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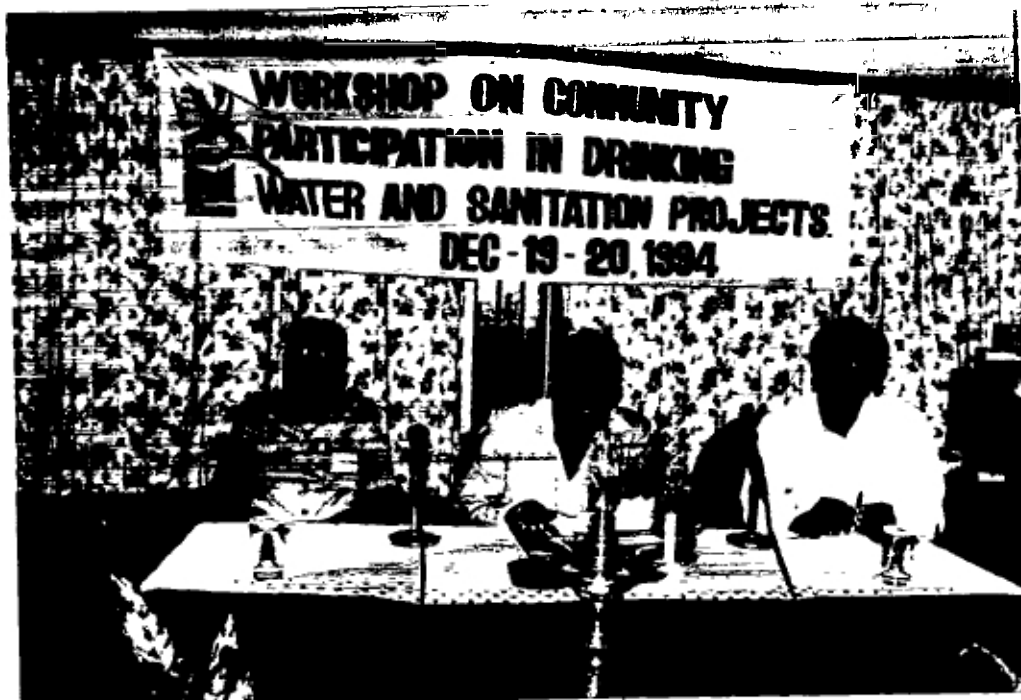
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DRINKING WATER & SANITATION PRO

Themes in Development Series - 3



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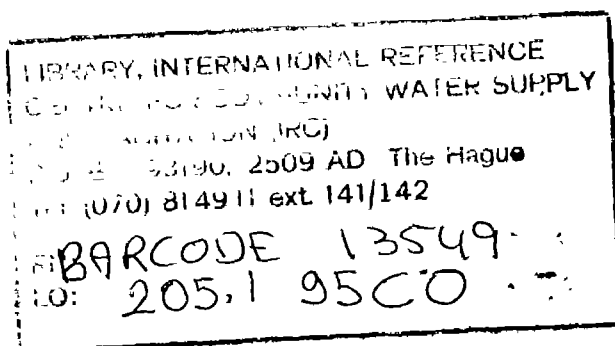
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Inaugural Session

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DRINKING WATER AND SANITATION PROJECTS

A REPORT
ON THE
NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
IN DRINKING WATER AND SANITATION PROJECTS
ORGANISED BY
ACTIONAID INDIA
BANGALORE, 19-20 DECEMBER 1994



DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT DIVISION
ACTIONAID INDIA
1995

ACTIONAID India exists to facilitate the empowerment of the poor in the process of social development.

-- ACTIONAID India Mission Statement

ACTIONAID is an international development agency working with some of the poorest communities in 21 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for bringing about lasting improvements in the quality of their lives. Based on its experience at the community level, ACTIONAID also seeks to influence the policies and practices of change agents on issues affecting the poor, and for the eradication of poverty.

The Development Support Division of ACTIONAID India provides techno-managerial support to ACTIONAID's project partners and other development initiatives, facilitates institutional learning through research and documentation, and seeks to share ideas and to network with others, towards the realisation of the organisation's mission. The Division has the following units: Health, Education, Livelihood Systems (both Natural Resources Management and Non-Farm), and Information Systems.

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**Development Support Division
ACTIONAID
3 Rest House Road
Bangalore - 560 001 (India)**

Phone: 91-80-558 6682

Fax: 91-80-558 6284

E-mail: aa@aaind.uunet.in

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PREFACE

The Government of Karnataka with the financial assistance of the World Bank has undertaken an Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environment Sanitation programme in Karnataka laying heavy emphasis on the involvement of the community, facilitated through NGOs.

ACTIONAID India with its two partner NGOs, Samuha and Development Promotion Group, has joined this effort in two districts, namely, Raichur and Bellary.

From the experience gained through involvement in the planning stage of Phase I, it could be concluded that community mobilisation activities being carried out by the NGOs have succeeded in creating awareness, especially among women, of their rights and responsibilities, in introducing a system of transparency, ownership and accountability, and in eliciting a good response and commitment from the people not only to contribute their share in cash and kind, but also to participate actively in the users' organisations being formed. The mobilisation process has offered an effective channel of communication of villagers needs and concerns to the government, which would not have been possible in the absence of an NGO.

Efforts at involving the community, have, however, triggered off a wide range of issues, like the problems and prospects of community organisation (VWSC) being able to function, contribute and manage the Operation and Maintenance of the water supply systems; linkages of community mobilisation efforts with the other components of the projects; problems faced by NGOs due to delays and cost escalation, being treated more as "social contractors" rather than as change agencies.

In order to discuss these and other issues related to the drinking water and sanitation sector and to share experiences across various projects involved in this sector, a workshop was organised by ACTIONAID in December 1994.

The participants included representatives from agencies such as the UNICEF, DANIDA, Netherlands assisted Project, representatives from the state and central governments, and various NGOs involved in this sector.

During the workshop, apart from sharing experiences across various projects, critical areas/issues affecting NGO participation in water and sanitation projects were discussed. Recommendations were made to strengthen community participation, which was brought out in the form of a declaration. Subsequently, a Water and Sanitation Inter Agency Network (WASIAN) has been formed including representatives from the World Bank, DANIDA, Netherlands Assisted Project, State government and a number of NGOs.

This volume incorporates the proceedings of the workshop and the papers circulated there. We are thankful to the participants for their contribution, to Mr. T.R. Satish Chandran for his thought provoking inaugural speech, to Mr. Mohan and the staff of Om Consultants (India) Pvt. Ltd., for their unhesitant support, to Salil Shetty for his encouragement, and to Radha for putting together the minutes.

*J.Acharya
Director
Development Support Division*

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COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION DRINKING WATER AND SANITATION PROJECTS - THE ACTIONAID INDIA EXPERIENCE

Jagabandhu Acharya

Introduction

In the post-World War II scenario of newly independent countries, terms like "project", "expert" were looked down upon as fads bandied about by *avant garde* professionals trying to look important. Thus one finds in one of R.K. Narayan's famous novels, an imposter parading himself as an "expert from Timbaktu" working on a "UN Project".

During the last half century, however, much of the state sponsored development has come to be synonymous with *projects* -- sponsored mainly by the World Bank, and subsequently, many other funding agencies. In a typical project, as it were, of the 1960s and 1970s, technicians and economists, and of course the ubiquitous bureaucracy, occupied the most important place, symbolising, enforcing and safeguarding an excessive concentration on *hardware* (installations, physical infrastructure etc.), *economic returns* (never mind, if the villager is working within a framework of survival and subsistence rather than that of profit-maximisation), -and a top-down approach of project design, planning and implementation under the so-called *project-cycle*.

The enormous failures of the gigantic projects, however, have generated some realisation that development projects operate within a definite socio-cultural and institutional context; that physical infrastructure and arrangements are necessarily intertwined with definite patterns of social and cultural organisation; that development projects, if they have to be successful and sustainable, must put people at the centre stage, and be participatory in all respects. Thus we have an increasing concern, notably in many of the Bank projects formulated since the mid-1980's, about *people's participation*. This is sought to be achieved mainly through the involvement of NGOs.

Do these concerns reflect a genuine change in orientation in World Bank's philosophy, or are they merely some cosmetic publicity stunts?

It is widely believed today that the sustainability of development projects would depend very much on the participation of local communities in the development process.

Thus since the mid-1980's, the emphasis has been gradually shifting from supply-driven centralised water supply and drainage systems to demand-driven, decentralised, community-based and community-managed systems.

What are the essential elements of a participatory, community managed development process in the context of water supply and sanitation projects? Are the current practices and recent experiences keeping in line with the expectations of a participatory development process? What changes in thinking, policy and practice ought to be brought about to make development meaningful and sustainable?

This paper seeks to draw upon ACTIONAID India's experiences in the World Bank sponsored Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Project in Karnataka, to raise

a few key issues and concerns about the ways in which community participation is being conceived and applied.

Background To The World Bank Sponsored Drinking Water Project in Karnataka

Project Description

The World Bank sponsored Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation (IRWSES) Project in Karnataka covers about 1200 villages in 12 districts, namely Dakshina Kannada, Shimoga, Mysore, Gulbarga, Bangalore (Rural), Mandya, Bidar, Belgaum, Hassan, Raichur and Bellary. The project is budgetted at about USD.120 million of which the IDA loan amounts to about USD.92 million.

The main objective of the project is to improve the health conditions, productivity, and thereby the overall living standards of people through provision of clean drinking water and environmental sanitation facilities, health education, and local capacity building for operation and maintenance.

The hardware components of the project include -- drinking water sources (mainly piped schemes), sullage drains and related road upgradation, washing platforms, cattle troughs, soak pits, bathing cubicles, dust bins for disposal of solid waste, individual sanitary latrines, etc. A typical water supply scheme would include bore wells with submersible pumps, water storage facilities, public standposts for about two thirds of the population and private house connections for about a third of the population. In some cases, a ground water recharge component is also included.

Health education is expected to maximise the benefits of the facilities provided. Training and capacity building of the local population are essential components of the system.

One of the main "components" of the project is community participation, to be carried out by NGOs.

The main objectives of the "community participation activities" to be promoted by NGOs, are:

- (a) Motivating people and raising awareness;
- (b) Mobilising community contributions; and
- (c) Organising VWSCs.

Organisation Structure

The Department of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj (RDPR) has the overall responsibility of the project, managed by a Project Planning and Monitoring Unit (PPMU) in the Department.

At the District level, the Zilla Parishad (ZP) is the main implementing agency. It is responsible for construction of all new water supply schemes, or augmentation of new ones, and for providing the necessary maintenance support to the panchayats.

There is a special cell at the PHED to review and approve the engineering designs and provide technical support to the ZPs.

There is also a World Bank Project Engineering Cell headed by an Executive Engineer in each district.

The other concerned State Government departments are involved for health education and ground water recharge schemes.

The operation and maintenance of the schemes are the responsibility of the village panchayat (with the help of VWSCs).

The Community Participation activities are carried out by NGOs, hired directly by the PPMU. The services of a private consultancy agency has been commissioned by PPMU to coordinate the NGO matters in the project.

Evolution of the strategy

The project envisages a pilot phase and two major phases of implementation:

- (a) Pilot Phase (11 villages)
- (b) Phase I (259 villages in 10 districts)
- (c) Phase II (950 villages in 12 districts)

Pilot Phase

The Pilot Phase began in 1990. A number of Engineering and Development Consultants were appointed. Using ground water data from the records of Public Health Engineering Department (PHED), a baseline survey was carried out in 30 villages of ten districts. *The study revealed that many of the villages had water supply systems in the past, but that these systems were mostly non-functional owing to lack of maintenance.* Accordingly, it was decided that the project must ensure that the communities were involved in the planning, implementation, operation and maintenance of the system.

To enable the community to develop a sense of ownership it was decided that the community to share a part of the cost of the environmental sanitation components. Initially the community's share was fixed at 50%, but, based on experience and consultations with the Government, was subsequently fixed at 30% of the above cost.

The team of development consultants had successfully carried out Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) exercises in the village together with the government officials. It was agreed that all future phases should follow the participatory model and involve people in the process of planning.

The organisational form of people's participation initially took the shape of a Village Development Council (VDC) which directly represented the concerned user groups. However, in compromise with the new Panchayat legislation, wherein the management of the drinking water supply systems came under the jurisdiction of the village panchayats, a Village Water

and Sanitation Committee (VWSC) was envisaged. For this, a separate bye-law was enacted, according to which the VWSC was to operated as the extended arm of the Panchayat in matters of drinking water and sanitation. The membership of the VWSC was to include a reservation of one-third for women, and that of 18% for representatives of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Phase I

After the success of the pilot phase, it was envisaged to scale up the programme to 259 villages in ten districts. Now, of course, it was necessary to involve NGOs to facilitate the community participation work. Thus around late 1992, negotiations started with NGOs. Six NGOs took up the responsibility in these ten districts. ACTIONAID India, along with its partner NGOs SAMUHA and Development Promotion Group (DPG), took up the work in Raichur and Bellary districts respectively. During Phase I, the entire costs of community participation work in these two districts were funded by ACTIONAID India alone.

Current Status

The Planning stage of Phase I is over. The implementation stage of Phase I and the planning stage of Phase II have just begun after a long gap of many months (during which many NGOs have worked voluntarily without any financial support from the Project) and are expected to be completed in two years time.

During the first part of Phase I, the NGOs have created a general awareness, mobilised cash contributions ranging from 25% to 100% of the commitments made, and have formed VWSCs. Construction work for water supply in Phase I villages is yet to begin. In fact, as on date, water supply systems are complete in all respects only in three pilot villages! People are getting impatient with the enormous delays. As such, there is no proper integration or sequencing of different components. This is made worse because of these delays.

Again, costs have escalated due to bureaucratic delays and inefficiency. The communities are not willing to pay for the additional contributions on this count, since that was not the understanding at the beginning. NGOs cannot go back on their words. On the other hand, the World Bank is vacillating; and one is not sure who should pay for it? The NGOs are caught up in between the Project and the people, bruised and demoralised, with a feeling of having been let down and reduced to being mere social contractors. However, a lot of lessons have been learnt.

ACTIONAID's Project area

ACTIONAID's objectives

ACTIONAID is an international development agency, working among the poorest communities in 20 economically backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for almost a quarter century now, to help the poor secure lasting improvements in the quality of their lives, and to facilitate the empowerment of the poor in the process of social development.

In ACTIONAID's understanding, the basic objective of development interventions has to be to give a **choice** and a **voice** to the socio-economically deprived and underprivileged sections of society. The development process must enable people to make informed choices about their needs and priorities, about the technologies that are available, affordable and locally suitable. It must improve their access to and control over resources, and must equip them with the necessary skills and capabilities to manage their resources and institutions and to articulate their concerns.

The main objective of ACTIONAID's involvement in this project was to experiment and build up a model of community participation in the decision making process; building local capacities and self-confidence (especially among women) for managing the community level resources, facilitating the communities' increased access to external resources for development, and doing this in a scale (district) that is replicable. The other objectives were to learn from this effort and to influence the other change agents.

Profiles of Bellary and Raichur districts

Bellary District: Bellary district lies on the eastern border of central Karnataka. It is a drought prone district with a literacy rate of 32% for females (all India: 39%, Karnataka: 44%), and 59% for males (all India: 64%, Karnataka: 64%). More than three fourths of the population are dependent in agriculture and allied activities. ACTIONAID's partner Development Promotion Group has been involved in implementing the community participation activities of the project in this district.

Raichur District: Raichur district lies further northward, and is economically more backward. The district is very much prone to drought. The female literacy rate is 22% and male literacy rate only 50%. More than 80% of the population depend on agriculture and allied activities. About 43% of the population are agricultural labourers.

Community Participation Strategies

The process of community participation, as being followed here, involves three overlapping phases: generating awareness and motivation; mobilising contributions; and organising the VWSC. Each of these activities is carried differently in different villages and depending on the local conditions.

Participatory Planning:

Bellary: Participatory publicity; preliminary meeting; Venn-diagramming; resource mapping; seasonality mapping; social mapping, street meetings, village meeting, etc.

Raichur: Setting expectations; Venn diagramming; preliminary mapping; village mapping, social mapping; water resource mapping; service and opportunity mapping; seasonal analysis; preference analysis; process chart; process chart, system analysis; rules-in-use; women's meeting; school children's meeting; approval by the poor; finalisation.

SAMUHA's strategy was unique and intensive. It envisaged the formation of committees at street, ward and village levels, giving equal representation to men and women.

Learnings to be shared

Based on one year of intensive involvement in the IRWSES, a few key issues and concerns need to be articulated.

Policy and legislation

While the overriding development philosophy has been towards decentralisation, the concomittant changes in policy have not been forthcoming. A glaring example is the recent panchayat legislation which devolves a lot of responsibilities to the village panchayats, including management of drinking water supply systems. The substantive powers, however, continues to rest with the functional departments like the PHED, whose accountability to the panchayat bodies is doubtful. The amendments required at the state level for these devolved powers to be effective could take a long time, or may not even come at all!

Project design and strategy

Integration: While on the face of it, this project, like most drinking water projects, is "integrated", the very design of the project is such that it could rarely start off as such. The complexity of inter-departmental collaboration, designed to be achieved through horizontal coordination, makes its accomplishment extremely difficult. The vertical functional departments have their own autonomy. The bureaucracy is not tuned to process-oriented decentralised development. It still operates on target-driven supply side management. Interdepartmental tussles (say between PHED and RD&PR, or between RD&PR and Health) continue to delay project implementation enormously, leading to cost escalation, demotivation of the communities, non-utilisation of project infrastructure etc.

Systems and procedures: The rules of procedure in the hardware departments like PHED, the tendering and auditing systems prevalent in the government and/or required by the World Bank conditionalities, invariably lead to enormous delays in implementation, while not guaranteeing against leakage and low quality. One sometimes notices fully erected piped water schemes abandoned because the ground water yield was too low and was not taken into consideration beforehand, or hand pumps lying unused and abandoned either because of poor quality construction or wrong site selection (unacceptable to the community).

Existing sources: Ideally, all ground water sources, their status and utilisation from the community standpoint, should be covered in the inventory and analysed before a new water supply system is worked out. However, this is often not done. Sometimes, the rehabilitation and rejuvenation of existing sources could be better alternatives than new installations.

Community Preferences

So also would be the need to estimate the nature and extent of demand, site preferences, commitments expected, and so on. The non-involvement of the community in estimation of the felt need and of the service level desired and acceptable, would naturally lead to

squandering of physical installations, inadequate utilisation, and lack of local ownership and involvement. It would be essential, for example, to determine whether it was a basic need for drinking water under conditions of shortage of supply, a need triggered of due to health and hygiene awareness, or a need to meet the needs of additional convenience and status (e.g. a house tap connection).

What are the technologies available? Are they locally suitable, are they cost effective, and can the community afford to maintain a system based on such technologies? Can local capabilities be built up for preventive maintenance? Are spare parts locally available? These are the most important questions that people should be informed about and should be capable of deciding. Often the projects offer no technology options to the people. As a result, instead of simple locally manageable and sustainable technological solutions, costly and complex technologies are dumped on the communities. Partly due to technocentrism, insensitive to local conditions and concerns, and partly due to political populism, or even the drive for kickbacks from contractors on more expensive installations. Thus often one finds a piped water scheme where a few hand pumps would do (never mind the erratic power supply not enabling a round the clock pressure on the head!), or deep borewells with hand pumps where only a rejuvenation of traditional wells would do. It suits well for the engineers to keep the technology mystified.

If communities are to be expected to contribute, it is essential that they need to have a say in the technology chosen, its appropriateness and cost, whether they can afford it and whether the level of service they need justify such a technology.

Use of local materials is another area where not enough attention is been paid. The engineering blue-prints lack the flexibility to make use of local materials, and instead insist upon costly standardised materials to be procured from far off places. While some projects have made attempts at introducing local materials in the sanitation programmes, the obstinate procedures of the PHED make it difficult to implement.

In this project, while people have had some say in matters of environmental sanitation, they did not seem to have been allowed choices in terms of water supply systems.

Facilitating agency

What facilitating agencies need to be mobilised to involve the communities and empower them? NGOs can play a catalytic role, mainly because they are closer to the community, have the necessary flexibility in dealing with community responses, and have a stake in organising the community. However, community participation is seen by the officials as just another component, in addition to the other components.

The non-integration of this component with the rest of the project, sometimes puts the NGO in an inconvenient situation. The expectations built up at the community level, if not matched in action from the project side, could lead to frustration and even demobilisation of the communities.

Coordination of NGOs at the state level has helped them maintain a certain amount of autonomy. For experience shoes that the lower level Government functionaries tend to pressurize the NGO staff and stifle their initiative and autonomy.

Participatory methods:

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) has emerged as a popular method of sharing information and involving people in the planning process. However, it needs to be kept in mind that PRA is based on a consensual model. In a caste- class- ridden society, there has to be a sustained effort at mobilising and working with the community, going beyond the 3-7 days of PRA, if the effect has to be sustained.

The intensive interaction and working with the communities, in Raichur for example, have brought about enormous social changes in many villages. Women, who never came out without a purdah or never talked to an outsider openly, are today sitting side by side with the men folk of the village, taking a lead in mobilising contributions and organising meetings. The traditional feudal headman, in many villages, has been forced to eat the humble pie and come down to the level of ordinary villagers, who were seen by him with scornful eyes until yesterday.

Costs of mobilising community participation

Well, community participation is a costly affair. For that is the cost of social change, of transformation. In Raichur, as per our experience, it is about 3500 p. m. per village, for a period of two years. In Bellary the costs are about Rs.2000. This does not include the institutional cost of the NGO, the agony of acting as a buffer and being pushed around. The costs approved by the Government, on the other hand, amount to only Rs.1040 per village per month. In the second part of Phase I and in Phase II, ACTIONAID will have to arrange funds to meet the extra cost from other sources.

Operation and Maintenance

The new panchayat legislation devolves the O&M system under the panchayat. There is the stipulation that a part of the funds required for the purpose would be provided for by the government (Rs. 1 lakh in some states, covering maintenance of drinking water systems as well as electricity charges etc.). It is expected that the rest of the requirements would be met from local funds of the panchayat. One is not sure how local contributions / taxes are to be mobilised for the operation and maintenance of the drinking water systems. There is the fear among many bilateral and multi-lateral donor agencies that local fund collection specifically for the maintenance of water sources may suffer due to this provision. More than the source of the funds for O&M, however, are the overriding questions whether and how will the panchayat manage these systems? This is particularly critical since under the bye-laws the VWSCs do not have any actual powers. It is only through prolonged NGO work in a village that some local capabilities have been built up. That too has got complicated in terms of VWSC membership in the wake of the panchayat elections. Will the village panchayat reflect the felt needs of the user groups? Will the needs and interests of deprived sections be protected?

Drinking water: a Common Property Resource or a mere commodity?

The World Bank, and also many other donor agencies have started articulating that drinking water is an economic good, a commodity, and therefore, communities have to pay for it.

Naturally, such an argument follows from the currently predominant market economics.

Water is a natural resource, recycled and replenished by the natural cycle of seasons. It is a basic prerequisite for human survival, and thus water (drinking water in particular) constitutes an object of basic human right. While the scarcity of water has sometimes in the past led to a price being charged on the cost of its collection, the idea of water being a saleable commodity is of recent origin. The priced bottled water is the epitome of this commodification, and still beyond the comprehension of the average villager even today -- how could one charge a price for drinking water!!

Leave aside, for the moment, the urban water supply system, where organised central water supply is a service and thus taxed (though subsidised by the state). In the predominant rural context, traditionally water has been a common property resource. People managed the traditional drinking water sources like the other common resources, e.g. the village forest or the village grazing ground, the irrigation canals or ponds, the village temple land etc., through their own traditional institutional mechanisms.

The breakdown of the community, and hence the traditional institutional mechanisms; the degradation of environment and forests, and the commercial over exploitation of ground water for irrigated agriculture, leading to depletion and degradation of ground water resources; the dependency syndrome built up by centralised populist regimes -- have all contributed to the decline of basic facilities in the rural areas. The poorer and marginalised sections, who had a lower access to basic infrastructure and facilities traditionally, have been doubly affected by these changes.

If the access and control of the poor and disadvantaged sections of society to basic necessities like drinking water have to be ensured, then rural drinking water sources should have to be treated as common property resources, which have to be managed by the community with equitable access to all, rather than being treated as a commodity to which the rich can have greater access.

Provision of clean drinking water is a part of basic health services, and it is the duty of the state to commit funds for it. Like in education and other basic health care services, it is enough if the community is empowered to manage the public funds, the resources and systems. Its own contribution should be seen more as means of developing a sense of ownership and stake.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKSHOP ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN
DRINKING WATER AND SANITATION PROJECTS
DECEMBER 19-20, 1994.**

DAY 1

December 19, 1994.

INAUGURAL SESSION

The inaugural session was chaired by Raymond M. Myles, Executive Director, AFPRO. J. Acharya, Director, Development Support Division, ACTIONAID, welcomed the participants.

