

GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

IMPACT OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

R. S. DESHPANDE

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RESERVE SECTION



AGRO-ECONOMIC RESEARCH CENTRE
GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS
(DEEMED TO BE UNIVERSITY)

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**IMPACT OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS
ON
AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT**

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FOREWORD

Voluntarism has its roots in almost all the Indian ethnic groups. The freedom struggle as well as some movements in the post-independence period were possible due to the efforts of some self-less individuals. This cultural heritage can be effectively used in reaching the 'unreached'. Thus, voluntary efforts can guide the development programmes initiated by the State to reach the target group. Voluntary organisations are referred to as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) by the agencies of the United Nations. Eighth Plan proposals accorded prime importance to the process of 'People's Participation' through NGOs. In this context the present study assumes importance.

This study was undertaken by Dr. R.S. Deshpande, at Agro-Economic Research Centre of the Institute. The focus of the study is to analyse the impact of Non-Governmental Organisations on agricultural development in Maharashtra. It was a difficult task. It was suggested at the meeting of all the Agro-Economic Research Centres held at Waltair that this should be done by undertaking case studies of two prominent NGOs in the backward regions of the State.

To begin with, the study takes a detailed review of the role of voluntary sector in development dynamics. Among other things, it covers the areas, such as, voluntary participation as a development alternative, voluntarism and its problem of identity, review of the theories of voluntarism,

(ii)

typologies role and the task of NGOs, debate on the State vis-a-vis non-State initiatives and the experiences both at the National as well as the State level. Then, working of the two prominent NGOs in the State, namely, the Bharatiya Agro-Industries Foundation (BAIF) and Gram Gaurav Pratishthan led movement of Pani Panchayat was analysed. The results are quite encouraging but also point out certain limitations. The study concludes on a note of caution that the efforts of NGOs are welcome in a supporting role but primarily development is an important function of the State and the voluntary efforts at the best can assume a supportive role. I hope the study would be useful for administrators, voluntary organisations and other researchers working in the field.

D.C. Wadhwa
Director

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July, 1993

PREFACE

People's participation in development planning was a largely discussed issue during the Seventh Plan and at various discussions on the Eighth Plan. A large number of Non-Governmental organisations are working towards this cause and some of them have exemplary results, across the length and breadth of the country. The question always raised was that, if this is possible outside the official framework then why it cannot be replicated? It was therefore, felt necessary to investigate into the role of successful voluntary organisations in bringing about a change in agricultural sector.

This study was undertaken at Agro Economic Research Centre of the Institute. Our staff members at the Centre had put all sincere efforts to bring this study to completion. Dr. V. Ratna Reddy was initially associated with this study, but he left to join Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur. I am grateful to him for his efforts in the initial phase. I am grateful to Prof. D. C. Wadhwa for continuous encouragement, without this the work would not have been in the present form. Administrative staff of the Institute was of great help on all the occasions. I thank them sincerely for their help.

At BAIF Dr. N. G. Hegade was always accessible with all help. I am indebted to him for all his help topped with an

unforgettable smile. Dr. B. R. Mangurkar of BAIF explained us all the technical details of their livestock programme in a capsule form. I am grateful to him for all that help. But the knowledge gathered through all this was so vast that it could not be fully utilised. Shri Kulkarni and Shri Ghodke at Karjat and Rashin helped us in the field work. Their technical knowhow was exemplary. Shri G. G. Sohoni has helped in providing the information base required for the analysis. I am grateful to all of them.

Shri Vilasrao Salunke had greatly influenced me with his affection and selfless work a decade ago, out of his writings in a journal entitled Pani Panchayat and through personal contacts recently. I was moved by the spirit of his experiment and wrote about it on a couple of earlier occasions. I wish I could do something as he has achieved, but for my academic pursuits. He has been always encouraging and spared no efforts for the present study. I am grateful to him for encouragement and the help.

Members of my research team included Sarvashri V. B. Lokare, V. G. Kasabe, S. B. Kate, Pradip Potdar, Srinivas Phatak and Suresh Nikumbh. They helped me at various stages in collecting the data from field, tabulation and computer analysis of the data. Smt. Anuja Chandrachud bore the entire burden of preparing references, proof checking and also shared other works. Smt. Anjali Dhekane was of great help in tabulation of the data. I must mention very sincerely that the study owes its existence to the painstaking efforts

(v)

of all my research team mentioned above. It is their hard-work, zeal, enthusiasm and ever smiling help on the field and at the office that enabled me to complete the study. Mere word of thanks would not reciprocate the affection they showed out of their efforts. I would rather prefer to stay indebted to all of them. Smt. Vidya Kher prepared the two maps presented in the report. My thanks are due to her.

I must mention the help rendered by Smt. Asha Ogale and her colleagues in the Library while tracing the books and getting them from other places. I am thankful to them. The typing of the report was done by Shri A. V. Moghe. I am grateful to him. Whatever little work over and above this, was done by me and therefore the errors of omissions and commissions are entirely mine.

R. S. Deshpande

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

India's development scenario in the past four and half decades, has witnessed quite a few changes both in content and philosophy (Jalan, 1992).¹ On the background of the recent changes in favour of privatisation and open economy, the Nehru-Gandhian model of early years of independence, or the agricultural thrust of mid sixties seem to be philosophically fading away. Broadly, one can visualise four currents in the development scenario of rural India. First, the beginning of ^{was} planning era / marked by the Community Development Programme and the land reforms to bring out the small and marginal farmers as the major actors in the development process. The involvement of the community in the development dynamics was considered crucial. But the thrust did not last longer. Second, came the Area Developmental Programmes, which took the centre stage. Regional disparity was considered a crucial factor and the programmes like Intensive Agricultural District Programme, Drought - Prone Area Programme, Tribal Area Development Programme, were initiated across the country. There is no doubt about the timing and necessity of this strategy, but in the process, the crucial factor of peoples' involvement was sidelined. Community Development was only responsible to create a good bureaucratic infrastructure but with little initiative on the part of the people, to take part in the development process per se.

The droughts of mid sixties sent shock waves through the structure of policy makers and the technological shift in agriculture as a third phase, was an inevitable outcome. That time food availability had touched the rock bottom of the trend despite huge imports. The situation was retrieved through a sweeping technology boost initiated from above. Once again the strategy was that, people would participate and there would be an automatic distribution of the gains. The assumptions did not sustain too long and the inequitable distribution of gains across regions as well as classes became a major issue of debate. The questionable semi-permeability of the social structure and institutional set up was blamed for this outcome.²

Thus the fourth phase started with target group specific programmes to reach the hitherto deprived classes. The designs and contents of the programmes are not questionable but their rate of success was minimal.³ With the efforts of increasing effectiveness of the programmes, some new schemes as well as modified schemes were added to reach the proper target groups. All these however, considered the beneficiary (target groups here) participation as taken for granted. Most analysts of the Indian rural scene from mid seventy onwards have expressed in no uncertain terms the failure to involve people. (Bhatt (1989), Jain and others (1985), Yojana (1984)). The failure of bureaucracy to reach the 'unreached' ^{was} / quite visible and even the senior bureaucracy believed that the task of development can not be taken by the official machinery alone, it needs support from people.

We do not intend to suggest here that the thinking about peoples' involvement in development administration through social groups was any way alien to the development dynamics. In fact, right before the independence in the Congress movement, social participation was considered as the most important component of development. Gandhian model of village self sufficiency and village panchayats was a representation ^{of} / these. However, after accepting Planning at Central level as the major development policy orientation, the idea about grass root (village) participation got overshadowed.

1.2 Voluntary Participation as a Development Alternative

A little before the present crisis of structural adjustments and the open economy thrust, the development process through voluntarism was considered as the crucial solution of many problems. In a review prior to the World conference on Agricultural Reforms and Rural Development sponsored by FAO in 1979, it was argued that the plans formulated by developing countries are merely gestures of good intentions than concrete programmes of action that could transform the poverty and backwardness. The review concluded with the need of increased role by non-government agencies. (Arer, 1983). A similar need was expressed in the United Nations conference of LDCs held in Paris in 1981 (Bottazi, 1983). Such need was felt more because of the historical emergence of the Third World. The post-colonial legacy of the

unjust and exploitative social order is still persisting. The massive social disorganisation left behind by these rulers and perpetuated after that by the opportunists under various garbs could hardly be corrected with ^{the} fragmentary efforts through developmental process. The phenomenon of power corrupts came into full play as the politicians, bureaucrats, social elites developed vested and mutually supporting interests in perpetuation and strengthening of the power system. The dichotomy between the government and the governed, continued as it was in the colonial period. Thus the programme formulation and implementation mostly remained alien to the masses and developmental participation by different social groups was taken for granted.

Development can never be considered as a politically neutral task. Here, one has to classify the political change into two important streams namely the 'socially dominant politicisation' and 'development oriented politicisation'. The meaning of the first term would signify politicisation based on dominant social variables such as groups on the basis of caste, region, religion etc., whereas, the development oriented politics would mean a strong realisation of deprivation inflicted by the system among the rural masses and a political process emanating out of the emerging conflict. On this background and with the prevalence of socially dominant politicisation, it is not surprising that many social scientists and economists have concluded that the present system of development can never reach the deprived

and must incorporate participation of masses.

The necessity was felt in seventies, while concluding a round table discussion ^{on} / Rural Development : Role of Voluntary Agencies and Business Houses' Professor Dantwala concluded that, the role of these agencies is vital in the process of rural development (Indian Merchants Chamber, 1977). The approach of the discussion was however, linking up the business houses with the process of development and the tone was pure 'Gandhian'. Renowned thinker Shri LC Jain in his famous book says 'a lot of grass has grown all over the place that has no roots' (Jain, 1985), insisting upon local level movements. Almost in the similar vein is the argument of Marcus Franda to increase the participation of rural people in their development process (Franda, 1983), and in a recent review of the involvement of Social Action Groups (a different terminology for VAs) in the development process, it was stated that "The mid 60s was the time when sociological studies concluded beyond any shade of doubt that the development programmes launched by the Government had benefited largely those who were already better off leaving the poor and the deprived largely unaffected. It is this failure of development strategy of the Indian State which led to the rise of small action groups as agencies of peoples' initiative in favour of the alienated and the oppressed" (Sharma, 1992).

Indian social structure has voluntarism as an important component within the widely dispersed social groups and community living. The basic factor of working for the

deprived has been incorporated in the philosophy of almost all the ethnic groups. During the struggle for independence the political leaders (small or big) were committed to sacrifice and the urge to work for group increased. On this background, one must look in retrospect to Mahatma Gandhi's advise to congressmen at the time of independence to get away from power politics and transform into Lok Sevak Dal. A little work in this direction was done in the early years of independence but faded almost quickly with the advent of strong currents of social politicisation and development of 'political market'. Thus the emergence of social groups working for welfare of the deprived are at most sporadic and momentary. As Eckstein puts it, the struggles for establishing an efficient domain, are only revived when an urgent societal need for such resolution arises (Eckstein, 1982). Similarly an intervention need is also felt when resources have either to be mobilised or distributed among the participants (CERES, 1983).

There can be broadly four situations such as ;

- a. Every one works for the development of the group;
- b. Each one works for individual gains;
- c. A small sub-group works for the development whereas, others are bystanders;
- d. A small sub-group works and the others are antagonists.

Given these four situations, it is easier to formulate groups by understanding the case. And therefore, the type of the State that emerges would depend on the relative influence of these groups (Moore, 1967). Understanding of the society and

its behaviour under stress would thus depend on the working of the social groups.

At this crucial phase in the development dynamics, it becomes imperative to have a closer look towards the voluntary action as a viable development alternative. To quote V.D.Deshpande, one of the keen researchers in the field . "A large number of people and their problems were left out of the organized economy, out of the role and the reach of the state and hence even out of their citizenship rights. It is in this context that the phenomenon of the rise of 'the new breed' of voluntary groups of activists has to be understood and appreciated." (Deshpande, V.D., 1992).

1.3 Voluntary Agencies, Voluntarism and the Problem of Identity

There are a number of different terminologies that circulate in the academic circle such as voluntary agencies/organisations, Non-Governmental Organisations, Social Action Groups, Social Movement Groups, Self Help Groups etc. The terminologies originate primarily out of the task undertaken by these agencies. The word 'voluntary' has its origin in the Latin word 'voluntas' means 'will'. Inequality in the social groups and probable case of injustice are the two sources of voluntarism. Bourdillon observed that there is always an element of betterment for compensating inequality which, motivates individuals to take to voluntarism (Bourdillon, 1945). Beveridge enhanced the idea further to encompass efforts to provide social security against (i) evils of want,

(ii) disease and suffering, (iii) ignorance and squalor, (iv) entitlement to welfare ^{and} (v) unforeseen calamities (Beveridge, 1979). Banton, an anthropologist, defines the term voluntary association as a group organised for one or several interests (Banton, 1968). This is interpreted as the one opposed to involuntarism. In the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, David Sills defined voluntarism in development as characterised by participation in the process of economic well being of 'non-state' groups initiated with some basic purpose, which is neither forced from outside nor originating from birth of any individual (Sills, 1972). Apart from these, Morris (1950), Roof (1957) and Brown (1983) have also contributed to enhancing the definition of voluntarism and voluntary organisations.

In this context, it is essential to understand the social psychology of the genesis of voluntary association. One can broadly identify four types of impulses on which voluntarism can emerge namely: (i) idealistic impulses born out of deep stirrings of consciousness; (ii) educative impulses by learning about new problems; (iii) socially engineered momentary impulses; (iv) Impulses originating out of a persistent social, economic or political problems. It is necessary to hasten and add that there can be one or more reasons out of the above four which may overlap to generate voluntarism. Thus the social phenomena of emergence of

voluntarism generates out of different cross currents in the social psychology and mostly finds its roots with the middle class of the society, ^{since,} / the middle class confronts a conflict within a cultural space and tries to seek solutions for it (Dhanagare, 1988).

The confluence of the view-points expressed above tend to suggest three currents in defining the voluntary sector. The first one confines to call these group actions as Voluntary Organisations or agencies, where the formal official recognition is assumed but not explicit. Second, is an officially supported definition calling these ^{groups} / as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), a United Nations terminology for that purpose. (United Nations, 1989). Here a formal official recognition is a necessary component. The third current flows out from the ideological domain, where a social group working for the deprived would like to be named as Social Action Group (SAG) or Social Movement (SM). These are usually officially non-recognised (by usual registration process) and also antagonist to any such idea. They believe to have an alternative strategy of development flowing out of the ideological current. These are non-institutional as they do not operate within a framework of established institutions. The SAGs would even not prefer to be called NGO or a Voluntary Group.⁴ For the purpose of our analysis we prefer to call all these as Non-Governmental Agencies, (NGOs), only relaxing the part of official recognition, wherever needed.

1.4 Towards a Theory of Voluntarism

Not much has been done on deducing any theory of voluntarism especially because of the impulsive character of its emergence. But even then there are certain theoretical developments which explain the emergence of voluntarism. Mancur Olson's theory of collective action gives some basis to formulate theoretical background. He argues that voluntary collective action (without selective punishment or inducement) is high for small interest groups, low for the large groups and intermediate for the middle ones. (Olson, 1965).

Olson's work discusses the formation and sustenance of groups and this differs across sizes of the group. He develops from the loose ends of the traditional group theories to a new theory of pressure groups, consistent with the intra-group logical relationship. The basic point of view expressed here, is the 'by-product' of the group behaviour or the 'special interests' only sustain and build the group. (Olson, 1965, pp. 133-135).

Another theoretical stand is taken by sociologists and a good review can be found in Jonathan Turner's Theory of Social Interaction (1988). Taking a clue from Parson's work on the structure of Social action, Turner tried to conceptualise a theoretical model of social interaction. The synthesis of the various models is presented in a micro dynamic form. The synthesis of the theoretical precincts is presented in five succinct statements as follows :

"(1) The greater are needs for ontological security, facticity and trust among individuals in an interaction, the greater are their efforts at framing the interaction.

(2) The level of framing activity in an interaction revolving around account making and taking is primarily a function of needs for a sense of facticity as influenced by needs for thrust, whereas the level of framing activity revolving around claim making and taking is primarily a function of needs for a sense of ontological security as these influence the level of needs for trust.

(3) The degree of categorisation of an interaction is a primary function of the extent to which account making and taking are successful in meeting needs for facticity and a secondary function of the extent to which claim making and taking are successful in meeting needs for ontological security and trust.

(4) The degree of normalisation of an interaction is a primary function of the extent to which claim making and taking are successful in meeting needs for the ontological security and trust and a secondary function of the extent to which account making and taking are successful in meeting needs of facticity.

