat Nirman and Total Sanitation Mission. Thus the training material being prepared is not going very much beyond the approach and contents of the 2005 IGPRS document.

As indicated above, the IGPR document is the third edition of the same and thus the choice of topics covered and material included must have benefited from feedback received on the use of the first two editions. A

comparison of the contents of *Panchayati Raj Prashikshan Sandarbh Samagree* with the training contents suggested by the Planning Commission Working Group and summarised in the introductory section of this article indicates that by and large the scope of training indicated by the Working Group has been covered by the IGPRS document.

The one point from the Working Group suggestions that has not received due attention in the Rajasthan training document is the inculcation of planning skills - and that is precisely what this author has advocated and spelt out in detail in this paper - as a major component of the knowledge and skills required by panchayat personnel so that they can undertake or supervise decentralised planning which is a major expectation from Panchayati Raj. In fact this element, along of course with the other aspects like those described in detail in the IGPRS document, used to be included in one week and other short training programmes for panchayat representatives (non-officials) as also for panchayat officials conducted at HCM Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration (HCM RIPA) in the decade of the 1990s and this author recalls having been called from time-to-time as a guest faculty for such training programmes (he also went, though much less frequently, as a guest lecturer for IGPRS training courses). Over the years HCM RIPA has cut down on the proportion of such panchayat specific courses, and IGPRS has apparently found it appropriate to concentrate more on aspects related to the functioning of PRIs and the development schemes and programmes being implemented through the PRIs and the constitutional and statutory provisions etc., rather than on also imparting planning skills. A reason for this could be that, as much available literature on the functioning of panchayati raj in Rajasthan reveals, district and decentralised planning has not yet really taken off in right earnest in the state. Another factor could be that the orientation of IGPRS and its faculty is more towards participation as it deals exclusively with PRIs while HCM RIPA, being more interdisciplinary and dealing with a variety of agencyies, has faculty specialising in both participatory aspects, as also in technical planning methodologies as well as other multi-disciplinary knowledge.

The IGPRS itself had organised review and feedback workshops in 2005 itself to draw lessons for the future from its PRI training campaign of 2005. A mimeographed summary report prepared by Anita, Professor at IGPRS, *inter alia* contains the following recommendations: a literacy campaign should precede the training of panchayat leaders, ward panch training should be for at least two days, theme wise refresher training should be conducted each year, field visits to best practice areas of panchayati raj should be facilitated, indepth training on health, water and

sanitation, watershed development, awareness of basic panchayati laws and procedures and in-depth training of women panchayat leaders should be organised in future. With the Government of Rajasthan issuing in the middle of 2006, guidelines for the formulation of district plans, short training courses were organised at district, block and gram panchayat levels to enable Panchayat functionaries to fill up prescribed performas and to prepare districs plans for 13 sectors identified to be included in the district plan. Since comprehensive district planning was not envisaged but only planning for activities to be carried out by PRIs the training was also for that limited objective. It is felt by this author that training for PRI functionaries is not enough. All district level officers, collectors, state government secretaries as well as elected panchayat representatives need such training for district planning to succeed as a comprehensive and integrated planning effort. For 2007-2008, a large number of training programmes for governments backward districts area programmes have also been planned.

POSSIBLE ACHIEVEMENTS FROM PANCHAYATI TRAINING

However, despite all the above mentioned training and capacity building attempts, it is only the more mundane expectations from panchayati raj related to the panchayats' role as an agency for development, or its internal working, that training may directly influence at least in the immediate short run. Means for panchayati raj to move towards becoming a third tier of governance, or to increase the states capability to perform better, or for the citizens' and local communities' voice to be heard better, or the creation of a psychology for self help, or reduction of social bariers to increase peoples' participation or the reduction of corruption, or the uplift of vulnerable groups and the poor, and similar objectives of PRIs are only marginally going to be affected by the training discussed above. Though perhaps repeated and sustained training may gradually start impacting in these spheres too.