Salil Shetty, Executive Director, ACTIONAID India who spearheaded the introductory session began with an overview of ACTIONAID and its activities. He pointed out that the focus of ACTIONAID was poverty eradication, working at two levels. One, working with partners in specified areas at the community level for eradication of poverty, and the second, at projecting our experiences in the field to the policy level.

Shetty was of the opinion that the experience gained at the field should be leveraged at a larger level. The Government, he noted had started realising its own limitations of late, as were the NGOs, resulting in the building up of a partnership between the two. ACTIONAID's experience in the project had shed light on the local level capacities which had always been under-estimated. It had also raised several questions which needed to be discussed during the course of the workshop.

Satish Chandran, in his inaugural address noted that community development programmes of the early fifties could not take root primarily because they failed to recognise the variabilities in a village community. Implementing agencies had, by and large, considered the village as a homogenous unit. Most of the problems under consideration could be solved if the communities were involved in the planning and implementation of the projects.

Satish Chandran noted that the Eighth Five Year Plan laid emphasis on the involvement of communities and had mentioned that the programme had to be carried out by the village panchayat. He also pointed out that the 73rd Constitutional Amendment focused on giving beneficiaries more power and responsibility for their own development, and emphasised that the maintenance of drinking water and sanitation facilities must be left to the Panchayat Raj. While expressing happiness that the concept of community participation was fast gaining recognition among the implementing agencies, he, however wondered how far government resources could be supplemented by community contribution. There also remained questions related to the maintenance of the system, of cost recovery in the delivery of services, and of access to the established facilities by each section of the community, given our social structure.

Drinking water had a gender implication, too, Satish Chandran noted, stating that any programme in removing the drudgery of women would help in improving the situation as well as their status.

Quoting from the World Development Report 1994, he said that by the end of this century, a billion people would have no access to safe drinking water and two million people would

have no sanitation facilities. Though the efforts of supplying safe drinking water under the Minimum Needs Programme were beginning to bear fruit, with 76 per cent of the rural population acquiring access to drinking water, access to sanitation in the rural population was alarmingly low at 2.7 per cent.

Mr. Raymond M. Myles delivered a brief note on how NGOs relate to Panchayat Raj institutions based on AFPRO's experience. The session ended with a vote of thanks by Sukhwinder Singh Arora.

FIRST SESSION

The first session on identification of key issues in community participation in drinking water and sanitation projects chaired by Sanjoy Ghose of URMUL Trust, set the tone for the rest of the day with a presentation of experiences of SAMUHA by the villagers themselves.

It began with Mohan of Om Consultants (India) Pvt. Ltd., giving an overview of the project. A base line survey had been conducted in 1991 and based on its findings it was suggested that people's needs should be incorporated while planning the project through active participation of the community. Beneficiaries should be involved in cost-sharing, operation and maintenance of the project, he added, pointing out that this would ensure better sustainability.

Efforts on these lines in pilot villages had indicated that it was possible to involve people and that beneficiaries were capable of making their own choices in clear terms. For example,

- Non-productive facilities (e.g., community bathing cubicles) were rejected by almost all the pilot villages.
- Cost reduction methods were suggested by the beneficiaries in many villages.
- A sense of belonging and ownership was noticed.

SAMUHA's experiences presented by the villages included three parts:

1. SAMUHA model of community participation
2. Role of women
3. Issues arising out of the planning phase

Hiranna from Raichur presented SAMUHA's model of community participation. He explained that SAMUHA had conducted grama sabhas to inform people about the project. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) was conducted to make an assessment of the village and its drinking water sources. Every ten households are formed into a woni gumpu (street group) which is represented by a man and a woman from each household. Again two representatives - one man and one woman - are selected as members of the ward group. Two members represent each ward in the grama sabha at the village level. At every stage it is ensured that half the members are women. This model, Hiranna added, had given an opportunity for all the households to be represented at various levels.

Annapoorna of Siddapura village in Raichur District explained the role played by women. While pointing out that women had to make a lot of sacrifice and face great challenges, she regretted that they were now a disappointed lot as the implementation had not yet begun.

Emphasising the problems faced by her village due to the paucity of drinking water, she made an appeal for the implementation of the project at the earliest.

Pradeep concluded the session by calling attention to the following issues:

1. The question of equity. Why should a village pay for its drinking water when a neighbouring town did not.
2. The gap in transferring the lessons learnt in Phase I to Phase II.
3. The need for the government to act as a co-ordinator between the different agencies involved in the project.
4. The different accountability standards for NGOs and the Government.
5. Non-involvement of the people and their environmental needs at the time of planning.
6. The dilemma of the NGO's loyalty to the Government expected in this project at the cost of the people.
7. NGO credibility being affected due to delays in responding to the issues raised by the people as well as due to the lack of keeping to time commitments.

Discussions

The main consensus of the participants was that the responsibility of project implementation ought to be given to the panchayat as an elected body that represented the community. This would solve the problem of community contribution, for it was difficult for the economically poor to contribute. A few felt that emphasis ought to be laid on drinking water supply and not on sanitation as is the pattern followed by the World Bank project. This, they explained was because the people did not attach much importance to sanitation.

Hiranna said that the motivation for the poor was the hope that if they could somehow contribute now, they would also have a right to question any discrepancies later.

Government officials, however felt that though communities ought to be involved, the role of the PHED could not be undermined.

Local skills ought to be developed towards maintaining the system, was the general point of view.

During the discussions, the need for the Government and the NGOs to work together constructively was underlined. Further, the discussions also brought to focus the fact that the DANIDA experience in Kerala had shown that ensuring a quality supply of drinking water was difficult.

Presentation

Shyamala Abeyratne, from DANIDA who gave an overview of the DANIDA project on drinking water and sanitation in Karnataka, pointed out that the present issue before the DANIDA projects was management versus sustainability of the project. Recalling that DANIDA was involved in the water supply project since 1980, with third generation polarisation in process now, Ms. Abeyratne regretted that it was difficult to train junior government officials in the lessons learnt by DANIDA. Initially, she pointed out, NGOs were against the idea of working with the Government and government officials had been used at

a micro-level. However, even today, DANIDA faced problems when it came to training of Junior/Assistant engineers and other officials.

Concluding her presentation, she underlined the need to involve the Health Department in these projects so that necessary health education could be imparted to the beneficiaries. She also suggested that the Government incorporate the experiences of the NGOs in the planning of their projects.

Shyamala's presentation was supplemented by Rajati who spoke about DANIDA's experiences in community participation in Tamil Nadu in promoting school latrines and the resistance faced therein. Rajati expressed concern over the limited participation of Government officials in community activities and wanted to know how PRA could be adopted in larger villages.

Varalakshmi gave a presentation on ActionAid Karnataka Project's experience in sanitation projects. This project was assisted by DANIDA and implemented by the Karnataka government in Maharajahatty village of Jagalur Taluk in Chitradurga district. Varalakshmi gave details about the scheme and evaluated its results.

Discussions

An interesting aspect of the discussion was the need to examine social dimensions of sanitation while working with the projects. This point was illustrated by the fact that women in Raichur villages resisted the construction of household latrines on the ground that it denied them the only opportunity of stepping out of the house.

When participants wanted to know how community participation was carried out in this project, Bhakther Solomon answered that there was not much participation but the people's need for a bath room was met with the construction of bath-cum-toilets.

To a question on the time an NGO needed to facilitate participation in a village, it was felt that once the local resources had been adequately trained, the NGO could pull out.

Presentation

Anu Dixit's presentation on UNICEF experiences at Midnapore and Bandha on sanitation and hand pump maintenance brought out the role that women had to play in the maintenance of the systems and observed that sustainability could be achieved if sanitation came as part of a package of health-related facilities.

The need for continuous monitoring and evaluation of the project after its construction was emphasised. Pointing out that 50 per cent of the implemented sanitation projects were functioning very well, she added that in some places latrines were being used for bathing.

Mr. Solomon, speaking about his experiences in the IRWS & ES project in Bellary district, stressed on the need to involve and educate the Government and politicians at every stage, while criticising the isolated approach usually followed wherein the engineers came up with a design of their own without considering the villagers' preferences. He advocated the introduction of a penal clause which would ensure that the implementation of the project was

handed over to the Gram Panchayat if the Government could not implement it within a year of its conception.

Politicians also, he pointed out, needed to be involved and educated on the project. Towards this end, he suggested that NGOs, Zilla Panchayat and elected members from the village set up a committee and meet once in three or four months. The poor, he noted paid more towards community contribution than the rich. The people were to be made responsible for the quality of water, he said, adding that the supply of spare parts played an important role in the operation and maintenance of the projects.

Presentation

Speaking on the experience of Netherlands Assisted Project (NAP) on drinking water and sanitation, Poornima Vyasulu, Community Development Expert, Project Support Unit, had questioned the definition of community participation in terms of its level, extent and activities. She felt that the heterogeneity in the community would act as a hurdle to effective community participation, adding that Project managers would also have to work towards bringing about an attitudinal change.

Discussion

In response to her presentation, Pradeep raised the question whether NGOs were development workers or social contractors. It was felt that they would have to work with sensitivity to ground realities which called for a concerted effort at co-operation at all levels. It was reiterated that the delay in implementation led to a low morale among users. The importance of consistent interactions between the project and community was underlined to help sustain the interest of the people.

Second Session

The second session was on Participatory methods in water and sanitation projects - problems and prospects.

The session began with Sam Joseph, Director, PRA Unit, ACTIONAID, embarking on the concept of Chattiya Bithakar (community participation). He presented the following construct to help look at problems:

C Customer-client relationship

A Actors

T Transformation

W World view

O Owners

E Environment within which a system works.

He went on to explain what each one meant and concluded on the note that the users should be the owners of the system.

SAMUHA then took over for their presentation which was interspersed with experiences narrated by the field level staff.

Latha from SAMUHA spoke about women's participation in IRWS and ES in Phase I villages of Raichur. She noted that in 14 villages of Raichur, women's participation was quite high. She illustrated her talk with instances. She further added that it was difficult to ensure 100 per cent women's participation in a society where a feudal system still operated. SAMUHA aimed at finding an answer to this question of ensuring women's participation by institutionalisation.

Discussions

The participants wanted to know how overall community participation could be sustained and how could participation by the poor be ensured. Pradeep answered it with an example of the Gramasabha concept (the SAMUHA model). He said that since caste location is mainly geographical in nature, the SAMUHA model of Gramasabha, based on street representation, would take care of the participation by the poor.

Questions related to the involvement level of government functionaries and lack of co-operation from the government came up. In response, it was felt that the JEs, Mandal functionaries and BDOs needed orientation and that the health officer should be the entry point for this orientation. The importance of institutionalisation and the role of women were also underscored.

DAY 2

December 20, 1994.

The day began with the summarisation of issues which emerged from the previous day's discussions:

1. Needs of the community
2. Institutional, mechanical and support structures
3. Learning process and capacity building
4. Access, management and control
5. Community contribution - ability, willingness and fund management
6. Quality control
7. Conflict resolution
8. Problems of equity within a village
9. Gender - how water and sanitation provides an opportunity for addressing gender
10. Efficiency of the systems built
11. Sustainability of institutions
12. Empowerment
13. Relationships between NGOs, government, community and donor agencies.

The participants were divided into four groups and each was given a theme to discuss. Each group had to incorporate the gender component into their theme and had to select a rapporteur who would present the group's thoughts on the particular theme. The details of group discussions are as follows:

Group I

Theme: Project Design and Management

Presentation:

The presentation focused upon issues, concerns and recommendations

Issues

- Institutional Mechanisms and Strategies
- Design and Implementation issues.

Concerns

- Issue of water supply and sanitation
- World Bank
- Technical consultants
- Village
- NGOs
- Tendering delays
- Pre qualification process that could have gone ahead simultaneously with community mobilisation
- Collection of basic data for evaluation that appears to be missing
- Community involvement realised after one to one and a half years
- Decisions taken are political with less emphasis on democratic functioning
- NGOs do not have a say on the selection of villages and the specification of hardware
- More budgetary allocation for hardware and less for community organisation and software
- Donor Agency and government together approaching the NGO
- Many agencies working for water supply and sanitation resulting in different approaches
- Parameters are pre-set
- Approach is more donor-oriented and government oriented than people-oriented
- Project phasing and scheduling need to be done carefully
- The group felt that water supply plans take more time than sanitation plans.

Recommendations

1. A state level Nodal agency with different government departments, representation from NGOs of respective districts and officers in charge of the programme of the districts, be formed to :
 - a. Take into account approaches of different donors, bilateral agencies and contribute to policy formation and collaboration between the different agencies;
 - b. Arrive at design and operational parameters for the programme;
 - c. Co-ordinate budget allocation;
 - d. Monitor and evaluate the programme at state level.
2. District level committees be set up with different government departments and NGOs to:
 - a. Select NGOs
 - b. Decide on programme villages, design and operational parameters
 - c. Be responsible for tendering, material procurement, provision of technical support
 - d. Monitor the programme, qualitatively and quantitatively.
3. The programme be based on the felt needs of the people and implemented with their full participation and involvement. Village Development Committees to be constituted in each village with beneficiaries, panchayat members, anganwadi workers, teachers,

etc., to help in:

- a. Situation analysis and participation in the preparation of technical map
- b. Implementation and follow up of the programme
- c. Development of the ownership of the programme

PRA exercises could help facilitate capacity building of Village Development Committees towards this direction.

Women are to be adequately represented in all the three committees. Given an opportunity and support, they are sure to participate actively and also take up the responsibilities seriously. Gender issues could be addressed by giving exclusive training to women and by increasing their literacy levels. Women representatives in the NGO was also considered essential.

Group II

Theme: Community contributions for operation and maintenance

Presentation:

The presentation threw light upon the following:

1. **Organisational Arrangement:**
Village Level Committee consisting of
 - Village people
 - Gram panchayat members
2. **Resources:**
 - a. **Of village Level Committee:**
 - Water charges collected from the households
 - A percentage of property tax raised by the gram Panchayats transferred to the Village Level Committee
 - Donations
 - b. **Of Gram Panchayats:**
 - Grants received from the government
 - Revenue raised by Gram Panchayats
 - Loans from financial institutions
3. **Responsibilities:**
 - Appointment of mechanics/operators
 - Arranging training
 - Fixing salary/honorarium
 - Procuring chemicals/spare parts
 - Identifying defects
 - Fixing water charges and collecting them; water budgeting
 - Financial budgeting
 - Arrangement of alternative sources when required
 - Settling disputes
 - Supervision of work related to water supply taken up by departments

4. Operation and Maintenance of water supply:
 - a. Personnel required: Electrical, civil, mechanical.
 - b. Materials required: Chemicals, electricity, spare parts.
5. Operation and Maintenance of sanitation systems:
Open drains, washing platforms, dustbins.

Recommendations

1. The village level committee consisting of villagers and representatives of Gram Panchayat should be responsible for operation and maintenance of the rural water supply and sanitation system.
2. Village level committee could utilise the service of villagers including women in operation and maintenance. If necessary, personnel could be appointed for this purpose.
3. Training for water quality maintenance should be imparted to the personnel associated with operation and maintenance of the system.
4. Resources for carrying out these tasks should be raised by the VLC by collecting water charges. Some percentage of property tax should also be made available by the Gram Panchayat to these committees.
5. Maintenance of open drains should be the responsibility of the households and the village committee.
6. Awareness generation and health education should be taken up by NGOs.

Discussion:

A majority of the participants felt that the powers of implementation in terms of tendering contracts and selection of sites be handed over to the community.

However, one of the participants felt that since technical expertise was very important for the operation and maintenance of the system, the community may not be technically competent to regulate the flow of water and gauge the quality of water. He added that the procedure of cleaning the drains running in front of the households by the householders themselves would result in operational difficulties as had been experienced in one of the NAP projects.

Another suggestion was that contributions be based on the floor area of each household.

The issue of diverting gram panchayat funds for the operation and maintenance of the system came under fire on the grounds that gram Panchayats were always facing paucity of funds.

The village level staff of SAMUHA felt that there ought to be an interaction between the Grama Sabha and the community. The Grama Sabha ought to create an awareness among the community on the optimal use of water and the reduced cost of maintenance if wastage was avoided.

Concern over depletion of natural resources was expressed. This was substantiated by giving Gujarat's example where ground water resources were depleted and it was feared that Karnataka would soon face a similar problem if preventive measures were not taken.

The group felt that testing the quality of drinking water was of utmost importance. Criticising the government department's efficiency in this matter, the group suggested that water quality testing kits be made available locally and village residents like anganwadi teachers be trained in their usage.

Group III

Theme: Organisational Forms.

Presentation:

The presentation focused on two issues - the democratic panchayat and the privatisation of water supply. Certain variables were identified for assessing organisation forms. They were:

1. Participation of women in terms of numbers and their role in decision making.
2. Levels of equity - access to poor and privatisation of the needs of the poor.
3. Regularity of meetings.
4. Sustainability - financial and organisational.
5. Representation of all the sections.
6. Transparency of information and accounting.

Recommendations

1. The institutional form for the implementation of water and sanitation projects should be in the form of a Village Water and Sanitation Committee.
2. Empowerment by statute of the Committee to plan, implement and monitor the drinking water and sanitation schemes of the government.
3. The committee would consist:
 - a. Eight members from the elected panchayat, of whom at least three to be women.
 - b. Eight women from the areas identified as unserved or under served according to objective criteria (i.e., access to 40 LPC/PD within ten minutes of walk.).
 - c. The chair person should be a woman elected from the above 16 members.
4. This VWSC would meet at least once a month.
5. The proceedings of the meetings would be made public and displayed prominently.
6. The accounts and audit report would similarly be made public, by statute, specifically twice a year before a special Gram Sabha called for the purpose.

Discussions

In response to the presentation, Mr. Mohan said that the organisational form suggested could be used for operation and maintenance only. It would not have powers to call for tenders, etc.,

at the district level as it lacked any legal standing.

The recommendation of all women representatives from the community did not go down very well and it was felt that men should not be totally left out.

The powers of the Zilla Panchayat being so limited that the CEO cannot sanction more than Rs. 10 lakhs, the participants wondered whether implementation could be transferred to the Gram Panchayat. Mr. Solomon, however, argued that when an environment sanitation component to the tune of Rs. 8 - 10 lakhs could be entrusted to the community, there was no reason the community could not be trusted with the Rs. 30 - 40 lakhs that was required for implementation.

The discussions also focused on the need for making the community the owners of the system; for ensuring that the poor are not deprived of what they are getting now and for training of local skills.

Group IV

Theme: Learning and Capacity Building.

Presentation:

The presentation concentrated on identifying the areas of capacity building for the different participants in the project.

A: Funding agencies like the World Bank, DANIDA, UNICEF, the Netherlands Embassy:

I. Realistic Project Design with:

- Realistic knowledge of local conditions, procedures, capabilities and disbursement policies
- Knowledge of government procedures and behaviour
- Willingness to understand local issues
- Tailoring of procurement policies based on local situations
- Viable options for NGO involvement
- Institution Analysis
- Approaching the local community, gathering public opinion, sharing with them the programmes planned and helping solve existing problems
- Knowledge of traditional systems.

II. Realistic and effective assessment and monitoring resulting in:

- Implementation of projects according to action plan
- Bringing all the actors together in an ongoing effort
- Project monitoring and evaluation
- Acting fast on completing formalities for implementing, including supportive conditions for NGOs to operate in
- Influencing the government to keep track of the project and complete work
- Flexibility based on continuous learning

B. At the State level:

Political people, i.e., Minister for Rural Development and Panchayat Raj and other opposition

party leaders should have a knowledge and understanding of the project in the context of ongoing government policies.

- All concerned must understand the objectives of the project
- Orientation of all people at the state level is necessary as is understanding the department and planning work in the interests of the people
- Sincerity and commitment in government programmes is needed
- Information should reach MLAs and MPs, creating project concept awareness and acceptance
- All important actors to be brought together for a new programme

The Secretary, RD&PR, Development Commissioner and PPMU should have an understanding of:

- Project planning and management skills
- Funding agency mechanisms, procedures, disbursement policies, reimbursement claims, etc.
- Functioning in the inter disciplinary mode
- Software orientation/skills

C. Other departments such as Women and Child Welfare, PHED, Forest Department, Training Consultants, Electricity Board, Health and Family Welfare, Water Supply Board, Technical Consultants, Mines and Geology, Dryland Development Board, etc., should have an understanding of:

- Project concept awareness
- Need to work together
- Participatory approaches
- Funding agency mechanisms, procedures, disbursement policies, reimbursement claims, etc.

D. NGOs forum should:

- be able to share and disseminate learning among the NGOs and with government/funding agencies
- have a knowledge of funding agency mechanisms, procedures, disbursement policies, reimbursement claims, etc.

E. At the District level:

Political people like the MP, ZP members and the Minister in charge of the District need project objectives awareness and orientation.

District Collector, CEO and staff of ZP office need:

- awareness of project objectives and details
- project planning and management (including scheduling, monitoring etc.)

World Bank Cell Engineers, ZPED and Electricity Department:

- awareness of project technical design aspects
- understanding of participatory approaches
- awareness of project objectives and details
- ability of co-ordinate and monitor work of supporting organisations (technical, NGO, and training consultants)

CEOs (ZP):

- knowledge of financial monitoring, funding/reimbursement procedures

NGOs, Technical Consultants and Training Consultants:

- ability to co-ordinate and work together.

F. At Taluk level:

Elected members of Taluk Panchayat, local MLAs and ex-MLAs:

- project details
- project awareness and acceptance

Officials like the BDOs, Taluk and Gram Panchayat engineers, forest range officers, etc.:

- awareness of participatory management
- project scheduling and monitoring
- project objectives/details
- subject matter training
- appreciation of women's issues

NGOs:

- subject matter skills
- training/facilitating skills

G. The actors at the local level :

This would include the local NGOs, the poor and the disadvantaged, anganwadi workers, school teachers, pump operators, youth clubs, mahila mandals, village informal groups. Traditional leaders, health assistants, village accountant, representatives of local institutions, raitha sangha members, elected members of gram panchayat, secretary of the gram panchayat, village water and sanitation committee members.

Recommendations

Capacity building at the local level should be the focus of development projects

In order to achieve this, capacity building must be carried out at all levels (state, district, Taluk, etc.). Such efforts must focus on inter disciplinary mode of working and encompass all actors (political, administrative and donor/funding agencies).

Discussions

The participants were skeptical about the orientation of the government officials to this project, given the fact that they are frequently transferred. A need was felt for information sharing among various agencies involved in the drinking water and sanitation sector.

After all the presentations and discussions were completed, the participants were once again divided into the following four groups:

1. Rapporteurs of all the groups
2. Various agencies to discuss the inter project news sharing
3. World bank projects
4. Other projects

All these groups discussed various subjects. The following are the recommendations of each group.

Group I

The recommendations of all the groups as indicated above were listed out.

Group II

This group discussed the ways and means of information sharing across different agencies working on the drinking water and sanitation issues. It was agreed that regular meetings could be held among the various agencies. Bringing out a news letter was one of the suggestions made.

Group III

The group suggested the following:

1. The community should be involved from the planning stage of the project.
2. Implementation of the project should be started within the completion of one year of the completion of the planning.
3. A legislative amendment should be made to give the VWSC an opportunity to select their own chairman.
4. A co-ordination committee at the district level should be constituted with the CEO as the Chairperson and the World Bank Cell as the Convenor.
5. In case of cost escalation's due to delays, the community should not be burdened.
6. Payment to the NGO should be made without delay in order to ensure effective participation.
7. Based on the recommendation of the district level co-ordination committee, priority in implementation should be given to the villages where there is better participation.
8. Feedback must be given to the committee on changes suggested by them.
9. Not more than 50 per cent of the committee should be represented by the elected members of the gram panchayat.

After this presentation, the session concluded.

CONCLUDING SESSION

During this session, a declaration was framed, incorporating the recommendations. Dr. Acharya gave a valedictory address.

DECLARATION

*by participants of the Workshop
organised by ACTIONAID India...
Bangalore, 19-20 December 1994*

The access to safe drinking water is a basic right of the people. It is the duty of the State to provide this in the form of sustainable water supply systems, which should be treated as a common property resource of the community.

These systems should be "owned" by the community. The implications of ownership are that the community would have the right to decide on planning, designing, implementing and monitoring, operating and maintaining the installations.

The role of the technical agencies, both Government and non-Governmental is to provide information and necessary support, financial and technical, to facilitate the decision making at the community level. The State would need to enact enabling legislation to make this possible.

The community level institution that should be responsible for the water supply scheme would basically be from among the direct users, with representation from the elected members of the Panchayat. All drinking water and sanitation projects should prioritise the access, representation and control firstly of the poor, and especially amongst the women among them.

WORKSHOP PAPERS

COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTION AND ITS MANAGEMENT IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS-A CASE STUDY

Om Consultants

Preamble

Community participation in development projects is an age old concept. Each of the five years plans of India stress on Community Development Programmes (CDP). Till the sixties, community participation at the village level was very active. After the erosion of the old political forces managed to overshadow the spirit of the CDP.