(5) The degree of routinisation of an interaction is a partial function of the extent to which claiming and accounting are successful, both directly and indirectly through their effects on other structuring processes, in meeting needs for facticity, security and trust." (Turner, 1988, p. 209)

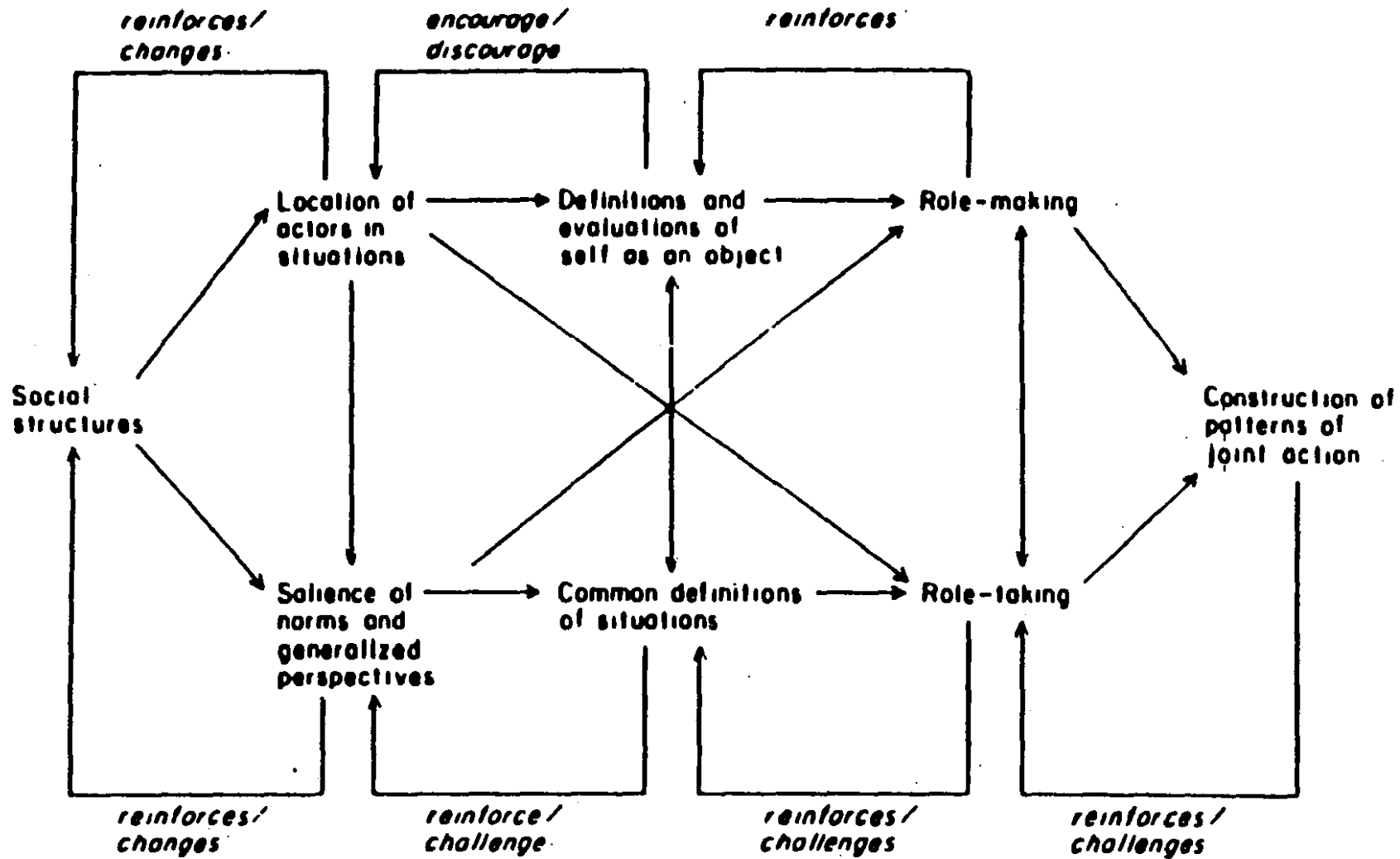
What Turner explains is the five step model of social interaction starting with need, framing, categorisation, normalisation and finally routinisation of the interaction process. At each of these five stage models the major determinants and subsidiary determinants are spelled out. Apart from the above structured model what appeals in the sociological theories of interaction is the interactionist model of structuring (Figure 1.1). Here as a phase of change/reinforcement of the actors' location and generalised

perspective decide as well as derive force from the social structure. Role taking as well as role making are decided on the location and generalised perspective of actors, individual and collective perceptions decide the strength of the joint action. It is the synthesis of this interactionists model and Turners' five stage deterministic interaction behaviour, that form the basis of theoretical work of social interaction theory.

Another simple and interesting exposure is available in Batten's work on "Non-Directive approach in group and community work" (Batten, 1967). Batten prefers to divide the approach into two simple groups namely 'directive and non-directive' approaches. After reviewing the pitfalls of directive approach he approaches to the other segment by 'defining non-directive action' almost on the same line as the voluntary actions. The necessary conditions indicated in his work are: (i) Wants are unfulfilled, (ii) number of actors are dissatisfied, (iii) they have either no access to resources or are stopped from that, (iv) they have enough knowledge to take decisions, (v) skills and equipments (even social) are either available or could be developed, (vi) there is a strong incentive.

In Indian conditions as stated earlier voluntarism is a part of the cultural setting and it was strengthened by the struggle of independence. As Etzioni pointed out "..... when coercion is the basis of authority, compliance is alienative, when remuneration is the basis of authority, compliance takes a calculative turn, and when authority

Figure No. 1.1



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Interactionist model

Source : Turner, J. H. (1984), A Theory of Social Interaction, Polity, Stanford.

base is normative compliance is moral" (Etzioni, 1975). In the early years of independence, we had the strong Gandhian background and social groups were formed for selfless work. The changing scenario on the economic front alienated the economically weak groups almost forcing group formation on the basis of ontological security. The radical movements in the parts of the country were more an outcome of the reaction to the force of authority applied from above and the structure of polity rather than a developmental alternative.

All this directs to a need for the stable political model to sustain voluntarism for development. There are inter-mixed political currents and more specifically the social group oriented politics which has to be understood before framing a political theoretic structure. In any case the 'voluntas' (self will) part of it can not be ignored. Therefore, be it an NGO, SAG, SMG or VA it has to be primarily a voluntary action group.

1.5 : Role, Tasks and Typologies

The role as well as the tasks of non-governmental organisations emerge out of the three/^{basic} characteristics.

Firstly, these are flexible and in a broad sense non-bureaucratic organisations. Hence, ability to change in the given situation provides the NGOs an added advantage. Secondly, the NGOs can supplement the Government efforts without compromising the core objective. Thirdly, their proximity

to ultimate beneficiaries, helps them to understand ground realities in a clear perspective. Among the essential prerequisites for any NGO the following are the important ones and their availability fixes the role of the NGO. These are :

- I. Proximity to people and understanding of their needs.
- II. The linkage between programme, workers and people.
- III. The ideological lead given to the organisation and its basic characteristics.
- IV. The techno-economic feasibility of the tasks to be undertaken.
- V. The extent of availability of resources including the manpower (skill as well as dedication).
- VI. Democratic built up of the programme and the existence of levels of participation.
- VII. Technical ability to formulate, implement monitor and evaluate the tasks before them.
- VIII. Information on Social System determinants (such as the social homogeneity, politicisation etc.).

Thus, the role of any individual NGO will be fixed by the placement of the NGO on the different scales of prerequisites indicated above. However, a type of generalisation can be ^{drawn} based on the experiences of different NGOs and ^{also} from the available literature. A tentative picture of the role of NGO can be had from the following. We hasten to add here that this is not an exhaustive list and may incorporate new tasks depending on the character of NGOs.

The Role NGOs can play

- I. Organise the deprived classes for their development.
- II. Activise the system and make it respond.
- III. Illustrate how to use local resources and distribute the gains.
- IV. Activate the community to become self reliant.
- V. Supplement as well as augment State efforts towards development.
- VI. Mobilise financial resources from within as well as from outside the community.
- VII. Improve and intensify public accountability.
- VIII. Professionalise voluntarism by training the grass root level cadre.
- IX. Disseminate developmental information to all classes of society.
- X. Protect and enhance the environment for better quality of life.

Over the time and space the role of NGOs has been changing rapidly. It begins from a project formulation and ends with project appraisal. It is not surprising that some of the NGOs have tailored their role according to the needs of the funding agencies. There are four types of trends boldly visible in the new NGOs and their role. Firstly, since large number of International Funding agencies are interested in environmental problems, there is a clear evidence of NGOs leaning towards this aspect. Secondly, 'professionalism' rather than

'sacrifice' is quite visible in the new NGOs. Thirdly, there is an emerging strong group of the Government supported NGOs as against a small group of antagonists. Lastly, there are NGOs even training their small counterparts and the contents of the training include - i. preparation of a project for funding either by Government or Funding Agencies; ii. monitoring the project; iii. keeping contacts with funding agencies and choice of an agency; iv. maintainance of accounts and many such things. Keeping in view the changing horizons of voluntarism and emergence of the new NGOs, the Planning Commission laid down guidelines for identifying a non-governmental agency with the following stipulations.

1. It must be a registered society under Societies Registration Act.
2. It must be based in rural areas and must have worked there for at least 4 to 5 years.
3. It must have professional and managerial expertise to produce regular audit statements and reports for funds received from ^{the} Government
4. It must not be linked directly or indirectly to any political party and any one, holding public office through a process of election, is not qualified to represent ^a voluntary agency.
5. It is explicitly connected to secularism, socialism and democracy. It must declare that it will adopt only legal and non-violent means for rural development.

6. It must implement anti-poverty, minimum needs and socio-economic development programmes designed to raise awareness levels of families living below the poverty line and leading to an improvement in their quality of life.

(Roy, Yojana, 1984)

The typologies of NGOs would thus depend on many factors and specially the purpose, it is meant for. The first classification, is done on the orientation of the group namely (i) development oriented, ^{or} (ii) struggle oriented. The later would prefer to be named as social movement than NGO. The second way of classification is on the basis of Government sponsorship as against the grass root organisations. There are large as well as micro groups which exist among these. Nandedkar gave nine typologies of NGOs namely:

i) Individual Philanthropists, ii) Religious Institution, iii) Social Service and Cultural associations, iv) Functional associations, v) Frontline associations, vi) Professional and Consultancy Associations, vii) Action groups, viii) Protest and groups, /ix) Citizens' groups. (Nandedkar, 1987). An interesting classification is presented by Mutalik which takes five typologies and cross classifies them according to various structural factors.

Table 1.1: Cross-classification of NGOs by Types

	Typologies				
	Mutual Aid	Philanthropy	Religion	Government	Business
Motivation	Self Reliance	Altruism	God	Power	Money
Actors	Initiative	Love of Mankind	Service to Religion	Group/Class	Enterprise
Purpose	Self help	Satisfaction**	Growth of Religion***	Society** Development	Individual** benefit
Clients	Fellow workers	Social Inferiors	Followers	Citizens	Consumers

Source: Mutalik M.A. (1987).

** : Different than the source

1.6 State and Non-State Agencies

Voluntarism as enunciated by **today's** NGOs has a huge task ahead of them. In a plural society like India the question of its sustenance and replicability are often debated. It is already a subject on many platforms and the issues involved are numerous. There are two clear groups, one believes in transformative potentialities of the NGO based action whereas, the other feels that the intensity may not last longer and thereby question the sustenance of such strategy. Generally, these organisations are manned by middle class cadres and once the initial euphoria wears -

off, the normal personal as well as social pressures deflate the intensity. Some times, the trained social workers have the required sustenance in the field but over time careerism becomes their primary concern and commitment stays only in the background. In the recent past, there is a tendency of politicians calling themselves the harbingers of the emerging voluntarism, which is an extremely dangerous trend. As a result, more number of organisations are emerging with the initiative from the top (without any grass root connections) and serving the self defeating purpose. Internal political accountability as well as the social accountability are forgotten issues.

There are five major problems in the development of voluntarism and ^{for} the ultimate goal to be achieved through NGOs. Firstly, NGOs have been increasingly depending on the aid and therefore, a type of tone is being set towards fund raising. Secondly, because of the excessive dependence on the aid agencies, the emphasis is shifting from real issues to the 'aided issues'. Thirdly, this ^{dependence} has totally discouraged experimentation of any new form. Fourthly, the politicisation of NGOs is increasing very fast and the spirit of voluntarism as well as sacrifice is being substituted by careerism. Lastly, with the increased flow of ^{the} Government grants the element of procedures, rules as well as financial accountability has increased the bureaucratisation among the NGOs at the cost of flexibility.

The politicisation of the development of this sector has resulted in what came out as Kudal commission and culminated into Government of India forming a Council of Voluntary Agencies, Financial Act of 1983, the foreign contributions Act etc. It was felt very strongly to depoliticise the NGO movement, but on the contrary the political overtones as also the bureaucratisation and State control increased substantially at the cost of natural voluntarism. Therefore, while dealing with the negative aspects of the NGO movement, Sharma (1992), summarises two strong view points from the literature. First is the role of government in the non-governmental organisations as well as the substitution between the two. Second view point relates to the funding pattern.

The relationship between NGOs and Government agencies is an important relationship. This is however, variable across the space and type of Government. There is a strong group which believes that, the task that NGOs have carved for themselves is an impossible agenda. Mohit Sen in a hard hitting criticism entitled "No, No, Nothing Doing With Them", brings out the enormity of the task and the miniscule role voluntary agencies can play. (Sen, 1984). He says, "To make the beneficiary aware is an intensely political task and precisely because it is so it's execution cannot be left to either non-descript or even dubious voluntary agencies" (Sen, 1984). This is the core of the left thinking political ideologies. It is believed strongly that the role of State is diluted and what the State can do NGO's can not achieve. Voluntary

agencies are a localised group whereas the State has a larger span. Given their small size as well as limited social base, it would become an important instrument in the hands of a few and its essential role would be to defend the interests of dominant social classes (Bhambri, 1987). It is added further that "The voluntary agencies are a footnote in Indian development" (Bhambri, 1987). In almost similar vein Raj Krishna adds that "If they are not captured by bureaucracy they have been captured by rural oligarchy, the local politicians and/or people like rural co-operatives" (Raj Krishna, 1987).

The control of funding agencies has always been a crucial issue in the debate relating voluntary agencies. There are two streams of criticism, one from the Marxist view point, which refers to the imperialist strategy of postponing or delaying the radical revolution, by giving funds to local groups (Karat, 1984). This is confronted by Geet Sethi in his write up on 'Immoral Others' (Sethi, 1985). The second stream of critics bare open the role of Government in diluting the local level opposition by funding small groups under the name of NGOs. Governments (politician and bureaucrats) were funding the voluntary agencies through different schemes or assigning membership of important committees and commissions, as a potent tool to neutralise their opposition to the State. Thus the role of voluntary agency as well as bureaucracy becomes strong in the process. Rajani Kothari puts the warning in most apt words "The fear is that those with contacts and clout, those who are close to the bureaucracy

and the people that matter and are capable of clever double talk and have, therefore, achieved some political pull, will play this new found role (very successfully (sic))" (Kothari, 1987, p.445).

1.7 NGOs Network in the Country

Immediately after Independence Gandhiji's developmental philosophy was the basic guideline. Keeping this philosophy in/^{the}background the first five year plan initiated a process of transformation through the community development programme. Second and third plan stressed the need for decentralised administration and recorded need for involvement of people. In the ~~same~~ spirit fourth plan stressed that in ultimate analysis government programmes may not succeed unless local committees understand the importance of national objectives and participation in the programme. The fifth five year plan assigned "a high place/^{to} the role of voluntary organisations in social welfare programme" and further adds that "such organisations will be encouraged by providing grants in aid with the increasing emphasis on the improvement of standard and expansion of welfare services rendered by them" (GOI, 1974, pp.278-279).

Seventh plan document reiterates the commitment to voluntarism in its chapter on Objectives, Strategies and Pattern of Growth **emphatically**. It was stated that "The Seventh Plan can be implemented successfully only with the involvement of the people. The plan **proposes** to do this

through effective steps for decentralisation of planning and development administration as well as by increasing the involvement of voluntary agencies in the implementation of plan programmes particularly in the rural areas" (GOI, 1985, pp.24-25). Eighth plan confirms the approach in the preface itself by stating "Involvement of voluntary agencies and other people's institutions is essential for effective micro-level planning" and further adds under objectives that "creation of appropriate organisations and delivery systems to ensure that the benefits of investment in the social sectors reach the intended beneficiaries" (GOI, 1992, p.iii and 9). While reiterating the involvement of NGOs the eighth plan document adds the view point about effective institutions (NGOs) with the following ingredients:

- a) They are owned and managed by the users/stake holders, producers or beneficiaries themselves;
- b) They are accountable to the community;
- c) They have capacity to become self reliant over a period of time;
- d) They have the capacity to diagnose the needs of the area, interact with the governmental agencies in order to draw need based local level plans and to implement those plans in close co-operation with the administration;
- e) They tend to bring about integration of various segments of the society for the achievement of common goals of development (GOI, 1985, p.17).

Thus over the last eight plans continuous encouragement was given to voluntary sector, but to a field worker (as observed from field) it seems to be an emerging

strong phenomenon only during the Seventh and Eighth plan period. We have presented in Table 1.2 the spread of voluntary organisations across states and by purposes. It is clear from the table that West Bengal and Maharashtra are the two dominating States followed by Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujrat, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. Majority of the organisations are multi-purpose organisations with more than one objective and therefore, they get included under more than one purpose. Education based organisations dominate the scene, followed by social organisations and those dealing with health. Agriculture is prime concern of only 335 organisations which is slightly above 1/3rd of the total. Purposewise spread of organisations is more or less even in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujrat but it is in favour of education in West Bengal. Figure 1.2 shows the geographic spread of NGO's in the country.

1.8 Spread of NGOs in Maharashtra

Maharashtra has a long tradition of voluntarism and voluntary agencies. In any district or town there are at least a few organisations which cater to the development need of the region in various forms. During the struggle of Independence Maharashtra had both the Gandhian philosophers as well as revolutionaries. Personal sacrifice of the highest order was a key word among these self less workers. There are all types of colours available in the map of voluntary agencies working in Maharashtra. It starts from ; pure Gandhian workers of Sevagram, Wardha through the

TABLE NO 1.2 : SPREAD OF NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS ACROSS STATES.