In addition, many of the PR officials and non-officials who would be the trainees may have their own private agendas which may be at variance with societal expectations from panchayati raj as discussed above. They may be more interested in personal prestige and position or in capturing panchayati raj bodies for their individual or group's personal benefit, or more concerned about recouping funds spent on elections through the illegal diversion of panchayat or government funds or on obtaining a particular posting for their men, or even if having good intentions, they may be too involved in their local problems to be able to appreciate the macro issues, or techniques, or examples of successes and failures of panchayat bodies

elsewhere which are discussed during the training. They may even have come to the training institute, or training camp, not to learn but merely to visit the particular city and fulfill other personal or family objectives during the visit. Hence their expectations both from PR and from the training are different. Accordingly the impact of training and related capacity building efforts would naturally be slow. However, the sustained effort based on societies' perceptions about the objectives of panchayati raj and its expectations need to be continued. Only then would local politicians become good managers of local resources and develop constructive leadership qualities. Only then would local functionaries interact positively with panchayat leaders along with having developed their own administrative (planning, supervising and implementing) capacities. The large number of persons being trained on a sustained basis would also help gradually build up a body of locally available knowledge (even if some of the trainees would eventually cease to be members or functionaries of the panchayats once their elected term ends). Hopefully a system of continuous and repeated training with a wide coverage of topics and themes as indicated in this article would make both the officials and non-officials better community animators and better agents of development, change and the fulfilling of the communities' needs (as also capable of converting Panchayati raj into a genuine third tier of India's federal governance) and thus be a means to influence elected panchayat leaders and PR officials to build up locally available pools of knowledge which would help in achieving the objectives of, and expectations from, panchayat raj.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Structure and Process of Decision Making in Panchayati Raj Institutions by S.N. DUBEY and RATNA MURDIA, Bombay, Somaiya Publications, 1976, pp. viii+166, Rs. 35.

Dubey and Murdia had, in 1972, studied the influence of particularistic considerations (like those of caste, kinship, patron-client relationships, party and political affiliations) on decision-making by panchayati raj leaders in the districts of Mana and Shripur in Maharashtra. They had selected administrative situations in which locational and distributive decisions were involved (construction of a percolation tank, recognition of backward class hostels, shifting of a veterinary dispensary, sanction of a primary health centre) and attempted to identify the attributes of all the significant actors in the decision-making process and the strategies employed by these actors in trying to influence the final decisions. The book under review is the outcome of that ICSSR sponsored study.

Such studies are undoubtedly valuable, but this reviewer can't help regretting the fact that studies of this type brought out recently are based on Maharashtra when the Maharashtra model of zila parishad dominated panchayati raj (described in about ten pages in the book under review). But it is atypical to our country where the panchayat samiti-dominated Rajasthan-Andhra Pradesh model of panchayati raj is prevalent. Besides, with the growing emphasis on district planning and 'integrated area development' concepts, the importance of panchayat institutions and the voluminous literature on them seem to be declining.

One is not surprised that Dubey and Murdia come to conclusions similar to those of S.B. Rao and K.V. Ramana ("Panchayat Samiti: A Case Study in Andhra Pradesh" in George Jacob (ed.) *Readings in Panchayati Raj*, 1967; and K.K. Singh and A. Ashraf, *Bureaucracy, Leadership and Development: A Draft Report*, 1971) which have been referred to by Dubey and Murdia in their introductory chapter. Their findings are that particularistic, "person-oriented", considerations override "problem-oriented" (this reviewer would have preferred the use of a different term instead of "problem-oriented") ones; that partisan, class, caste, kinship and personality factors are the determining ones; that procedures, rational (or objective) criteria, and official advice are often neglected. This reviewer is aware of some studies by the Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, which suggest the existence of similar

practices in the Rajasthan-Andhra Pradesh model of panchayati raj also. (For references to such literature, P.C. Mathur's "Panchayati Raj in India: A Survey of Bibliographic Sources" in *Prashasnika*, Vol. IV, Number 3 & 4, July-Dec. 1975 is worth referring to.)

The authors have also undertaken a brief (alas, too brief) comparison of the working of panchayati raj in various States while discussing whether changes in the electoral system, or in the organisational structure, or in the style of control and coordination, or in the personnel system, could help reduce tension and role-conflict areas and increase the rational element in decision-making.