In the village panchayat set up, the people participated in the development projects by contributing either cash, material or labour. (For e.g. for the village to have a health centre, the site for the construction of the centre should be given by the people; to have a water supply system, 10% of the project cost was expected to be borne by the beneficiaries. But the O&M expenses were given by the Government.) Such practices have become virtually non-existent in most of the development programmes. The note examines the case study of the Integrated Rural Water Supply & Environmental Sanitation (IRWS&ES) project in Karnataka with a conscious focus on Community Participation. The note documents the experiences from the pilot phase of the project covering 11 revenue villages, distributed over 10 project districts.

Background

The Government of Karnataka is in the process of implementing an Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Project with the World Bank assistance in 1200 villages of Karnataka spread over 12 project districts. One of the main objectives of the project is long term sustainability. Given the post-independence scenario, reflecting poor maintenance of the water supply system provided by the Government the project recognises and emphasises the community participation concept.

The proposed project initially started with a base line survey in 30 sample villages as a part of the project preparation. The survey pointed out lack of information with communities on any of the development programmes implemented in their villages. This leads to isolation of the community resulting in lack of involvement of the community in planning, implementation and in maintaining the systems.

The findings of the baseline survey opened the road to test the scope for community participation in the project on a pilot basis. Hence 11 revenue villages were selected for pilot phase implementation of the project¹

¹ *The 11 pilot villages are distributed over 10 project districts. The districts are: Bangalore, Mandya, Mysore, Dakshin Kannada, Belgaum, Shumoga, Bidar, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bellary. The selection was determined by availability of technical project reports for the villages at that time.*

Community participation in pilot villages

In the initial stage, there were no guidelines as to how community participation could be achieved i.e., whether by way of contributing alone or in planning the scheme and other stages of the project or both. There were different schools of thought both at the government and at the academic level on the community participation concept itself.

General scepticism prevailed and doubts were expressed on the possibility of achieving meaningful community participation at all levels of the implementing agencies. However, when the communities were approached using participatory methodologies², there was an encouraging response from all sections of the community in 10 of the 11 pilot villages. In only one village, the response was unfavourable³

Contribution to the Project

The community was initially reluctant to contribute in terms of cash, labour or material because it ran counter to their assumption that providing basic services was the responsibility of the government. But, sustained information dissemination about the project and continued motivation paid rich dividends. The communities agreed to involve themselves in the project, contribute to the project cost (as a combination of cash, material and labour) and also take up the responsibility for O&M.

Sharing of information on project objectives and their involvement in the planning led to increased confidence and enthusiasm for participation. The community formed a local level institution, comprising of a large representative group of the village under the name and style of "Village Development Committee"⁴ (VDC). The VDC was expected to take up the responsibility for the sustenance of the project.

In the first 4 pilot villages, the community contribution was settled through a process of negotiation⁵. Based on the experience from these initial pilot villages, the extent of contribution was fixed at 50% for the remaining pilot villages. In addition, in all pilot

The communities were encouraged to review the project design and offer their comments using PRA methodology. They were also told that they would have to share a part of the capital cost and must take responsibility for subsequent O&M. They were also given freedom to opt of the project.

³ *The lone exception being Malli village in Gulbarga district*

⁴ *But, subsequently, this group had to be reduced to lesser number because of legal and other administrative factors. The VDCs were subsequently re-organised in the form of VWSCs in line with model bylaws formulated by the government.*

⁵ *There was an overwhelming opinion that there should be no cost sharing of water supply scheme. Accordingly, the communities were asked to share the capital cost of only the habitat development and environmental sanitation components (excluding individual sanitary latrines)*

villages, 100 per cent Operation and Maintenance (O&M) costs of the scheme had to be borne by the communities. Across the pilot villages there were variations in the extent of contribution which ranged from 30 per cent to as high as 75 per cent⁶.

Contribution (extent and pattern) in different pilot villages is given below:

SNo	Village	Agreed Contribution during Village Planning Exercise (Rs)				30% share to be contributed by villagers (Rs)	Actual Cash Mobilised (As on Nov.94) (Rs)
		Cash	Labour	Materials	Total		
1.	Seegavalu	90000	10000	-	100000	99600	90000
2.	Kalammana Koppalu	60000	10000	-	70000	60000	60000
3.	A.Nagathihally	70000	9500	73090	152590	118200	72000
4.	Kebhliganahally	98000	-	-	98000	42000	40000
5.	Hombadi Mandadi	30000	-	-	30000	3000	18000
6.	Lakhangaon	210000	34000	179000	423000	155000	300000
7.	Madlur	114000	10000	46500	170500	105000	110000
8.	Arkera	105000	-	154000	259000	193000	100000
9.	Ravihal	250000	-	-	250000	135000	62417
10	Malli	84000	40235	76263	200498	277000	28113
11	Yelasangi	100000	15000	100000	215000	215000	75000
12	Daginakatte	152000	-	-	152000	152000	52000

Methods of mobilising the contribution by the community

The communities mobilised their share of contribution in their own innovative methods. The following paragraphs present a brief over view of village wise:

Seegavalu

The community initially agreed to contribute both in terms of cash and labour. But, as the process of cash mobilisation went on, the villagers decided to contribute their share in terms of cash only, as providing labour will become difficult if the scheme is implemented during the agricultural season. The committee along with other members of the community went to house to house to mobilise the funds. Each house hold was fixed a certain amount by keeping the economic status of the household.

Kalammana Koppalu (Hamlet of Seegavalu)

This is a homogenous caste village, but with factions within the community. This hamlet was initially left out from the designs. There was initial reluctance from the community to contribute. The local political leader (a minister in the then government) was himself against

⁶ The government of Karnataka ultimately decided to fix 30 per cent as the share of the community

the idea of people contributing. But, when the spirit of the project and purpose of contribution were explained, he whole heartedly supported the project. He even went one step further by assisting the community in mobilising the necessary funds. The continuous motivation led to people coming together. The community decided to contribute their share in terms of cash only. The agreed contribution was mobilised by the committee members through house to house visits. They also fixed differential contribution amount based on the economic status of the household.

A.Nagathihally

In this village, the villagers first analysed the technical inputs and the costs estimated for each input. They decided to contribute by all modes i.e., cash, material and labour. They decided to provide substantive part of the contribution in the form of materials⁷

Kembliganahally

The contribution agreed in this village is only in terms of cash. The agricultural activities in this village is concentrated mainly on horticulture and sericulture which are highly labour intensive. Hence the availability of labour component is less. This was a highly faction ridden village. But the entire village came together because of the project.

Hombadi Mandadi

In this village, actually there is no contribution required⁸. But the community were motivated to contribute so that they should not think that everything is free of cost. The committee agreed that the mobilised amount could be utilised for initial O&M.

Lakhangaon

This village is one of the most innovative villages in fund mobilisation. In this village there is a fair price shop which distributes commodities at government price. But the person who is looking after the maintenance of this shop had no working capital to procure commodities. The people were going every month to the taluk head quarters (about 40 Kms away) for purchase of commodities which costed them Rs.20 towards travel charges and also other expenses that were incurred during their visit. The committee members decided to give the shop owner every month the amount required for procurement of commodities to be distributed in the village. The villagers were asked to pay Rs.10 which spent during their visit to the taluk headquarters. This way the mobilisation for one year reached nearly Rs.1 lakh.

⁷ *This was an interesting and shrewd move. They calculated and found that a unit input from their end would be valued much higher as per the schedule of rates*

⁸ *The topography of this village and dispersed settlements in this village (and also in this district as a whole) does not warrant any environmental sanitation component.*

They also sold raffle tickets with prizes. These tickets were distributed to surrounding villagers and also in taluk headquarters.

The committee members analysed the estimates in the technical report and suggested The use of locally available materials. This helped bring down the cost and in turn the extent of their contribution.

Madlur

In this village, the community agreed to contribute in the form of cash only. his village has the lift irrigation facility from the Malaprabha reservoir. The main commercial crop is which occupying more than 50% of the area cultivated in this village. The community agreed to contribute at one time i.e., after the harvest of cotton is done. They fixed the share based on the area of cotton each household is cultivating. The responsibility for fund mobilisation was divided among themselves based on the different wards/regions in the village.

Arkeru

This village is represented by a member of Parliament in the Lok Sabha and is dominated by small farmers and an agricultural labour community. The community mobilised funds not only for the water supply project but also to purchase land for the construction of stadium and electricity substation. Initially, the community conducted a 'musical night' programme, giving publicity to the surrounding villages. The amount mobilised through this programme was not sufficient to meet the community share of 30%. Then, the committee members visited house to house and mobilised the remaining amount. In addition to the cash contribution, community has agreed to contribute in terms of labour and material.

Ravihal

In this village, the community agreed to contribute their share in terms of cash alone. Some of the informal leaders were even willing to borrow from traders at the taluk headquarters towards for their contribution and return the loan after harvest. This village has been worst affected due to recurrent drought and floods from the Tungabhadra river. Due to delay in the implementation of the scheme the revised costs have increased and correspondingly their contribution. The community has so far mobilised funds through house to house visits. Also, they have constructed a panchayat building on behalf of the Zilla Parishat and the profit earned has been put towards the community share. Many families received compensation towards loss of property due to rains, but several constructed their houses on their own without waiting for the compensation. After they received the compensation a part of it was donated as community share. This village has some limited irrigation facility from the Tungabhadra project. The upper reach farmers under the distributary (which is the tail end of the project) distributed water to the tail end farmers. This was done so that, the small farmers could also contribute their share in the project.

Malli

This village has shown the least interest in participating in the project. The main problem of this village is the lack of credibility of previous political members and officials. This village

is gets irrigation from the Upper Krishna Project and many of the villagers are contractors by profession. There are quarries surrounding the village which belong to the people in this village. There is no faith among the villagers to collect or donate for the project.

The villagers suggest that instead of the committee members, it would be better if the staff from the consultant organisation visited house to house to facilitate mobilisation. Initially, this was also done and the mobilisation was encouraging. However, it was abandoned as it runs counter to the spirit of the process.

Yelasangi

This village has been taken as the second pilot village in the district in order to demonstrate cause of a lack of people's participation in the first village-Malli. Here, villagers had agreed to contribute in the form of cash, material and labour. Accordingly the community mobilised 75 per cent of the cash contribution within three months after signing the agreement. Here the committee members decided the contribution amount to each household from Rs.50 to Rs.1000 depending upon the economic condition of the households. But due to the long delay in implementation, the people stopped contributing. However, after commencing the construction of the water supply scheme people are mobilising the remaining cash, labour and material.

Daginakatte

In this village, water is a felt need. The community of this village anticipated some difficulties in mobilising labour and material resources in time and agreed to contribute only in terms of cash. Immediately after the Village Level Planning all the members present in the discussions made token contributions varying from Rs.101 to Rs.500 on the spot. With the same spirit, the committee mobilised Rs.52000 within two months. The community advised the Planning team to correct the mistakes in the technical design found during the planning. Since there was no quick response from the implementing authorities, the people were too demotivated and stopped the mobilisation. In this village, the contribution amount per household is fixed by the members depending on the economic condition of the household.

Conclusion

As seen through the above village wise mobilisation of the community's share, their participation is on a positive and encouraging footing. In many of the villages the committee members deposited the mobilised cash contribution in short term fixed deposits. This has been done keeping in view the delay in the implementation of the project, so that some interest could be earned out of the cash mobilised. This interest earned will be added to the contribution.

Also it is observed that communities are showing greater interest and involvement in monitoring the quality of construction during implementation.

LOCAL LEVEL INSTITUTIONS IN DRINKING WATER & SANITATION PROJECTS - SOME EXPERIENCES FROM KARNATAKA

Om Consultants

Preamble

This note presents an overview of the experiences with local level institutions for planning, operating and maintaining drinking water supply and environmental sanitation infrastructure in Karnataka under the aegis of the Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Project under implementation in the state of Karnataka with the assistance of World Bank. These experiences relate mainly to the pilot scale exploration which preceded the actual project implementation and partly¹ to the limited experience gained from larger scale implementation with the help of NGOs.

About the Project

The Government of Karnataka (GOK) is in the process of implementing an Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation (IRWS&ES) Project in 1200 villages (approximately) spread over 12 districts of the State. The project components include hardware (Drinking water scheme, Drainage and related minor road reprofiling, washing platforms, cattle troughs, dustbins, silt/soak pits, bathing cubicles and individual sanitary latrines) and software (community participation, health education, training and institution building). In addition, where found feasible, a ground water recharge component has been envisaged.

The project is being implemented in 3 steps. These are:

- 1) Pilot phase covering 11 villages,
- 2) Phase I covering 259 villages in 10 project districts,
and
- 3) Phase II covering 950 villages in 12 districts.

In each project village, the project implementation consists of 3 stages which are:

- i) Planning
- ii) Implementation and
- iii) Operation & Maintenance (O&M)

Current Status of the project

The project implementation with respect to water supply is nearing completion in most of the pilot villages and these villages are about to enter the O&M stage. In Phase I villages,

¹ *At the time of preparing this note, the larger scale implementation of the project in 259 project villages with the assistance of NGOs is in progress. The implementation activities are yet to commence and hence experience gained has been qualified as such.*

Planning stage has been completed with the help of NGOs and construction activities are about to commence. Planning exercises are about to commence in Phase II villages with the assistance of NGOs.

Local Institution - background

At the time of carrying out the planning exercises in the pilot villages the community was encouraged to form a local level institution to sign an agreement with the Govt. on behalf of the village community, agreeing to the conditions of the project (viz. Cost sharing and undertaking of O&M responsibilities), take up the initiatives for mobilisation of community contribution, be a monitoring forum during project implementation, plan the strategy for sustainable O&M and ultimately take up the responsibility for O&M.

The main guidelines issued to the communities before forming this local body were that:

- It should be representative of the village in a true sense,
- It should have at least a minimum stipulated representation for women and
- The selection/election should be a transparent process in the Grama Sabha.

Formation of Village Development Committees(VDC)

The communities in the pilot villages came out with the concept of a "Village Development Committee"²(VDC). The salient characteristics of the VDCs so formed were:

- These were large bodies with size of committee ranging from 35 to 96, depending on the size of the pilot village,
- They had representatives from each ward and in turn from each street,
- They represented all social groups as in many villages, geographic representation is near synonymous with Caste/Social representation.
- The process brought many informal leaders to the forefront

The VDCs so formed were highly energetic and had good access to all sections of the village in a geographic as well as Social sense. The mobilisation activities were brisk in most of villages (with a singular exception³). There was an air of confidence and expectancy all around.

² *The term VDC was coined by the villages communities in most pilot villages. In their view such a village level organisation can play a key role not only or water supply, but also for any development activities concerning the village.*

The singular exception being Malli village in Gulbarga district. This is economically a fairly well developed village. There is a crisis for credible leadership due to past experiences of the community with other projects.

It should be noted here that the formation of VDCs was carried out at a time when the Mandals were administered by administrators. There were no elected representatives⁴ as the fresh Mandal/ZP elections were yet to be held.

However, amidst all this euphoria, Govt. officials pointed out that these so called VDCs do not have a legal status to collect public funds, levy water tariffs and collect water tariffs. So a search was initiated as to finding an appropriate legal format for such a local level institution which could be vested with necessary powers to carry out the tasks that were expected of it.

Village Water & Sanitation Committee

At the initiative of the then Secretary RD&PR Department, a workshop was organised at Mandya in May 1992. In this meeting Chief Secretaries of Mandya and Bellary districts participated along with other officials, consultants and NGOs. The administrators were quick to point out that Water Supply was the responsibility of the Mandal Panchayat and it is not possible to delegate this responsibility to any local level institution. Any such step in handing over the responsibilities for such water supply schemes to local institutions would amount to violation of the principles of the Karnataka Zilla Panchayat, Taluk Panchayat Samiti, Mandal Panchayat and Nyaya Panchayat Act 1983.

So an impasse arose - with NGOs and Consultants insisting on a totally independent village based organisation and the bureaucrats insisting that the water supply scheme should and must only be administered by the Mandals. The debate consumed an entire day with seemingly no end in sight. Finally a compromise was proposed by one of the Chief Secretaries under 60(1) of the act. Under this section, there is a provision for the Mandals to delegate some of their responsibilities to a standing committee.

Thus the birth of the concept of Village Water and Sanitation Committee (VWSC) took place as an alternative. The VWSC was hence a part of and subordinate to the Mandal Panchayat. The VWSC became a combination of members selected at the Gram Sabha and the elected representatives resident in the village. In addition, local officials such as the Mandal Secretary, Asst.Engineer/Jr.Engineer and Health Visitor/Inspector with the jurisdiction of the village would be ex-officio members of the VWSC. The Mandal Pradhan would be the Chairman of the committee. The committee was expected to provide adequate representation to women (at least 1/3rd) and SCs/STs (at least 18%).

Model bylaws were formulated for VWSCs by the GOK for adoption by the Mandals (Ref: Annex I).

The VDCs in the pilot villages were reconstituted in line with the model bylaws. This did not prove to be a problem as the Mandal Panchayat elections were yet to be held and the task

⁴ *This situation had interesting implications when the elections to the Gram Panchayat were conducted subsequently in December 1993.*

essentially comprised of formally adopting the bylaws and pruning the number of members⁵

Gram Panchayat elections and its aftermath

The Gram Panchayat elections⁶ were held in December 1993 after revised de-limiting of constituencies. In place of erstwhile Mandal Panchayats, Gram Panchayats came into existence. As a result of this development, the VWSCs were to be reconstituted, inducting the newly elected representatives. By this time, the VWSCs were also formed in phase I project villages by NGOs. Hence, the work of reconstituting the VWSCs commenced in all project villages (i.e., both pilot and phase I).

The experiences gained while re-constituting were significantly different in pilot villages in comparison with the experiences in phase I villages. In pilot villages, the process went on without much difficulty. In fact in one of the pilot villages, the induction of elected representatives gave an additional positive impetus to the community mobilisation activities. However, in the phase I villages, by and large, difficulties were experienced as a result of the reconstitution process.

The relatively less problems in the pilot villages is attributable to two factors. Firstly, there had been a long enough period of regular inputs from consultants and the mobilisation of community contribution, by and large, was completed. Secondly, the implementation activities had already a sense of achievement among the VWSC members and induction of newly elected members did not pose a threat.

However in case of Phase I villages, the work of reconstituting the VWSCs had to face the following situations⁷:

Case (1) : Former VWSC members who stood in the elections but lost.

Case (2) : Former VWSC members who stood in the elections and won.

⁵ *It was a task in some of the villages to assuage the feelings of members who were not co-opted into the VWSC. It was expected to them that VWSC is like an executive committee and the people could still raise any issue of importance through the medium of the grama sabha.*

⁶ *The elections were held on non-party lines. But, in reality, party based politics could not be entirely kept out.*

⁷ *In addition to the situation described, phase I villages suffered due to well intended but ill timed circular from GOK asking Mandal Administrators to form VWSCs even before the NGOs carried out planning exercises in the villages. Two additional circulars had to be sent again from the GOK to rectify the situation by nullifying the VWSCs formed. In the meantime, however, the damage was done.*

- Case (3) : The elected Pradhans (who automatically become the Chairmen of VWSC) are residents of a different (non-project) village.
- Case (4) : Informal leaders who did not contest elections, but who were not so well disposed towards formal political leaders.
- Case (5) : Others, who did not show any interest in the project thus far, but who became members of the VWSC by virtue of their elected status.

Excepting for case (2), in all other cases, fall in morale and rate of mobilisation of contribution were observed. In many villages, informal leaders, who had taken an active role so far, started adopting an indifferent attitude. They felt that "their leadership status was being usurped by political elements after all the hard work had been put in by them (informal leaders)". In some cases, they suspected the credibility of elected representatives (due to historical reasons). Continuous and repeated visits by NGOs to persuade the community "to come together for a common purpose, leaving political interests aside", had some effect in limiting dissension to manageable limits. It was however observed that wherever drinking water was a **priority** need, the community demonstrated greater willingness to come together, burying political differences as far as the project was concerned.

Present situation

In the pilot villages, the VWSCs are active. They meet regularly and are maintaining records. The participation of officials in these meetings has however been below par. The committees have shown keen interest in monitoring the qualitative and quantitative progress of the project. They have also demonstrated their ability to take decisions on fixation of tariff, levying charges for private house connections etc. While they have demonstrated their ability in mobilising community contributions for initial stages, their ability to recover O&M costs on a sustainable basis could be assessed only overtime.

In Phase I villages, the situation is somewhat different. In the absence of any visible physical progress, the VWSCs are under increasing pressure to return the contributions mobilised by them.

One interesting observation about elected women, who are members of VWSC is worth mentioning here. It is observed that they attend the VWSC meetings without fail. Irrespective of whether they actively participate and express their views or not, they display a sense of pride in being the member of the VWSC. In earlier VDCs, the women members were represented by their husbands!

It is observed that in villages with very powerful political leaders; the project success is highly dependent on their orientation and inclination towards the project. In this sense, they are capable of influencing the project outcome (an outstanding success or vice versa).

Conclusions

It is still too early to assess the performance of the VWSCs. Preliminary experience from the pilot villages is promising. More can be said on these institutions only when the project implementation commences. Elections have been held recently to the State Assembly. Political fall out of the results will certainly have a bearing on the working of VWSCs.

Current experience shows that the "Need" for drinking water is the crucial factor in the functioning of VWSC. Widespread awareness creation by the NGOs can be a strong influencing factor. However, absence of any progress in project implementation can undo all the positive energies in the community.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE INTEGRATED RURAL WATER SUPPLY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION PROJECT - A SAMUHA EXPERIENCE

T Pradeep, GL Janardhan and YJ Rajendra,

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to draw out the major learnings resulting from SAMUHA'S participation in the IRWSES project. The paper is divided into the following sections:

- * Project parameters
- * SAMUHA's understanding of the project
- * The organisational model used
- * Operational experiences
 - involving people
 - organising people
 - understanding the technicalities
 - raising money
 - organising a district forum
 - electing the VWSC
- * Operational issues
- * Provoking a debate

PROJECT PARAMETERS

The IRWSES project is a bench mark in the government's development processes.

For the first time a government programme is attempting to systematically involve people in its planning, funding, implementation and maintenance phases.

Yet, what in spirit is a very large framework for an NGO to work within, is restricted by the specifics that the project actually expects from them.

In the first stage, the project expects NGOs to organise communities in order for them to

- * give a social sanction to the technical plans already prepared;
- * raise financial contributions of 30% of the environmental sanitation costs; and
- * elect members to a Village Water & Sanitation Committee (VWSC) which would be a sub-sect of the Gram Panchayat and would be responsible for the subsequent maintenance of the system.

SAMUHA'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROJECT

While accepting the specific requirements expected of it, SAMUHA's operational strategies were driven by the larger vision of a people-managed water and sanitation system. This really was the goal of the second stage of the IRWSES project.

To some degree this created some problems for it viz., the first stage objectives since most people were unable to understand the amount of time and detail being spent on organising people rather than on fund raising or committee selection.

The key questions that helped to define SAMUHA's strategy were:

- * People's participation could not be restricted to plan approval, fund raising, or to committee selection. It had to continue on to the Operations & Maintenance (O&M) stage also. How could this participation be institutionalised when the project parameters did not allow for it?
- * Responsibility for the O&M stage belonged to the VWSC which would be constituted as a sub-committee of the Gram Panchayat. When people did not have the right to recall their representatives, and when representatives could only be held accountable at the time of the next elections, how could people make this body responsive to their needs/problems?
- * In the existing culture, all participation is channelised through traditional/political leaders. Was it possible to involve people in a way that highlighted their mass strengths/capabilities rather than those of a few individuals?
- * Existing experiences with local government bodies had not left people with much belief that their contributions would not be misused or that benefits would accrue to them as promised. How did one create a sense of ownership amongst the people in the midst of such an environment?

THE ORGANISATIONAL MODEL USED

SAMUHA has been experimenting with an organisational model in its rural development projects. This model is based on organising all families living in a street (woni) into a primary association. All woni groups were then apexed into a village institution. Representatives of the wonis met as the executive of the village institution. This street-wise organisation meant that all families were involved, and even where participation differed, everyone knew what was happening.

This was strengthened by an institutional pre-condition that the groups could only act on such issues in which they were unanimous. This meant that any issue on which they did not agree continued to be discussed till they did or till it was deferred.

This organisation model was modified for the IRWSES project. Taking into account that the villages under the project ranged from 228 to 3650 households, wards were created as a tertiary level.

Given Raichur's purdah culture, the organisational model was further modified to institutionalise women's participation.

Each street selected one man and one woman to represent it. Where the street was large, representatives were selected by groups comprising 10-15 families.

These representatives met at the ward level. These were seen to be the decision-makers for all individual, street and ward issues. Each village comprised of 8-9 wards, and this number was based on the number of representatives that the village would select for the VWSC.

Each ward in turn selected unanimously one man and one woman to represent it at the Gram Sabha which now met as the village institution. These 16-18 members in effect now formed the village executive.

The executive in turn unanimously selected a male and a female as its sanchalaks or convenors.