	NAME OF STATE	TOTAL NUMBER OF NGO'S IN THE STATE	HEALTH	EDUCATION	SOCIAL	AGRICULTURAL	COTTAGE INDUSTRIES	ANIMAL HUSBANDRY	OTHERS
1	ANDHRA PRADESH	85	48	45	45	34	19	21	51
2	ASSAM	50	19	34	28	34	24	10	25
3	BIHAR	63	23	34	25	33	25	15	51
4	GOJARAT	67	18	44	32	25	27	15	77
5	HARYANA	8	5	4	5	2	3	2	8
6	HIMACHAL PRADESH	10	2	9	6	0	3	1	12
7	JAMMU & KASHMIR	5	4	0	0	0	2	0	0
8	KARNATAKA	33	6	16	17	0	5	7	40
9	KERALA	33	11	19	18	10	8	6	29
10	MADHYA PRADESH	25	11	17	9	15	8	9	22
11	MAHARASHTRA	114	48	61	52	47	44	27	136
12	MANIPUR	16	7	9	13	6	6	0	19
13	MIZORAM	2	1	1	0	1	1	2	8
14	NAGALAND	3	0	1	3	3	3	1	3
15	ORISSA	43	23	32	19	18	16	7	34
16	PUNJAB	2	0	0	1	2	1	1	3
17	RAJASTHAN	22	7	15	8	7	14	3	10
18	TAMILNADU	63	24	37	34	12	24	11	73
19	TRIPURA	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	2
20	UTTAR PRADESH	61	14	27	23	28	19	10	63
21	WEST BENGAL	159	74	107	86	41	28	8	143
22	DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
23	DELHI	63	25	28	25	7	6	1	66
24	MIZORAM	9	2	4	7	0	3	0	6
25	PONDICHERY	0	0	5	3	2	1	0	4
	TOTAL	940	367	552	460	335	285	157	878

Source: IDBI, Directory of Voluntary organisations, Bombay

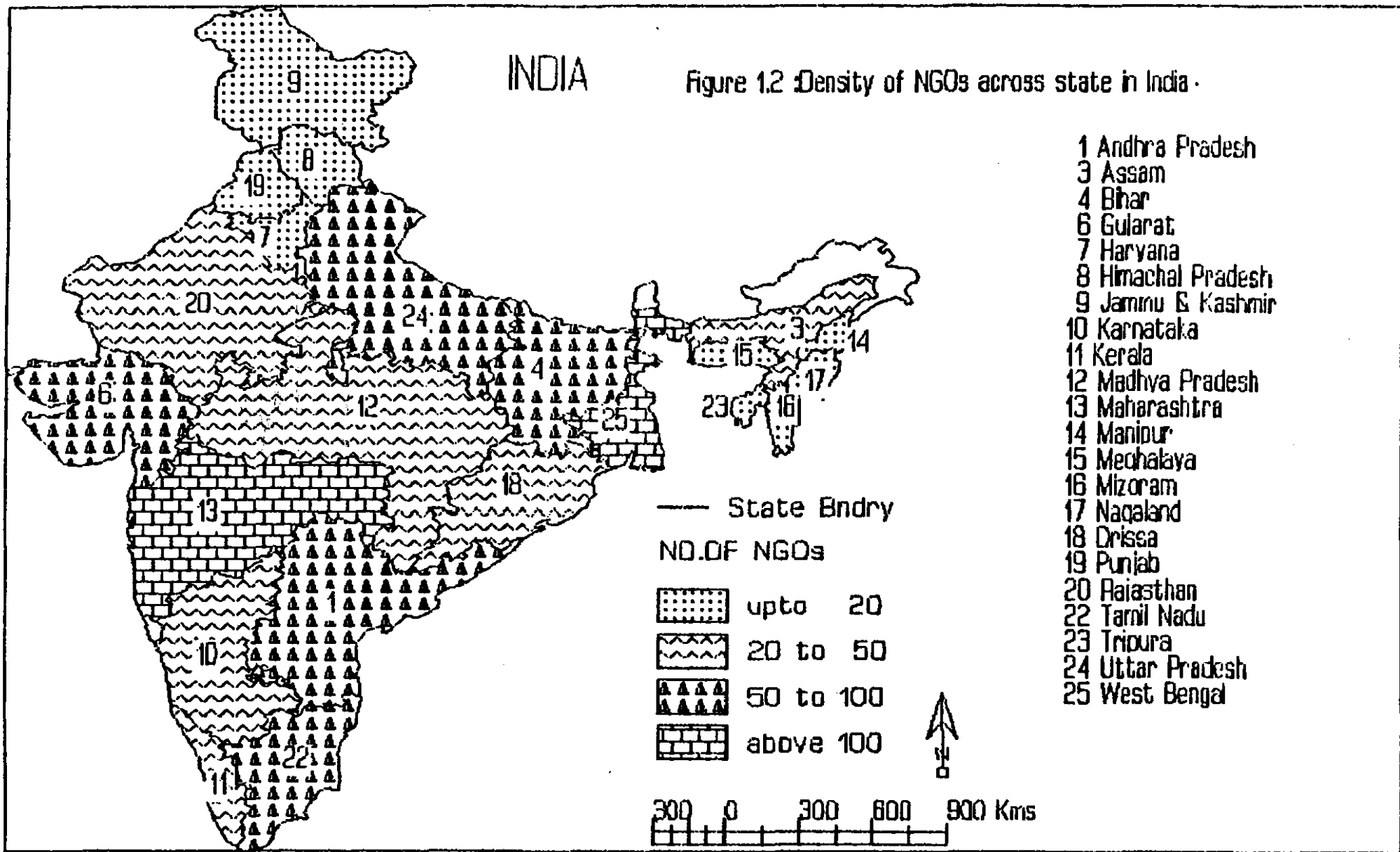


TABLE 1.3 : SPREAD OF NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN MAHARASHTRA STATE ACCORDING TO CATEGORY OF WORK

SR.NO	NAME OF THE DISTRICT	PURPOSIVE CLASSIFICATION											
		AGRICULTURE	VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT	VILLAGE INDUSTRIES	WOMEN'S WELFARE	CHILD WELFARE	HEALTH	WORKERS & AGRI-LABOUR CENTRES	YOUTH EDUCATIONAL GROUPS	TRIBAL	RESEARCH TRUSTS	INSTITUTES	
1	AMHEDNAGAR	0	0	0	4	0	7	0	3	6	0	1	0
2	AURANGABAD	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	3	2	2	1
3	BOMBAY	0	13	5	0	6	3	5	4	6	6	0	9
4	CHHADRAPUR	1	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	1
5	JALANA	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
6	KOLHAPUR	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	1	3	1
7	NAGPUR	1	1	0	3	3	0	1	2	4	0	4	0
8	PUNE	7	23	7	0	4	0	3	10	19	0	0	10
9	RAYNAGIRI	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0
10	SANGALI	0	2	1	3	2	2	0	2	2	1	0	2
11	SATARA	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	3
12	SOLAPUR	2	5	0	1	0	1	0	2	5	0	0	0
13	THANE	4	6	0	1	2	1	7	2	2	9	0	2
14	TANATMAL	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0
15	AMBAVATI	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	0
16	BED	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0
17	SHANDARA	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
18	DHOLE	0	2	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	2	0	1
19	JALGAON	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
20	LATUR	0	4	0	3	0	1	2	2	3	0	0	1
21	HANDED	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	2	4	0	0	1
22	NASIK	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	3	2	3	0	1
23	OSMANABAD	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
24	RAICAD	0	2	0	2	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	2
25	WARDRA	0	4	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
26	SINDHODURGA	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
27	BULDHANA	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0
28	GADCHIROLI	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
29	ATOLA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	0
30	PARBHANI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
	TOTAL	34	97	12	53	23	36	29	40	87	46	29	41

TABLE 1.3: CONTINUED

SR.NO	NAME OF THE DISTRICT	SOCIAL WORK	SCI & TECH. CENTRES	WATER SUPPLY	SERVICE TO LEPRERS	CO-OP SOCIETIES	CHARITABLE TRUST	FOREST & LIVESTOCK	OTHERS	TOTAL
1	AHMEDNAGAR	7	1	4	0	6	2	1	3	61
2	AURANGABAD	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	10
3	BOMBAY	21	9	1	0	0	3	2	22	135
4	CHANDRAPUR	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	20
5	JALANA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
6	KOLHAPUR	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	19
7	NAGPUR	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	33
8	PUNE	17	0	2	0	1	0	1	17	152
9	RATNAGIRI	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	15
10	SANGLI	3	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	20
11	SATARA	5	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	32
12	SOLAPUR	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	25
13	THANE	11	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	50
14	YAMATNAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
15	AMRAVATI	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	10
16	BEED	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9
17	BRANDARA	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	5
18	DHULE	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	19
19	JALGAON	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10
20	LATUR	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	21
21	NANDED	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	23
22	NASIK	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	24
23	OSMANABAD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
24	RAICAD	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	21
25	WARDHA	1	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	16
26	SINDHODURGA	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5
27	BULDHANA	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10
28	GADCHIROLI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
29	AKOLA	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	9
30	PARBHANI	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6
	TOTAL	102	27	11	9	11	21	0	76	800

SOURCE:- Compiled from various lists available from different voluntary organisations in Pune, Bombay & Aurangabad. Not an exhaustive list.

TABLE 1.3: Continued

SR.NO	NAME OF THE DISTRICT	SOCIAL WORK	SCI & TECH. CENTRES	WATER SUPPLY	SERVIC LEPER	CO-OP SOCIETIES	CHARITABLE TRUST	FOREST & LIVESTOCK	OTHE	TOTAL
1	AKHEDNAGAR	7	1	4	0	6	2	1	3	61
2	AURANGABAD	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	10
3	BOMBAY	21	9	1	0	0	3	2	22	133
4	CHANDRAPUR	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	20
5	JALANA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
6	KOLHAPUR	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	19
7	NAGPUR	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	33
8	PUNE	17	8	2	0	1	0	1	17	152
9	RATNAGIRI	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	13
10	SANGALI	3	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	28
11	SATARA	5	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	32
12	SOLAPUR	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	25
13	THANE	11	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	50
14	YANATNAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
15	ANRAVATI	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	10
16	BEED	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9
17	SHANDARA	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	5
18	SHULE	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	19
19	JALGAON	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10
20	LATUR	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	21
21	HANDED	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	23
22	NASIK	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	24
23	OSMANABAD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
24	RAIGAD	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	21
25	WARDHA	1	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	16
26	SINDHUBURGA	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5
27	BULDHANA	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10
28	GADCHIROLI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
29	AKOLA	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	9
30	PARBHANI	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6
	TOTAL	102	27	11	9	11	21	8	76	300

SOURCE:- Compiled from various lists available from different voluntary organisations in Pune, Bombay & Aurangabad. Not an exhaustive list.

Sarvodaya workers; Christian religious organisations; other religious bodies; RSS, Congress, Janata Dal and all other political party supported organisations; to the core Marxist and Marxist-Leninist people's movements. These workers are spread from Sindhudurg to Dhulia and from Bombay to Gadchiroli.

Maharashtra has more than 800 non-governmental organisations. The list was compiled from various sources available at Pune, Bombay and Aurangabad (Table 1.3 and 1.4). However, it would be impossible to claim this list as exhaustive*. It is interesting to observe from the table that the NGOs are mostly concentrated in Bombay and Pune regions followed by Aurangabad and Nasik division. Among the districts again Pune, Bombay, Ahmednagar and Thane have more than 50 -organisations each. There are nine districts which have 20 to 50 NGOs each and these are Chandrapur, Nagpur, Sangli, Satara, Solapur, Latur, Nanded, Nasik and Raigad. Rest of the districts have less than 20 NGOs each. What is striking out of the table is that Jalna, Bhandara, Osmanabad, Sindhudurg and Gadchiroli have five or less than five number of NGOs per district. Figure 1.3 shows that density of NGOs across districts.

* Late Professor V.D.Deshpande had maintained a list with Mrs. Seema Khot which was extremely useful, during compilation.

TABLE I.4:-DIVISION WISE DISTRIBUTION OF NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN MAHARASHTRA BY PURPOSE.

SR.NO	PURPOSE	D I V I S I O N S						TOTAL
		BOMBAY (KONKAN)	PUNE	DASHRI	NAGPUR	AMAVATI	AURANGABAD	
1	AGRICULTURE	9	16	4	2	1	2	34
2	VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT	23	40	12	6	6	10	97
3	VILLAGE INDUSTRIES	7	3	0	1	1	0	12
4	WOMEN'S WELFARE	13	13	7	4	7	9	53
5	CHILD-WELFARE	9	6	5	3	0	0	23
6	HEALTH	7	10	9	1	5	4	36
7	WORKERS & AGRI-LABOUR	12	5	3	4	1	4	29
8	YOUTH CENTRES	9	10	7	2	6	6	40
9	EDUCATIONAL	13	30	12	6	9	13	87
10	TRIBAL GROUPS	19	7	5	7	5	3	46
11	RESEARCH INSTITUTES	0	11	1	4	1	0	17
12	TRUSTS	14	20	3	1	0	3	41
13	SOCIAL WORK	32	29	19	10	3	9	102
14	SCIENCE & TECH. CENTRES	11	11	1	2	1	1	27
15	WATER SUPPLY	1	5	5	0	0	0	11
16	SERVICE TO LEPERS	1	1	1	3	3	0	9
17	CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES	2	3	6	0	0	0	11
18	MEMORIAL CHARITABLE	6	1	2	2	7	3	21
19	FOREST & LIVESTOCK	4	2	1	0	1	0	8
20	OTHERS	26	21	11	2	4	12	76
TOTAL		226	256	114	60	61	81	800

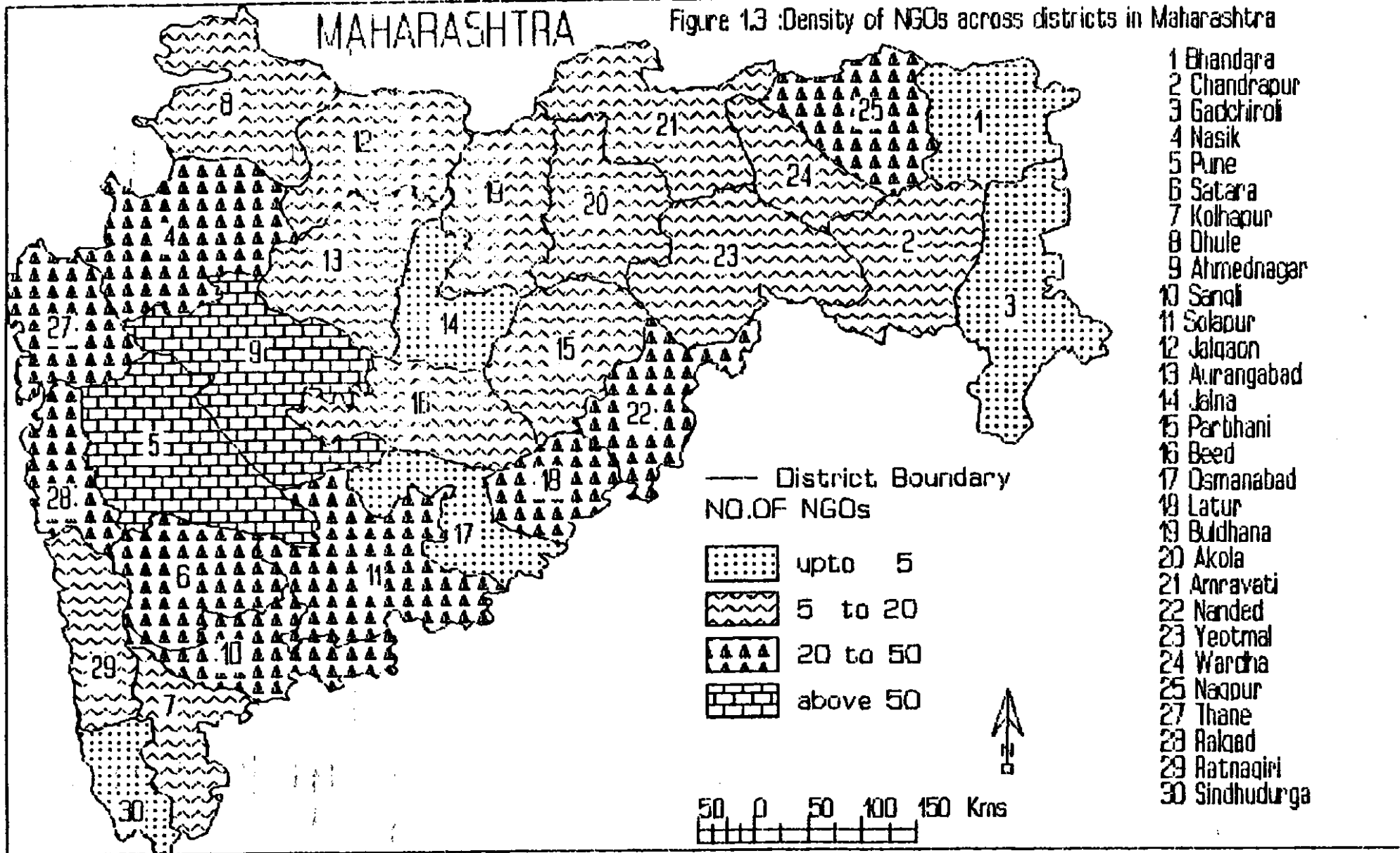
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NOTE:

BOMBAY: THANE, RATNAGIRI, RAIGAD, SINDHODURGA
 PUNE: SOLAPUR, SANGLI, SATARA, KOLHAPUR
 DASHRI: NAGAR, DULHE, JALGAON
 NAGPUR: GADCHIROLI, CHANDRAPUR, BHANDARA
 AMAVATI: AOLA, NARDA, YAVATMAL, BULDHANA
 AURANGABAD: BID, PARBHARI, NAROD, LAYUR, JALNA, OSMANABAD

MAHARASHTRA

Figure 1.3 :Density of NGOs across districts in Maharashtra



We also have the distribution of NGOs by their main objectives. Here we did not allow the multiplicity of objectives and hence these are exclusive groups. Highest number of organisations are reported as social work organisations. Village development and Education are major fields for the second largest number of NGOs. At least twenty and up to fifty organisations are working in the Fields of Agriculture, Child development, Health, Workers and Agri. labourers, Youth Kendras, Tribal development, Research, Science and Technology and Memorial Charitable trusts. As far as agricultural development is concerned 258 organisations directly work in the area, which is more than 30 per cent of the total. But many of the organisations working for social work also undertake the tasks related to agricultural development. In an aggregate analysis the spirit of peoples' involvement in development process is quite high in Maharashtra.

1.9 Objectives and Methodology

With the background of voluntarism, the increasing role assigned to NGOs by the Planning Commission and the changing developmental scenario, it is required to have a look at the role of NGOs in Agricultural Development. Keeping this in view, the study proposes the following set of objectives:

1. To study the nature, objectives and functioning of the organisations and source of their finance.
2. To study the agricultural and allied activities and type of help given by the agencies and basis for the assistance given to the farmers.

3. To analyse the impact and response from the farmers in respect of production, productivity, capital assets, infrastructure, adoption of technology and employment.
4. To study the co-ordination of NGOs and other organisations and Government departments.
5. To examine the role of non-Governmental agencies in bringing social action modalities or social involvement in the process along with it's long run sustenance.
6. To identify the problems faced by the NGOs in implementing the agricultural programmes.
7. Lastly, to suggest guidelines for better involvement of NGOs in Agricultural Development.

Keeping the above objectives in mind the present study seeks to ascertain the performance of NGOs by examining the changes brought by them through the economic and technical assistance rendered to the farmers, especially in agriculturally backward regions. The study attempts to provide guidelines based on the observations made, however, we strongly believe in flexibility of the organisational structure as single important ^{criteria} / for the success.

As a first step we attempted to prepare a list of the NGOs operating in the State of Maharashtra. Out of this list we selected 300 NGOs apparently, working on agriculture related issues and sent them postal questionnaire. Out of these we got back only 53 questionnaires and 23 were returned because the addressee was not found. Remaining agencies did not bother to respond even after 3 reminders.