The basic issue, however, remains unresolved. Is the absolutely rational decision (which is definitely the best on paper) the optimal decision in real life? Are 'irrational' or 'extra-rational' considerations to be ruthlessly done away with? But then what of democracy and people's participation? Isn't life itself 'arational' or can mechanistic solutions be found to social problems? This is an issue that has troubled political thinkers throughout the ages: should, or can, a rational decision be thrust down upon the people?

The required balance between subjective considerations (or the wishes of the people and their representatives as well as leaders) and the objective considerations (or what appears to be the optimal decision, however unpalatable it may be) obviously has to be achieved through some sort of institutional means. Thus the question which remains is not whether particularistic considerations affect decision-making in panchayati raj, but whether the existing panchayat structure is the best way of institutionalising such particularistic pulls and pressures.

—RAKESH HOOJA

Perspectives on Tribal Development and Administration. (Papers and Proceedings of the Workshop held at NICD, Hyderabad, 18-20 April 1974). The National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1975, Rs. 45.

It is a difficult job really to review collections of papers written for conferences, seminars etc.—'workshop' in this case. And this book is no exception. Papers included in such volumes often are of an uneven quality. Partly the reason is that the deadlines have to be met in writing for such occasions and there is not enough time always to produce really good papers—the only exception being papers which paraphrase previously published materials! With better planning and organisation, some of these shortcomings can perhaps be overcome, but the outcome of such efforts in most cases is not very satisfactory.

This volume has resulted from papers written for a workshop held at the National Institute of Community

Local Government—Its Role in Development Administration
V.G. NANDEDKAR, Delhi, Concept, 1979, pp. xii+203, Rs. 75, $15

One normally expects to find a section on the methodology used and the type of respondents (if any) examined, and the manner of examination, in any empirical case study so that the possible biases inherent in the methodology used can be assessed by the reader. However, Nandedkar's study of Nasik zila parishad does not contain such a section. He merely mentions that relevant books, periodicals, newspapers, government records, and reports were studied, personal visits made and interviews conducted, and a questionnaire sent to all members of the 1962 and 1967 zila parishads of Nasik. He has chosen to omit detailed tables and the questionnaire from the book.

The result is that the study under review gives the appearance of being more impressionistic than scientifically empirical. One never really knows when the author's own views are being set forth and when he is reporting the views by someone he has interviewed.

Similarly, the reporting of the respondent's views loses in value due to non-classification of the respondents. For example, Nandedkar has reported how many zila parishad members felt that a particular president of the parishad was partisan or non-partisan in performing his duties as president. What would have been more significant is the report of how many ruling group members and how many opposition groups members considered the president partisan or otherwise. Similarly, it becomes difficult at times to estimate as to whether the views expressed by an official or those of a non-official have been accepted and set forth by the author while describing some particular incident in support of his line of argument. Sometimes by not giving the details of the incident, the author leaves the reader quite tantalised, as also unable to judge the validity of the generalisations based on the incident.

However, Nandedkar's study is not without its merits. The description of the working of panchayati raj in a Maharashtrian district is very useful for the non-Maharashtra based observer of local administration. The section describing the agenda points and the manner of discussions (members are vocal if local interests are involved, apathetic otherwise) in the subject committees of the zila parishad is particularly interesting in this regard. Nandedkar has also tried to compare the Maharashtra model of panchayati raj with that of other States. However, the other State most often referred to is Rajasthan (perhaps because the field work for the study was done in 1967, 1968, 1969, when M.V. Mathur *et al., Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan*, 1966, most often quoted by Nandedkar, was one of the few important case studies of panchayati raj available for purposes of comparison).

In addition to a description of how the various panchayat bodies and committees are constituted and how conventions of behaviour appear to have developed in them, the author has also described the large number of officials involved in the functioning of panchayati raj and their inter-relationships as

also the relations with non-officials. The progress of the zila parishad in its various spheres of activities has been reviewed along with actual examples of how its successes and failures came about. Similarly reviewed are income generation and budget spending as also audit procedures in actual practice which show that many of the ills of the zila parishad are similar to those of a regular government department. The lack of generation of people's participation and of the evolution of a community developmental (as opposed to parochial or sectorian material benefits-oriented) approach amongst elected non-officials has also been pointed out, as has been the role of the State Government *vis-a-vis* the zila parishad.