The Gram Sabha was then formalised into an unregistered society which enabled it to open a bank account into which all the monies raised from the villagers was deposited. The two sanchalaks were the signatories to this account.

This organisational model has ensured that every family in the village is involved in the IRWSES project. Because a 2-way communication exists between the Gram Sabha and the ward and the woni gumpus, Gram Sabha decisions generally tend to be a reflection of the village collective. And where it is not, the position of the members as their representatives does mean that the Gram Sabha is still in a position to carry the village.

Because the representative base is much larger, this organisational model has also allowed second, third and fourth line leadership to emerge. Though they were initially selected because the wonis or the wards recognised some qualities in them, the project then subsequently provided these individuals the chance to prove themselves. Merit rather than popularity, money, caste or position was now the criteria.

The IRWSES project has also allowed this organisational model a real life interplay with the existing socio-political factors, and has shown that as long as all the people involved believe that they are working towards a common good, they are able to subordinate individual aspirations to it.

In addition, project processes have ensured that the institutionalisation of the women into the project has actually led to the releasing of women's energies. Siddapur women were not only responsible for motivating their own villagers, they also visited Shivapura in the next taluk at the request of the Convenors district forum and were responsible for motivating villagers here to participate in the project.

OPERATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Involving people

Betegera village in Koppal taluk has been a divided village for over 20 years. With 26 village, youth and other associations, it is known in the district as one village that has never been able to agree on an issue. When SAMUHA first approached Betegera village with details of the IRWSES project, our own staff didn't believe that it would be possible for us to work here successfully.

Involving people has become a fine art with SAMUHA's IRWSES staff. Immediately on entry into a village, they undertake a Venn Diagram exercise with Panchayat staff and available villagers to identify all the leaders and people whose opinions are respected by the villagers.

Following the Venn exercise, SAMUHA staff visit all the opinion-makers identified and personally invite them to a meeting to introduce ourselves and the IRWSES project. Staff briefly tell these persons about the IRWSES project and ask for advice and assistance to make the project successful. The exercise plays a critical role in establishing the project's neutrality and helps staff maintain an equidistance from all the leaders and groups in the village. In addition, it reinforces the worth of each person. In Betegera, the meeting was attended by all the 58 opinion-makers identified and contacted.

At this meeting, a decision is also taken to hold a formal Gram Sabha of the village to inform everyone of the project and its details. Each elder is requested to ensure that his people attend the meeting. They are also asked as a special favour to ensure that the meeting is attended by women. The mention and inclusion of women, apart from bringing in a group most affected by the project, also helps to further depoliticise the project.

In Betegera, only three women attended the Gram Sabha. Following this, staff conducted a Venn exercise on the second day specifically to identify women opinion-makers. 36 women were identified, and all attended an orientation meeting. On the fourth, the last day of the PRA exercise, more than 200 women attended the concluding Gram Sabha.

The entry process initiated by the staff starts with the Venn exercise, and then moves on to a social mapping which is done ward-wise. This also allows staff the opportunity to meet with people in smaller groups and to answer any questions that they may have. The social mapping exercise functions as a 2-way process with both the project and the village getting to know each other in a sustained and intense interaction.

Seasonal and water resource maps which are generated next allow the villagers to examine the project within the context of their village. This is then backed up by special meetings with women, and in the wards so that people continue to be made aware of the framework defining the project, their roles and responsibilities, and serves as a constant affirmation of their ability to successfully undertake the project. All information generated is constantly confirmed with families identified as the poorest and with women's groups. Apart from ensuring that the project continues to be responsive to the needs of the poor and the women as its major users, it also serves to reaffirm the project's commitment to reach out and involve everyone, and not be restricted to a few influential leaders.

In Jawalgera, the project's processes led to the Nadgowda (a traditional head, and once owner of 32 villages) sitting on the ground with the rest of the villagers to decide together on the village's response to the project.

Organising people

SAMUHA's organisational model has led to activity amongst people who had earlier never had the opportunity to do so.

- * In Siddapur Rs 345,000 had to be raised as per the original budget projections. Men were reluctant to come forward because they believed that this amount was beyond the village's capacity. Women who had been motivated by the special meeting held for them now took responsibility. A team of women Gram Sabha members went and visited each of the 975 houses in the village. Against the Rs 172,000 that the village had to raise in the first tranche, the village has now raised Rs 86,400.

Following the technical revision, additions to the project now means that the village has to contribute Rs 526,000. While approximately 50% of this has already been committed in the form of labour and materials, the village is confident that they will be able to raise the balance of the cash.

- * In Mattur, the villagers were so pleased with the functioning of the Gram Sabha and the project that they decided that they would not allow the panchayat elections to disrupt their village. Following this, the village met as a whole and decided to unanimously select members for the 5 panchayat seats. While this was done without a problem in the case of 4 seats, the last seat for which there were 2 candidates was resolved by the village selecting one member to its Gram Sabha and the other to the Panchayat.
- * In Hanumsagar, the broadening of the representative base led to the traditional village head who had been the village Panchayat President and then Mandal Pradhan for 30 years not even being selected as a woni representative.
- * In Balganur, the villagers were suspicious of the existing leadership and were not willing to trust them with the Rs 253,000 that had to be raised. It was only after the organisational model had been discussed and all its implications understood that the villagers agreed to contribute the money. To-date Rs 150,000 has been generated by the village.
- * The village seasonal and water resource maps which showed that the village Gowda had an illegal house connection from the existing water supply led to his being challenged by the local youth. The map was used to demonstrate this to the BDO who was then left with little option but to file a case against the Gowda. This led to the Gowda hiring thugs from outside to beat up the youth. The village which for the first time had started coming together to discuss the IRWSES project used this opportunity to also organise themselves against the Gowda. In a confrontation with the villagers, the Gowda himself was beaten. Police cases have been registered by both sides.

Despite this, the village decided that all land owners would contribute 10% of their produce to the Gram Sabha. Drought conditions led to a crop failure. Despite all this the village has still managed to raise Rs 11,000. When staff raised the possibility of the village being left out of the project, the villagers said that they would not allow this and asked for more time so that they could raise the required funds.

Understanding the technicalities

How do you help villagers, many of whom have never even seen a blue print, to translate this in a manner that is meaningful? SAMUHA staff did this in the most visual way possible. They organised the government engineers and villagers to actually lay out the plans on the village:

- * white string was used to physically lay out all the drains;
- * lime powder was used to show where all the culverts were going to be built;
- * blue string was used to show the piped water lines;
- * different coloured flag posts were set up to show the number and where the hand posts were to be set up, the number and where the bathing cubicles were going to be established, where the rubbish bins would be situated;
- * a green circle was painted on every house door that had requested a house connection, while a red square was painted wherever the house had also requested a toilet.

Because of the way the map had been laid out over the village, the villagers were able to resolve issues such as which side of the road a drain had to run, ensuring that a handpost was equidistant from most houses that it served, where the toilets were to be constructed. In addition, the exercise helped villagers to look at areas that the plans had totally left out.

- * In Kowtal, the technical review showed that the harijan wada with 50 houses was not included in the plans. In addition 2 camps outside the village had been included but were to be serviced only with handpumps whereas the population justified piped water supply;
- * In Mattur, the review showed that three streets had been left out. In addition, the villagers realised that the plans had sited the water tank at the lowest place in the village. Following a discussion, the villagers also decided to donate land in a elevated spot for their construction of the water tank;
- * In Jagir Venkatapur, the review showed that two drains had been proposed through one street which was only three feet wide;
- * In Balganur, the laying of the drains showed that these were blocked by existing kattas (elevated stone platforms). Following a discussion, the villagers agreed to remove these kattas;

- * In Acharnarsapur, the review showed that in one corner a road was too narrow to allow for a drain to be laid. Following discussions, the owner of the corner plot agreed to donate 60 square feet of land for this purpose. The review also helped the villagers to agree on the shifting of a road so that it could service 2 rows of houses rather than only the last row at the edge of the village. These householders were asked to donate the front of their sites for the new road and were asked to take possession of the old abandoned road in lieu of this;
- * In Kalmala and Hanumsagar, Gram Sabhas suggested the use of locally available stones for paving instead of the more expensive slabs budgeted for.

Raising money

Raichur district now ranks 5th in terms of monies raised. This is despite the many problems created by SAMUHA's approach which has from the beginning focused on broad-basing the programme and ensuring that as many people as possible are involved.

In 4 villages this has meant that SAMUHA has turned down offers from influential village elders to contribute large sums of money.

- * In Ginigera, a local excise contractor offered to contribute Rs 100,000 which was the total village contribution;
- * In Malkapur, the village head offered to contribute Rs 114,000 which again was the total contribution;
- * In Mudhol, the village head offered to contribute Rs 100,000 which was 20% of the village contribution;
- * In Mangalore, the MLA offered publicly to contribute Rs 100,000 which was 25% of the village contribution.

The 26 villages that make up the IRWSES Project in Raichur District need to raise a total of Rs 67.99 lakhs. Against this they have already raised Rs 15.64 lakhs (23%) or 37% of the agreed cash contributions. In addition, another Rs 19.49 (29%) lakhs has been committed towards materials, while another Rs 7.20 lakhs (11%) has been committed in labour.

Gram Sabhas have used various means to raise the funds collected so far.

- * In Malkapur, each farming household agreed to contribute 2 quintals of paddy each worth approximately Rs 600. Labour families in the village agreed to pay half this amount in cash and the other half in labour contributions. Rs 52,000 has been raised to date;
- * In Mattur, the Gram Sabha agreed that contributions would be levied on the basis of the pumpsets operated by a family. Rs 500 per pumpset was agreed upon. Dryland farmers were asked to pay Rs 300 each. Landless families were asked to pay Rs 200 each. Rs 54,000 has been raised to-date;

- * In Jagir Venkatapur, the gram Sabha agreed that the Rs 2.5 lakhs that they were to receive as compensation from the government towards the loss of their sunflower crop would be paid to the project. This money has yet to be received from the government. To ensure that their village did not reflect a nil credit, villagers raised Rs 25,000 by taking loans from the local sahukar;
- * In Achamarsapur, the Gram Sabha agreed that Rs 525 would be paid by families living in pucca houses. For every additional pucca house, the family would have to pay Rs 450. Families living in huts were asked to pay Rs 350, while families with empty sites were asked to pay Rs 250. Rs 95,000 has been raised to-date;
- * In Kalmala, the Gram Sabha created 4 categories of families: those who could afford to pay Rs 1000, Rs 500, Rs 300 and Rs 200. Rs 105,000 has been raised to date;
- * In Siddapur, the Gram Sabha agreed to levy an equal contribution of Rs 275 on every family. Rs 86,000 has been raised to date.

In addition to the above, Gram Sabhas have tried different ways to raise additional funds:

- * In Hanumsagar, where it was agreed that all families would equally contribute the amount to be raised, families with members employed in the government were asked to pay an additional Rs 500, while business families were asked to pay an additional Rs 1000 each. Rs 191,000 has been raised;
- * In Siddapur, additional funds were raised by levying a tax of Rs 10 for every bullock cart of sand taken from the nearby stream;
- * In Mastur, which was totally damaged in the last flood and which has moved to a new elevated site, the Gram Sabha purchased all the trees in the old village site in an auction. Profits from the sale of these trees was contributed to the project. To compensate for the trees lost, the Gram Sabha has already planted 10 saplings in the new village site for every tree sold;
- * In Hiremannapur, the Gram Sabha took on the contract to run the village fair price shop for 3 months. All profits raised during this period were contributed to the project;
- * In Talekhan, animals donated to the temple which were becoming a local nuisance were auctioned, and the funds raised contributed to the project;
- * In Betegera, the village agreed to transfer unspent funds from the Jatra fund and the local Youth Club;
- * In Jawalagera, villagers agreed to contribute the Rs 100/family received as compensation from the government for flood damage;
- * In Balganur, the Gram Sabha got the local movie theatre owner to contribute one day's earnings towards the project.

Organising a district forum

The Sanchalaks District Forum came about by chance. Sanchalaks from all the project villages had come together with staff to evaluate the progress of the project.

At this time the project was considering dropping 5 villages where both interest and contributions were very low. Sanchalaks felt that this step would penalise people, and asked staff to wait till they themselves went to these villages and motivated them. Following their visits, in Mustur the Gram Sabha has raised Rs 75,000; in Kinnal, Rs 42,000 has been raised; in Shivapura, Rs 20,000 has been raised; in Betegera Rs 72,000 has been raised while in Ginigera Rs 16,000 has been raised.

Electing the VWSC

As per the project guidelines, SAMUHA will assist the villages to select representatives to the VWSCs once the community processes are completed.

SAMUHA's organisational model has this built-in. VWSC members will be selected by the ward committees. Given that this selection will take place after the completion of the community processes, wards will have a good idea of the interest taken and the contributions made by their different members. The most committed members will be chosen by the wards for the VWSC. In the event that this person is also a Gram Sabha member, s/he will resign from the Gram Sabha and the ward will select another member to the Gram Sabha.

OPERATIONAL ISSUES

1. ALL LEARNINGS FROM THE PILOT PHASE WERE NOT TRANSFERRED TO THE FIRST PHASE.

During the first Government-NGO meeting, it was decided that VWSCs should only be formed as a culmination of the community participative processes. This decision was not transferred into procedure. As a result, a government circular was issued and VWSCs were formed in all the Raichur project villages at the start of the project itself. NGO efforts in Raichur district were set back by a month and a half till this issue was resolved satisfactorily.

Community participation has not been defined by the project. Can a community manage a system through representatives that it has no control over after it has selected them?

2. ALL LEARNINGS FROM THE FIRST PHASE WERE NOT TRANSFERRED TO THE SECOND PHASE.

Based on the first Phase experiences, it was decided that the technical consultants should coordinate the drawing of the technical plans with the NGOs so that the plans could, from the beginning itself, be a reflection of the people's needs.

For some reason, selection of NGOs and the technical consultants was not synchronised. As a result, technical consultants who were taken onto the project earlier initiated the planning process before the NGOs had even been selected.

As a result, NGOs now have to repeat the first phase experience of getting people to understand and approve the technical plans, have these revised, and go through the general hassle of not being able to tell people how much money they would have to raise towards the project till nearly the end.

Community participative processes are still not understood fully by all the project managers.

3. *THOUGH ON PAPER THE PROJECT IS COHESIVE, IN REALITY IT OPERATES ON A PIECEMEAL BASIS.*

The project design requires that consultants be involved in areas of their specialisation. As a result, there are health, community organisation and technical people working on the project. Yet despite the fact that community participation is considered to be the most critical component for the success of the project, NGOs who have the task of organising the communities are often not even consulted by the various consultants. This has led in some cases to mixed messages being given to the people, and the people in turn questioning the NGOs. In some cases, the NGO has to complete another consultant's tasks to meet the logic of the project's processes.

4. *THE PROJECT STILL OPERATES ON A TOP-DOWN APPROACH.*

The project is not geared to respond quickly to issues from the field. Delays in responding to issues raised by the people has meant that the NGO's credibility is often undermined. Cost escalations was raised as an issue by the NGOs from the beginning itself. Given that the budgets were already out of date by the time the project was initiated, the application of the Current Schedule of Rates (CSR) without any change in the funds provided for would have meant that the project would have to reduce the items budgeted for.

This was actually proposed. Another suggestion was that communities increase their contributions to the new levels required by the CSR. This was suggested without recognising that a change in the terms agreed with the community would have resulted in the communities losing faith in both the project and the NGOs concerned.

While there is now recognition at both Government and World Bank levels that the Government should commit itself to meeting the deficit created by the latest CSR, this has still not been communicated by them in writing.

5. *GOVERNMENT-NGO SHARINGS NEED TO BE FURTHER STRENGTHENED.*

A major strength of the project in the initial stages was the effort made by Om Consultants to bring together NGOs together before any meeting with the Government/World Bank mission. This allowed NGOs to share their experiences, collate these into issues and approach the Government/World Bank with a common, unified approach.

These meetings which were related to World Bank Mission visits need to be held independently, and as a regular sharing between the Government and the NGOs.

6. *THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NGOS ARE MEASURED BY DIFFERENT ACCOUNTABILITY STANDARDS.*

While NGOs have had funds withheld for not completing given phases, the Government is not held accountable for delays in, say, posting staff to, and ensuring that they join the Zilla Panchayat/World Bank Engineering Cells. This has created problems for the NGOs since social sanctions by the communities have been delayed. Without the technical revisions, NGOs have not been able to tell communities exactly how much money they have to raise. In some cases, NGOs have had to take on technical staff to meet commitments made to people.

7. *THE PROJECT IS NOT STRICT ABOUT MEETING TIME COMMITMENTS.*

Originally, the communities were told that the water supply systems would be tendered by June '94. Because this is only taking place now, communities have told the NGOs that they would only contribute further monies only after they saw work on the project being initiated.

PROVOKING A DEBATE

1. *PARTICIPATION: THE CARROT AND STICK APPROACH*

People have been told that the implementation of the rural water supply component is dependent on their raising contributions of upto 30% of the costs of the environmental sanitation component.

People were not given the choice to reject the environmental sanitation component as a whole.

Yet, access to water is a constitutional right. Will the government now only provide water if people pay for it?

2. *RESTRICTIVE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION*

While people were allowed to pick and choose the environmental sanitation components, they had to do this from a pre-set menu. People were not given the choice to create their own menu of environmental sanitation needs.

3. *PARTICIPATION IS EXPENSIVE*

The project raises questions of equity. Villagers wanted to know why they had to raise money to meet part of the costs of the project, when their better-off urban counterparts do not have to.

4. *IT ALSO RESULTS IN DISCRIMINATION*

The Government is implementing drinking water schemes other than IRWSES in the neighbouring villages. These villagers do not have to contribute any funds to be eligible for the scheme.

5. *PARTICIPATION CAN ALSO MAKE SOCIAL CONTRACTORS OUT OF NGOs*

NGOs should ideally have functioned as facilitators to the people. People should have been helped to raise these and other issues. Instead NGOs became facilitators to the Government. And it doesn't help when you are also being paid by the Government for the work you are doing.

INTERIM REPORT FOR ACTIONAID ON PROGRESS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION ACTIVITIES IN GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA PROJECT : 25.07.94

Tamsyn Barton

Introduction

The Programme

The Government of Karnataka, with financial assistance from the World Bank, is undertaking an Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation programme in 1200 villages in twelve Districts of Karnataka. The department responsible is that of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj (local government). The programme involves four components: water supply, environmental sanitation, ground water recharge and health education. A typical water supply scheme includes ground water wells with submersible pumps operated for about twelve hours per day, a rising main, water storage facilities, a distribution system, public standposts (for 65% of the population - and private house connections (35% - who will rent out use of their facilities to neighbours). Where these facilities exist but are not functioning well, repairs are envisaged. The environmental sanitation component includes sullage drainage and related road upgrading, sink and soak pits, washing platforms, latrines and bathing cubicles, cattle troughs and dustbins for solid water disposal. The ground water recharge component is only there in villages where this has been identified as a particular problem. The health education component will come into play once the construction work has been done. The water supply component comprises about 60% of the costs. The costs were estimated at nearly Rs.38 crore (=US\$ 120 million).

History

The programme began in early 1990, when the engineering consultants were appointed. The District level (Zilla Parishad - engineers had provided baseline data and maps. The mechanical division of the Public Health and Engineering Department had made available the results of their borewell drilling to identify sources. A baseline survey of 30 villages in ten Districts was completed in January 1990 by a group of development consultants. This revealed that many of the villages had benefited from water supply systems in the past, but that these systems were, for the most part, no longer functioning well because of neglect.

The World Bank was therefore concerned to ensure that this time the communities involved in the scheme should participate in planning and implementation of the programme, so that they were committed to taking charge of operation and maintenance. Hence the Bank appointed the development consultants to pilot community participation activities in 11 villages in the 10 Districts then involved where the engineering plans had been done, to see how this goal could best be achieved. The consultants decided that the best way to ensure that the communities concerned should feel a sense of ownership of the scheme was to inform them that a condition for their eligibility was their provision of a contribution to the capital costs as well as to the costs operation and maintenance. Since it would not be acceptable to the government for villagers to pay for such a basic need as drinking water, they decided that the communities would have to contribute 50% of the costs of the Environmental Sanitation

(ES) component.

The consultants went with government officials and conducted Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) Exercises in each village, and the villagers then agreed to the conditions. Since the Bank had stipulated that if the pilot scheme was a success, then it should be replicated throughout the programme villages, it was decided that the basic model would be followed. Discussions with the government resulted in a compromise figure of a 30% contribution to the ES component. (This excludes latrines, which are subsidised separately, and soak pits, which the government decided to put under the water supply scheme.)

The consultants wanted the scheme to be monitored and planned and, after implementation, taken over by a Village Development Committee in each village, constituted through the PRA exercises, but at a workshop in May 1992, they had to compromise with the government, which insisted that a facility such as water supply came under the aegis of the local government institutions. Since there was a clause in the bye-laws which allowed the village Panchayat to delegate work to a standing committee, it was decided that a Village Water and Sanitation Committee, acting as an extended arm of the Panchayat, would take responsibility, and the bye-laws were amended to specify the conditions under which the committee would be selected. Besides ex officio members, those elected to the Gram Panchayat (Village Council), members of the VWSC were to be elected by villagers, the membership had to be at least one third women, and at least 18% from Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST). (Similar reservations for women and SCs/STs are made for the Gram Panchayats under existing legislation. The consultants also recommended that the existing associations in the communities should be represented.

Thus the norms were set for Phase I of the programme, which was to cover 260 villages in twelve (initially ten Districts). The population of the villages in Phase I is about one million, and of the 1200, about four million. Since the consultants could not manage the community participation component for so many people over so large an area, they decided that Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs - already working in the Districts should be responsible for this part of the programme, on the model of the agreed norms, but with some built-in flexibility as to methods. Negotiations with NGOs began in November 1992. The World Bank then made it a condition of signing the agreement with the government that NGOs should have been contracted to carry out the work. The Government signed an agreement with ACTIONAID to devolve responsibility to them for Bellary and Raichur Districts in June 1993. Two of ACTIONAID's partners took over the task: Development Promotion Group (DPG) in Bellary District and Samuha in Raichur District.

The consultants, apart from continuing work in the pilot villages, took over a monitoring role, liaising between government and NGOs. They report on progress monthly to the Project Planning and Monitoring Unit (a cell within the government responsible for all bilateral water schemes), and convene a meeting first with NGOs and then with NGOs and PPMU staff over two days every two or three months. The World Bank staff now restrict involvement to occasional monitoring missions. (The last one was at the end of April 1994).

In the pilot villages, the implementation is complete in two villages and nearing completion in eight, while the work has started in the last. The planning stage for Phase I is almost complete, and it is anticipated that implementation will begin in one-third of the villages (not

including Bellary and Raichur Districts) in October. Delay has been caused because of the difficulty of finding contractors to conform to World Bank procurement norms. Now ACTIONAID, along with other NGOs, is in the process of contracting to extend the work to villages in Phase II, with the same partners.

Summary of Agents Involved and their Responsibilities

- The Department of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj (RDPR) - has overall responsibility.
- However, the day-to-day responsibility has been delegated to the Project Planning and Monitoring Unit (PPMU), which reports to the Secretary for RDPR. The PPMU is meant to co-ordinate and guide all the implementing agencies, and monitor overall progress.
- At the District Level, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) in the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) - reports to the RDPR Secretary.
- The preparation of annual plans, scrutiny and sanction of schemes carried out by the Zilla Parishad is the responsibility of the Public Health Engineering Department. There is a special cell at the State level under the Engineer-in-Chief to review the engineering designs and provide technical support to the Zilla Parishads. At the District level there are also special cells to ensure satisfactory implementation of all the components of the project in each of the twelve Zilla Parishad divisions. The cells are headed by the Executive Engineer of each District. Assistant and Junior Engineers report to him. The cells report to the Chief Secretary of the Zilla Parishad and the Director of the PPMU. Borewell drilling and installation of handpumps in remote villages, where Mini Water Schemes and piped water schemes are impracticable, is also to be done by the PHED>
- The Zilla Parishad has overall responsibility for construction of all new water supply schemes, or augmentation of new ones, and for support to Gram Panchayats in maintenance.
- For this project Engineering consultants (NIDC) - are responsible for project preparation and construction supervision.
- Technical responsibility for planning and monitoring ground water recharge schemes lies with the State Level Watershed Development Cell (formerly the Dry land Development Board (DDLDB)).
- The responsibility for community participation lies with Om Consultants, a private company.
- The responsibility for preparing a study leading to a strategy for health communication lies with another firm of consultants - Mudra Communications.
- Gram Panchayats are responsible for operation and maintenance.

For further details of the structures within the government, see Annexure I.

Bellary District

In Bellary District, Development Promotion Group (DPG), with the support of ACTIONAID Karnataka Projects (AKP) in the PRA phase of the programme (until January 15, 1994), took on the responsibility for Phase I. DPG had been started in 1988; it is an agency concerned with Project Planning and Monitoring, based in Madras, which has worked in a variety of locations in South India. It had not previously worked in Bellary District. AKP had been working in Chitradurga District (which is adjacent to Bellary District), based at Jagalur, since 1988, where it runs integrated rural development programmes in 24 villages.