We selected two NGOs whose work is located in the backward areas of Maharashtra. One is the Bhartiya Agro Industries Foundation which is an 'Umbrella Organisation' serving large number of programmes for the rural poor. We selected their cattle development programme in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra. The second organisation works in the water scarcity area of Purandar taluka in Pune district. This is a 'Resource Centred Organisation' working for equitable distribution of water. It is named as 'Pani Panchayat' and works under the Gram Gaurav Pratishthan. Fifty beneficiaries and an equal number of non-beneficiaries were selected from the operational areas of the implemented schemes of these two NGOs. The analysis follows a method of comparison between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. The difference is ascribed to the implementation of the scheme only when, other important factors are considered.

1.10 Plan of the Study

This chapter has analysed in detail the role of voluntarism and its theoretical basis. We have also taken a review of development of NGOs in India. The chapter sets the background for further analysis. Second chapter deals with the analysis of the work, undertaken by BAIF an 'Umbrella Organisation' working for rural poor. We have selected only one programme out of their several programmes for the purpose of our study. Pani Panchayat and its role in development of agriculture in rainfed areas is analysed in the third chapter.

The last chapter brings together the findings of the study and attempts to give some suggestions for future work.

Notes:

1. See for a good review of the four decades of change, Bimal Jalan (1992).
2. Number of Studies are carried out on the after effects of the 'Green Revolution'. A good review can be had from Prahladachar (1983).
3. There are two sides of the argument. First group takes a view of limited success as sufficient achievement whereas the other looks at it as gross failure. Kurien (1985) and Rath (1985).
4. We had received a strong letter from a SAG working towards equal distribution of water asking us not to refer them as VO or NGO, and that they are neither.

CHAPTER II

BAIF : AN UMBRELLA ORGANISATION

2.1 : Introduction

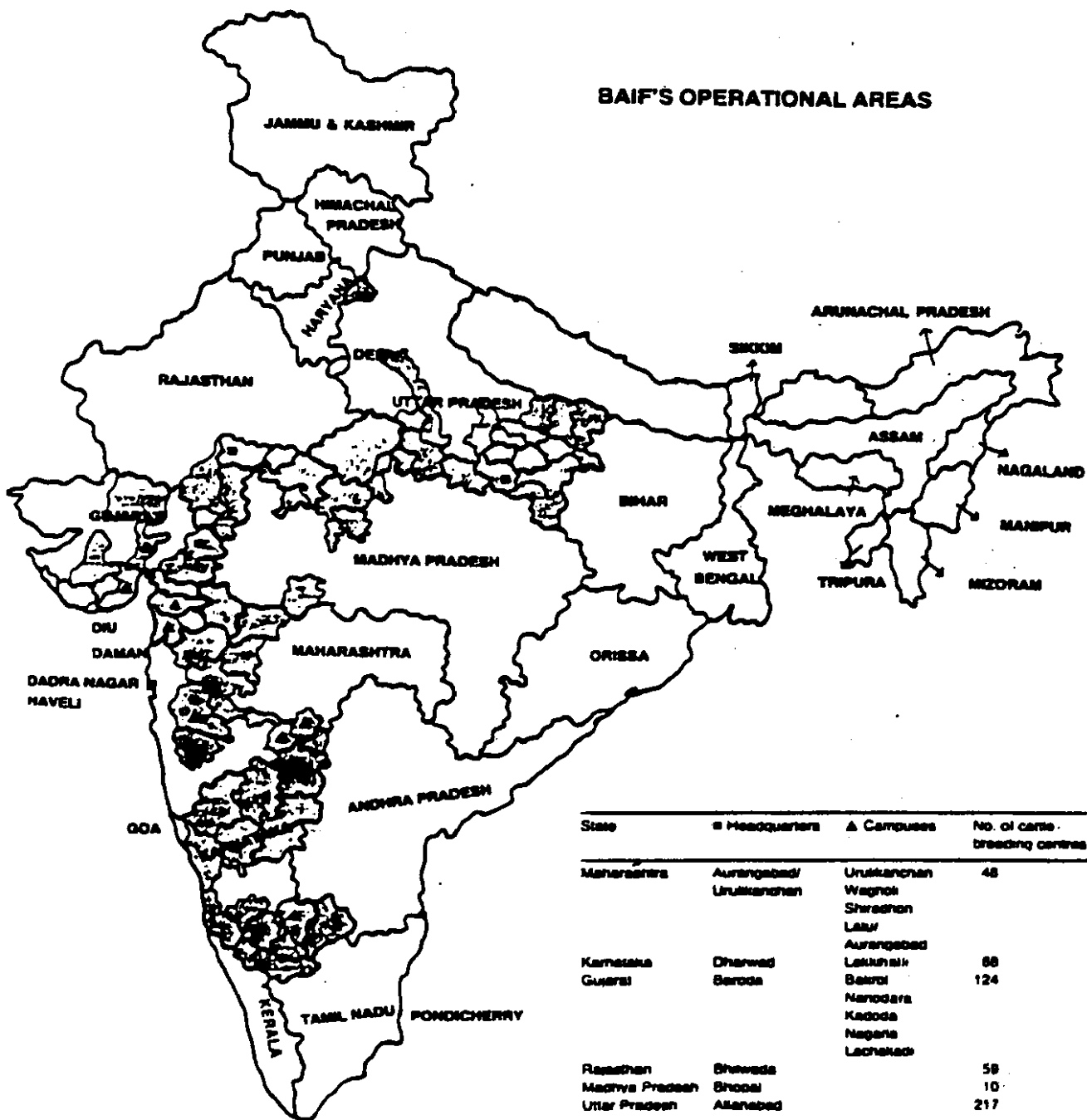
Gandhian ideologists have been the main source of voluntarism coupled with highest order of personal sacrifice in India. Bhartiya Agro Industries Foundation (BAIF) is one such institution run by a self-less individual committed to Gandhian values for over years. A year before the independence Mahatma Gandhi came to Uruli Kanchan, a small village near Pune, and entrusted the responsibility of Nature Cure Ashram to Shri Manibhai Desai, who was then just a 26 years, young, sensitive, freedom fighter. Initially, he was a radical left oriented youth, who came under Gandhiji's influence to begin this voluntary task of rural development. His association with rural people and the urge to understand the rural society, provoked him to start Bhartiya Agro Industries Foundation on August 24th 1967. The attraction towards starting an organisation can be explained by what Dhanagare puts it: "It is also likely that being more sensitive and sensitised to their social responsibilities, urban middle class intellectuals are more conscious of the wide gap that exists between benefits, managed somewhat effortlessly by the middle class professionals, and the plight of the rural and urban poor, as well as of subaltern sections." (Dhanagare, 1988, p.424). While recollecting some of the early impressions on his mind Shri Manibhai tells how

Gandhiji had asked him about rural poverty and answered the questions himself (Desai, 1990). It is certain that these moorings had left an indelible mark on the delicate fibre of young Manibhai's mind, which gave birth to an organisation serving large number of people. Thus began the crusade against rural poverty led by Manibhai.

2.2 Nature, Objectives and Functioning

BAIF is an organisation with large number of programmes and a very good network spread across the country (see Figure 2.1). The approach essentially involves four components, namely Land, Livestock, Water and Vegetation, which govern the wherewithal of the rural population. Building from below is the key word used in most of the publications of BAIF and that is also evident in their field operations. It is a registered NGO supported by large number of Government and other funding agencies. Non-political culture, secular character, dynamic and professional management system are the indicators of its nature of administration. To enhance the understanding of the nature of organisation, it would not be out of place to quote Manibhai from 'The Philosophy and Approach of BAIF'. "Having a strong understanding of rural sociology and human psychology, BAIF has tried to understand the psyche of the rural poor and thereby sought to identify the correct entry point in a given area. This is the beginning of the process of development, which has to be holistic and comprehensive in nature" and further "BAIF believes that the focus of the programme should be on the

Figure No. 2.1



Source : BAIF, Annual Report 1990-91.

rural family rather than on a village, because the village as a whole has heterogenous character in respect of socio-economic status" (Desai, 1991).

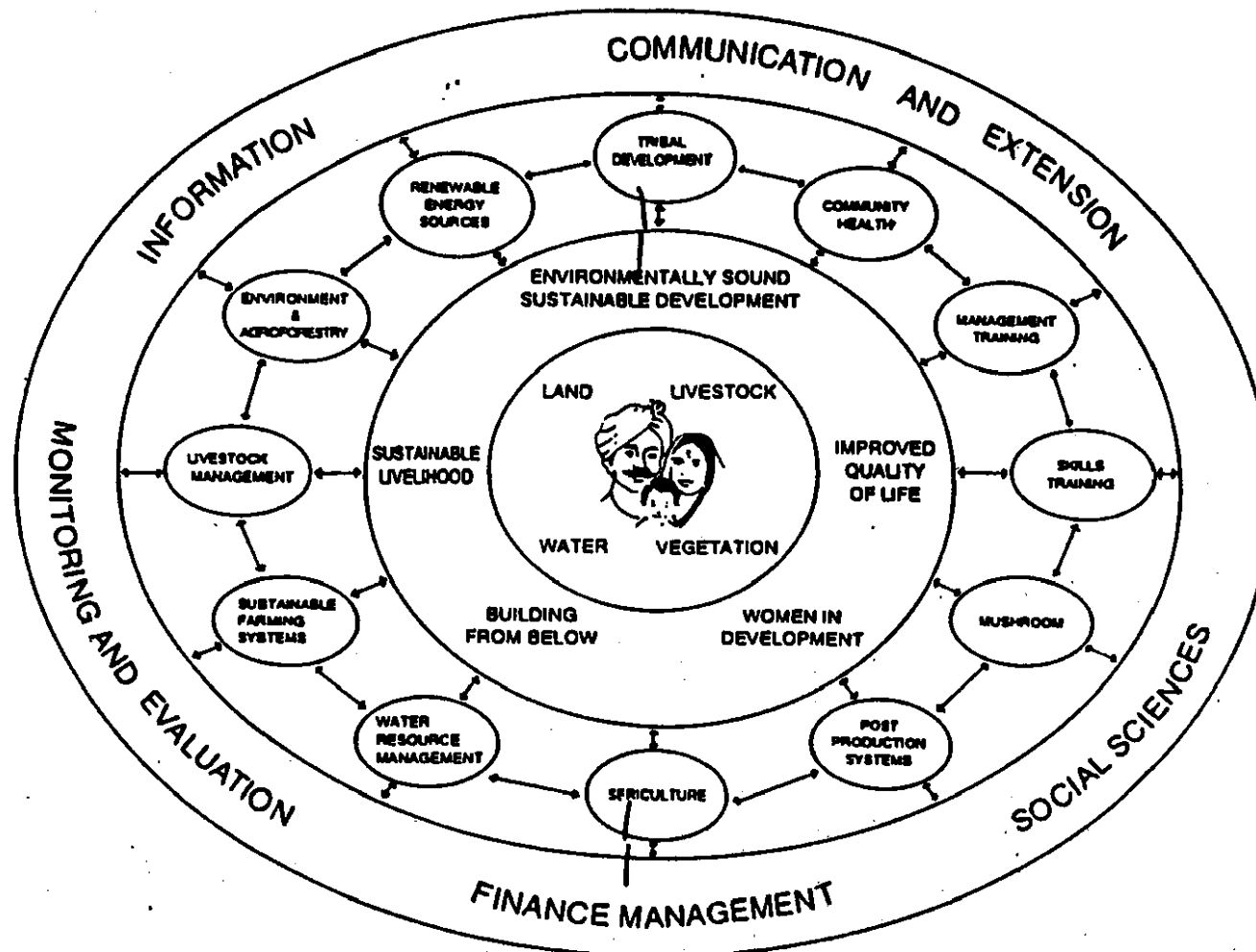
Among the objectives set forth by BAIF the major focus is on improving the quality of life of rural poor through regeneration of the degraded resources — land, livestock, water and vegetation. As mentioned earlier the objectives are well set in four components and the approach is holistic. This is clearly depicted in the diagram about holistic programme approach of BAIF (See Fig. 2.2). The diagram suggests the approach governed by information, communication and extension, social sciences supported by monitoring and evaluation and proper financial management. These are tied in a circular shape clearly depicting their mutually supporting role. Apart from this the focus of the objectives comes out very clearly from the statement about BAIF's mission. It states: "BAIF's mission is to create opportunities of gainful self employment for the rural families, especially disadvantaged sections, ensuring sustainable livelihood, enriched environment, improved quality and good human values. This will be achieved through development research, effective use of local resources, extension of appropriate technologies and upgradation of skills and capabilities with community participation. BAIF will be a non-political, secular and professionally managed organisation" (BAIF, undated).

2.3 BAIF's Approach to the Development of Agriculture and Allied Sectors

As stated earlier the approach and philosophy of BAIF's involvement with development programme is holistic and touches all the important sectors of rural economy. Their activities include:(i) Dairy Cattle Production; (ii) Animal Health; (iii) Fodder Production and Afforestation; (iv) Non-Conventional Energy Sources; (v) Water Management; (vi) Socio-Economic Rehabilitation of Tribals and Community Health. In order to support these programmes technically, BAIF has set up an Information Resource Centre, Social Science Cell and a Training and Demonstration Wing of its own.

Dairy cattle production is an important component of BAIF's activity. It is well imbedded in BAIF's philosophy that uni-sectoral approach is unlikely to yield positive results for development of rural areas. Therefore, the subsidiary economic activities play a large role in household economics of this region. Keeping this in view a Central Research Station was established at Uruli Kanchan to support cattle breeding programmes. "Use of the local non-descript cow to produce high yielding crossbred cows at the doorstep of the farmer is the unique approach" (BAIF, undated). The programme is spread over five states to benefit about half a million farmer families. A bull mother farm, semen freezing laboratory, animal genetics section, animal nutrition sector, fodder, forestry and bio-energy are the important components. The centre at Uruli Kanchan has outstanding Jersey and

Figure No. 2.2 : HOLISTIC PROGRAMME APPROACH OF BAIF



Source : The BAIF Journal, Vol.13, No.3, April 1993.

Holstein Freisen cow mothers and bulls.

Adequate health cover has to be provided in any such livestock development programme. The animal health division situated at two places ensures adequate health cover for the cross bred animals through research in vaccination and treatment. BAIF laboratory is an independent organisation helping these efforts. Apart from this the fodder production programme helps to build up nutrition and diet requirements. This is enhanced through promotion of agro-forestry, kisan nurseries, school nurseries and afforestation of waste lands.

Water management in crucial areas and involvement of people in this programme is an important activity of BAIF. In the Tribal Rehabilitation Programme large number of integrated activities are taken. The Vansada experiment in Valsad district of Gujrat has become a model in tribal development. The programme was initiated in 1982 with a participation of only 42 families. The participation has increased more than 100 fold and the coverage included, above 4000 ha. of land and more than 1.5 lakh fruit as well as over 5 million forest trees. These programmes included not only employment and income generation but also incorporated development of handicrafts, fruit processing, environmental protection, mango grafting and Sanskar Mandirs for child welfare. "The Vansada model has not only given a new direction for thought and action but has also held out the promise of its possible replication in other parts of the country" (BAIF, Vansada, undated).

Community health and propogating the use of non-conventional energy are the other important aspects of BAIF's supporting programme for improvement in quality of life. Health education, immunisation, improved sanitation, routine pre-natal care and growth monitoring of children is undertaken in this programme. Innovative practices adjustable to the ground level systems, are encouraged. A good example of this can be training of Tribal Birth Attendants (TBAs). TBAs (Dais) are the only available source of intra-natal care in some of the remote villages and if they are properly trained a good health care can be given locally to the new born.

BAIF's approach towards development is holistic or what we called as 'Umbrella organisation'. It's programmes are supported fully by a team of competent professionals be it tribal development, animal health or community health programme. A fully loaded scientific back-up have not only made the programmes competent but also opened up vistas for their replicability. In fact, before the implementation of any programme the back up facilities are built up and the programme goes on board only when it is fully appraised by a team of talented professionals. I met a large number of professional experts working under BAIF's umbrella and the list includes social scientists, engineers, veterinary doctors, silviculturists, medical professionals and trained social workers. BAIF's team of social scientists and Information Resource Centre provides scientific innovation updates on all the concerned areas. These facilities have helped

greatly in dissemination of information.

2.4 Interaction with Government Agencies

BAIF is a non-political service organisation led by a committed Gandhian and backed with professional excellence. It is, therefore, natural to derive a full support from Government agencies. Over years, the support from the State as well as Central Government has been increasing and the agency has got all the required encouragement. There are three important factors which have helped BAIF to derive a sustained support from Government.

Firstly, BAIF is a totally non-political, non-party organisation in true sense. It's cadre, from the lowest to the highest level, is committed to the cause of the work rather than to any party affiliation. Their professionalism and the choice of their activities do not allow even penetration of local level political issues. This is supported and strengthened by the self-less Gandhian tradition followed by the top level functionaries of the agency. Therefore, BAIF could continue its operations even during the thick and thin of the political atmosphere in the country and the State.

Secondly, the management style chosen by BAIF is different from the usual style of functioning of such agencies. It would be appropriate to quote Manibhai on this aspect, he says "Right from its birth, BAIF has deliberately avoided the colonial vertical administrative set up and instead adopted a horizontal structure which provided further

opportunities to the professionals to use their skills to the optimum". Further he states that "The unique system developed and adopted for managing project based finance has ensured accountability and attracted sponsoring agencies from Central and State Governments, Public and Corporate sectors and International donor organisations to join BAIF as partners in implementing a wide range of development programmes in rural India" (Desai, 1991).

Thirdly, the programmes undertaken by BAIF, have been carefully chosen. These never compete with any Governmental programme in substance and matter of implementation. Therefore, there is hardly any chance of local level confrontations in programme implementation. Since the programmes are designed and appraised by professionals, there must have been an inbuilt process of internalising those edges of probable conflicts. In addition to this the conviction of the workers to the programme implementation itself, is sufficient to dilute such probable aberrations. Apart from this, the integrated vertical and horizontal built of the programmes leaves very little room for interacting with similar programmes at local level.

The support from both State and Central Government to BAIF comes from various organisations of both the Government bodies. Among the Central Government agencies CAPART, Ministry of Social Welfare, Indian Council of Agricultural Research, Central Silk Board, Department of Science and

Technology and such others have helped BAIF's programmes. The State Governments of Maharashtra, Gujrat, Karnataka as well as others have also helped BAIF's programmes in many ways. It was, however, not possible to ascertain their contribution in monetary terms due to multiplicity of the schemes and scale.