Nandedkar has also tried to assess the quality of rural leadership available but perhaps an examination of the relationship between intra village/ panchayat samiti/zila parishad conflict and actual development achieved would have been more meaningful.

In the end one may add that despite Nandedkar's simplistic attempts at generalisation, the fact that he has not tried to update his study or indicate whether the 1967-69 trends have persisted till 1979 (when the book under review was published), adversely affects its value. Thus the price of Rs. 75 appears too high for a dated case study, even though the subject of panchayati raj has again gained in importance following the publication of the Asoka Mehta Committee report on panchayati raj institutions in August, 1978.

—RAKESH HOOJA

Poverty, Agriculture and Economic Growth
B.M. BHATIA, New Delhi, Vikas, 1977, pp. xii+260, Rs. 50.

This is a collection of articles published from time to time in the Statesman, though they are revised and partly rewritten. Except part one which discusses growth strategy in the context of classical and Keynesian theories, and their relevance for undeveloped countries, this collection is largely concerned with problems of agriculture and food.

Of the latter, in part two of the book, there are seven articles, three of which deal with the food problem at the global level and the other four with Soviet and Chinese agriculture. The fact of Soviet Union going in for imports of grains is tautologically taken to constitute a failure. Given this perspective, all the rest follows expectedly.

The articles on China (in this part) seem to present a useful account based on many sources. In another paper on Mao and Gandhi one finds a somewhat startling formulation that India "had at its disposal the indigenous Gandhian model which, though similar in thought and content to the Chinese model,

Scattered throughout the book are illustrations and extracts from this author and that authority to bring home the point that all is not well with bureaucracy, whether it is seen through the eyes of bureaucrats or the public at large. The term 'public management', claimed to have been coined by the author, is intended to denote the connotation of the managerial aspects of public administration. Taking a cue from the Fulton Report (1968) on the civil service in Britain that few civil servants are skilled managers, the author quotes extensively from it at several places and also devotes one chapter on it.

The theme of generalists *vs.* specialists is purported to be examined in the Indian context but here again the quotes of foreign experts make it too general. It would have been more useful if the author had analysed the Indian administration so that some meaningful conclusion could be derived. Likewise, the chapter on performance appraisal is disappointing as it indulges in the much-beaten track of explaining what it means. In this chapter, the reader naturally looks for the appraisal of performance in Indian bureaucracy through case studies and illustrations. Similarly, in the chapter on creative thinking in management, the author ought to have examined the position as obtaining in the Indian environment. Only then his conclusion that "in today's craze for quantitative tools and techniques of modern management, the sheer creative technology of problem-solving and decision-making is lost sight of and even relegated to insignificance," would have lent itself to credence. A description of the various quantitative tools used in administration is also conspicuous by its absence.

The book is valuable for its breadth of coverage rather than for its analytical depth. It is reassuring that the broad brush is wielded by so accomplished a painter as the author is. At times, however, his brush becomes so wide in covering the issues of public administration and the prospects for improvement that the main content is relegated to the margin. All in all, the book warrants wide readership. Students of public administration can benefit from its theoretical construct.

—NAVIN CHANDRA JOSHI

Panchayati Raj Institutions—An Analysis of Issues, Problems and Recommendations of Asoka Mehta Committee
B.S. BHARGAVA, Ashish, New Delhi, 1979, pp. vii+79, Rs. 30.00.

Grass Roots Leadership—A Study of Leadership in Panchayati Raj Institutions
B.S. BHARGAVA, Ashish, New Delhi, 1979, pp. viii+88, Rs. 30.00.

Like B.S. Bhargava's *Politico-Administrative Dynamics in Panchayati Raj System* (reviewed by Sudesh Kumar Sharma in *IJPA*, Vol. XXV, No. 2,

April-June, 1979), the two books presently under review also seem to indicate that the author has fallen foul of the 'publish-or-perish' syndrome. Both the volumes are slim (and even then the first book has 23 pages of appendices, bibliography and index and the second has 19 such pages) and this reviewer would have appreciated it more if Dr. Bhargava had the matter published as journal articles and left it at that.