Bellary District, which lies on the eastern border of central Karnataka, is rated at 104 on the relative index of development devised by the Committee for Monitoring the Indian Economy (CMIE), putting it above the all-India average and sixth of Karnataka's nineteen Districts. It is also one of the draught-prone Districts. (Seven out of the ten districts originally selected are draught-prone). Literacy levels are below the state and all-India averages, with male literacy 58.71% as compared with 67.26% and 64.13%, female literacy 31.97%, as compared with 44.34% and 39.29%, and rural literacy 38.71%, as compared with 47.69% and 44.69%. A higher percentage of the population are involved in agriculture and allied activities than in the state as a whole or the country as a whole, 75.55% are occupied with agriculture as compared with 66.69% for Karnataka and 66.92% for India. The percentage of workers who are agricultural labourers is 38%, putting it amongst the worst fifty Districts in India (of the 411 Districts for which data are available). There has been a considerable percentage increase in this figure (1961-1981), 11.52% for men and 28.4% for women. The gross irrigated area as a percentage of the gross cropped area is high in comparison with that of the state as a whole, and not much lower than that of the country, standing at 30.22%, as compared with 18.05% and 30.72%. While the per capita food grains production is considerably higher than that of the state, it is only slightly higher than that of the whole country, being 184 kgs in comparison to 146 and 173 kgs. In the decade since 1980/1, food crops production has increased (3.4% in area and 3.4% in quantity), while production of at least one cash crops, sugar cane, has decreased. However, production of the cash crop groundnuts has increased far more (10.9% in area and 11.35% in quantity). The population is growing at a rate of 2.39% per annum, as compared with 1.90% for Karnataka and 2.14% for India.

Raichur District

In Raichur District, Samuha, an ACTIONAID partner, took on the responsibility for community participation activities in Phase I. Samuha had begun its operations in the District in 1986, and is running long term integrated rural development programmes in 24 villages in the Jalahalli area.

Raichur District lies immediately to the north of Bellary District, even more remote from the state capital, Bangalore, which dominates the state to an exceptional degree, being five times larger than the second city in the state. On the CMIE index it lies at 91 (i.e., significantly worse than Bellary District), with the state lying at 117 in relation to the yardstick of 100 for the country. This makes it the fifteenth lowest District on the scale in Karnataka. It is classified as a draught-prone District. Literacy levels are considerably below the levels of the state and the country, with male literacy at 49.53% as compared with 67.26% and 64.13%, female literacy at 22.15% as compared with 44.34% and 39.29% and rural literacy at 30.42%.

as compared with 47.69% and 44.69%. In fact Raichur is among the 100 worst (of 411 recorded) Districts in India for levels of female literacy. However, the Infant Mortality Rate (for children below 2 years) is 116/1000, which puts Raichur among the best 150-200 of the 411 involved in agriculture and allied activities is particularly high, standing at 81%, as compared with 66.69% for the state and 66.92 for the country. More significantly, the percentage of those involved in agricultural labour is 43, which puts Raichur among the worst 25 Districts in India. There has been a dramatic increase in this percentage (1961-1981), 15.8% for men and 40.6% for women. The gross irrigated area as a percentage of the gross cropped area is slightly higher than the state average, but well below that of the country as a whole, at 20.14% as compared with 18.05% and 30.72%. The per capita food grains production is considerably higher than that of the state or the country, standing at 229 kgs as compared with 146 and 173 kgs. In the decade since 1980/1, food crops production has increased (1.23% in area and 1.23% in quantity), while production of some cash crops, such as sugar cane and cotton has decreased. However, production of the cash crop groundnuts has increased more (3.5% in area and 4.51% in quantity). The population is growing at a rate of 2.6% per annum, which is high in comparison to the state as a whole (1.9%) and even the country (at 2.14%).

The Villages

The criteria state for selection of the villages to be involved in the scheme are the following: acute water shortage, serious water-related health problems, water consumption less than 40 litres per capita per day, lack of groundwater sources or sullage drainage problems. The villages were selected by Zilla Parishads. The average population in each village is about 4,000. In Raichur District the average population of each village is 4054.

Documentation

ACTIONAID has undertaken documentation of the process of its partners' involvement in the GOK project, studying the interaction between the community, the government and the partners. The primary purpose of the documentation is to provide a basis on which to encourage the Government of Karnataka to introduce participatory elements in planning in the future. But the documentation is also to be used to offer feed back during implementation, for the benefit of the partner NGOs as well as the Government. Finally, it is hoped that the documentation will contribute to a broader understanding of the problems and issues relating to community participation among international institutions such as the World Bank.

There are detailed reports on the PRAs in ten villages observed by those responsible for documentation from ACTIONAID, with updates on what happened up to the present.

Objectives of ACTIONAID's partners

The partner's specific objective for the period of their involvement are to ensure community participation in the planning stage, and to facilitate the formation of the local level planning institution - the Village Water and Sanitation Committee (VWSC). This committee is to be responsible for operation and maintenance as well as for 30% of the Environmental Sanitation component. The aim is to ensure a sense of ownership in the consumers of the scheme's facilities. Both DPG and Samuha are committed to involving the poorest and most vulnerable

sections of the community, including women, at all stages. They are meant to facilitate a process of communication between government and the community. They are also expected to document the process.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION ACTIVITIES: INITIAL PHASE

After preliminary visits to the target villages to build up rapport and generate awareness, the initial phase of community participation activities involved three or four day PRA Exercises. Though content of these has varied between the two Districts (see below), but in each there has been preliminary meeting, to which leaders identified on preliminary visits were normally specifically invited, and a final meeting (Grama Sabha). Efforts were made during the exercise to encourage as many people as possible to attend this. These PRA exercises were completed in November. Subsequently Samuha carried out a further stage of PRA - the planning exercise (described below). Since then the main tasks have been liaison with the government regarding modification of plans and costings, encouraging mobilisation of funds, and documentation.

Bellary District

Here the PRA procedures and their purpose are outlined. Below a summary of what happened during the exercises made on the basis of the observations of those responsible for documentation from ACTIONAID and their discussions with those involved. The following procedures were developed after training was conducted in the village of Arasikere by the ACTIONAID specialist on August 5-9:

- Preparatory publicity
- Preliminary Meeting
- Venn Diagramming
- Resources Mapping
- Seasonality Mapping
- Rough mapping of the village
- Social Mapping
- Street Meeting
- Final Meeting

The Preparatory Publicity involves three or four staff going to the village the day before, putting up wall-posters advertising the planned activities, organising drum-beating to alert the villagers, and then a programme of cultural activities, including the songs about the scheme sung by a singer from one of the target villages. These activities are meant to excite interest in the scheme among those who would not otherwise have heard about it directly, in particular women, who can attend such a gathering much more easily than a village meeting. (This preliminary activity was not observed by the person responsible for documentation from ACTIONAID).

Next there is a Preliminary Meeting to inform people about the scheme and gain their support for the PRA.

Venn Diagramming is then carried out in order to identify leaders and establish their inter-relationships.

Resources Mapping is then done to understand the existing water resources. A Seasonality Map is made in order to understand the variations in water supply during the year.

All these exercises are carried out for the benefit of the programme staff, especially in their efforts to facilitate fund-raising for the community contribution, and for government officials not from the village. The activities are not seen as benefiting the villagers, who are assumed to possess this information already.

A rough Map is made by villagers to divide the village into sections for Social Mapping.

Social Mapping should be carried out by village volunteers, based in each section, who move the emerging map as necessary to different locations within the section. The map sets out the houses, recording inhabitants by gender and caste, together with public and private taps and latrines, government and public institutions, and temples or other religious buildings. The water system is thus set in the context of the social system. The map should be checked by the volunteers going back to the streets concerned. The technical plan is then superimposed on to the Social Map. This map of the scheme is then transformed into a Ground Map, with clay models representing landmarks, to make it intelligible to villagers unused to maps. The Ground Map is destroyed after the meeting but the original social maps on paper remain for village use.

Street meetings reconducted with about forty to fifty people each. These were started as fund-raising meetings, but it was soon realised that some people, especially women, could best be reached this way. (No street meetings were observed by the person responsible for documentation from ACTIONAID). Also house visits are made to motivate the people.

On the evening before the last day, villagers are informed that they will have to select a committee of eight, including two SC/ST and two women, with the other four representing each a different part of the village. They are also told that they must collect some money to be deposited in the committee's name at the bank. At the Final Meeting (Grama Sabha), they are encouraged to achieve both objectives in token of their acceptance of the scheme.

After the PRA, the map of the scheme is painted on the wall by staff. Villagers have to make a wall available and prepare it for painting.

Raichur District

The PRA activities have varied between villages, partly as a result of an evolution of ideas about which activities were most useful. Initially, training was conducted by a specialist from ACTIONAID, over seven days in the village Jawalgera. On the basis of this training, eventually seventeen different activities were developed :

Expectations
Venn Diagramming
Preliminary Mapping
Rough Mapping
Social Mapping
Water Resource Mapping
Water Resource Mapping
School children's Meetings
Service and Opportunity Mapping
Seasonal Analysis
Preference Analysis
Process Chart
System Analysis
Rule-in-Use
Women's Meetings
Approval by the Poorest of the Poor
Concluding with Expectations.

Expectations entails setting down the expectations of everyone involved. An agreement is then made between the facilitator and the participants for the PRA to take place over the next four days.

Venn Diagramming is carried out in order to analyse village society, looking at the relations between people in different contexts. Hence local primary information is pooled and a database on the power structure created. This process is begun by asking people to whom they would go in order to settle a dispute, in order of preference. By the end, information has been provided on the politics of the village, in relation to wealth and poverty, to caste and to different groups and organisations. Individuals with particular jobs or skills are identified. The information is discussed in relation to the implementation of the scheme. It is also regarded as important that some villagers have learnt a technique that they can use for dealing with complaints, fund raising for any collective enterprise and so on.

A Rough Map of the village is made, dividing the village into wards according to their perceptions rather than in accordance with any official administrative division (though the two sometimes coincide). Hence the families are grouped into wards and volunteers are enlisted for social mapping of each ward.

The Social Mapping process is carried out as in Bellary District. In addition to the information collected about households there, it is recorded whether there are "job holders". At the beginning this only meant asking whether there were government servants, but in the second phase of thirteen PRA exercises enquiries were made about all sorts of salaried occupations. In the following days, the map is taken back to the streets for verification, especially from women. Corrections may even be made at the final stage, when the maps are set out at the final stage, when the maps are set out at the final meeting.

Water Resource Mapping is then done, with information from some villagers and the Waterman, who is responsible for distribution under the existing system, which sets out the current situation in relations to the proposed scheme. The locations of the system, whether

it be a Mini Water Supply or otherwise, the various wells and public taps, the pipes (where size and number of hours of supply is indicated) and individual household connections are noted. Analysis is encouraged, so that people begin to see how the water supply reflects the power relations in the village.

Next Service and Opportunity Mapping is done, which reveals the resources (health, education, financial, marketing, skills) available in the village or nearest to it. This should help the villagers raise funds, as well as providing information for the NGO.

Seasonality Analysis sets what happens in the village against the calendar, whether it be festivals or agricultural seasons, and clarifies what villagers are doing at each stage. Hence availability of labour power and funds at different times of year are revealed. This is meant to assist the villagers in fund-raising.

Preference Analysis is done to create a database on choices of the people regarding trees. The importance of tree-planting for groundwater recharge is understood, and the potential for tree-planting established.

The technique of a process Chart, which sets out what is needed for any given project in terms of labour, cash and materials, is meant to clarify processes by which planning is done and to reveal the requirements for implementation.

System Analysis looks at the interdependence of human and natural systems, and attempts to produce strategies for establishing new systems.

Rules-in-Use looks at written and unwritten rules in operation, so that existing rules may be incorporated into a new system.

Street Meetings (woni sabhas), or Women's Meetings, were started after initial efforts by volunteers carrying out Social Mapping failed to mobilise women. They are meant to ensure that information about the project is disseminated directly to the women, to allow their views to be heard, and to mobilise their support.

School Children's Meetings involves discussion of issues with schoolchildren to stimulate their interest in water and hygiene, and gives them information about the project. Sometimes the children learn the Samuha song about the project.

Approval of the Poorest of the Poor is a procedure which focuses on two or three households identified as the poorest in each ward, who are singled out for their opinion, and encouraged to participate, and to promise a contribution of labour if cash is impossible.

Since the PRA processes have aroused much curiosity, at the Final Meeting more villagers come to hear about the scheme, and a decision is made about whether to get involved.

Finally a Review of Expectations discussed initially is carried out.

After the end of this set of PRA exercises, there is a Planning Exercise, or technical revision. After a preliminary village meeting to raise volunteers, the Junior Engineers lay out the

technical plan in the village, with different coloured threads representing pipes and drains, and flags with pictures on representing standposts and other facilities, so that the villagers can see where everything is and react accordingly. (Photographs of one exercise are attached.) Meetings of the people in each ward are organised to propose and sanction changes. At the end, there is a Final Meeting, at which the revised components of the scheme are made public to the whole village, and the estimated cost and village contribution worked out are declared.

The village level facilitator then begins the process of group formation. Since Samuha aims to go further in organising participation than would be guaranteed by an eight-person VWSC, the NGO organises 'street-wise' representation to oversee the implementation of the scheme from the beginning. One man and one woman from each street (or woni) are representatives on Ward Samithis. Each village is divided into eight or nine wards. One man and one woman from each ward chosen to be representatives on the 'Gram Sabha', which is headed by one male and one female Convenor. In addition to these sixteen or eighteen representatives, there are ex officio representatives from the Gram Panchayat, and from existing village associations. Funds are Gram Panchayat, and from existing village associations. Funds are raised and opinions collected at Woni level, from the informal groups known as woni gumpus. The woni representatives feed views to the Ward Samithis and the ward representatives bring them to the Grama Sabha. It is this body which signs an agreement with the government. The VWSC is only to be formed once 50% of the contribution is raised, the technical revision done and an agreement has been signed with the government.

Participants

A) Programme Staff

In Bellary, it was planned that every PRA would be attended by the Director, who co-ordinated, together with the Chief Co-ordinator and the Taluk Level Worker. Around four others were to be delegated from AKP to assist. (See below 2.1.a, for the structure of the programme staff).

In Raichur, it was planned that after the first training PRA, one of the three trainers would co-ordinate each exercise, together with one Taluk Level Organiser, with the Village Level Worker of the village, along with the other VLWs of the same Taluk whose villages had not yet been involved in a PRA. The Project Officer was to attend every exercise.

B) Government

The ZP engineers have to make revised cost estimates of Environmental Sanitation component and note any alterations to the water supply system during the planning exercise, based on feedback from the villagers, and then submit these to the PHED. From the RDPR the Block Development Office (BDO), the Mandal (after elections in December the Gram) Panchayat Secretary and other Gram Panchayat staff should attend PRAs, planning exercises and subsequent VWSC committee meetings. The Panchayat staff should be active throughout the PRA, mobilising people for the meetings. SLWDC officials are meant to attend PRAs and planning exercises in villages where there is a SLWDC component. Women and Child Welfare (ICDS) officials at the village level (the Health Visitor and the Anganwadi workers) are also meant to attend PRAs, as they should be involved in the health education component.

For the PRA exercises, in Bellary it was considered most important that the concerned Junior Engineer or Assistant Engineer, the Administrator at the Taluk level (or Block Supervisor) and the Mandal Secretary should attend. The administrator is the Assistant Executive Engineer (a Taluk level official), the equivalent from other Departments, or the Block Development Officer. The Junior Engineer and the Mandal Secretary were expected to be present for the whole PRA exercise and for subsequent Committee meetings. The Administrator is expected to attend meetings during the PRA and Committee meetings thereafter.

In Raichur, attendance at the Grama Sabha was expected from the Block Development Office (BDO), the Child Development Programme Office (CDPO), the Mandal Administrator, the Assistant Executive Engineer or at least from his representatives, the Junior Engineer or the Assistant Engineer, The Mandal Secretary, Angawadi workers, and health officials (the Auxiliary level government workers (Bill Collectors, the Waterman and perhaps the Village Accountant) were meant to participate in Social Analysis and help organise the meetings. Of these, the Mandal Secretary and the Junior Engineer were most important. As for the planning exercise, the presence of the Junior/Assistant Engineer was most important.

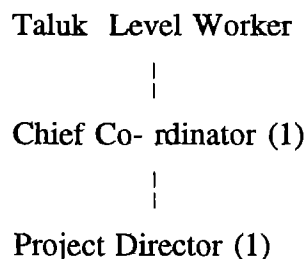
EXPERIENCES IN BELLARY AND RAICHUR DISTRICTS

Bellary District

Background

DPG, an agency specialising in project planning and monitoring, with the support of ACTIONAID Karnataka Projects (AKP) in the PRA phase, has taken on responsibility for community participation activities in thirty-two villages (including three villages or hamlets which are adjacent to others at which the scheme is targeted) in Bellary District.

The reporting structure for the programme is as follows :



Progress in the GOK programme is discussed in the context of the general meeting held monthly.

These were a few variations on the inclusion of procedures discussed about in PRA exercises. In the first four villages where PRAs took place, the procedure lasted only three days, but then the preparatory stage was added. After another three PRAs had taken place, street meetings were started. (These were not observed.) It was only after a few more PRAs that the method of displaying the scheme on a Ground Map was devised. The singer participated in about half of the PRAs.

PRA's were completed on December 10, by which time 29 villages and two hamlets adjoining two of the villages had been covered. In one village¹ they steadfastly refused to participate, since they have rejected the idea of a community contribution. In the case of another village, which is actually a hamlet of a larger village², even after the PRA was conducted and two follow-up visits made, the villagers still refused to provide the community contribution. This hamlet is resentful of its richer neighbour³, and insists that the latter should provide the contribution for it.

Village Water and Sanitation Committees (VWSCs) were formed in twenty-nine villages, out of the total of thirty-two which includes three hamlets. The VWSCs formed consist of the eight elected members, the Panchayat Secretary and the other elected Gram Panchayat members, the Anganwadi worker, and the health visitor, making up sixteen or seventeen members.

In fact the connection between committee formation and PRA has not always been straightforward. In Five villages, committees were formed before the PRA exercises by government officials. Fortunately, these were replaced by committees formed at the end of the PRA without many problems. In addition there were at least seven cases where the committee could not be formed immediately because of dissensions within the village. In one village⁴ this was because of opposition between different castes (Nayaks and Lingayats), in another⁵ because of rivalry between different youth clubs, in another⁶ because of general lack of unity, in another⁷ because of the opposition of an important leader, and in a further three⁸, because of opposition between two political parties. In the cases of three of these seven villages⁹, though committees were formed, the problems have not so far been solved. But an apparently intractable opposition between the representatives of different political parties does not always present prolonged difficulty however - in the case of Morgere, one of the case-study villages, equal representation of each group was agreed at the final meeting. In cases where the committee is not formed at the final meeting the goal is to have a committee within six weeks of the PRA, and this goal was reached in all cases except Arasikere, one of the case-study villages.

¹ *Itigi*

² *Chintrapalli.*

³ *Ramanagar.*

⁴ *Moka.*

⁵ *Karur.*

⁶ *Taranagar.*

⁷ *Mariammenhalli Tanda.*

⁸ *Ujjini, Chornur and Arasikere*

⁹ *Taranagar, M.Tanda and Ujjini.*

However, there were cases where apparently binding decisions were reversed. In Arasikere the committee was formed four times and dissolved; only with the help of the Administrator could they eventually agree on a ratio of 3:5 on the committee. In another case¹⁰, a committee to be dissolved and the money dispersed.

Happily, these proved only temporary setbacks. But in a third village¹¹, the enthusiasm of the villagers has been opposed by one influential leader, an ex ZP member, who wanted the contract for the work. A committee was eventually formed with this man as Vice President, and despite doubts as to its sustainability, it has succeeded in matching the average percentage of contribution collected in the District. In a further case where initial decisions were reversed, after PRAs has been carried out, committees formed and initial sums deposited in the four villages in Sandur Taluk, there is/was considerable delay in proceeding, since the local MLA, the Rural Development Minister, Mr Ghorpade, made a statement to the local Kannada press on 2/11/93 condemning the surprising position, as he was meant to be in charge of the programme.

In addition to all these local difficulties with committee formation, some confusion was caused when a government circular went round, ordering the dissolution of existing committees as a result of the problems with committees in Raichur District, but this was eventually sorted out, with the consultants' eventually persuading the government officials to cancel the committees.

The AA person responsible for documentation has reported on five PRAs. In three cases the reports are based on first hand observation of the entire process, while in the case of the other two, half of each process was observed. As in the case of Samuha, this report is based not only on the PRAs attended but also on additional information, either from discussions with NGO staff or from the files.

Community participation

In the social mapping process, participation seems to have varied between a handful and about forty people in each ward. It proved easy to find volunteers among village youth, and they were normally able to carry out the process without needing guidance from programme staff. On occasions facilitators seem to have failed to ensure that the maps were moved around sufficiently to attract much local participation. Other activities were carried out based on the information of a small number of people - the main aim here seemed to have been to extract information, and triangulation of findings did not seem necessary.

The part of the process which attracted maximum participation was the final meeting. About 150 people turned up on average in the villages where reports were made, apparently regardless of the size of the population of the village, whether it was 1800 or 6000. The Project Director reported an average of about 250 people. The largest number in all the villages was 700, out of a population of about 3000. Mobilisation seems to have been

¹⁰ *Karur.*

¹¹ *Mariammenhalli Tanda.*

significantly easier in smaller villages. In preliminary meetings there were about half as many, the increase attesting to the mobilizing capacity of the PRA process.

Though there was no specific procedure for involving the poorest sections of the community in the PRA process, the Project Director estimates that there was good participation from the poor during the PRA. At the beginning, he expressed uncertainty as to whether their involvement in implementation would be as significant as that of the rich.

Indeed, DPG has been happy to take large contributions from the richer members of the community, or outsiders with connections to the village. In one case¹², a large contribution was used to lever more money from the rest of the community, since the cheque's being honoured was made conditional on a certain amount being produced to match it. The lesser role of the poor at this stage may be redressed at the time of implementation, when labour can be used. DPG has deliberately not revealed that labour can be substituted for cash, because he anticipated that costs would escalate, and thought that it would be easier to mobilise labour rather than cash at the construction stage.

The Director thought that at least two or three people from poorer sections were on the committee apart from the SC/ST representatives. He noted that in the larger villages the women on the committee were normally from richer households, but that this was not always the case in the smaller villages. There was not data collected on the participation of the poorer sections in activities at the PRA or subsequently.

On the whole the programme staff seem to have been successful in motivating key decision-makers in the village by means of the PRA process - leaders of various interest groups and the youth have been brought to embrace the scheme whole-heartedly. There were four cases where villages were initially reluctant to participate in the scheme, but have now agreed. Preliminary visits were also important, but the reports reveal at least one case where the PRA itself proved the turning point. This success has much to do with the dynamic approach of the team. The presence of the Director at every PRA doubtless helped ensure consistency of effort. In addition, the activities have spread awareness widely in the village.

Where there seems to have been a major problem is in reaching the women of the village, despite the secondment of female AKP staff to the PRA team on some occasions in addition to the Chief Co-ordinator. There was no exercise targeted specifically at women; they are only recorded as having participated significantly on two occasions in the PRAs observed: in clay model making for the ground map at Ramanagar and in discussion of customs related to marriage and death at Arasikere. In the former case, the women complained that they were wasting their time. As for the discussion of customs, it was an exercise only used for the purposes of training, at Arasikere. Notably, in this context, the activity of process analysis of the uses of water, which revealed the different roles of men, women and children in collecting and using water, was also abandoned. Apparently the practice of checking the social map with the women was soon given up in the interests of speed, as there was no significant disagreement with the men's version. However, it was important in so far as on the occasions

¹² *Telgi.*

when the maps were checked, women at least had a better chance of understanding the geography of the scheme.

Street meetings were organised in some villages, and in these about half of those attending were women. Women were reluctant to speak at these meetings, but the information they received encouraged some to come to final meetings, if they felt that they had to demand changes to the plan. In the case of one village, a woman came to the final meeting to demand a standpost in her street. There were no street meetings at the PRAs recorded by the documentation person from ACTIONAID, so none were observed.

In general, few women attended the final meetings, the numbers varying from 15-30 in recorded cases. In one village¹³ apparently 100 women turned up, outnumbering the men. This was all the more remarkable in that they were so unused to public exposure that when two women were elected to the committee, they were reluctant to go up and take their places in front of everybody. The Project Director estimated that these was an average of 10% women at final meetings, with a maximum of 30%, but that there were occasions when none turned up at all.

Programme staff did encourage the women to come to the final meeting, when making household visits and during street meetings. However, this did not normally have much effect, given the lack of tradition of women attending such meetings.