2.5 Impact Assessment of the Livestock Development Programme

Being an 'Umbrella Organisation' BAIF undertakes large number of programmes in various fields at various locations. It is not appropriate to aggregate the impact of different programmes together, because, their areas of thrust as well as the assessment parameters would be different. Therefore, we selected only the livestock development programme to assess the impact of BAIF's operations. The livestock development programme involves four major components viz., (i) Improving genetic merit of our indigenous livestock, (ii) Development of fodder and feed, (iii) Development of veterinary health services and (iv) Marketing facilities by establishing timely procurement, processing and marketing outlets. (Desai, 1991).

We selected Karjat block of Ahmednagar district which is the core of the drought-prone region of Maharashtra. The agrarian economy here is extremely fragile due to very low water availability and almost negligible income generating opportunities. Livestock development was the appropriate strategy in view of three factors. Firstly, agriculture has a weak base and low value crops like Jowar and Bajra dominate the cropping pattern. Secondly, the fodder

availability as by-product of cereals and millets as well as tops of sugarcane cultivated in neighbouring regions is quite large and this could be absorbed only with the help of live-stock development. Thirdly, selling and purchasing of milk was prevalent in the region, though on a miniscule scale. But the economic returns out of the milk business in those years were limited.

The programme undertaken by BAIF includes five major components. Firstly, a well trained veterinary technician is permanently posted in a central location who works full time in co-ordination ^{with} the dairy (presently there are two well trained technicians because of the work load). Secondly, the technician is provided with all the necessary infrastructure to operate the programme which includes frozen semen ampules, store in equipment with liquid nitrogen, required instruments for insemination, information about the prevalent diseases and the treatment of these, a moderately equipped office-location and vehicle to facilitate mobility at odd hours. Thirdly, the service given to the farm household is at their doorstep and the farmer does not bring the cow to the head-quarters. Fourthly, there is a continuous follow up of ^{each of} the cases on behalf of the technician who keeps a record of pregnancy and the purity level of the breed. Lastly, the entire programme is linked with the co-operative dairy run by the beneficiaries where, ^{farmers} pay five paise per litre of milk towards the services rendered by the technician. The procedure of work includes a call (in the form of a slip obtained

TABLE 2.1: LAND UTILISATION PATTERN OF BENEFICIARY AND NON BENEFICIARY HOUSEHOLDS.

(In hectares
per household)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
SIZE OF HOLDING (HA)	1.42	3.26	6.64	3.37	1.20	3.31	7.14	4.19
IRRIGATED AREA (HA)	0.70	1.15	3.01	1.38	0.29	0.60	2.80	1.13
WASTE LAND (HA)								
P. FALLOW LAND (HA)	0.10	0.40	1.12	0.44	0.11	0.13	1.27	0.62
CURRENT FALLOW (HA)	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
OTHER FALLOW (HA)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.15	0.07
CULTIVABLE WASTE (HA)	0.02	0.10	0.09	0.07	0.00	0.40	0.51	0.30
% OF UNCULTIVATED LAND	8.63	16.71	18.22	15.98	9.02	15.94	27.00	23.50
NET CULTIVATED LAND (HA)	1.30	2.71	5.43	2.74	1.07	2.70	5.22	3.21
AREA CULTIVATED MORE THAN ONCE (HA)	0.49	0.57	0.95	0.62	0.60	0.40	1.11	0.78
GROSS CROPPED AREA (HA)	1.79	3.20	6.38	3.36	1.67	3.18	6.33	3.99
CROPPING INTENSITY=(GCA/NCA)	137.57	120.84	117.49	122.55	156.07	116.17	121.21	124.46
NOTE:	GCA - GROSS CROPPED AREA				NCA - NET CULTIVATED AREA			

TABLE 2.2(A) : CROPPING PATTERN OF IRRIGATED CROPS (PERCENT TO GROSS CROPPED AREA)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CEREALS & MILLETS	49.33	49.51	55.57	52.00	29.94	10.15	30.51	34.12
CASH CROPS	3.92	0.21	4.52	5.76	2.00	0.70	1.29	1.31
PULSES	3.36	3.61	3.56	3.54	0.33	0.00	1.04	1.33
OILSEEDS	0.56	2.89	3.14	2.50	2.00	0.35	2.93	2.40
OTHERS	4.12	2.33	1.41	2.33	0.00	0.52	0.71	0.57
GIA	21.88	41.40	47.84	111.20	10.10	5.65	60.22	76.17
GIA AS % OF GCA	61.29	66.55	68.21	66.12	34.26	19.72	45.29	39.74

NOTE: GIA - GROSS IRRIGATED AREA GCA - GROSS CROPPED AREA

TABLE 2.2(B) : CROPPING PATTERN OF RAINFED CROPS (PERCENT TO GROSS CROPPED AREA)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CEREALS & MILLETS	29.41	13.40	19.25	19.27	43.70	54.00	33.01	37.96
CASH CROPS	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
PULSES	5.38	0.50	4.28	6.11	0.98	18.50	0.95	10.70
OILSEEDS	1.68	2.25	1.41	1.78	7.32	0.70	2.26	2.82
OTHERS	2.24	9.14	6.84	6.72	5.66	6.28	10.49	9.10
RPA	11.82	20.85	22.10	56.97	19.76	21.00	72.75	115.51
RAINFED AREA AS % TO GCA	38.71	33.45	31.79	31.88	65.74	80.28	54.71	60.26

NOTE : RPA - RAINFED AREA GCA - GROSS CROPPED AREA

TABLE 2.1:

INPUT USE PER HECTARE OF BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES

(RS. PER HECTARE)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
SEEDS	387.29	393.36	275.48	319.62	159.79	126.95	119.28	124.76
FYM	778.87	529.95	386.71	589.21	288.13	153.69	226.22	221.70
FERTILIZERS	442.89	260.84	289.75	269.66	285.89	72.21	107.93	121.74
PESTICIDES	2.85	8.32	5.33	6.03	3.47	0.00	2.54	2.26
IRRIGATION CHARGES	319.96	142.66	106.51	157.31	100.19	63.89	48.48	56.19
FAMILY LABOUR	1285.85	761.84	773.59	858.21	1084.22	726.34	586.88	688.69
HIREN LABOUR	314.65	391.17	231.47	306.48	288.99	105.37	135.32	147.38
BULLOCK LABOUR								
OWNED	268.92	248.27	432.85	329.58	248.58	178.19	294.46	272.32
HIREN	449.38	165.67	21.37	158.89	242.94	83.56	14.82	64.18
TRACTOR CHARGES	8.88	58.78	8.88	19.22	8.88	8.88	8.88	8.88
INPUT COST PER HA. OF OPERATED AREA	6242.57	2944.79	2442.26	2945.85	2698.18	1989.48	1475.85	1611.41

from dairy) is given to the technician informing the problem/condition of the cow (heat). Then the technician goes to the beneficiaries house and performs insemination. Further the technician follows up the case and records the delivery in his record book.

Impact of improving the local breed cows to cross-breed is not necessarily limited to livestock sector alone, but also changes the entire economic built of the household. Keeping this in view, we attempt below the impact assessment of the programme on major agricultural parameters of the household. This includes (i) land use pattern, (ii) cropping pattern, (iii) Input use per hectare and its components, (iv) Production, productivity and marketed quantities, (v) Gross value of production and by-products, (vi) Asset holding, (vii) Credit operations, (viii) Expenditure on animal husbandry and (ix) Production of milk and other animal products. The methodology is to compare the parameters between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries to arrive at the estimated impact. Since, our non-beneficiaries are carefully chosen from the same area and with almost similar parameters, except the programme component, the difference is attributable to the programme.

Table 2.1 presents the land utilisation pattern of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries across three size classes of operational holdings. Non-beneficiaries have slightly larger average size of holding but, lower proportion of irrigated area as compared to beneficiaries. The proportion

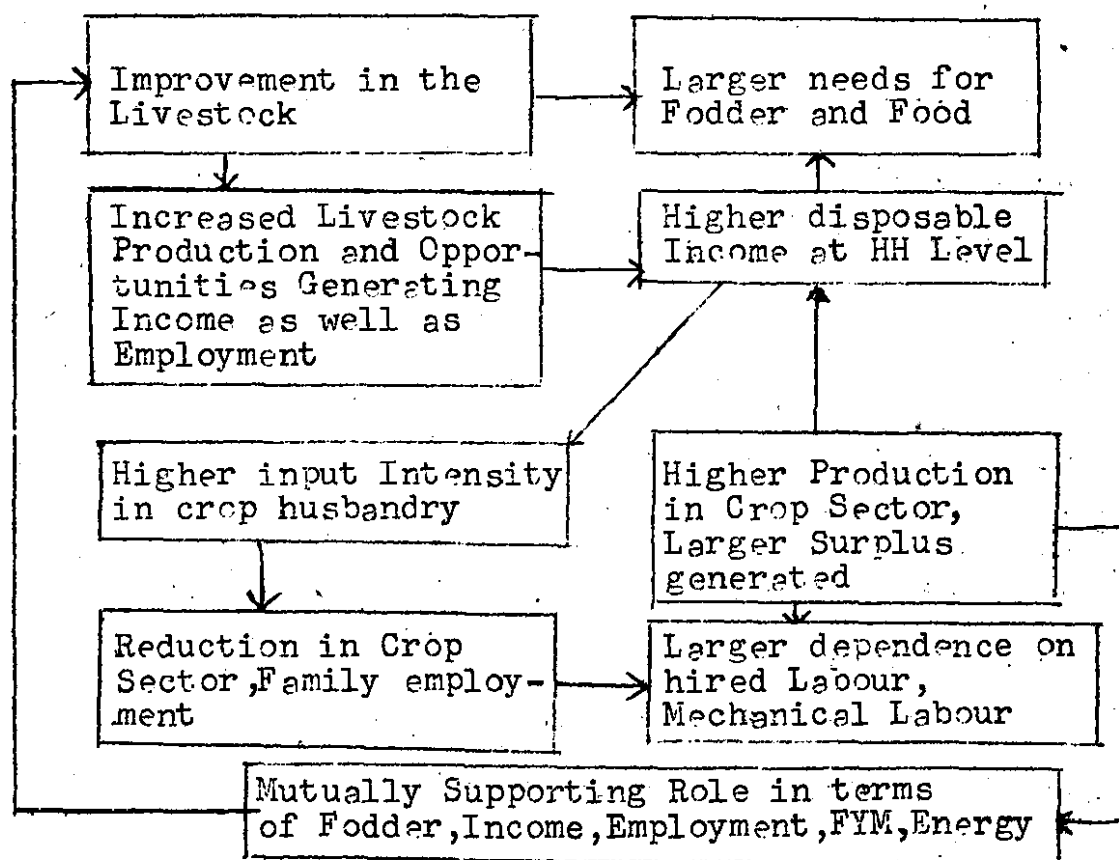
of fallow as well as uncultivated land is also larger among non-beneficiary group, but still the non-beneficiary group has larger net cultivated area and also slightly higher cropping intensity. The difference in cropping intensity between the two groups is conspicuous in the case of small farmers.

Tables 2.2(A) and 2.2(B) present the cropping pattern of the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Cereals dominate in the cropping pattern of beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries. Beneficiaries as a group have above 66 per cent of their area under irrigation whereas, about 40 per cent of the area of non-beneficiaries is irrigated. There are certain important differences in their cropping pattern. Beneficiaries have larger proportion of area under cash crops with irrigation, as compared to non-beneficiaries. The distribution of irrigation facilities across size classes is more equitable in the group of beneficiaries as compared to non-beneficiaries. Possibly the access to irrigation becomes easy with the help of other income generating activities.

Input intensities on the farms of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries are presented in Table 2.3. It is very clear that the input intensity of the beneficiary group is higher as compared to non-beneficiary group. The input intensity in the group of beneficiaries is almost ^{the} double of that of the non-beneficiary group. The differences are quite large in the case of expenditure on irrigation charges, seeds, pesticides, fertilisers, hired labour, farm yard manure and hired bullock labour. Only, in the case of family labour

and owned bullocks, the difference is not very large. This is possible because of two reasons (i) due to higher income generating activities-lower intensity of family labour is used in the group of beneficiaries, (ii) the male progeny of the hybrid cows is not used as draught power. The beneficiaries seem to be using more mechanical power as a substitute for bullock power.

Total production of crop groups, the proportion of output sold and retained are presented in tables 2.4 and 2.5. The crop output of all the crops in beneficiary group is much larger compared to ^{the} non-beneficiaries. It is sometimes even more than two times the ^{average of} non-beneficiary group. It is not totally correct to say that the crop economy improves because of the improvement in the livestock but the logic of our argument is given below:



It is clear from the above diagram that the two sectors are mutually supporting and this is clearly visible from the field data. The surplus retained and sold shows the level of prosperity of the beneficiary group. The gross value of production and marketed surplus per hectare are presented in tables 2.6 and 2.7. Both the tables clearly show better income levels as well as improved market access of the beneficiary group. It may be noted here, that the tables give per hectare gross value of production as well as marketed surplus. Given the lower size of holding, it is obvious that the beneficiary group would have larger values in terms of per household income generation.

The asset holdings across the size classes for beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries are presented in table 2.8. The differences in asset holdings come out clearly in terms of non-farm assets and livestock. In the case of livestock the difference between the two groups becomes quite obvious. This shows that the single reason for economic well being of the beneficiary group is the enhancement in the quality of their livestock.

Details of the credit taken for meeting the household expenditure (including investment in agriculture) and credit for the enhancement of livestock by beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries are presented in tables 2.9 and 2.10. Both the tables show beneficiaries taking better advantage of institutional facilities as compared to non-beneficiaries. In the group of beneficiaries average per household credit

TABLE 2.4: CROP GROUPWISE TOTAL PRODUCTION OF BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES

(QYLS PER HOUSEHOLD)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CEREALS & MILLEYS	20.53	20.84	47.27	26.53	15.98	58.61	11.51	28.89
CASH CROPS	27.29	164.53	124.55	186.84	18.10	180.00	51.67	42.89
PULSES	0.55	1.09	2.66	1.22	1.26	6.88	3.10	2.81
OILSEEDS	0.21	0.78	2.00	0.82	0.49	0.93	3.17	2.01
OTHERS	70.91	58.01	97.46	72.16	0.55	39.25	29.70	19.61
TOTAL	119.49	246.85	273.94	281.56	36.58	285.68	121.41	96.23

TABLE 2.5: PROPORTION OF GROSS OUTPUT RETAINED AND SOLD

	BENEFICIARIES		NON BENEFICIARIES	
	RETAINED %	SOLD %	RETAINED %	SOLD %
CEREALS & MILLIETS	71.78	28.22	61.79	38.21
CASH CROPS	5.02	94.98	18.57	81.43
PULSES	29.09	70.91	27.91	72.09
OILSEEDS	2.68	97.32	11.86	88.94
OTHERS	92.13	7.87	93.65	6.35
TOTAL	45.13	54.87	46.96	53.04

TABLE 2.6: GROSS VALUE OF MAIN PRODUCTS AND BY-PRODUCTS PER HECTARE

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
GROSS VALUE OF MAIN PRODUCTS								
CEREALS & MILLETS	2684.13	2112.96	1868.99	2136.60	1955.73	1599.76	1436.92	1544.76
CASH CROPS	17414.29	18890.44	15764.98	17650.93	15425.00	30000.00	15232.56	17085.32
PULSES	2214.74	1759.87	3581.82	2465.17	3415.00	2000.00	2547.21	2526.19
OILSEEDS	6910.75	4026.56	5875.00	5169.44	1464.29	35816.67	5590.20	5144.50
OTHERS	7265.64	2742.18	2567.16	3150.82	1844.12	7015.90	1651.11	1741.10
GROSS VALUE OF BY-PRODUCTS								
CEREALS & MILLETS	956.09	802.02	771.25	825.56	781.14	192.14	644.39	641.96
CASH CROPS	357.14	97.66	471.19	258.00	0.00	0.00	697.67	476.19
PULSES	19.23	15.79	31.82	21.89	18.71	0.00	13.94	18.24
OILSEEDS	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	144.93	100.00
OTHERS	0.00	0.00	17.27	6.57	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
GROSS VALUE OF BY-PRODUCTS	768.51	515.12	683.87	685.92	576.85	286.21	493.27	475.43
GROSS VALUE OF MAIN PRODUCTS	3666.97	3619.17	2865.77	3102.35	2265.04	2383.94	1974.47	2081.24
TOTAL GROSS VALUE OF PRODUCTION	4375.48	4134.29	3469.63	3988.28	2841.88	2670.16	2467.74	2556.67

TABLE 2.7: MARKETED SURPLUS PER HECTARE

(IN QYLS PER HA)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
CEREALS & MILLETS	3.66	3.51	2.55	3.12	3.23	2.21	1.90	2.16
CASH CROPS	317.54	581.25	431.55	494.17	305.00	1000.00	325.50	374.21
PULSES	2.45	1.78	4.00	2.66	3.29	1.70	2.57	2.46
OILSEEDS	5.19	4.47	6.72	5.55	1.61	5.00	6.12	4.83
OTHERS	0.77	0.89	47.67	18.68	2.65	1.79	1.72	1.81
TOTAL	15.71	50.50	25.97	32.88	9.07	9.08	6.36	7.19

TABLE 2.8

ASSET HOLDINGS PER HOUSEHOLD

(In Rs. per household)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
	FARM ASSETS (1).							
PURCHASE VALUE	179.00	122.63	368.18	199.20	80.06	272.22	430.52	274.17
PRESENT VALUE	283.00	515.26	1084.09	547.50	330.56	530.89	1022.95	672.50
CAPITAL ASSETS								
PURCHASE VALUE	825.00	1210.53	3181.02	1490.00	1455.56	344.44	1309.52	1183.33
PRESENT VALUE	1350.00	1526.32	5363.64	2300.00	2166.67	1244.44	2142.86	1983.33
NON-FARM ASSETS								
PURCHASE VALUE	7008.25	7356.05	4904.55	6677.60	4711.11	6844.44	8390.00	6720.83
PRESENT VALUE	14525.00	21771.05	21236.16	18755.00	18210.89	15033.33	19767.14	15306.46
LIVE STOCK								
PURCHASE VALUE	5203.75	2277.11	6718.18	4424.00	1771.61	2761.11	3140.00	2463.02
PRESENT VALUE	11211.00	5768.42	11381.82	9180.00	3197.22	3744.44	8661.98	5698.61

(1) EXCLUDING LAND

BLB 2.9:

CREDIT PARTICULARS OF BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES.