In fact *Grass Roots Leadership...* is an admitted compilation of three different papers written at different times—one a generalistic essay on the types of leadership that can be desirable for the rural areas, the second a description of the panchayati raj system as it exists in Rajasthan, and the third a paper full of statistics based on questionnaires administered between 1972 and 1974 on panchas, sarpanchas, pradhans, etc., in the Jhunjhunu district of Rajasthan to analyse the nature of the panchayat leaders. The data collection for this third paper appears to have been simultaneous with that of *Politico-Administrative Dynamics...* referred to above and both were perhaps a part of Dr. Bhargava's Ph.D. work. The appendix 'B' also reproduces a prescriptive note by the author on the future directions that panchayati raj should take from the perspective of July-August, 1977.

The author would have done well to have developed the third empirical data based paper more, with cross-comparisons with data from other areas and other studies by other scholars, and to have curtailed, or even omitted the rest of the matter.

The second book is better in that it contains one longish paper (evolved by combining four papers) presented at a seminar on Asoka Mehta Committee Report on Panchayati Raj Institutions held at Bangalore in April 1979. However, Appendix 'B' of *Grass Roots Leadership...*is almost identical sentence by sentence with part (*ii*) of the first chapter 'Place of Panchayati Raj in Rural Infrastructure' of *Panchayati Raj Institutions.. .*This book also, however, lacks thematic unity. The first three chapters do build up to one whole, *i.e.,* the general national background in which the Asoka Mehta Committee was set up and functioned, a summary of the Committee's recommendations, and a critique, alas too, too brief of the Committee's approach (which in fact hardly touches at the core of the recommendations). However, the fourth and last part is a description of the panchayati raj system in Karnataka which stands independent from the rest of the book.

Unfortunately the presentational shortcomings described above are not offset by any originality in the author's prescriptive or normative recommendations, or in his approach or methodology of empirical study. Nor has the author managed, on the basis of his description of the nature and behavioural patterns of panchayat non-officials, and of the style of panchayat functioning, to come up with any suggestions about the distribution of functions, powers and responsibilities between panchayat bodies, the district administration and special project agencies, which perhaps should have been the key issue for the first book.

No doubt Dr. Bhargava has studied panchayati raj for long, but the books under review, as well as the titles of his other books mentioned therein, suggest that he has tried to repeat himself again and again in slightly different form from book to book. Perhaps only if he had the patience to apply himself to writing one detailed and comprehensive volume on panchayati raj in India, would the reader be able to benefit fully from his study of the subject for the last twenty odd years.

—RAKESH HOOJA

Cultural Anthropology
SERENA NANDA, D. Van Nostrand Company, New York, 1980, pp. xiii+367. (No price indicated).

Cultural Anthropology by Serena Nanda is an addition to the increasing number of text books in cultural anthropology being published in the U.S. and abroad. The 'core concept' of this volume, according to Nanda, is *culture*. Three major themes dominate: first, the effect of culture on human behaviour; second, the functional integration of culture; and finally, the linkages between culture as an adaptive mechanism and cultural differentiation. This standard text covers the traditional topics in cultural anthropology: perspectives on the scope, significance, history and development of cultural anthropology, theoretical and methodological foundations, the nature, limitations, and possibilities of culture, the different aspects of culture such as religion, political and economic system, social system, marriage and kinship, culture and personality, art, and social and cultural change. The book is illustrated with photographs, charts, a bibliography, a glossary, and an index. The chapters are summarised.

The strength of this publication lies in its attempt to simplify and clarify definitions and concepts in the discipline. The writing is clear, coherent, and comprehensible. The ethnographic examples and photographs to illustrate fundamental principles are appropriate. The societies and cultures dealt with have been fairly treated; they have not been downgraded with many value-laden judgements and interpretations. The discussions on the schools of anthropological thought are lucid though abbreviated. The most impressive part of the text is its editorial worksmanship and colourful and innovative format. There is one major flaw, however: the author's heavy reliance on western sources for her data. Her bibliography does not include the significant and distinguished works of eminent scholars from Asia, Africa, and Latin America; for instance, I would have loved to see the works of India's top anthropologists (*e.g.*, M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube, Surajit Sinha, among others) or the Philippines' first rate scholars (*e.g.*, Fred Eggan, H. Otley Beyer, Marcelo Tangco, E. Arsenio Manuel, etc.) represented at least in her citations. American students—the consumers of this intellectual product—are entitled