Women do not seem to be playing a significant role on VWSCs. In one case it is the fact that it is a woman elected under the reservation scheme to the post of Panchayat Secretary which is preventing the committee from functioning effectively. One cause for concern about the future is the difficulty of recruiting women staff: in Phase I the only woman apart from the Chief Co-ordinator, a Taluk Level Organiser, resigned before taking up her post. Staff for Phase II are yet to be appointed.

Government participation

Concerned government officials were invited to each PRA at least ten days beforehand. In some cases staff visited to encourage them to come. The Programme Director wrote to the Deputy Secretary, Zilla Parishad, and the two Executive Engineers on 20/09/93 reminding them of confirmed dates in October, and asking that concerned JEs, Mandal Secretaries, Health Visitors and Anganwadi Workers join the PRA exercise for the entire three days (excluding the preliminary publicity), remarking that in a few cases JEs had not spent more than one day in the village during the exercise. After reception of this letter, attendance of Junior Engineers and Mandal Secretaries improved, but that of Administrators did not. On the occasions when officials failed to come, if they gave a reason, it was that they had other work to do. According to DPG records, in 17 out of 30 cases the Administrator came for the PRA (in 8 cases it was the AEE, in 4 the BDO, in one the Agricultural Officer, in one the Assistant Director of Agriculture, in one the Assistant Director for Animal Husbandry, in one the Mandal Pradhan(?) and in one the Tahasildar.

¹³ *Chiratagudda.*

The Junior Engineer/Assistant Engineer attended on all but four occasions. He normally answered technical questions about the scheme at the final meeting, and was sometimes present at the preliminary meeting. At the exercise in Arasikere, where seven Junior Engineers attended for training, they commented that the community participation exercises were a waste of their time. In the case of Ramanagar, though the JE took part in preparing a rough outline of the village, he did not do with the social mapping teams the next day to survey the existing water system, as had been agreed with programme staff. The Mandal Secretary attended on all but three occasions. In the reports he appeared at least for the final meeting. The reports reveal that the Bill Collectors and the Waterman usually participated in some of the exercises. No health officials appeared at any PRA recorded by the person responsible for documentation for ACTIONAID.

In eight cases the Administrator attended the first Committee meeting. However, it is not certain how many committee meetings had been held at this stage. According to the Director of DPG, regular attendance on the part of Administrators has been confined to three villages. However, local level officials have turned up regularly

In some cases the Administrator's intervention was crucial. As mentioned, in the case of Arasikere, it was his efforts which finally reconciled the warring parties to a committee after many weeks' wrangling, and following this, the village went on to collect more than double the average percentage of the contribution. In another two cases¹⁴, it was the support from officials, who visited the villages along with the NGO to assure villagers that the scheme would be withdrawn if they did not collect the community contribution, which persuaded the villagers to commit themselves.

The involvement of local level officials was disrupted by the Gram Panchayat elections in December, as they naturally absorbed their attention. In one village¹⁵, at a stage when 3.2% had been raised, the political party which was enthusiastic about the scheme was ousted by another party, and since then, no further money has been collected. In another village¹⁶ existing problems were compounded by the election of another party.

Communities' responses to the scheme

The questions at the end of the PRA often suggested that people had not understood the idea by the final meeting. At Ramanagar, for instance, the VWSC members seemed to think that the committee could hand over responsibility to the Mandal Panchayat (later the Gram Panchayat) if they liked. This might have been legally correct, but would surely have undermined efforts to ensure representative participation. Many committees remain half-hearted about their role in the scheme. By July, the Director of DPG estimated that about half of the committees were functioning effectively, but that in about four or five cases they were not functioning at all.

¹⁴ *Chornur and Bhujanganagar.*

¹⁵ *Chigateri.*

¹⁶ *Magala*

Most enquiries at the end of the PRA concerned the community contribution, and this has naturally been the focus of the committees since then. At the end of May an average of 20% of the contribution had been collected. One village¹⁷ had collected 84%, another two villages had collected more than 60%, another one more than 30%, another four more than 20%, another four more than 10%, another nine between 1% and 10%, while the remaining five had collected less than 1%. Two villages have collected nothing: one, which refused even to have a PRA in the village because it was so opposed to the idea of a community contribution¹⁸ and the hamlet mentioned above¹⁹, which argues that its richer neighbour should pay.

Four villages have been identified as 'problem villages', including Ujjini, which was one of the case-study villages. In Ujjini it is the intractable opposition between two political parties which has been sabotaging the process. The contributions of the villages concerned in May ranged between nothing²⁰ and 3.2%²¹. Their expressed attitude is that the government should simply give them a free water supply. DPG has requested the government to delay in calling tenders, and is worried that it might give in to the villagers' request.

The people now understand that the Committee can influence the NGO and the NGO the government. Nevertheless, they are growing impatient at the delay in beginning construction work, which was originally scheduled for January 1993. They are reluctant to speed up mobilisation of funds until it is clear that construction will begin imminently. The Project Director estimated that there would be serious problems if work did not begin in October, and now it seems unlikely that it will begin then because of the delay in recruiting contractors.

It took as if the process of PRA and follow-up is an efficient channel for villagers' input into the design of the scheme. As for the rural water system, requests for alterations in the locations of taps were made in Ujjini, Bannigola, Morgere and Kudligi. However, drastic changes to the water supply component are not allowed. One village²² asked for an overhead tank with a capacity of 75,000 litres, as a condition of making their contribution. The government refused to contribute after this, and although informal agreement has now been reached, still at the end of May only Rs.1500 had been collected. Similarly, underground drainage, which was requested many villages, was rejected on technical grounds. (A greater volume of water would have been needed to make the system work).

There has been more flexibility regarding the environmental sanitation component. Since December, thank to pressure from the World Bank (lobbied by the NGOs), villagers have

¹⁷ *Telgi.*

¹⁸ *Itigi.*

¹⁹ *Chintrapalli*

²⁰ *Itigi.*

²¹ *Chigateri.*

²² *Chornur.*

been allowed to raise the budget for the environmental sanitation component as much as they require, provided that they pay 30% of it. Thus in Bannigola, one of the case-study villages, the whole environmental sanitation scheme has been redone to include whole areas left out, and a new estimate has been produced, which raises the people's contribution from Rs.90,000 to Rs.1,20,000. In another village²³, a request was made for box drainage for the main road, which was agreed, making the people's contribution an extra Rs.45,000. Alterations were made in the plans for drainage in Taranagar (one lane of 78 houses had been ignored) and in Sovinahalli, where it was extended, in both cases increasing the people's contribution by Rs.10,000-15,000. The village which has raised the most money so far²⁴ is using the delay in beginning construction work to make further revisions, for which villagers are prepared to pay. In another village²⁵, the demand for extra drainage was withdrawn once the cost was understood.

A common request at the PRA stage was for communal latrines, which were asked for by about half the villages. The situation as regards these is still undecided in some villages, though they have been agreed in Morgere, one of the case-study villages. It is, however, clear that the Government subsidy will only be paid after construction, as in the case of individual latrines.

Summary of current concerns

DPG's major worry is about the delay in appointing contractors to begin construction. It will not be easy to retain the villagers' confidence if there are no signs of work beginning soon. They are less worried about price escalation, since they have kept the alternative of contributing labour in reserve, but are obviously concerned that a longer delay is likely to mean a need to revise plans again.

They are also cd that the government might just succumb to the request of 'problem villages' that they receive the water supply component on its own, and therefore do not contribute anything. This would obviously undermine the whole scheme.

As for the next phase of the scheme (another 80 villages), DPG is concerned that the government should sign an agreement with the NGO on the 1st August. Already, engineering consultants have been visiting some of the villages slated for the next phase, when it was agreed during the World Bank Mission on May 3-6, 1994 that the engineering consultant would furnish details of their programme to ZP cells so that NGOs knew in advance, and that NGOs would go into villages before anyone else, to ascertain the community's response to the scheme. This would atleast obviate the waste of time with places such as Itigi, which adamantly refused to contribute from the start. It would also ensure people's input into the scheme from the first, thus avoiding the waste of time with revisions which had to be undertaken in Phase I.

²³ ***Siddamenahalli.***

²⁴ ***Telgi.***

²⁵ ***Kudligi.***

DPG is also concerned that when the delayed elections to Panchayats at the Taluk and District level take place, that they will disrupt proceedings.

Raichur District

Background

Samuha, an ACTIONAID partner which has been running long term integrated rural development programmes in Raichur District since 1986, has taken over responsibility for the GOK project in Raichur District. Originally there were 29 villages, but three were dropped from Phase I, as technical documents were not available. It has developed good links with local government bodies, as a result of its activities in their area so far. In particular, it has been involved in the Mass Literacy Campaign.

The reporting structure in Phase I for Samuha is as follows:

Village Level Worker (1 in each village, i.e.26)

|

Divisional Level Organisers (3)

|

Project Officer

Fortnightly meetings are held at the Divisional level, if necessary attended by the Project Officer. A monthly meeting at the Project Office, Sindhanoor, is held specifically to discuss the GOK programme, with all project personnel.

Three trainers/facilitators were involved in PRAs: one was also acting in an advisory role for the project. On some occasions one trainer began a PRA and another finished it. Because of the practice of bringing in VLWs from the same Taluk until PRAs were carried out in their own villages, for training purposes, numbers of staff present at PRAs dwindled towards the end.

Samuha has undertaken a more complex project, with a larger budget than that of DPG. It has a VLW in every village, and spent some time training them beforehand, taking them to each of the pilot villages to see how money had been collected for the people's contribution, to build confidence and show problem-solving techniques. It has also organised several meetings for Taluk and Mandal level government officials to build up rapport and clarify roles. It also aims to go further in organising participation than would be guaranteed by an eight-person VWSC, and so has invested a lot of time in group formation (See below).

The PRA process was held up in mid-September after PRAs had been conducted in 13 villages, when it was discovered that Government officials had formed VWSCs on their own initiative, rather than allowing them to emerge as the NGOs worked with the people. The committees were cancelled, and the process was restarted on 13 October. From that time, Samuha employed some regular staff (not those on the programme staff) on the exercises for training purposes, sending four with each team to five villages. PRAs were eventually

completed on 6/11/93.

There was quite a lot of variation in the selection of activities for the four-day PRA exercises. While Rough Mapping and Social Mapping were carried out everywhere, the Expectation process was omitted in 10/26 villages, Venn Diagramming in 3, Water Resources Mapping in one, Service and Opportunity Mapping in 6, Preference Analysis in 18, the Process Chart in 23, System Analysis in 23, Rules-in-Use in 23, Women's/Street Meetings in 2, Schoolchildren's Meetings in 20, the Approval by the Poorest procedure in 12 and the Review of Expectations in 15. Even the Final Meeting did not take place in two villages. In one of the last PRAs Samuha actually carried out a Venn Diagramming Exercise with Women in order to identify women opinion-creators in the women as well as to triangulate with the men's version of the village leadership. They also tried the experiment of holding a public meeting for women at the village level, at the same venue as the Grama Sabha (About 25 women and 20 girls turned up and contributed).

Facilitators rated the impact of most activities as being quite good. However, in one or two cases, Service and Opportunity Mapping, Seasonal Analysis and Preference Analysis were rated as having minimal impact. There were two cases where street meetings were rated equally low in impact, and two cases where the Approval of the Poorest procedure was also. One Final Meeting was not rated a success. Individual members of staff singled out Social Mapping as setting the tone for real participation on the part of the villagers, and Venn Diagramming as a non-controversial way of gathering information about the socio-Mapping and Service and Opportunity Mapping were also said to be most useful.

There were particularly interesting results of exercises in a few cases:

- The School children's Meeting was successful on 2/6 occasions in mobilising parents, especially mothers.
- There was one occasion when the Water Resources Mapping produced dramatic results, as it was made public knowledge that a village leader who was also a Public Works Department contractor had misused a contract for an earlier government water scheme to provide himself with an illegal private connection. This led to a lawsuit against him by the youth leaders who initially led the campaign to get support for the water and sanitation programme in the village, and a retaliatory lawsuit from the leader. The leader has now been co-opted, and the two sides are working together for the project.
- On one occasion, the Approval by the Poorest procedure produced the information that one of the households concerned had been left out of the Social Map.
- Street Meetings were sometimes successful in bringing women to propose design modifications to facilities (See below).

It was found that the planning exercises, laying out the threads and flags indicating the location of the scheme's facilities in the village itself, were more successful in eliciting responses from people than the marking of the scheme on the Social Map. Planning exercises have so far been completed in 16/26 villages (Photographs of the exercise in Siddapura are included).

As yet there are no Village Water and Sanitation Committees in any village. They will only be established in each village once 50% of the contribution has been raised, the technical revision has been done and the agreement has been signed with the government. Samuha had always envisaged 'street-wise' representation of some kind to oversee the implementation of the scheme, and to ensure breadth of participation. They want to ensure that the people's representatives who raise the contribution are in control, so that the project cannot be hijacked. Accordingly there are groups formed around each street, known as woni gumpus, which fund-raises and feed views to the woni representatives on the Ward Samithis, who then feed views and contributions to the ward representatives. Each village has been divided into eight or nine wards, which will be represented by one man and one woman each. For the group known as the Grama Sabha, the body which will enter into agreement with the government, in addition to these sixteen there will be ex officio members, from the Gram Panchayat as well as representatives from the various associations in the village. One male and one female convenor of the Grama Sabha are chosen. Group formation was completed on 15/2/94. It is now the Grama Sabha which writes to the government on any issue concerning the programme, rather than Samuha.

Those responsible for documentation from ACTIONAID have reported on five PRAs; in two cases the whole process was observed, in two cases only half of it, and in the case of the fifth the source was information from Samuha staff.

Community participation

As far as the PRAs were concerned, the levels of participation varied between villages and between activities. While the number of participants in the Social Mapping process averaged 25, levels of participation in the social mapping process seem to have been uneven, the level depending on the skill of the facilitators. Again, village youth proved keen to get involved, in some cases being prepared to visit other villages to take part in the PRA process as facilitators. When observed, however, the volunteers were not so much facilitating the involvement of the community in the process, as carrying out the exercises themselves. Hence their involvement actually lowered the level of participation.

Grama Sabhas brought together 50-100 people on the PRAs observed, raising numbers by about a third from preliminary meetings. On one occasion, in a village with a population of about 2000, where the largest contribution was agreed, there were 400 at the Grama Sabha (up from 300). Samuha's own figures show an average of 37 at Preliminary Meetings and 246 at Final Meetings. However, in two out of the five cases, the observers' estimate of numbers at the Final Meeting was considerably lower than that of the NGO. On Samuha's figures, excluding these cases, 7% of the population attended the Final Meeting on average. Once more, smaller villages proved easier to mobilize.

The Approval by the Poorest procedure was carried out in 14/26 villages with an average of 15 people on each occasion (the numbers actually ranged from 2 to 50). The exercise lasted between half an hour and six hours.

Street Meetings have disseminated information in a more informal setting than the Grama Sabha, and have motivated women in particular to lend their support to the process. In some instances more people were probably involved in total in the street meetings than in the

Grama Sabha. During these meetings it emerged that women had strong opinions on questions like public latrines or individual house connections, and were prepared to express them even in the presence of men, presumably because they were being specifically addressed in a context which was not fully public.

At some street meetings in 15 villages the facilitators used pictures of the environmental sanitation facilities to be provided (such as cattle troughs, latrines and so on) to start discussion. These were not based on government designs, though they were modified after discussions with the PHED. In more than one village, it emerged in this context that the women did not want men's and women's bathing cubicles side-by-side, and that they wanted taps to be sited within the cubicles. They did not want washing-slabs to be built for use standing, but for sitting, with a platform to sit on, and a tap next to them. Pictures of the facilities according to government designs will now go to the street-level organisations (woni gumpus) for design modifications. Samuha has had discussions with the PHED about these matters, and it seems that these kinds of modifications will not cause problems, as they will not increase costs significantly. Villagers know that they will have to pay extra for separate bathing cubicles with separate taps. Villagers have also expressed a wish to build a cheaper version of the latrine (with pukka walls only up to a certain level) than that on PHED designs, and this has also been discussed although it is not clear how it will affect the level of government subsidy. It seems that Samuha has devised an effective procedure for encouraging villagers, in particular women, to have an input at the level of design as well as location of facilities.

It is notable that even where women had been very vocal at street meetings, they would often not appear at Grama Sabhas, and if they did, would not speak. However, the street meetings did appear to up the numbers of women from none or a very few at Preliminary Meetings to about fifteen to twenty at Grama Sabhas. At one village²⁶ a hundred women turned up at the grama sabha, though apparently some of them were diverted into activities connected with the literacy campaign.

Samuha devoted more attention to mobilizing women in the latter stages of the PRA process, with the innovation of bringing in female members of the PRA team apart from the Project Officer in five villages. In one of the last PRAs they actually carried out a Venn Diagramming Exercise with women in order to identify women leaders in the wonis as well as to triangulate with the men's version of the village leadership. They also tried the experiment of holding a women's meeting, in the same venue as the Grama Sabha, at the same time of day, and about twenty-five women and twenty girls turned up and contributed.

In one village in particular, Siddapur, women's involvement has been particularly striking. Here political rivalry was so intense that men were afraid to get involved. It was seven women who took the lead in motivating people, and mobilising the contribution (as of 6/794 at 30%). But here problems have arisen, because male leaders resent women setting the agenda, even if they do not dare to set it themselves.

²⁶ *Hiremannapura*

Samuha devised a constitution for all levels of groups so that half of the representatives at each level would be women to ensure that women's voices are heard. However, it has not been possible to recruit women representatives at every level.

Other activities have been carried out partly to "keep up the tempo" (in the words of one trainer), and to increase trust in the NGO. A disability survey was done to assist access to rehabilitation activities. Tree planting has been done as a part of an effort to develop villagers knowledge of methods of ground water recharge. In two villages²⁷ a health and sanitation programme was organised with competitions and a festival atmosphere.

PRA techniques will continue to be used during the process of setting up systems to manage operation and maintenance. For instance, System Analysis is to be carried out with the VWSC, and Rules-in-use will be done with members of the grama sabha. (See above, 1.4b for explanation).

Government participation

Although a calender of events was circulated to those concerned well in advance, reminder letters were sent fifteen days beforehand, and often visits were made to encourage officials to come, there was initially some confusion about responsibility for the programme, which seems to have contributed to erratic attendance on the part of government officials at PRAs. In some villages, even the Junior Engineer and the Mandal Secretary failed to turn up for the final meeting. Sometimes more senior officials, such as the Assistant Executive Engineer, spoke favourably of the scheme at meetings, Junior Engineers and Assistant Engineers seem normally to have restricted their role to answering questions at the final meeting.

It was in an attempt to ensure real interaction between at least the JEs and the villagers, that Samuha organised a meeting with the JEs on 9/11/93, in order to motivate them to come and lay out their plans in the villages, to tell them what was required for the exercise, and to clarify their future roles, in particular their responsibility to report the progress of construction work to the PHED through the ZP. Technical revision has been done in 16 villages now, and the engineers have turned up every time, as well as the Panchayat Secretary. In fact, in one of the three Divisions²⁸, all the JEs did the work in all the villages concerned. Engineers have had to work with the villagers in laying out the representation of the scheme in the village, and have had to take villagers' reactions on board. This compensates for occasions when the JE was absent from the first part of the PRA, or where his role was limited. There will be further orientation for JEs and Panchayat Secretaries on August 9-10, to build up rapport, clarify roles, and remind them of the importance of people's participation.

Taluk level health officials, the BDO and a police officer attended the health and sanitation education programme.

²⁷ *Jawalgera and Mattur-a case-study village*

²⁸ *Koppal*

The Gram Panchayat elections caused a certain amount of disruption. Most villages were distracted for a month and a half. In one village²⁹ the Samuha has not been able to replace him. In another village³⁰, the son of the most influential individual, though elected to the Panchayat, could not be Secretary because of the reservation rules, so that after the election, he lost interest. This was exacerbated by the fact that the male Grama Sabha convenor was from the youth group which opposed him. In a third village³¹ the victory of one party exacerbated the inter-generational conflict.

In Hanumasagar (a case-study village), the elections furnished a warning to those elected. The most influential man in the village, who had been Mandal Pradhan for twenty years, fielded 26 candidates with the help of Rs.5,000 each, but saw only three of them succeed (including himself, but even he lost one ward). When the fund-raising leaders failed to meet a deadline, the facilitators threatened that the village could lose the project. Those who had been elected were thrown into a panic, remembering the reversal of the last elections. They have raised Rs.18,7000,58.1% of the total.

In Jagir Venkatapura (a case-study village), it was the election of one of the influential men of the village which galvanised him and his allies into action, as they realised that he could get the credit for the scheme if it works. They have led the fund-raising of Rs.25,000, which will shortly be supplemented by the compensation from the government for the sunflower crop lost in the drought.

In one of the case-study villages, Mattur, there was a remarkable testimony to the importance of the scheme to the villagers when it came to election-time. At a Grama Sabha meeting it was decided to avoid dividing the village by contesting the elections. The people made a decision to identify candidates and resolve the issue at a meeting.

Communities' responses to the scheme

As in Bellary District, enquiries at the end of the PRA focused on the community contribution. In this district, the failure of the rains was frequently brought up as a problem, but Samuha's view is that in most cases this is not a major issue.

As of 5/7/94, the average percentage of the contribution was 27.4. In seven villages more than 50% of the contribution has been raised, the maximum being 69%. In four others, more than 40% has been raised, in a further two more than 30%, in two more, more than 20%, in five more, more than 10%, in three more, more than 1%, while in the remaining three less than 1% has been raised. The labour contribution has been fixed, and on average it comprises 8% of the total. In some areas where irrigation is widespread, villages are not making any labour contribution. The government fixed a ceiling of 12%, but Samuha, after discussions

²⁹ *Jagir Venkatapura*

³⁰ *Pamanakallur*

³¹ *Kinhal*

with the Woni gumpus and Grama Sabhas, fixed a limit of 10% because of the greater symbolic value of cash.

There are three villages in which there are serious problems with mobilising funds. In Mudhol, the most influential individual refuses to support the scheme because he sees it as a threat to their power; and there only Rs.1600 has been raised, a sum which has remained static for four months. In Kinhal, there is stiff opposition between the generations, and also between two political parties, and there only Rs.6021 has been raised (However, this is up Rs.5,520 on a month ago). In Hiremyageri there are two opposed political parties, representing the two halves of the village. Those in the lower half already get enough water. Here only Rs.1,000 has been collected.

There are another four villages in particularly dry areas which Samuha reckons should be able to raise the money on a slower schedule; Matamari (Rs.10,500), Pamenakallur (Rs.550), Hiremannapur (Rs.1,500) and Kesur (Rs.3,920)³².

In three of the seven villages where fund-raising has been slow, Samuha sent someone posing as a member of the AP cell to demand the reason. When this caused a flurry of efforts to produce funds, Samuha revealed their ruse, and made the point that they were acting for the government, and thus should be taken equally seriously.

Samuha staff have used various strategies to get round the problems caused by village politics. For instance, in one village³³, when it was obvious that proceedings were held up because of the marginalisation of a traditional leader, staff set up a "contributions committee" and made him the leader. Eventually someone came up with the idea of collecting money from those in neighbouring villages with ties to the village, which succeeded in generating a total of Rs.20,000 (12.6% of the total) and the momentum necessary to collect more.

It is notable that Samuha has encouraged the use of a whole variety of methods of raising money. Contributions may be land-based, income-based, or from community resources-including materials for building such as sand and stone. They may be in the form of grains, which can be converted into cash. For instance, in Talekhan, one of the case-study villages, anyone who produced 10 quintals of jawar would contribute one quintal. Some women have mortgaged their jewellery to raise funds³⁴. In Betagiri, another of the case-study villages, it was found that there was already money collected by four associations, mainly for religious purposes, but also for a library, and staff persuaded the associations to hand over the money for the contributions. They also auctioned old trees there. The NGO is particularly concerned that the rich should not take control of the programme because they have paid for it. In one

³² *In Kesur, when the appointment of a male convenor known for corruption and lack of a facilitator in the village prevented progress, staff intervention in involving a trusted businessman and in motivating teachers to mobilise funds raised the contribution from Rs.1800 to Rs.3920 (4.5%)*

³³ *Sivapura*

³⁴ *Eg. in Siddapura*

or two villages³⁵, rich individuals offered to pay the whole amount at the beginning, telling staff that they should not bother to start the PRA. It was pointed out to them that the scheme was not maintained properly as in the past, then people would blame them rather than being grateful. Samuha has tried to ensure that as often as practicable, everybody in the village contributes equally (The contribution works out at between Rs.200-500 per head). This has necessitated the richer members of the community giving loans to the rest (at interest). The poorest contribute half cash and half labour.

In all 16 villages where the technical revision has been done, changes to the plans had to be made. Sometimes deletions were involved, but mostly additions were needed because areas had been left out. Even water supply systems sometimes needed considerable alteration. One village, had to have a completely new set of plans, including a new redistribution line, as it had to relocate after the floods of 1993³⁶. The revised plans are now with the PPMU. In the case of a village with two adjacent hamlets, initially it had been planned only to offer the hamlets borewells, but now Mini Water Systems will be installed, at an extra cost of Rs.20,000³⁷. In another village, house sites finalised by the Gram Panchayat needed to be included³⁸.