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
INSTITUTIONS								
REPORTING HH	11.00	9.00	5.00	25.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	14.00
AMOUNT PER HH.	7345.45	10611.11	4900.00	8112.00	9000.00	2000.00	2300.00	3628.57
INTEREST RATE	12.00	12.00	15.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
PRIVATE LENDERS								
REPORTING HH	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
AMOUNT PER HH.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3000.00	0.00	0.00	3000.00
INTEREST RATE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.00	0.00	0.00	18.00

55

TABLE 2.10: CREDIT TAKEN FOR ENHANCEMENT OF LIVESTOCK

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
CREDIT PER HA.	7025.00	4125.00	12062.50	6916.07	7000.00	7500.00	2925.00	4006.25
NO. OF COWS	11.00	4.00	4.00	19.00	1.00	1.00	6.00	8.00
NO. OF YEAR BACK	1 TO 5	3 TO 6	3 TO 7	1 TO 7	1 TO 3	1 TO 2	1 TO 8	1 TO 8
INTEREST RATE	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	-	5%	5%

25

works out to Rs. 8112 as against Rs. 3628 in the non-beneficiary group. None from the group of beneficiaries have approached private money lenders for credit. As for the credit taken to improve the livestock, we have noted that this works out to be Rs. 6916 per household in the group of beneficiaries and Rs. 4006 for the non-beneficiary group.

The ownership of bovine animals in the group of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries can be noted from table 2.11. The beneficiary group has upto two milk giving cows of local breed and at least one exotic breed cow. Buffaloes do not seem to be very popular in both the groups. In the group of non-beneficiaries the Jersey or Friesian cows are negligible in density. Apart from the simple comparison of density of animals it is quite evident from the table that milk animals are more in beneficiary group than in the group of non-beneficiaries.

It is not very surprising that the density of exotic cattle is higher in the beneficiary group because they are under the continuous care of BAIF programme. More important aspect actually is the care taken by the beneficiaries of their cattle. Table 2.11 presents the expenditure incurred per household on the cattle tending by beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. What comes out very clearly is the large difference between the two groups. The non-beneficiaries mostly rely on the home produced fodder and feeds whereas, the beneficiaries largely buy fodder and feed from outside. Therefore, the purchased component in ^{the} aggregate consumption

is larger in the beneficiary group. The number of days of employment generated per household is larger in the non-beneficiary group because of their larger dependence on open grazing. The health care expenditure is more than five times in the beneficiary group as compared to the non-beneficiaries.

The entire thrust of the livestock development programme is to provide supplementary income source to the rural families. The entire programme is linked with the operations of dairy cooperatives operated at the taluka headquarter. The beneficiaries are expected to allow a token deduction towards a contribution to BAIF on every litre of milk they sell to the co-operative society. Thus the milk yield supports the programme as also the family income. In table 2.12, we have presented the production of milk and other animal products (especially dung) per year to estimate the income generating capacity of the dairy activity.

To our surprise the dairy activity in the beneficiary group does not remain^a secondary activity, if its contribution to household income alone is considered. On an average every beneficiary household gets about Rs.17,577 per year out of this business and his total variable cost per year (cash expenses) is Rs. 2950 which leaves the margin of Rs.14,627 per household. This against the gross value of aggregate production seems to be extremely impressive. Apart from the higher value of aggregate income the income stream in this business is continuous and there is an inbuilt replacement function (when a cow is out of milk its progeny would have

TABLE 2.11 : BOVINE ANIMALS PER HOUSEHOLD

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
TOTAL NO. OF CATTLE								
COWS								
MILK GIVING	1.65	1.53	2.27	1.66	0.50	1.00	1.27	0.96
NON MILK GIVING	0.85	1.63	1.09	1.20	1.00	1.00	1.27	1.15
BUFFALOES								
MILK GIVING	0.10	0.11	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.07	0.07
NON MILK GIVING	0.05	0.00	0.09	0.04	0.10	0.00	0.20	0.15
TOTAL NO. OF EXOTIC								
MILK GIVING								
	1.10	1.42	1.02	1.10	0.10	0.00	0.20	0.15
NON MILK GIVING	0.70	1.53	0.73	1.02	0.00	0.50	0.07	0.07
TOTAL NO. OF CATTLE								
PURCHASED								
	1.50	1.37	1.73	1.50	1.70	0.50	0.07	0.93
BORN	1.05	1.70	2.09	1.54	1.50	0.00	2.07	2.15
TOTAL VALUE (IN RS.)								
COWS								
	335.00	360.70	813.03	145.77	140.00	700.00	202.00	86.49
BUFFALOES	14.75	27.70	4.13	6.56	35.00	0.00	40.00	17.15

NOTE :-

DECIMALS APPEAR DUE TO DIVISIONS

TABLE 2.12:

EXPENDITURE ON FODDER AND CATTLE TENDING

(PER HOUSEHOLD)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
POUCHASRD FODDER								
DRY FODDER								
VALUE (IN RS.)	1618.75	1586.84	1886.36	1665.50	290.00	1850.00	733.33	651.85
GREEN FODDER								
VALUE (IN RS.)	677.50	241.85	858.18	551.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
HOME PRODUCED FODDER								
VALUE IN RS.								
DRY								
	1182.50	1994.74	3055.00	1871.10	1425.00	1900.00	3093.33	2387.84
GREEN								
	1513.75	1735.00	4626.82	2282.70	300.00	11000.00	1140.00	1559.26
EMPLOYMENT IN MAN DAYS PER YEAR								
FAMILY LABOUR								
	169.40	214.21	219.73	197.50	249.00	225.00	252.67	249.26
OPEN GRAZING								
NO. OF DAYS PER YEAR	90 TO 240	60 TO 300	30 TO 100	30 TO 300	60 TO 200	140 TO 250	60 TO 260	60 TO 260
OTHER EXPENDITURE RS.								
TOTAL HOSPITAL CHARGES								
	281.00	463.21	351.36	365.72	19.90	25.00	93.33	68.48
MEDICINE								
	221.00	411.89	324.09	323.82	19.90	25.00	93.33	68.48
OTHERS								
	60.00	31.32	27.27	41.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

TABLE 2.13:

PRODUCTION OF MILK AND OTHER ANIMAL PRODUCTS PER YEAR

(PER HOUSEHOLD)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
TOTAL MILK YIELD								
(IN LITRE)								
EXOTIC CROSS BREED	4354.50	4612.11	6182.73	4854.60	288.00	0.00	1100.67	718.15
OTHERS	466.50	126.32	387.27	319.80	352.50	638.00	1000.00	732.78
PRICE OF MILK SOLD (RS.)	14453.25	15160.26	28963.18	16154.10	1648.50	1575.00	4569.33	3265.74
HOME CONSUMPTION (RS.)	1275.75	1245.26	1999.09	1421.70	593.30	610.00	2805.00	1824.74
TOTAL VALUE OF MILK (RS.)	15729.00	16405.51	22962.27	17575.40	2241.80	2285.00	7374.33	5090.48
SALE OF LIVESTOCK								
CATTLE								
NO.	0.40	0.58	0.71	0.54	0.50	0.58	0.67	0.59
VALUE IN RS	1183.00	3055.26	2618.18	2178.20	180.00	200.00	2033.33	1211.11
DUNG COLLECTED								
(IN CART LOAD)								
PER YEAR	25.65	22.63	28.91	25.22	26.00	17.00	30.47	27.81
SOLD	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

the already taken the place of (mother cow). These differences between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries are substantially large. This alone is a sure indicator of the success of the programme.

In order to investigate further into the hypothesis that the subsidiary occupation like dairy helps to generate higher growth in agricultural sector, we tried out some regression equations. Our intention here is to see as to how the variables indicating agricultural development are determined by dairy activity. Dependent variables are cropping intensity and gross value of main product and by-products. The following two equations are chosen out of the several specifications:

Equ. 2.1:

$$CI = 124.0725^* - 4.9441^{**} OA + 0.0002 PVL S + 0.0008 TCRD + 3.8086^{**} TMYJ$$

(11.50) (2.28) (0.35) (0.44) (2.35)

$$\bar{R}^2 = 0.23 \quad F = 3.27$$

Equ. 2.2:

$$CI = 123.9562^* - 4.5315^{**} OA + 0.0002 PVL S + 0.0010 TCRD + 3.1988^{***} TMYAC$$

(10.75) (2.06) (0.36) (0.61) (1.81)

$$\bar{R}^2 = 0.19 \quad F = 2.63$$

where : *, **, *** Statistical significance at 1, 5 and 10 per cent.

CI = Cropping Intensity; PVL S = Present Value of Livestock

OA = Operated Area; TMYJ = Total Milk Yield from Exotic Cows

TMYAC = Total milk yield from all Animals.

TCRD = Total Credit Received.

The equations above indicate a positive and statistically significant relationship of total milk yield with cropping intensity. The intercept, however, emerges very strong, indicating some left out variables. It is natural that the relationship between cropping intensity and the livestock economy (especially dairy) is not of a direct kind and therefore the results are not unexpected. Even then the positive influence of the sector on the cropping intensity is clearly indicated. Similar equations were tried with gross value of agricultural output and by-products but the variables representing livestock economy did not emerge as significantly influencing the behaviour of gross value of agricultural output mainly due to estimation level problems.

2.6 : Role in Social Action Modalities and Sustenance

BAIF has been in the field of rural development for more than a quarter century. The achievements of the organisations are noteworthy and have been commended at all the levels in national and international forums. The recognition, not only came out of the honours received by Shri Manibhai personally for his self-less and systematic planning but also in the form of large amount of funds received from national and international development agencies. It is now an internationally recognised development group. There are four important factors which highlight, BAIF's role in social action modalities and would result in sustenance of the philosophy.

Firstly, the basic philosophical approach of the agency

and its cadres is to recognise the rural folk as an important component in development. The approach of the grass root level worker is not governed by the usual status of donor and recipient but as an actor in an adopted process. In this context it would be appropriate to quote Manibhai - ; "I would like to put it on record, this was possible because BAIF did not get caught in the colonial working system which is inherited by our Government from the British. We started right from the beginning to go to the farmer, sit with him, try to understand his priorities, respect his robust common-sense and wisdom and design tailor made programme in which he would like to participate willingly considering it as his own programme" (Desai,1990).

Secondly, the total professional outlook with scientific spirit at its core is the most important aspect of the implementation of the programme. Every programme planned, designed and implemented by the staff of the organisation has a high calibre scientific backup. For example, their livestock programme is manned by highly qualified veterinarians from the top to the perfectly skilled technician at the bottomline. The beneficiaries unequivocally praised the skills obtained by the technicians in our survey area. These were unparallel and even the Government as well as private veterinary doctors could not be compared with the BAIF's technicians' skills.

Thirdly, the choice of programme is a unique feature of BAIF's strategy. Possibly there are five important components in their selection of the programme viz.(i) it should be a new programme directly dealing with rural household;

(ii) there should not be a large scale Government programme in the same area going on parallel lines; (iii) it should be both income and employment generating; (iv) the programme must tap the hidden economic potential of the region and the households and (v) it should be operationally as well as economically flexible. These inclusions seem to be paying rich dividends in operating with social engineering lacunae. Nowhere a point of conflict was noted.

Lastly, the sustenance of BAIF's programme and operations emerge out of its 'Umbrella' image both in administration as well as grass root level implementation. The organisational structure helps in creating small local groups which would function smoothly at grass root level. Apart from this each programme is monitored and implemented by a highly qualified person and therefore, there is no possibility of inter-programme aberrations. The organisation derives spirit and guidance from its father figure Shri Manibhai, and the technicians plan the operations. Therefore, it is like the shade of an umbrella, where the beneficiaries and the actors are in large number and derive remote but sure dependence out of each other at the same time enacting their role in 'building from below'.

CHAPTER III

PANI PANCHAYAT : A RESOURCE CENTRED ORGANISATION

3.1 : Introduction

Maharashtra is one of the major drought-prone States of the country with, 88 talukas spread over 12 districts coming under drought-prone area (GOM, 1973). Some of the talukas in the State hardly receive 600 mm of annual rainfall and therefore water scarcity has always been a major problem for the State. Broadly six specific issues are raised in the distribution the problems of irrigation in the State. Firstly, development of irrigation is mainly confined to some pockets in the State and the overall proportion of irrigation is below 20 percent. This has left large ^{portion of} area under rainfed conditions. Secondly, the distribution of irrigation in command areas across farmers has always been a problem. Quite a few solutions were tried which included Warabandi, Phad and Water Co-operatives, but the problem still persists. Thirdly, the utilisation of water across crops is skewed in favour of sugarcane. Large quantity of water, over a limited area is being used (for sugarcane) depriving other crops ^{of} the availability of ^{even the} protective irrigation. Fourthly, as a result, despite the huge investment of public resources in irrigation major portion of drought-prone area and the crops remained unprotected. Fifthly, the result of ill distribution of water is reflected in the underutilisation of the created potential. This also gives rise to ecological problems like mono-culture cropping system, salinity of soil, water logging

(Sawant, 1986) and reduction in aggregate production (Deshpande, 1989). Lastly, the entire process leads to creation of islands of prosperity at the heavy cost inflicted on the left-out sections of the society.

At the root of all these issues is the absence of a proper water management system at micro level. Building of such a system would require participation from the people under some institutional mechanism. It is, however, difficult to build such an institution because water is a scarce and a high income generating resource. Any control in its use rates bring to the fore two types of conflicts. Firstly, the conflicts would emerge due to inter-personal use rates and secondly, the social vis-a-vis private benefit arguments also create aberrations. In such a situation imposing (leave alone generating) an institutional regime is a difficult task. Pani Panchayat is such an institution which has made it possible and generated several number of projects under its principles.

3.2 Nature, Objectives and Functioning

The movement named 'Pani Panchayat' was started on the background of the severe drought of 1972-73 in the State of Maharashtra. During the drought year a Forum of Industrial Technologist was organised under the leadership of Shri Vilasrao Salunke to suggest ways and methods to deal with the drought. The usual metal breaking work was being followed for over years, which was not only strenuous but had little

linkage with drought proofing on long term basis. Working with the Forum and the severity of the drought left indelible mark on the young mind of Shri Salunke. The theme of PaniPanchayat germinated in his mind at that time.

As a first step, in the process he registered a trust under the name Gram Gaurav Pratishtan (GGP), the year was 1974. As an initial step GGP leased-in a 16 hectares plot of land on a long term basis at Naigaon in Saswad taluka for the work.

Objectives of the GGP were as follows :

1. "To provide initially relief to the farmers of Furan dhar taluka by improving their economic conditions and to remove the cause of recurring droughts.
2. To create facilities to raise their social and economic conditions to attain welfare of the people in this taluka.
3. To conduct research studies in socio-economic conditions, so that the urban interest will be linked with the process of creating integrated rural development.
4. To do all such lawful things as are conducive or incidental to the attainment of all the above aims and objectives." (GGP, 1983)

The initial work started at Naigaon plot of GGP. This is a part of a 200 acre micro-watershed where, water can be impounded into a small percolation tank. Alongwith the construction of the tank, the soil and water conservation treatments were started in the catchment areas. These included

leveling contour bunding, contour ploughing, vegetative bunding and forming water ways. Out of these 16 hectare, 9.60 hectares were brought under protective irrigation, 2.40 hectares under afforestation and remaining 4 hectares, under the percolation tank as well as other structures. The experiment proved to be a good success.

The experience of the Naigaon farm from 1974 to 1979 and a continuous thinking about the GGP's objective, gave rise to certain principles in water sharing. Shri Salunke brooded over the idea of starting a farmer's co-operative lift irrigation scheme with the initiative coming from them. He did not have to wait longer. The initial schemes started at Naigaon itself. Seven basic guidelines were formulated. These were as follows:

- i) GGP would help in formulating group lift irrigation schemes of cohesive groups. Individual will not be taken.
- ii) The sharing of water is on the basis of the number of members in the family and not in proportion to the land owned by them. Every household would get water rights to the maximum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres with an allocation of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre per capita. The land in excess shall remain under rainfed conditions. This particular clause incorporated the principle of equity in water sharing.
- iii) The beneficiary shall not have exclusive rights to irrigation. These will not be attached to the

land. If the land is sold, water rights shall revert back to the Trust.

iv) All the members would contribute 20 per cent of the capital cost in cash initially, the balance 80 per cent will be provided by GGP in the form of interest free loan (wherever, subsidy was not available) or 50 per cent would be met from Government subsidy and remaining 30 per cent would be given by GGP as interest free loan.

v) The landless labourers can also share water on the basis of which, he could enter into an informal contract for cultivating other's land.

vi) High water consuming crops like sugarcane, banana, paddy will not be included in the cropping pattern of the beneficiaries. These crops will distort the equity of water sharing across crops.

vii) The project should be entirely administered by beneficiaries with the help of 'Panch Committee' from among themselves.

(GGP, 1983) and (Kolhe et al 1986)

With these principals and the administration left to beneficiaries, the first scheme started functioning in 1979 itself. The functional steps in the Pani Panchayat schemes are simple and easy to operate. Once the beneficiaries decide to form a lift irrigation society, they must prepare the documents required for operating the society. These

include the record of rights, cropping pattern, no dues certificate from bank/village accountant and a consent letter. An account will be opened in the bank jointly with a representative of GGP and Gat Pramukh. A Panch Committee will be formed which will acquire the necessary land for pump house, pipelines etc. A sevak would be appointed by GGP to operationalise the water distribution according to the fixed time table given by Panch Committee. The Committee will resolve the difficulties, problems and tensions amongst the beneficiaries. The Panch Committee is expected to ensure the recovery of Pani Patti (Water charges fixed on crop/acreage basis) and the contribution towards the loan of GGP.

The steps in formation of a new scheme involve first, a meeting of the beneficiaries with a GGP representative at the initiative of beneficiaries. This is followed by selection of the group and survey of the area. It also includes checking the preferences of individual beneficiaries and their inclinations. This is followed by a technical survey which the GGP undertakes with the help of technicians. A meeting of the beneficiaries is called in the presence of a representative from GGP to finalise the capital requirements, mutual share and preparation of the documents. Record of rights are checked including the encumbrances and individual's shares in terms of capital and benefits are finalised. The next step involves obtaining various sanctions, certificates and electricity from the State Government.