As for the environmental sanitation component, the most common element to be altered was the location of drainage, and secondarily road reprofiling. In Hanumasagar, one of the case-study villages, where technical details are available, there has been an increase in the length of road to be reprofiled, and in the length of bylanes to be paved. There is also an extra 2778 metres of L-shaped drain, and an extra 607 metres of V-shaped drain. On the villagers' suggestion, there will be repairs to masonry drains and existing paving. The extra cost will be Rs.228339.35 which amounts to 21.3% of the original estimate, or 18% of the new estimate. At current scheduled rates, allowing for cost escalation, the extra on top of that will be Rs.389838.21, which is 30.7% of the new estimate. In Betagira, another case-study village, there are also significant alterations. An extra road is being reprofiled, while another road anticipated in the report is deleted. Extra by-lanes are being paved, there will be deepening of an existing drain and plastering of its sides, and repair of paving. The extra contribution for all this at old rates is Rs.58666.14, which is 51% of the old estimate for the contribution. The extra at current scheduled rates is Rs.89,464, or 77.8% of the original estimate.

Underground drainage was requested by some villages, and rejected on technical grounds. Discussions are still going on regarding bathing cubicles and latrines. Some villages have

³⁵ Eg. Malkapura

³⁶ Mustoor

³⁷ Kavithal

³⁸ Siddapura

asked to have two rather than four bathing cubicles. As mentioned above, villagers have asked for cheaper latrines. Few villagers have put their names down for individual latrines. In respect of these kinds of demands village wants are being effectively communicated to the government. Samuha has built up trust among villagers who can see that their wishes are being made clear to government, and that they retain control of the money that they have raised. Format agreements have now been signed with three villages, which specify, among other things, that the community contribution may not be increased to allow for cost-escalation. This is controversial, as the issue of cost escalation is not yet resolved. It may become even more significant, as further delays before construction will cause further increases. Leaving aside the issue of cost escalation, according to Samuha, the delay in carrying out construction work is not yet a problem, as they never communicated the dates the government set to the villagers, so they were not disappointed. Furthermore, villagers have been told that they have to raise 50% of the contribution, which still has not been done in most villages. As yet, technical revisions still remain to be done in 10 villages.

The people's organisations set up to ensure full participation in planning this programme are meant to have a life beyond the programme, since their formal roles in the programme will cease once responsibility for operation and maintenance is handed over to the VWSC. They should become structures through which to work for the development of the village. Hence the idea of federating Grama Sabhas was raised at the meeting of Grama Sabha convenors on 23 March 1994.

Summary of current concerns

In contrast to DPG, the delay in beginning construction work is not yet seen as a major issue, because no promises have yet been made as to dates. However, Samuha has put pressure on villages to raise 50 per cent of the contribution so that they can sign an agreement with the government, as has been done in three villages. In such cases, impatience at government delay may prevent further fund-raising.

The major issue for Samuha is whether villagers will have to pay 30 per cent of the costs of the environmental sanitation component at current scheduled rates, as opposed to the original estimates, which have been used as the basis for fund-raising. Samuha is the most insistent of all the NGOs that cost escalation will not be paid for by villagers.

They are also keen to see that they will be the first people concerned with the project to go into 90 villages they are dealing with in Phase II. Fortunately Raichur district has not seen engineering consultants going in first in contravention of the agreement made in May, as Bellary district has. In fact, Samuha has gone into two pilot villages to investigate, although the contract with the government for Phase II has not been signed.

The further difference from Phase I is that Samuha will receive funds from the government for its work. Misgivings have been allayed, as ACTIONAID has guaranteed to provide financial support if remittances are delayed.

Conclusion

The partners' Objectives

It seems clear, more than a year into the programme, that ACTIONAID's partners have succeeded in ensuring community participation in the planning stage. Villagers have been able to feed in their requirements, thus transforming the out-of-date plans which had been made without consulting them. It is clear that DPG has succeeded in facilitating the establishment of the VWSCs in all cases where it was possible. Often, it required sustained effort over some time to do so, while ensuring that all appropriate groups were represented. Samuha has not yet formed any VWSCs, but this is part of a deliberate policy of forming an alternative committee with firm roots at street-level, to ensure that there is breadth and depth of participation. In fact it is an achievement on Samuha's part to have convinced the government to sign agreements with their non-statutory body, the Grama Sabha. Om Consultants had originally recommended a village council of similar type, but had found the government unwilling to compromise on ensuring that the committee remained a statutory body under control of the Panchayat.

Both NGOs are behind the original timescale envisaged in mobilising funds, as are the other NGOs involved in Phase I. DPG feels that contributions have not come in as fast as they had anticipated. Samuha has always been content with a slower pace in the interests of thoroughness. The latter NGO began mobilising funds later because the priority was the organisation of the people.

As far as the involvement of the poorest is concerned, both NGOs have involved the poor in planning, and ensured some representation on the committee. Samuha seems to have paid particular attention to involving the poor from the beginning, with the use of a particular exercise to involve them during the PRA, and to have made considerable efforts to ensure that the poor retain their ownership of the scheme, by attempting to have them make an equal contribution. There is no doubt that the funds could be mobilised more quickly if there were less concern for equity. Indeed, it has not been possible to prioritise equity in at least half of the villages so far.

DPG has had limited success in involving women, except at the formal level in the committee. Samuha has devoted efforts to involving women from the PRA onwards, where street meetings were designed specifically to elicit their views. Its system of organising people round the project gives women equal representation at every level, even if this is not always possible in practice. This does seem to have worked in mobilising women, and in giving them a chance to air their views.

The PRA exercises helped to set the tone for villagers from the beginning so that they know that their views would be heard. Some exercises were effective in bringing in those who might easily have been marginalised. The methods of making visible the scheme so that villagers could react to it and propose necessary modifications were undoubtedly important, as is obvious from the extent of changes made to the plans.

Interaction between the government, the World Bank and the NGOs

This programme offers a new model for large-scale water and sanitation projects. When the consultants first proposed a community contribution, most government officials viewed it as an eccentric idea, which would never work. It is too early to be sure about future operation and maintenance, but in the construction stage, villagers' sense of ownership of the scheme has been obvious in the stiff scrutiny of the contractors. Even officials at middle levels are now more convinced that the contribution and participatory methods can have a beneficial effect, according to the consultants.

The perceived benefits to the government of using NGOs and the success of NGOs' methods has led the government to make significant concessions to NGOs. The idea of a Village Water and Sanitation Committee was itself a compromise for the government, as it would have normally expected the Panchayat Raj institutions to manage matters. However, in the case of Samuha, they have allowed the Grama Sabha to function instead of the VWSC at this stage, even though it leaves even less role to elected Panchayat representatives, and is not a statutory body.

Early on, in October, the government was very accommodating in contradicting an earlier order that the committees formed by zealous government officials were held in abeyance, insisting that they be cancelled, to allay the worries of NGOs. Government officials were not all equally committed to attending PRAs, and tended to limit their roles to speaking at meetings rather than taking the opportunity to learn about the village, but attendance did pick up as their roles were clarified. Engineers, after meetings with the NGO, turned up in greater numbers than expected to the planning exercises in Raichur District, and interacted directly with villagers.

The World Bank has sometimes had a role in persuading the government to compromise with NGOs. It was initially crucial that the Bank backed the pilot scheme and insisted that it was used as a model, even though there was resistance to the idea that villagers would have to contribute. It was the Bank which insisted that NGOs must be brought in to organise community participation activities. More recently, the Bank supported the NGOs' demands that if villagers were prepared to pay the extra contribution due, then there should be no ceiling on the environmental sanitation budget.

Annexure I

Additional notes on Government structure

Consequent to the formation of the Zilla Parishad with effect from 1.4.1987, the 17 divisions and 50 subdivisions under the Public Health Engineering were transferred to Zilla Parishads as ZP Engineering Divisions. The ZPs have 35 Divisions and 172 subdivisions. Now twelve Divisions for the twelve concerned Districts are envisaged. These ZP Divisions look after the implementation of not only the Rural Water Supply programmes, but also other programmes of communications and buildings, minor irrigation and so on.

Since the World Bank/GOK scheme will require an investment equal to the total planned budget per annum of the Government of Karnataka for water supply and sanitation, institutional strengthening has been needed to deal with the project. At the State level, a World Bank cell was set up in the office of the Engineer-in-Chief to review the designs and provide technical support to the ZP in engineering aspects. In the District a Project Cell was set up in each of the 18 ZP divisions in the project area, now to be in 12 Divisions, which reports to the Chief Secretary of the ZP and the Director of the Project Planning and Monitoring Unit. It is meant to serve as a focal point for satisfactory implementation of all the components of the project in that division. In the Rural Development and Panchayati Raj Department the structure is as follows :

Deputy Commissioner (IAS District Head)

Chief Executive Officer

Block Development Officer

Mandal/Gram Panchayat Secretary

The DC is concerned with ZP administration, revenue and development. Under the 1987 Panchayati Raj Act, there was a three-tier structure involving the Zilla Parishad (an elected body) supervising the Taluk Panchayat (an elected body) which was meant to take its cue from the grassroots body of electors, the Grama Sabha. At the end of 1991, the new State government superseded these institutions through an ordinance. However, this supersession was challenged in the Supreme Court, which ordered that elections to these bodies be held in June 1993. As of May 1993, a new Act came into force. Now the Zilla Parishad supervises the Panchayat Samithi (at the Taluk level) which supervises the Gram Panchayat (at village level). The ZP contains third ex officio as well as elected members of the State Government), and the Panchayat Samithi contains representatives from the Gram Panchayat members are directly elected except for the Secretary, a Government appointee. Elections were held to the Gram Panchayats in December 1993, but elections to Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Panchayats still have not been held.

Elected officials :

Officials

President:ZP

CEO

President:Taluk Panchayat

BDO

President:Gram Panchat

Panchayat Secretary

The ECO control the Executive Engineers, each in charge of a division:

CEO

|

EE

|

AEE

|

AE/JE

The Junior Engineer and the Assistant Engineer are on the same level, but the former has a BA whereas the latter has a diploma.

At the village level, the government officials are the two Bill Collectors, concerned with revenue, the Village Accountant, the Anganwadi Worker and the Waterman.

MOBILISING COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH NGOs **-The Experience of two districts in Karnataka**

T.M.Radha

The concept of community participation has been used in a number of projects all over the world and the encouraging results have been a motivating factor in introducing this concept of peoples participation in the Integrated Rural Water Supply And Environmental Sanitation project funded by the World Bank and implemented by the Government of Karnataka. This project is being undertaken in 1200 villages in ten districts of Karnataka and is being implemented in two phases. The main objective of the project is to raise the standard of living in rural areas through improved health and productivity, which would result from improved access to potable rural water supply systems and environmental sanitation facilities. In order to make the system sustainable, community participation in the planning of the facilities and in their operation & maintenance, has been included as an important component.

To facilitate the participation of the communities in the government scheme, the need felt to involve the NGOs. As such NGOs, who have been working in those areas, were identified in each of the districts, to devolve community participation. At the same time, communities were to be organised into water committees so that they were made self reliant and were able to maintain the system on their own. The main objectives of the Village Water and Sanitation Committees (VWSC) would be to mobilise the people's share of the project cost in the pre-implementation stage, and operation and maintenance of the system in the post-implementation stage.

To create a sense of ownership among the communities of the infrastructure provided, which, by and large, is expected to increase people's participation and sustainability of the investments made, the scheme envisaged that the community would also share the costs. As it was not acceptable to the government for the villagers to pay for a basic necessity like water supply, it was decided that the communities should contribute 30% of the capital costs of the environmental sanitation component.

The present paper attempts to share the experiences of two partner NGOs of ACTIONAID, in the districts of Raichur and Bellary in mobilising the community contributions and problems encountered therein.

Present Status (as on September 1994)

Community contribution is not an altogether new concept to the people. Even in the past, people had contributed for some community causes, often implemented by the government. But the only difference is that in the past, people were not aware about the purpose of the contribution and how it would be utilised. Thanks to the intervention by the NGOs, people are not ignorant this time and are fully aware about their role in the scheme and the importance of the contribution.

Contributions are at different levels in all the villages. While a few villages have succeeded in mobilising the contribution to the extent of 100%, the remaining villages fall into different categories as shown below:

Table I

Extent of Contribution	Number of villages in			
	Raichur		Bellary	
	No.	%	No	%
1. Less than 10%	05	19.23	13	43.34
2. 10-25%	03	11.54	04	13.33
3. 25-50%	05	19.23	05	16.67
4. 50-75%	04	15.38	04	13.33
5. More than 75%	09	34.62	04	13.33
Total	26	100.00	30	100.00

Now the question is, how are these people managing to contribute, the methods adopted and the problems encountered in the mobilisation.

Contributions are sought in the form of cash, labour and materials. Emphasis is laid on the cash contributions restricting the labour contribution to as low as possible which would be sought during implementation stage. Presently, cash contributions are being mobilised. The contributions of each village range from 50000 to about 4,00,000. Is it possible for the communities to raise that amount? Are the people willing to part with their hard earned money for a community cause?

The experience during the last one and a half year in the project reveals encouraging results. It has proved that the people are not only willing to pay but are also ready to pay higher amounts for something which would be of use for them in the future. Each of the villages has made a set of rules for contribution. In the process, it was made sure that every household contributes it might, so that everyone has a sense of ownership on the assets created. Care was taken to see that the contributions are not made by the rich only. In one of the villages it so happened that one of the influential leaders wanted to contribute the entire amount and did not want the PRA exercise to be conducted. In this way he wanted the credit for introducing the scheme into the village and at the same time corner the benefits. This situation was tactfully resolved by the staff without antagonising the leader.

Villages devised their own ways of collecting the contributions. Majority of the villages in Raichur, fixed a certain amount to each household, by dividing the total amount by the total number of households. The share of each household came to roughly about Rs.200-250/- . However, there was no restriction for the richer ones to contribute more, the poor were

allowed to pay the amounts in instalments. In Bellary villages, people have fixed the amount for each household based on the land/asset holdings. This information was printed on pamphlets and displayed at strategic points in the village.

Despite the broad guidelines set, each village was free to follow its own method in collecting the cash contributions. For eg., in Achar Narsapur (Raichur), contributions were fixed based on the type of the house eg., Rs.520 for occupied house, Rs.400 for unoccupied house, Rs.325 for huts, Rs.250 for the vacant sites.

Apart from the fixed amount for each household, some villages initiated novel ways for raising the contributions. In certain villages the waste lands were auctioned and trees sold. In Ramanagara of Bellary district, a benefit show with film stars was organised to raise the amount. In another village, a lottery is being planned. In Talekhan (Raichur), it was decided that anyone who produced ten quintals of jowar had to contribute one quintal. In one of the Bellary villages, which has many tradesmen, it was decided to collect Rs.100/- per lorry load of grains. In Betagere of Raichur, four associations which had raised money for different purposes like 'jatra' (festival), for purchase of cattle, and for library diverted those amounts for the project. Another striking example is that of Siddapura in Raichur, where the women started contributing by mortgaging their jewelry.

In many villages, plans were revised to make corrections according to people's needs. Even though the new estimates involved higher costs, increasing the people's share of contributions, the communities agreed to bear the additional burden as their needs were taken into consideration. Take for eg. in Siddemanahalli, request was made for box drainage and this costed the people an additional sum of Rs.45000/- which the people accepted. At the end of September'94, the village had contributed 46% of the promised amount. In Bannigola, the entire environment sanitation component was redone to include left out areas and the new estimate raises people's contribution from Rs.90000 to Rs.120000.

PROBLEMS IN COLLECTION

Experience in the districts of Raichur and Bellary have indicated the following problems in raising community contributions:

1. Felt need:

This is the most important factor influencing the community's interest in any of the proposed schemes. Unless there is a real need for the inputs that are proposed to be provided, the communities will not, in general, come forward to participate. Though Bellary and Raichur are drought affected districts, yet quite a few villages really do not feel the need for drinking water supply. In such villages the contributions have been very low. In those villages where there has been problem of drinking water supply, in such places, even those people in the lowest rungs of economic hierarchy have contributed. These are the people who are really interested in the end results of the project and have whole heartedly contributed. In fact, in most of the villages, the poor people who, in general, have limited accessibility to safe drinking water have contributed while the richer ones who do not face the problem have remained aloof.

2. Problems in formation and working of the committees

The project envisaged the formation of Village Water and Sanitation Committees (VWSC). The planners felt that these committees should form a part of the panchayat structure so that it could have some powers. Accordingly, the bye laws were formulated stating that the Mandal Pradhan would be the President of the VWSC and the Gram Panchayat members would automatically become the members of the VWSC. As the main emphasis was on people's participation, people representatives not exceeding eight in number would also be the members of the water committee. The VWSCs were to be formed at the end of each PRA exercise done in the villages.

Accordingly, VWSCs in all the villages of Bellary were formed at the final Gram Sabha meeting wherein people were nominated as the members of the committee. On the other hand, SAMUHA facilitated the formation of informal groups known as Grama Sabhas who would be in charge of the mobilisation of the contributions. Formal VWSCs would be formed after the villages completed collecting 50% of the promised amount.

Formation of the committees has been plagued with problems even prior to its formation. In about five villages in Bellary, VWSCs were formed by the government even before conducting the PRA exercise. These had to be replaced by the ones formed after the PRA exercise. Fortunately, this process did not encounter many problems.

Formation of the committees was not that smooth and simple. As the committees had to include other representatives apart from the Gram Panchayat members, some villages with a strong political base did not come to a consensus on the selection of the members. It was worse if the people's representatives belonged to the opposition party. For example, in Arasikere village in Bellary, the committee had to be dissolved four times due to party politics and finally they agreed upon a 3:5 ratio of representation by each party and the VWSC was formed. Problems in committee formation in Moka was due to caste conflicts; in another village (Karur) due to rivalry between two youth clubs and in yet another (Mariammanahalli Tanda) because of the opposition of an important leader.

The primary duty of the committee during the pre-implementation stage is mobilising the funds. Though a few are doing well the majority of them are having problems, which are mainly political, in raising the funds. While a few villages like Ujjini in Bellary and Moka in Raichur have not been successful in mobilising the people's contribution due to political rivalry among two groups, Bannigola, on the other hand has managed to prevent political differences from affecting the operations of the committee. By September end this village had collected 70% of the agreed amount.

A committee, led by a person in whom the people have trust, can play a great role in motivating people to contribute. Take for eg. Achar Narsapur, a small village in Raichur district, where previously no development work was undertaken. The Gram Sabha convener is an Ayurvedic Doctor who understands the need for safe drinking water for the better health of the villagers. He has been successful in motivating the members in particular, and the villagers in general about the importance of the project and also the contribution. The village committee meets once a week, and all the members go into the village for collection. No

wonder, the collection has been 100 per cent.

On the contrary, in cases where the committee leader/President has not shown much interest, there has been both positive and a negative impact on the working of the committee. In H. Veerapura, the Gram Panchayat President hails from a neighbouring village. The committee meetings are held once in one or two months. The President being from the other village does not attend all the meetings and does not interfere with the decisions taken in the meeting. In a way, this non-interference has helped the group to work smoothly unlike in other villages. On the other hand, in a village like Moka in Bellary, the President is a woman elected for the reserved post. This woman has no leadership qualities. The members blame the President for not calling for a meeting to discuss the future course of action.

Frequent changes in the ruling party affects the progress of such developmental works. Elections during December 1993 diverted the attention of the local leaders. Those villages which saw a change in the ruling party had problems to face again. For eg., in Chigateri in Bellary, when 3% of the amount was raised, the political party which was interested in this scheme was ousted by another party, and since then no significant collection has been made.

In some villages, only those people who supported the party to which the leaders of the committee belonged have contributed. In such villages, the people who belonged to the opposition party, have refused to contribute. Take for eg. Sreedharagadda in Bellary where the traditional leaders of the village support Janata Dal party. Now that Congress(I) is in power they are not interested in involving themselves or in contributing. In this village, there have been previous instances of mis-utilisation of community fund, and therefore the people are not willing to contribute.

Basically, the problem is due to the lack of commitment among the members towards community work. The members who give this job the least importance and always find excuses for not going ahead are unable to raise the contributions. In some cases, the committee members who also happen to be Gram Panchayat members felt that going to each and every house for the contribution was like roaming with a "begging bowl" which was below their prestige.

3. Lack of proper awareness:

Even with repeated discussions with the staff and officials, people are unable to understand that the entire scheme is a package. After one and half years of the introduction of the project, we can still find people saying "let the government supply the drinking water. We do not want the sanitation component as we do not want to contribute". This indicates that the people are looking at the components separately, and have not understood the importance of sanitation. Probably, not much emphasis is being in creating awareness about the health aspect. Itigi in Bellary avoided PRA because it was totally against the concept of community contribution and the people felt that the government should provide the system free of cost.

4. Delays in programme implementation:

The contributions which poured at a rapid pace during the initial period slowed down drastically later on as shown in the graph. This is because, people are now more impatient

about the delay in starting the construction. Most of the villages have stopped contributing and are willing to resume the process only after the construction work started.

5. Drought and crop failures:

Most parts of Bellary and Raichur are affected by drought leading to frequent crop failures. Majority of the farmers belong to the small and marginal land size holdings and find it difficult to contribute.

Conclusions:

- * The villages were selected by the government and handed over to the NGOs for mobilising community contributions and also make them participate in the project. This has led to improper selection of villages wherein villages which have no pressing need for drinking water have been selected and the those which are facing acute drinking water problem have been left out. The results of community participation would have been better if NGOs were involved in the selection of the villages as they are the people closer to the communities and would have understood their problems better.
- * The poor and the backward villages seem to pay more than their richer counterparts. It is because, the backward villages need more investment on environmental sanitation component and naturally people's share also is higher in such villages.
- * The project experience has proved that the people would be willing to contribute, even higher amounts, only for those essential services which they feel necessary.
- * The committee was envisaged to consist of people who were sensitive towards people's needs and could take the responsibility of the maintenance of the system. But in reality, VWSC seems to be more or less an extension of the Gram Panchayat. Though there are other members also, they have little or negligible say in the decision making process. There seems to be absolutely no difference in the working of VWSC from that of the Gram Panchayat. If this situation prevails it is hard to believe that the people would be able to maintain the system provided.
- * The bye-laws state that the VWSC would dissolve along with the Gram Panchayat. So after every term/election, VWSC would be formed with new members. These members though from the same village would not have participated in the initial stages and it is quite unlikely that they would have the same interest as their predecessors. This would affect the sustainability of the committees formed.

Recommendations:

- * Proper awareness or orientation to be given to the Panchayat level leaders who have to take charge of the maintenance of the system. Consultations with the other traditional leaders also will go a long way in creating a harmonious atmosphere in the village.

- * In Indian conditions, where in the local level governments are extremely political, it is better that people who are interested in the end product of the scheme, form the committee. This does not mean that the local/traditional leaders have to be ignored. It is also better to involve these leaders who hold the power in the village, so that the committee will also gain some strength. Only such committees will be able to sustain the systems in the long run. If proper care is not taken in the formation of these committees then all the efforts put in making people participate in the project, will go waste.
- * Instead of making the VWSCs as an extension of the age old institution like the Gram Panchayat, it is better to form new groups like the Gram Sabhas of SAMUHA. People/members who are new to the institutional systems are easier to be sensitised rather than the established leaders who have their own prejudices.
- * Communities are burdened for the escalating costs due to delays in project implementation. An agreement should be made stating that people would not be burdened with additional payments for delays by the government in implementation.

PRA TRAINING ON INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING
-A Process Documentation of the experience in Raichur

T.M.Radha

Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Project funded by the World Bank and implemented by the government of Karnataka, incorporates community participation as one of the important components. The project envisages 30% of the total environmental sanitation cost to be contributed by the communities and the formation of village-level water committees as the institutional mechanism of community participation.

To facilitate the participation of the communities in the project, an NGO has been identified in each of the project districts. The role of the NGO is to ensure participation by the local communities and facilitate the formation of the Village Water and Sanitation Committees (VWSC) which would be responsible for mobilising community contributions and for the operation and maintenance of the system during the post-implementation period of the project.

While the NGOs in all the districts except Raichur have facilitated the formation of VWSCs right away, SAMUHA, a partner of ACTIONAID, working in Raichur district has opted a different method. Instead of facilitating the formation of VWSC at the end of the PRA, it has helped in the formation of informal groups called the Grama Sabhas representing each and every household in the village. Grama sabhas would be responsible for mobilising the community contributions. These informal groups would be reconstituted into VWSCs at a later stage. This process, though slow, would provide ample time for the communities to select able persons for the committees which are to sustain for a long time.

As a step towards building these committees into strong and sustainable local level institutions, a training programme was organised adopting the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method. The training was conducted by Sam Joseph of ACTIONAID and NGO staff, government officials and also the people's representatives participated. The main objectives of the training were:

- * To create awareness among the NGO staff who would facilitate the formation of the committees.
- * To prepare communities to build up committees which would not only work for the drinking water maintenance but also work for village betterment in the future.