3.3 Pani Panchayat's Approach to Development of Agriculture

Distribution of water on most rational basis is the core of the problems of irrigated agriculture. In a drought-prone area, protective irrigation is the major strategy for drought proofing. If irrigation is provided, it is most likely used for commercial crops like sugarcane, banana, vegetables, etc., and the water starved part of the drought-prone economy continues as it is. The entire process leads to the spread of large quantity of irrigation water (thereby the investment) on small area base and in the hands of a few families.

Pani Panchayat's approach to agricultural development has six important factors, as can be seen from their operations. Firstly, the economic use of irrigation water is on the priority list of Pani Panchayat. Mostly, the irrigated areas have to face this acute problem. Major irrigation command areas of Maharashtra and other States bore an ample proof for this. (Mitra, 1987), (Deshpande and Ramakrishna, 1987), (Deshpande and Ramakrishna, 1990). Secondly, the equitable distribution of benefits across farm families helps in establishing a just society. Family instead of area, as the distributional weight, helps to correct the distortions caused by ill distribution of land. Thirdly, the insistence on the cropping pattern emerging out of self imposed regulations does not allow uneconomic use of land by a few farmers. This also stops the process of land degradation due to heavy irrigation in drought-prone areas. Fourthly, the scheme is

initiated by farmers themselves and hence, the process of development begins at their door step, instead of coming from above. This helps in true participation^{of} the people in their own development. Operationalisation of the scheme fosters community spirit, the villages come together to help their other activities also. Fifthly, the scheme is handed over to the Get Pramukh (Team leader) and the Panchayat, GGP withdraws from its operationalisation. This gives the beneficiaries a good management experience. Lastly, the scheme has a focus on improvement of agriculture in chronically drought-prone region but, the philosophy and approach is directed towards building economically independent social groups, directing their own development path.

3.4 Interaction with Government Agencies

Pani Panchayat schemes involved, interaction with the State Government right from its inception. Over the years of the operations, different schemes have undergone through the path of total co-operation on the part of Government (represented by bureaucracy) and also some times long drawn conflicts. There are four distinct phases at which the participants of Pani Panchayat have to deal with the Government offices at different levels. First one, is the revenue authorities of the block represented either by Tahasildar or village accountant. They have to be approached for record of rights as well as while laying the pipeline. Second stage is while getting the permission to form a lift irrigation society. Government has a parallel programme existing and

the regulations are not as stringent as those of Pani Panchayat. Therefore, there is a possibility of getting attracted to Government initiated lift irrigation programme. Third and the most crucial interface with the Government comes while obtaining the permission of the Executive Engineer of the ^{Department of} Irrigation. Robert Wade has written quite pointedly about the functioning of this department (Wade, 1979). Lastly, the real problem in the lift irrigation scheme lies with the provision of electricity. Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB) has to be approached to provide for the necessary connections. Initially for a few schemes electricity was available and the functioning was quite smooth. But in the later phase the farmers and GGP had to undergo ^{severe} hardships to obtain proper electricity connections. The undue delay on the part of MSEB has staggered the project implementation, The farmers had invested after borrowing, which caused accumulation of interest. An agitation was called by GGP and a good number of persons were jailed. It was only at the intervention of the then Chairman of NABARD, ^{the} electricity connection was given. But by then damage was already done to the movement, which had picked up in the early eighties. The initiative was curbed to a large extent and the ^{schemes} were not coming with the same enthusiasm. Added to this, Government initiated parallel schemes which obviously did not have the principles and philosophy of Pani Panchayat. Thus a good movement was discouraged under State efforts.

3.5 Impact Assessment of the Programme

Pani Panchayat is directly a crop economy oriented scheme and hence its impact can be easily assessed by ascertaining the incremental crop economy parameters. We had selected two schemes near Dhalewadi, both belonged to weaker sections of the society. Another scheme totally managed by females at Rajuri was also taken for study*. The fourth scheme was selected from Shindewadi which included a mixed strata of the society. This gave a good cross-section of the schemes. All the schemes ^{had} started before 1986 and hence, their impact parameters have completely stabilised. We selected fifty beneficiaries from among the four schemes and twenty five non-beneficiaries. All the impact parameters about the four schemes have almost similar behaviour and therefore, we decided to combine them.

Land utilisation pattern shows no significant difference between the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Table 3.1). It may be noted here that, we had a choice in selection of non-beneficiaries from two groups namely (i) those with irrigated lands but not coming under NGO scheme; (ii) those with rainfed land and not coming under NGO scheme. The second group of non-beneficiaries would have inflated the difference between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. But this difference had to be attributed to irrigation alone, rather than the intervention by NGO. Therefore, we selected the non-beneficiaries from the first group as mentioned above.

*The schemes are named as (1) Bapdeo (2) Indira (3) Mhasoba and (4) Dr. Ambedkar lift irrigation schemes.

TABLE 3.1 :

LAND UTILISATION PATTERN OF BENEFICIARY AND NON BENEFICIARY HOUSEHOLDS.

(PER HOUSEHOLD)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
SIZE OF HOLDING (HA)	0.97	3.20	9.24	3.09	1.05	2.03	5.60	2.03
IRRIGATED AREA (HA)	0.54	1.41	2.39	1.20	0.35	0.70	1.53	0.50
WASTE LAND								
P. FALLOW LAND (HA)	0.02	0.02	0.51	0.16	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.04
CURRENT FALLOW (HA)	0.06	0.12	0.03	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
OTHER FALLOW (HA)	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
CULTIVABLE WASTE (HA)	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.07
% OF INCULTIVATED LAND	11.10	4.34	6.34	6.44	0.49	9.41	0.00	5.90
NET CULTIVATED LAND (HA)	0.86	3.14	8.66	3.64	0.96	2.57	5.60	1.90
AREA CULTIVATED MORE THAN ONCE (HA)	0.51	1.13	1.40	0.92	0.66	1.13	2.49	0.99
GROSS CROPPED AREA (HA)	1.37	4.27	10.05	4.55	1.62	3.69	8.09	2.89
CROPPING INTENSITY=(GCA/NCA)	159.10	135.98	116.05	125.00	160.75	143.50	144.46	152.10

NOTE :

GCA : GROSS CROPPED AREA

NCA : NET CULTIVATED AREA

TABLE 3.2(A) CROPPING PATTERN OF IRRIGATED CROPS (PERCENT TO GROSS CROPPED AREA)

	BENEFICIARY				NON-BENEFICIARY			
	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CERIALS & MILLETS	38.05	27.96	17.55	22.92	12.74	4.74	19.79	12.65
CASH CROPS	18.29	12.04	12.01	12.88	16.90	2.26	25.14	15.21
PULSES	4.71	6.37	0.74	2.66	3.40	1.81	2.31	2.54
OILSEEDS	5.03	0.47	0.99	1.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
OTHERS	0.70	2.34	0.88	1.21	1.35	1.35	0.00	0.90
GIA	20.99	27.32	45.28	93.59	8.91	2.25	11.46	22.64
GIA AS % TO GCA	66.78	49.18	32.17	41.10	34.47	10.16	47.24	31.31

NOTE:-

GIA - GROSS IRRIGATED AREA

GCA - GROSS CROPPED AREA

TABLE 3.2(B) CROPPING PATTERN OF RAINFED CROPS (PERCENT TO GROSS CROPPED AREA)

	BENEFICIARY				NON-BENEFICIARY			
	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UPTO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CEREALS & MILLETS	25.71	42.39	61.06	52.13	54.96	79.01	46.17	59.30
CASH CROPS	0.00	2.25	0.14	0.64	1.35	0.90	0.00	0.76
PULSES	2.29	2.93	4.83	4.02	6.10	0.58	6.60	7.05
OILSEEDS	1.91	2.88	0.85	1.49	2.51	1.35	0.00	1.31
OTHERS	3.31	0.36	0.14	0.63	0.54	0.00	0.00	0.19
RPA	10.44	28.23	95.48	134.15	16.98	19.90	12.80	49.68
RAINFED AREA AS % TO GCA	33.22	50.82	67.83	58.90	65.53	89.84	52.76	68.69

NOTE : RPA - RAINFED AREA GCA - GROSS CROPPED AREA

The size of holding in the beneficiary group is higher as compared to non-beneficiaries, but this difference is mainly due to the dominance of large holders among the beneficiaries. It is interesting that the sharing of natural resources on equitable principle has a support of these large holders. The share of irrigated area is also higher in this group. Cropping intensity is larger by 25 points in the group of non-beneficiaries indicating larger use of available water as compared to the judicious use of water in the beneficiary group.

Cropping pattern of beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries in aggregate is dominated by cereals and millets. But when we come to irrigated crops, we find that beneficiaries devote larger area share to cereals and millets whereas, the non-beneficiaries concentrate on cash crops. The composition of cash crops in the group of beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries is different. Only one farmer among the beneficiaries cultivates sugarcane on the other land (other than that coming under the scheme). The beneficiary group has 58.9 per cent of the land under rainfed condition as against 64.3 per cent of the non-beneficiaries (Tables 3.2(A) and 3.2 (B)).

Input intensities of various inputs on per hectare basis are presented in Table 3.3. Here also the group of non-beneficiaries seems to maintain larger input intensity. The differences are large in terms of fertilizer, irrigation charges and labour input (human as well as bullock labour).

Even in terms of aggregate input intensity the beneficiary farmer spends about Rs.2800 per hectare on the farm whereas the non-beneficiary farmers' expenditure on inputs is about Rs. 4300.

The real difference between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries arises when we compare the output per household across crop groups (Table 3.4(A)). The beneficiary group has outclassed the non-beneficiaries. The differences between the two groups are also substantially high. Recalling that the beneficiaries group had slightly higher size of holding and to check if, the difference is due to the differences in land base, we presented the per hectare productivity of crop groups in Table 3.4(B). Here also the differences in the productivities are quite obvious. The beneficiaries have larger productivity per hectare as compared to the non-beneficiaries.

The input use and productivity analysis bring out four important issues. Firstly, the beneficiary farmers use most of the inputs judiciously and possibly avoid the uneconomic use. Secondly, this type of input use efficiency originates from their participation in the water sharing co-operative. Thirdly, the crop combinations are such that they get an optimum output even at a lower level of input intensity. Lastly, the lower input intensity and higher level of output also leads to equity in long run.

When we look at the marketing behaviour of the beneficiary households it becomes quite clear that this group has

TABLE 3.3:

INPUT USE PER HECTARE OF BENEFICIARIES AND NON BENEFICIARIES

(RS. PER HECTARE)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
SEEDS	593.57	763.28	165.21	257.76	391.50	170.15	274.76	265.79
FYM	641.80	246.66	173.67	241.31	958.75	271.76	160.71	330.40
FERTILIZERS	922.97	637.47	187.99	370.84	659.71	80.71	861.90	512.45
PESTICIDES	134.83	14.63	3.86	21.23	34.42	0.00	6.55	13.62
IRRIGATION CHARGES	345.98	117.84	39.83	95.88	574.40	119.41	160.71	284.50
FAMILY LABOUR	1985.44	1851.30	494.81	787.78	2185.64	1815.24	628.54	1247.87
HIRE LABOUR	954.79	581.81	329.69	419.86	725.88	463.24	721.43	636.25
BULLOCK LABOUR OWNED	118.56	687.27	291.80	339.77	628.49	451.76	577.38	552.22
HIRED	883.60	168.58	68.44	178.45	637.69	348.82	234.52	487.81
TRACTOR CHARGES	114.61	0.00	79.22	65.88	188.31	32.35	33.33	57.95
INPUT COST PER HA. OF OPERATED AREA	6688.13	3728.84	1824.98	2799.88	6426.88	2913.65	3651.85	4127.27

LB 3.4(A) :

OUTPUT PER HOUSEHOLD ACROSS CROP GROUPS BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES.

(IN QTLS.)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CERIALS & MILLETS	0.51	21.96	32.96	18.85	5.88	8.22	23.67	8.58
CASH CROPS	76.30	78.74	229.74	119.90	38.69	11.08	220.67	53.90
PULSES	1.13	2.72	2.38	1.89	0.16	0.63	1.67	0.45
OILSEEDS	0.81	1.23	0.46	0.82	0.43	0.17	0.00	0.32
OTHERS	0.54	11.27	13.36	6.92	0.48	0.33	0.00	0.39

TABLE 3.4(B) :

PRODUCTIVITY PER HECTARE ACROSS CROP GROUPS BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES.

(IN QTL.S.)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CEREALS & MILLETS	9.76	7.31	4.13	5.52	5.36	2.66	4.44	4.12
CASH CROPS	305.18	128.92	188.09	194.70	130.33	95.00	108.52	116.67
PULSES	11.84	6.83	4.24	6.22	1.05	1.63	2.31	1.64
OILSEEDS	8.58	8.60	2.50	6.20	10.68	3.33	0.00	8.36
OTHERS	9.84	97.67	129.86	82.36	15.61	6.67	0.00	12.22

Table 3.4(A) :

OUTPUT PER HOUSEHOLD ACROSS CROP GROUPS BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES.

(IN QTLS.)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CEREALS & MILLETS	8.51	21.96	32.96	18.85	5.88	8.22	23.67	8.58
CASH CROPS	76.30	78.74	229.74	119.90	38.69	11.08	220.67	53.90
PULSES	1.13	2.72	2.38	1.89	0.16	0.63	1.67	0.45
Oilseeds	0.81	1.23	0.46	0.82	0.43	0.17	0.00	0.32
Others	0.54	11.27	13.36	6.92	0.48	0.33	0.00	0.39

ABLE 3.4(B) :

PRODUCTIVITY PER HECTARE ACROSS CROP GROUPS BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES.

(IN QTL.S.)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
CERIALS & MILLETS	9.76	7.31	4.13	5.52	5.36	2.66	4.44	4.12
CASH CROPS	305.18	128.92	188.09	194.70	130.33	95.00	108.52	116.67
PULSES	11.84	6.83	4.24	6.22	1.05	1.63	2.31	1.64
OILSEEDS	8.58	8.60	2.50	6.20	10.68	3.33	0.00	8.36
OTHERS	9.84	97.67	129.86	82.36	15.61	6.67	0.00	12.22

larger share of marketed surplus (Table 3.5(A)). For most of the crop groups beneficiaries market larger portion of their crop output except for the group of cash crops and other crops. Even for these two, the difference in proportion is not large though the actual quantity marketed by the group of beneficiaries is much larger. Table 3.5(B) presents the marketed surplus per hectare for the crop groups. Here it becomes very clear that the beneficiary group has not only excelled in increasing their total productivity, but also market a sizeable portion out of it. This will certainly reflect in their gross earnings.

We have presented gross value of output of main products as well as by-products in Table 3.6. Average gross value of production of beneficiary group is much larger ^{than} that of the non-beneficiary group. The differences can be clearly felt in the case of cereals, millets, pulses and other crops. For the cash crop as well as oilseeds the non-beneficiaries seem to be having an upper edge.

The larger gross value of output brings prosperity to the farm family. This at times, gets reflected in terms of asset holding. We grouped the assets into four groups namely farm assets, capital assets, non-farm assets and livestock. It may be noted that the asset value of the beneficiary group is generally higher as compared to non-beneficiaries (Table 3.7). The value of non-farm assets of the non-beneficiaries is slightly higher than the beneficiaries.

In the entire operation of Pani Panchayat credit and

its repayment have a vital role. Thus it is not surprising that the outstanding credit of beneficiaries is larger than that of non-beneficiaries (Table 3.8). Beneficiaries have borrowed both from institutional as well as non-institutional sources. The amount borrowed per household in the beneficiary group is Rs. 11,136 as against Rs. 5506 of non-beneficiary group.

Thus in aggregate we find that Pani Panchayat scheme has created six fold impact on the group of beneficiaries. Firstly, the beneficiaries depict a clear optimum use of land resources, though the cropping intensity is low. The share of crops and crop groups in the case of beneficiaries, shows a judicious combination. The non-beneficiary group seems to be inclined more to commercial cropping. Secondly, the input intensity on beneficiary farms is generally lower as compared to non-beneficiaries, but when we looked ahead into productivity of crops, this amounts to be again a optimised pattern of inputs. Thirdly, technologically beneficiary farmers are advanced as compared to non-beneficiaries which should be inferred from the low input - high productivity combination. Fourthly, the productivities of almost all the crops on the beneficiary farms are higher as compared to non-beneficiaries. Consequently the group of beneficiaries also enjoy higher gross value of output per hectare. Higher gross value of output also acts as a correcting factor towards equity because the small farm households show higher productivity. Fifthly, the crop economy of the beneficiary household seems to be better

TABL.B 3.5(A) : PROPORTION OF GROSS OUTPUT RRAINED AND SOLD

	BENEFICIARIES		NON-BENEFICIARIES	
	RETAINED %	SOLD %	RETAINED %	SOLD %
CEREALS & MILLEYS	54.18	45.82	77.38	22.62
CASH CROPS	3.15	96.85	1.44	98.56
PULSES	21.93	78.07	67.40	32.60
OILSEEDS	38.71	61.29	55.92	44.08
OTHERS	90.07	9.93	83.42	16.58

ABLE 3.5(B) : MARKETED SURPLUS PER HECTARE

(IN QTL)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
CERIALS & MILLETS	3.59	3.35	2.05	2.53	0.83	0.16	1.94	0.93
CASH CROPS	283.27	123.07	187.15	188.58	127.76	93.21	107.54	114.99
PULSES	9.70	5.46	3.09	4.86	0.28	0.40	0.63	0.45
OILSEEDS	6.19	4.17	1.54	3.80	5.38	0.00	0.00	3.68
OTHRRS	9.21	3.97	12.90	8.18	0.00	5.11	0.00	2.50
TOTAL	55.59	20.64	24.71	27.98	24.28	3.17	27.28	18.88

TABLE 3.6 : GROSS VALUE OF MAIN PRODUCTS AND BY-PRODUCTS PER HECTARE

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA.	2 TO 4 HA.	ABOVE 4 HA.	ALL GROUPS
GROSS VALUE OF MAIN PRODUCTS								
CEREALS & MILLETS	2810.11	2141.12	1123.64	1555.00	1451.00	759.57	1210.75	1133.46
CASH CROPS	29054.70	14982.37	14261.99	17210.10	17094.74	9464.29	16147.54	16132.03
PULSES	5179.55	2611.46	2568.00	2968.44	766.11	666.00	996.04	824.94
OILSEEDS	5084.86	6241.94	1807.69	4125.75	8095.10	1111.11	0.00	6591.50
OTHERS	975.40	10691.18	14717.14	8690.24	4621.51	1111.11	0.00	4125.00
GROSS VALUE OF BY-PRODUCTS								
CEREALS & MILLETS	644.81	618.61	526.21	565.82	404.79	266.85	546.88	199.11
CASH CROPS	89.57	17.61	11.70	27.77	411.50	0.00	81.97	220.70
PULSES	0.00	0.00	17.22	0.00	12.10	0.00	0.00	3.69
OILSEEDS	550.46	80.65	0.00	201.11	461.54	0.00	0.00	315.79
OTHERS	476.19	129.41	403.23	28.57	147.06	0.00	0.00	70.13
GROSS VALUE OF MAIN PRODUCTS	7866.66	4413.18	2915.19	1961.44	4481.91	1090.83	4796.12	3557.09
GROSS VALUE OF BY-PRODUCTS	484.79	456.81	424.41	435.40	369.95	221.48	366.19	329.43
TOTAL GROSS VALUE OF PRODUCTION	8351.45	4869.99	3339.60	2396.85	4851.86	1312.31	5162.31	3886.52

TABLE 3.7:

ASSET HOLDINGS PER HOUSEHOLD

(IN ROPES)

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
FARM ASSETS								
PURCHASE VALUE	568.40	606.15	560.50	576.04	179.06	139.17	756.67	238.00
PRESENT VALUE	305.07	1044.23	1043.57	741.20	369.69	354.17	1575.00	510.60
CAPITAL ASSETS								
PURCHASE VALUE	565.22	3123.00	5335.71	2566.00	550.00	0.00	4666.67	912.00
PRESENT VALUE	1006.96	6307.69	11420.57	5340.00	2343.75	0.00	8666.67	2540.00
NON-FARM ASSETS								
PURCHASE VALUE	9050.70	16003.05	11021.43	11414.00	13000.75	17103.33	6603.33	13302.00
PRESENT VALUE	24150.00	20350.00	26364.29	25862.00	30021.00	33650.00	14650.00	29040.00
LIVE STOCK								
PURCHASE VALUE	1412.83	6323.00	4007.14	3639.90	2225.00	4466.67	7533.33	3400.00
PRESENT VALUE	4454.70	9304.62	11542.06	7721.20	4112.50	7416.67	11700.00	5016.00

TABLE 1.0 : CREDIT PARTICULARS OF BENEFICIARIES AND NON-BENEFICIARIES

	BENEFICIARIES				NON-BENEFICIARIES			
	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS	UP TO 2 HA	2 TO 4 HA	ABOVE 4 HA	ALL GROUPS
INSTITUTIONS								
AMOUNT	11200.00	28000.00	88200.00	149400.00	29550.00	14500.00	12000.00	44050.00
INTEREST RATE	10.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	11.00	11.00	11.00	11.00
REPORTING NR	9.00	1.00	8.00	20.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	8.00
AMOUNT PER NR.	1244.44	28000.00	11025.00	7470.00	7387.50	4811.11	12000.00	5506.25
PRIVATE LENDERS								
AMOUNT	6000.00	0.00	5000.00	11000.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
INTEREST RATE	15.00	0.00	60.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
REPORTING NR	2.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
AMOUNT PER NR.	3000.00	0.00	5000.00	3666.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

managed with low input intensity and high output as compared to non-beneficiaries. Lastly, the credit taken for the lift irrigation schemes shows a slightly higher burden on the beneficiaries but their repayment performance to GGP as well as other financial institution was satisfactory.

3.6 Role in Social Action Modalities and Sustenance

Pani Panchayats are resource based organisations which were conceived and initiated by GGP. The first difficulty ^{such} any society faces is about sharing of resources and especially when the resource is in the group of CPRS*. The usual dilemma between personal gains vis-a-vis social gains is faced and always the decision is heavily in favour of private profits. In the process, the weaker sections of the society get further pushed down increasing inequality. The only way to come out of the embroiled situation is to provoke the partners in the society to share the resources in the most economic way. Pani Panchayat could succeed in this objective.

The basic philosophy of Pani Panchayat is to share water on certain commonly agreed principles. These principles foster the people's participation in three different ways. Firstly, every one in the group shares the concern about the principles laid down. Therefore, it is only rarely that one comes across the violations of the regulations. Secondly, the scheme is operated on horizontal basis rather than verticle administrative principles. This binds the partners into a theme for mutual development. Thirdly, GGP's help is always

* CPR - Common Property Resources

available on large number of technical and other matters. This fosters the tie between nodal agency and the scheme.

Pani Panchayat movement had faced a rough weather some time back and the speed of its spread had come down. Among many factors there were three important factors responsible for this situation. First is the parallel lift irrigation schemes promoted through Government programme. This scheme also had the advantage of subsidy. It would therefore, be natural for the rich elements of the society to take advantage of such scheme, rather than forming a group on the basis of the Pani Panchayat principles. These principles would not serve the interests of those who are influential in the society and consequently with the Government. Secondly, the scheme involves curbing private profits and use rights of a group and promoting the same in the weaker sections. Any such social engineering approach has met with difficulties because of the neglect of the interests of 'haves'. Pani Panchayat was not an exception to this. There are certain examples where, outside elements have taken interest in blocking the spread of the schemes. Lastly, a resource based scheme can not remain away from politicisation. In Maharashtra irrigation availability has a close relationship with politicisation through the social prestige. Pani Panchayats and the area around could not stay out of local politicisation. Fortunately, this process did not influence the working of Pani Panchayat itself.

CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1 An Overview

India has a long tradition of voluntarism. The principles of self-help and development from within, were the key words at the time of independence. Over the last four and half decades there is a continuous attempt to incorporate this in our development philosophy. The planning process attempted it through the plan periods starting with the 'Community Development' approach of ^{the} first plan to 'Building up People's Institution' in the eighth plan. At the same time different voluntary agencies are working in the country for various causes.

Broadly, one can visualise four distinct phases in the development process after independence, namely: (i) Community development phase (ii) area development phase (iii) phase marking ^{the} technological change (iv) target group specific programmes. All through these phases people's participation was rather implicitly assumed but not made clear explicitly both in design as well as ^{in the} administration of the programme. During the past three plans the need for involvement of people as an essential component for sustainable development was earnestly recorded. During this period there was also a good growth in the network of voluntary organisations in the country. It was just coincidental that some of the exemplarily performing NGOs were also highlighted. The theme worldover was ^{that} the 'voluntary people's participation' as an emerging development

alternative. The failure of bureaucracy to reach the un-reached was quite visible in the developing societies and especially in India. The programme formulation and implementation mostly remained alien to the masses and development participation by different social groups was taken for granted.

The spirit of voluntarism emerged in the third world countries and especially in India on the background of the struggle to free the society out of colonial legacy. Further, the impulses generated out of the deep stirrings of consciousness originating out of deprivation, have helped in creating suitable work atmosphere for NGOs. These groups formed on voluntary basis assume different names under different contexts starting from an easy expression of 'voluntary organisation' to an ideologically linked 'social movement'.

The sociological theories of group behaviour help in understanding the theoretical background of emergence of voluntarism. These theories span over a large canvass beginning with Olson's theory of collective action (Olson, 1965) to Jonathan Turner's synthesis of the theories of social interaction. This forms the major theoretical platform and helps in explaining lifespan of voluntary action starting from the 'need' to 'routinisation' (Turner, 1988). Batten's framework of 'directive' and 'non-directive' approach helps to clarify a good number of issues and also indicate necessary conditions for the emergence of the 'non-directive approach'.

Voluntarism emerges strongly out of the middle class social stirrings. This class confronts a conflict within

their cultural space and also due to the comparisons with other social classes. These inherent feelings are fueled by the existing inequalities, some deeply felt developmental needs and issues generally avoided by mainstream political parties. The energies of this middle class youth charged with social consciousness are some times used by professional politicians to their advantage, but to a large extent there is also a tendency in some of them to remain apolitical. As the initial euphoria dies down and within structure equations start operating, the first signal comes out of the dissipating the thrust of ^{the} movement. At times the main operators get merged into the major political currents, quit the movement, become part of some other group or simply withdraw into their own cultural space, and concurrently another movement or social group takes its place. Such cycles are, however, not visible in some of the established developmental NGOs, but these cycles are a clear characteristic of voluntary social movements.

In the development dynamics, NGOs assume greater importance because of certain advantages. These are (i) proximity to people; (ii) strong linkage between programme, workers and bureaucracy; (iii) some ideological base; (iv) easier assessment of techno-economic feasibility; (v) the extent of availability of resources; (vi) democratic build up; (vii) technical ability and skills; (viii) social system information base. Given these advantages NGOs can organise the deprived classes, activate the system, mobilise resources, disseminate development information, improve social accountability and finally

supplement the Government efforts. Thus the role of NGOs as a development catalyst is important. However, there are critics who refuse to conceive NGOs in this role. The criticism is developed on four fronts. Firstly, it is argued that the role of ^{the} state can not be ignored, replaced or even supplemented in development efforts. It is strongly advocated that development is an intensely state's responsibility and should thus be performed through a proper political process. Secondly, NGO's increasing dependence on Government or non-Governmental funding agencies have compelled to modify the social movements to the 'aided movements'. Thirdly, higher dependence on Government funds and programmes has increased the bureaucratisation at the cost of flexibility. Lastly, the flow of money and lure of social prestige has brought in many 'non-descript' organisations (there is an example of an NGO claiming more than Rs. 10,000 for continuous measurement of water table in a well on farmer's field with 'electronic sensors').

4.2 Objectives

The present study is focussed on assessing the role of NGOs in agricultural development through the case studies of two successful organisations with the following specific objectives:

- i) To study the nature, objectives and functioning of the organisations and source of their finance.
- ii) To study the agricultural and allied activities and type of help given by the agencies and basis

for the assistance given to the farmers.

- iii) To analyse the impact and response from the farmers in respect of production, productivity, capital, assets, infrastructure, adoption of technology and employment.
- iv) To study the co-ordination of NGOs and other organisations and Government departments.
- v) To examine the role of non-Governmental agencies in bringing social action modalities or social involvement in the process along with its long run sustenance.
- vi) To identify the problems faced by the NGOs in implementing the agricultural programmes.
- vii) Lastly, to suggest guidelines for better involvement of NGOs in agricultural development.

Keeping the above objectives in mind the present study seeks to ascertain the performance of NGOs by examining the changes brought by them through the economic and technical assistance rendered to the farmers. Our study is focussed on agriculturally backward areas.

4.3 Methodology

As a first step, we prepared an exhaustive list of NGOs working in Maharashtra, based on the available information from all possible sources. Out of ^{this list} we selected 300 NGOs and sent them a postal questionnaire. Out of these, only 53 organisations filled up the questionnaire and returned. This

gave us a full understanding of NGOs working in the state. Finally, we selected two organisations purposively which are successful in the development of backward areas of Maharashtra. These are Bhartiya Agro Industries Foundation (BAIF) and Gram Gaurav Pratisthan (GGP). The first one is a big organisation with its work starting from 1967 and spread over the country. BAIF has large number of components and we selected their cattle development programme as a component for our study. We categorised BAIF as 'an umbrella organisation' with its network and the number of programmes operated. We selected the sample from Karjat taluka of Ahmednagar district.

Gram Gaurav Pratisthan is a voluntary organisation started for the development of rainfed areas. It is popular due to its work named as Pani Panchayat. This is a 'resource centred organisation' of beneficiaries for sharing water on certain pre-decided principles. Pani Panchayat is active in Purandar taluka of Pune district, which is among the drought-prone areas of the State.

The present study is spread over four chapters including this. The first chapter analysed the role of voluntary organisations and the emergence of voluntarism. All the theoretical issues are discussed in this chapter which include: understanding of voluntary action as a development alternative; a review of the theories of voluntarism; role, tasks and typologies of voluntary agencies; state and the non-state organisations. The chapter also includes a review of the voluntary process in India's developmental dynamics. It

discusses the spread of voluntary agencies across ^{the} states in the country and districts of Maharashtra. Objectives, methodology and plan of the study is spelt out at the end. Second chapter deals with the operations of BAIF - an umbrella organisation. After discussing the nature, objectives and functioning the initial discussion deals at length with BAIFs approach to the development of agricultural sector. Its interface with the government is discussed before the detailed analysis of the impact of its cattle development programme. Third chapter exactly follows the same framework of analysis for Pani Panchayat. The only difference arises out of the basic structure of the two agencies.

4.4 Main Findings and Policy Implications

- i) Analysis about the development dynamics of India showed a strong need of people's participation in planning, formulating and implementing the development programmes. Decentralised planning as well as active involvement of people at the lowest regional level (village) in implementation is necessary.
- ii) Voluntarism is a purely social phenomenon, emerging out of the deep social stirrings. Its sustenance therefore, depends on its genesis. Each voluntary movement would be different and hence, its influence would be distinct. There can be one broad way of categorising voluntary organisations and that would be on the basis of their formal recognition by

Government Agencies. Further classifications would always be based on the need of the analysis.

- iii) Recently, there is a sizeable increase in the number and operations of voluntary organisations. Interestingly large number of them are concentrated in urban areas. At the same time, a large number devote themselves to the welfare of rural areas. This phenomenon is common both at the country level as well as in the state of Maharashtra.
- iv) Politicisation of voluntary movements is a recently emerging phenomenon. Apart from this there are organisations now, which guide the voluntary organisations in preparing project proposals, approaching financial agencies, preparation of accounts, etc. But interestingly these training agencies did not pay much attention on how to evoke larger participation of rural masses.
- v) We have categorised BAIF as an 'umbrella organisation' because of its operations over programmes and regions as well as its holistic philosophy. BAIF's focus is on the rural family than the village as a whole. The approach is to create gainful self employment, sustainable environment ^{and} improved quality of life through upgradation and application of technical skills with community participation.
- vi) BAIF's view to development is holistic through four

basic components namely land, livestock, water and vegetation. There is a clear linkage between these and overall agricultural development of the region. It is not necessary that all the four components are transferred into a village or a family based programme but any one of these will help in connecting the others.

- vii) BAIF's interaction with the Government agencies as well as its funding agencies, has always been excellent. This is achieved mainly due to the non political nature of the organisation and a strict professional attitude in handling the programmes. Their programmes are manned by high level technocrats and devoted field workers.
- viii) The livestock development programme in the selected region showed exemplary results not only in the livestock sector but also in agriculture as a whole. The beneficiaries have better land utilisation, optimum crop combination and better adoption of technology as compared to the group of non-beneficiaries. Input intensity of the beneficiaries and ^{their} productivity per hectare of all crops is higher. The beneficiary group also showed a sizeable income, generating out of sale of milk, milk products and animal products. In fact this income is much higher than the income from crop economy.

- ix) There were no difficulties in the implementation of the programme. The only possible thing that can be done is to enhance the programme in terms of its spread.
- x) Pani Panchayat is the major activity of Gram Gaurav Pratisthan (GGP) located in a chronically drought-prone taluka—Purandar of Pune district. The programme operates lift-irrigation co-operatives on certain principles. These principles include :
- (i) sharing of water on the basis of ^{the} number of persons in the family, every one getting 'irrigation right' of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre with a ceiling of total $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres per family; (ii) the 'irrigation rights' are non-transferable with land; (iii) high water consuming crops like sugarcane, banana should not be grown; (iv) the water rights would also be available to landless agricultural labourer; (v) all the members would contribute 20 per cent of the capital cost initially and pay back the interest free loan taken from GGP for the scheme; (vi) the decision of the Panch Committee of Pani Panchayat will be abiding to all.
- xi) The organisation had a total thrust on improving agriculture by providing irrigation. Therefore, it was quite clear that the organisation was intending to improve the quality of life of their beneficiaries by providing them opportunities to

obtain higher productivity. Apart from this the Pani-Panchayat principles also intended to introduce the principle of self help and local level planning among the beneficiaries.

- xii) Pani Panchayat's interaction with the Government does not have a pleasant history. In fact, the beneficiaries had to resort to agitation because of the non-availability of electricity connection for a long time. Their investment remained idle for quite some time. Apart from this the Government of Maharashtra decided to start a parallel programme of lift irrigation co-operatives in the State with a portion of capital given as subsidy, but without the sharing principles laid down by Pani Panchayat. The confrontations did not last longer but in the process ^{this} hampered the speed at which Pani Panchayat was spreading.
- xiii) Beneficiaries of Pani Panchayat did not have higher cropping intensities as that of the non-beneficiaries (we had selected the non-beneficiaries with irrigation facilities), but their land use seems to be helping them to use the water resources judiciously. The production and productivity per hectare, was higher in the group of beneficiaries even though they have lower input intensity. The gross value of output per hectare is again higher in the group of beneficiaries and

the small size classes showed higher productivity indicating better distribution of benefits.

- xiv) Pani Panchayat faced a large number of difficulties mainly generating out of the politicisation process that emerges after ^{the} availability of irrigation. This process was fueled by those outside the scheme and had a free access to groundwater. This was confounded by parallel schemes initiated by the Government of Maharashtra.
- xv) The policy implications generating out of our study of the role of Non-Governmental Organisations in agricultural development are as follows :
- 1) Both State & Central Governments should encourage the voluntary efforts at village level. These agencies should be identified by properly trained high level officials through their field work. The usual approach of funding through applications received from NGOs should be replaced by a new approach of selecting the NGOs for funding.
 - 2) Higher democratisation, professional skills, established support of people, expertise in activities and commitment to work should be the criteria for such selection. Party affiliations as well as ideological leanings should never form the criteria for rejection.
 - 3) There should be continuous monitoring and/or homogenisation with the NGOs development philo-

sophies across organisations and between organisation and the Government.

- 4) An apex body to govern and guide the direction of action of NGOs with full freedom for local innovative character, should be organised both at Central and State level. PADI's approach of 'donor and recipient' builds a subservient attitude. Same thing is true about CAPART.
- 5) Bureaucratisation and Pattern building are the peculiarities of the State programmes, whereas, NGOs have the advantages on the count of flexibility and higher democratisation. These advantages should be preserved to sustain the voluntary movement.
- 6) Finally, NGOs can never replace the welfare efforts on the part of the State. Whatsoever, these will be miniscule efforts and must be supported (or rather led) by a well designed participatory programme of development initiated by the State.

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- 2) IJPA - Indian Journal of Public Administration.
- 3) IIPA - Indian Institute of Public Administration.

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