A detailed day to day account of the proceedings of the training are given here under.

Day I - 6/9/94

MORNING SESSION

The meeting started at 11 AM after the DC arrived. Sam addressed the gathering and said that the purpose of this training was to create more awareness about the concept of community participation and how people could work together in building and strengthening the village institutions.

As a beginning exercise, Sam placed a chair in the centre of the room and requested that the chair be moved from its original place. Five people volunteered and each of them started pulling the chair in different directions. As it was not possible to finish the task, one of them sat in the chair and made it impossible to move the chair. Sam asked the gathering what they could conclude from the above situation. The responses were:

- "There is no unity"
- "Among five only one could benefit"
- "There is no patience among others to see that one does the job. Every one wants to put their hand in it"
- "There are so many problems in achieving project benefits"

Sam asked the participants what they felt about the situation with respect to the drinking water project. The responses were::

- "Water scarcity is so much that only a few can get water"
- "There are so many who fight for the project"
- "If we are not sure as to who will take up the responsibility each would be pulling in different directions"

Later, the participants were asked to group themselves with five members. Seven such groups were formed. A leader was chosen for each group and each participant was asked to write his/her expectation about the workshop on a piece of paper. Then the group members discussed among themselves to find out if there were any similarities among the list of expectations. Later, each group pasted the list of expectations on to a brown sheet. The expectations listed were:

- how should we work to make the community to participate?
- process may be suggested to make Grama Sabha a permanent institution
- hope to create oneness among people
- processes may be suggested to strengthen the institutions
- any method may be suggested to increase the contributions in the villages lagging behind
- to develop a model for team work in a development project

Each group was asked to discuss among themselves and list out two important problems that were being faced in the project villages. The **problems** listed were:

Group I

1. Low participation by youth.
2. Problems in gauging labour for cash contribution.

Group II

1. Differences in opinion among youth and members regarding ward members selection.
2. Non-cooperation by elders in collecting the cash.

Group III

1. Though water and women are closely related, yet the participation by women is low

- due to cultural/social problems.
- 2. Lack of labour contribution, capital and participation due to party political interference.

Group IV

- 1. Problems in collecting contributions.
- 2. Differences of opinion among elders regarding the project.

Group V

- 1. It has become difficult to create confidence among the people regarding project implementation.
- 2. Difficult to mobilise poor in collecting contributions.

Group VI

- 1. Lack of awareness among people about project benefits.
- 2. Low participation by women.

Group VII

- 1. Delay in implementation.
- 2. Reduced participation by people due to institutionalisation (Grama Sabha).

All the participants who had solutions for these problems were requested to write them on a paper and keep it along with the sheets where in the problems were mentioned. The suggested solutions were:

GI-Q2:

- 1. Share problems with Grama Sabha and ask Grama Sabha to specify the payments.
- 2. Tell people about the hours of work to be done for the amount promised.

GII-QI:

- 1. The youth and the elders should have mutual discussions to solve this problem.
- 2. Representation leadership has to be explained and the group has to unanimously select the representatives.
- 3. The elders should exhibit patience and share their experiences with the youth and give due respect to their opinions.
- 4. Facilitators need to help in sorting out such differences.
- 5. Get both elders and youth together for a dialogue to sort out their differences.

GII-QII:

- 1. The elders would have had bitter experiences in such cash collections or in the misuse of such collected money.
- 2. Elders are not used to parting with their money for such community causes. They feel that it is the government's responsibility.
- 3. The elders do not have proper awareness about the programme and lack confidence in the youth regarding the proper use of the money.
- 4. The elders (richer ones) feel that the project is for poor people and hence do not want to cooperate.
- 5. Inability to use this collected money for any other purpose.

GIII-QI:

1. Women to be formed into groups and then motivated.
2. Differences of opinion between literate and illiterate women to be sorted out.
3. Create awareness among women about the importance of their role and participation so that they are motivated.
4. Try to eliminate the non-cooperation existing among women.
5. Try to reduce the differences/inequalities between men and women.
6. Provide information and training to men and women together and to make women feel that they are equal to men, form the women into groups.

GIII-QII:

1. Bring all the party leaders on a common platform and stress the need for their cooperation.
2. If the community is made aware of the project benefits it will see that these political leaders do not interfere.
3. Create awareness among the political leaders about the importance of the project and its benefits.

GIV-QI:

1. Tell people that the project is not for the government.
2. Let people contribute depending upon their capacity.
3. Inform people about the manner in which the money would be used.

GIV-QII:

1. Create proper awareness about the project benefits
2. People should be told about the loss they would incur if the project was not implemented in their village.

GV-QI:

1. Confidence could be created by taking people to a visit to those villages where implementation has started.

GV-QII:

1. Let the poor contribute in the form of labour.
2. Ask the poor to save 10% of their daily earnings, which would make it easier to contribute.
3. The money from the poor to be collected during those seasons when they would get higher wages.

GVII-QI:

1. Certain rules could be modified in order to speed up the implementation process.

GVII-Q2

1. Weekly street meetings to be continued.
2. Mutual discussions of Grama Sabha problems with Oni gumpus and Onigumpu problems with Grama Sabha members.
3. In Grama Sabha meetings make sure that the suggestions, problems etc., of members are truly represented.

4. Conduct regular meetings of Oni gumpu and Ward gumpu.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Sam explained that there were two components in group activity. They were (1) Group co-ordination and (2) Collecting information.

The participants were asked if they would promote a sanitation programme which was introduced by an outsider. There were mixed responses for this as a few said that they would a few others disagreed.

Later each group was assigned a topic and the members were asked to discuss among themselves and write a few points on the topics assigned. The topics given were:

1. Community
2. Natural Resource base
3. Skills and Knowledge
4. Infrastructure and Facilities
5. Levels of Power
6. Social Capital

Certain variables or **causes of conflict** in a community were listed out. They were:

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Religion | 8. Elections |
| 2. Unsocial elements | 9. Knowledge and awareness |
| 3. Literacy | 10. New activities |
| 4. Power | 11. Government activities |
| 5. Economic level | 12. Use of natural resources |
| 6. Politics | 13. Pattern of inheritance |
| 7. Leadership | |

Later Sam explained what **Social Capital** was all about. He said that people had to come together if they had to achieve some community asset. He felt that the mere collection of individuals could not become a group. They have to have negotiations to make a group work. The group has to be formed to acquire social capital. Social capital is built of relationships. When people come together (i) they form rules within which working relationships are to operate, (ii) which are agreed upon, monitored and enforced (iii) power and social capital seem to be related -- a neighbourhood working together can improve their neighbourhood like a village, a panchayat, a block, a district, a State etc.

The participants were asked to relate the problems they had mentioned, to the topics that were assigned.

Sam asked the participants as to what would motivate people to do things or own things. Participants were allowed to discuss and list out the motivational factors. About 30 possible factors were listed out. Then one member from each group were made into another group to reduce the number of factors by combining or eliminating those factors which were duplicated. A few of the motivational factors listed were:

1. To get a name
2. Fame/Popularity
3. Power
4. Money
5. Prestige
6. Poverty
7. Selfishness
8. Service
9. Resourcefulness
10. Caste
11. To gain knowledge
12. Entertainment
13. Revenge.

Participants were asked if the problems mentioned could be related to any of these motivational factors listed. Participants discussed among themselves and responded accordingly.

FEED BACK

At the end of the session feed back from the participants was obtained by asking three questions:

1. What did you like about today's programme?
2. Do you wish for something, a need which was not fulfilled today?
3. Do you disagree with anything and how would you change it?

The responses were as under:

- * "Group discussions were good"
- * "Groups have to be changed after every session"
- * "Glad to be with an International Trainer, learnt more about Social Capital concept"
- * "Liked the way the solutions were extracted from the participants themselves"
- * "Expected more number of Grama Sabha convenors to attend this training but was disappointed to see only four here"
- * "Introductions were too brief"

DAY II - 7/9/94

MORNING SESSION

Sam addressed the participants stating that there were three things when people worked together

1. Each member of a group should be able to predict how members will behave
2. In order to simplify this, group members are to make rules on how individuals will behave in group situations.
3. When individuals get together for benefits from group tasks, it necessarily involves cost (in the form of cash, time, labour etc.)

Participants were asked to form into groups of five. Six new groups were formed. The

members of each group were asked to specify the rules of their group. Each group was asked to speak out two rules that were formed and to identify any rule formed which was a law already. There were a lot of discussions and arguments whether a particular rule had become a law or not.

It was explained that there were **two types of rules**; working rules and non-working rules. All the groups were asked to think and say how rules could be made working.

Then, Sam said that **to make a rule a working one**, three aspects were involved. They were:

1. There should be acceptance of the rules of working together.
2. After acceptance, the rules have to be monitored.
3. Enforcement involving punishment- enforcement could be done by all the members or by a few representatives or by an outside agency.

The groups were asked to think quickly about the steps required to transform the need to reality. Each group took a different example like, school, hospital, roads etc., and more or less indicated the following:

1. Identification of need.
2. Formation of a group that has the need.
3. Representation to authorities.
4. Sanction
5. Implementation.

Sam said in short, the following steps could be identified:

1. Need
2. Design
3. Finance
4. Construction
5. Operation
6. Maintenance.

It was stressed that costs were involved at every stage. The **costs** could be classified as:

1. Cost of producing the system.
2. Cost of monitoring the production.
3. Cost of regulating the users.
4. Cost of maintenance.

Apart from these physical transformation costs, there were other additional costs like,

5. Transaction cost
 - Cost of co-ordination (time, capital, labour etc.)
 - Cost of information (searching and organising information specific to time, place and technology)
 - Cost of error (in picking information or in practice)
 - Strategic cost-arise when people use unbalanced information (free riding/piggy backing)

The trainer told the gathering that the view point of each individual was very important and had to be considered when a community project was being implemented. He told how each individual would have his own perceptions about a particular thought or situation and would

stick to his own perception and would not like to change. To explain this concept, two examples were demonstrated.

Firstly, Sam had a newspaper which was held correctly, but when it was shown to the audience it was reversed. The participants said that the paper was reversed and should be held correctly, but Sam was not ready to accept this. He said that the paper was held properly and he was able to read it too. Sam explained this situation and said that though there were two views, it was not possible to rule out any of the views as they were right in their own way. This is how there could be an imbalance in the information collected.

Next, the participants were shown a square with nine compartments and were asked to count the number of squares in it. There were different answers like 1,9,10,14 etc. The participants who gave these answers were asked to come in the front and explain how they arrived at that number. Each one gave an explanation. Relating this to the real situations, Sam said that people would have different view points and every one felt that he/she was right. If people could say on what basis their view was correct, then the entire group should try to understand and come to a consensus.

The participants were given another assignment. They were shown a picture and were asked to draw it. After sometime, the picture was shown once again and the participants were asked to find out whether there were any variations from the original and if so the extent of variation. This example was illustrated to explain the fact that the system (drinking water project) was conceived at the national level and then came down to State, district, taluk and finally to the village level. So one could imagine to what extent it would have varied on passing through all these levels. This is what is known as information imbalance.

AFTERNOON SESSION

This session started with Sam explaining the **principles of institutional design**. They were:

1. Clearly define boundary while making rules.

This should include as for whom the rules are meant, for what purpose and how to avoid people who are not supposed to use them.

2. There should be a balance between the costs incurred and the benefits obtained.

Sometimes, people are not able to bear long term costs for long term benefits. People in some villages may not contribute to the project, probably because they see no balance between the costs incurred and the benefits they would receive. At this stage it was made clear that cost did not mean only cash payments, it could be seen in terms of lost opportunities also.

3. Collective Choice.

Those people who are affected by the rules should be part of a mechanism to alter the rules

4. Monitoring.

Those who monitor are accountable to the users. If monitoring has to be successful, then opportunistic behavior has to be minimised. Enforcement and monitoring should be by the users, the lack of which may be the reason for the failure of many institutions.

5. Step wise punishment.

When rules are violated, then there should be punishment. This punishment should not be severe initially. The punishment should be light in the beginning and move gradually to severe, if the rules are violated again and again. This is known as step wise punishment.

6. Conflict resolution mechanism.

Users must have access to quick, local and low cost mechanisms to resolve their conflicts. Conflicts may be between i)users ii)users and representatives iii) users and officials.

7. Minimal recognition.

There should be minimal recognition by other groups or institutions. In future, this group may have to work with other institutions for which a good relationship is necessary and not constant conflicts.

8. Nesting.

Each level has nest itself with other levels eg.,woni is nested into ward and ward is in turn nested into Grama Sabha. Every part/nest could have its own rules, monitoring, enforcement and punishment.

In short,

- * when users design their own operational rules,
 - * to be enforced by members,
 - * using graduated punishment,
 - * where rights and duties are defined,
 - * where there is effective resource allocation,
- there,
- * free riding (opportunistic behavior) is minimised
 - * monitoring problem is minimised.

All the groups were asked to choose one item (school, hospital road laying etc) and list out the rules formed, costs/benefits, monitoring and punishment for the items chosen. The groups discussed among themselves and formed a list on the mentioned topics. Then one person from each group was asked to read out for the others and this generated a lot of discussion.

SQUARE MAKING

The participants were asked to form groups of five. Each member was given a set of cards which were to be set into a square. Certain rules were formed here too;

- * should not talk or make signs to each other
- * should not take others cards
- * should not assist others in making square
- * a card can be offered to only those who accept

This exercise took about an hour. The groups were then asked to talk about the levels of cooperation in their group in terms of the following:

- * were there cases where members after finishing their task kept quiet
- * were there members who had all the cards and didn't offer to others
- * were there members who gave away all the cards and did not offer others
- * were the rules broken by asking, talking etc.

Varied responses were got and it was concluded that,

- * co-operation decreased by breaking rules
- * those who finished were not sensitive to others needs
- * co-operation is provided when members are sensitive to others needs.

It became clear, with the help of this exercise, that there are different types of behaviour in a group. The lesson was that in a group, individuals must stop thinking of their selfish goals and start thinking of helping others.

FEED BACK

Finally feed back from the participants was got in terms of,

- * What did you like the most in today's exercises
- * Any wishes that were not fulfilled
- * How would you change anything you disagreed with.

About liking:

- * "liked group discussions and square making exercise."
- * "liked the topic wise discussions and imagining the rules for it"
- * "liked the change in group members which gave an opportunity to interact with new people"
- * "concept of nesting understood"
- * "it was reaffirmed in the discussions that users should form the rules"
- * "it was more theoretical and so felt boring"
- * "felt like a piece-wise work without consolidation"
- * "felt that today's exercises did not relate to field problems"

About expectation:

- * "to learn how to strengthen institutions"
- * "to learn some methodology to take to the field as a continuation of yesterday's exercise"
- * "higher participation levels"

About the change required:

- * Principles should be given in written form and feed back to be obtained by discussions

on the field situations relating to the principles.

DAY - 3 : 8/9/94

MORNING SESSION

The morning session started with the participants forming into seven groups of four each. Each group was assigned a principle and was asked to write about it in phrases after discussing with the group members. The participants were told to use local proverbs where ever possible to explain the principle so that the principles could be understood even by a layman. All these were written on a white sheet and pasted on to the sheets on which problems were mentioned. Then one person from each group who had understood the principles were asked to explain what their group had written. Following were the responses obtained for each of the principles:

Principle 1:

"Kanniddavaru kurudaru alla" (those who have eye sight are not blind). This was stated in the context that the rules should have boundaries. Taking the example of the blind association, it was explained that the association was meant only for the blind and all those who possessed eye sight were not permitted to join the association.

Principle 2:

"Idi bittu mudu pade" (incurred the cost of sowing but did not get anything in return). This was stated in the context that there was no balance between the costs incurred and the benefits received.

Principle 3:

"Jana balave jaga balavu"(people's strength is nation's strength). This referred to the power of people to make alterations in the rules formed. They could always come together and influence the higher authorities.

A few participants felt that the proverb did not fit to the principle. While the principle states that people could come together and voice their problems at different forums then why should the problems be taken to higher authorities? Discussions took place on this issue and it was felt that some more clarity had to be provided.

Principle 4:

"Baeliye eddu hola Meydange"(it's like the fence grazing the field). It was said in the context that those who monitor the rules should not themselves violate the rules.

Principle 5:

"Jaanige maathina pettu, daddanige donne pettu" (a word for an obedient person, a stick for a fool"). It was said with reference to step wise punishment. But it was argued that the proverb meant only appropriate punishment and not step wise punishment.

Due to shortage of time, the other two principles were not presented. It was made clear to the participants that the appropriateness of a proverb was only secondary. The main aim was to ensure understanding. If the proverbs were understood relating to the context concerned, then the aim was fulfilled. It was agreed that the above translations and proverbs will not be used and will be developed further to obtain clarity.

Two from each group were selected. These people had to ensure that their principles were working in the groups that would be formed in the afternoon.

Principles of sustaining small scale infrastructure:

To explain the principles of sustaining small scale infrastructure, again five groups were formed with 5-6 members. Each group were given two points which were based on the principles and the group had to ensure that these two points worked in the groups to be formed in the afternoon session. The two points given were:

Group I:

1. Make sure that the people are aware of the benefits they receive
2. Commitment from the people to share some costs at the start.

Group II:

1. Users should recognise that the benefits will not fully materialise unless they are maintained.
2. Users must be assured that they can participate in the designing process and will have to monitor the operation and maintenance of the system.

Group III:

1. There must be a firm commitment to maintain the facilities.
2. Users should know the usage of cash contribution.

Group IV:

1. To ensure that the people have the chance to implement and organise the work and inspect financial accounts related to their contributions.
2. Ensure that the users willing to pay the costs for maintenance.

Group V:

1. Users should be made aware that once the system goes wrong, they will not get any external assistance.
2. Users should be able to protect their rights. People should be made aware that the money due by them would be collected by force, if necessary. Funders are to be requested not to provide repeat funds for the same purpose.

Groups were asked to discuss and explain how they would go about with the two points.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Role Play of Institutional Design:

The participants were divided into two groups. Each group represented one-half of a village and had to stay apart. The members had to enact a typical village situation wherein the project is introduced. In each group PRAs were conducted, caste groups were identified and water resources marked. Each member had to talk or explain about the principle which had been entrusted to his/her group in the morning. Every one had to ensure that the points which were given were working in their group. This enabled the members to know about the practical application of the principles.

Later, two groups representing a half of the village were brought together. Representatives were sent from each group to form the Grama Sabha. The locality maps were assembled. The group enacted the grama sabha meeting and discussed all the possible aspects that were included in the community participation activities of the project. The simulated village went through all the issues involved in good rule making for a mini water system.

The District Collector (DC) was supposed to take part in the final phase of the three-day training programme. It was proposed to enact the village situation when the DC arrived. However, DC could not meet the whole gathering. Instead, the Project Director along with a few representatives from Samuha met the DC and briefed him about the organisation and its activities.

Meanwhile, to get a feed back on the topics dealt, the participants were asked to rank the levels of understanding on a sheet of paper.

CONCLUSION

The training programme was successful in creating awareness about institutional strengthening among the field level workers. Majority of the field level staff including women took an active part in the discussions, bringing to light the problems faced in dealing with the communities.

There was very poor attendance by the Grama Sabha convenors. Of the total of four there was only one woman convener. It was quite heartening to note that the participation levels by the convenors was high in the discussions. The exercise would really have made a positive impact if many villagers had attended as they could relate the topics to their local situations and help in strengthening the institutions. But now, the levels of percolation of the essence of the subject into the village/field depends on the understanding and communication levels of the facilitators.

On the whole, the training process generated clarity on many concepts which were hitherto not understood by the participants.

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AND PROGRAMME MANAGEMENT
The case of Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Project in
Bellary

R.Bhakther Solomon

Introduction

'People's participation' is a familiar concept in development literature. The term is used to mean a host of participatory experiences of people in the context of development and there is no consensus so far on this understanding. Considerable literature and documentation exists on this concept especially that generated by international agencies such as UN Organisations and World Bank. In fact it is rare to find a development strategy without referring to participation by the people. This is especially true with regard to development strategies of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), wherein promotion of participation has become a major component of their activities.

Differing interpretations

As mentioned earlier the term "participation" has different connotations as defined by different people depending upon their interests. In fact it has been argued by many authors that it is difficult to establish a universal definition of "participation". According to them participation can only be explored but not defined formally. Thus "participation" is a social experience shared by individuals and group and who live in definite economic and social relation to each other in a society"(Bhaduri and Rahman,1982)- According to the Economic Commission for Latin America, participation is considered as a voluntary contribution by the people to one another of the public programmes for national development but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programme or criticising its content(ECFLA 1973).

For others, participation means sensitisation of people to increase their receptivity and ability to respond to development programmes as well as to encourage local initiation (see for eg. Uma Lele 1975). Participation is also understood as the active involvement of people in the decision making process in so far as it affects them(Uphoff and Cohen 1979).

A radically different interpretation is that participation is the organised effort to increase the control over resources and regulative institutions in a given social situation on the part of groups which have been hitherto excluded from such control.

Most of the literature on participation defines it as a means rather than an end. In other words, participation is considered as an input in a development programme instead of meaning it as a process resulting in fundamental change(Oakkey and Marsden 1984). Typical examples as regards the former approach are Community Development and Panchayatraj programmes of the 1950's, and agriculture development programmes of the 1960's and 70's.

It is generally noted that though this kind of approach has contributed for economic

development it has not resulted in any meaningful participation of the poor in development. The historical account of community development programmes shows that participation of the people is confined to merely receiving benefits. "Ideally, participation should incorporate both extremes, it is difficult to see how these extremes can be reconciled"(Oakley and Marsden 1984).

A majority of studies on these development programmes have tried to identify the causes or obstacles for lack of participation by poor. These obstacles are generally identified with reference to operational procedures in the implementation of the programmes. Studies which consider participation as an end analyse the obstacles which are associated with structural and institutional relationships both at the local and national level. Obstacles which are generally associated with the former are "over-centralised planning, inadequate delivery mechanisms, lack of local coordination, inappropriateness of project technology, irrelevant project content, lack of social structures and so on(Oakley and Marsden 1984:30). On the other hand, the dominant mode of production relations and the associated power are found to be structural obstacles for people's participation. However, studies on structural obstacles are few in number(see for instance Bhaduri and Rahman 1982).

With this understanding, this paper attempts to study the nature and extent of people's participation in development. The case chosen for study is the Integrated Rural Water Supply And Environmental Sanitation Project in Karnataka. As the project is community development oriented, the paper is basically concerned with involvement of the people in decision making with regards to the planning and implementation of the project. More specifically it analyses the following:

- (a) the methodology adopted for achieving required participation of people
- (b) nature and extent of contribution of people to the project
- (c) the factors responsible for achieving required level of participation or otherwise (obstacles) in the project
- (d) the role of outside agencies such as NGOs in helping the people have their say in the project.

The Project

Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Project is being implemented in Karnataka by the state government with the assistance from World Bank. The main objectives of the project as defined by World Bank are improvement of quality of life in rural areas through improved health standards with consequent better productivity and benefit to women and improved water supply. The project envisages water supply as the main component. Apart from providing a sustained water supply arrangement, the project contains all the components regarding health, education, ground water availability, roads, drainage, community participation and training programmes. More specifically the objectives of the project are :

a) augmentation of water supply, including rehabilitation of the existing sources (together with open wells) such as ground water recharging.

b) Environmental sanitation with latrines and village drainage (including storm water and sullage and the filling in of pits and depressions in order to prevent the collection of stagnant water).

c) Conducting base-line survey on a sample basis (three villages per district) and the devising of suitable messages to educate people in the villages about water borne and water related diseases as part of health education programmes which reinforces the impact of the project.

d) The project also contemplates a comprehensive Health Education Programme and an Integrated Training process specially designed for the implementing agencies - the NGOs and the beneficiaries.

Coverage:

1000 villages have been chosen in Karnataka from 10 districts of Raichur, Gulbarga, Dakshina Kannada, Bellary, Belgaum, Mandya Bangalore(rural), Shimoga, Mysore and Bidar. Later 200 villages in Tumkur and Hassan were also included.

People's Participation

A major component of the IRWS & ESP is the community participation

- (a) to involve local communities in planning,
- (b) to facilitate formation of local level institutions (Village Water Sanitation Committee),
- (c) to take responsibility for operation and maintenance (O&M) of facilities created,
- (d) to motivate them to share a minimum of 30 percent of the capital cost of the Environment Sanitation Component of the project.
- (e) to create a sense of awareness and ownership among the beneficiaries of the project.

Involving NGOs in community participation: To plan this programme in a participatory way the government has approached Actionaid¹ and other Voluntary Agencies for necessary initiative and guidance. Actionaid has responded to the call, agreeing to initiate Community

ACTIONAID India, is a development organisation dedicated to improving the lives of people through systematic, broad-based and all round approaches to development of the community and area to be assisted. ACTIONAID India is one of the 20 country programmes in Africa, Asia and Latin America in which the organisation has established professional operation based on development programmes.

Participation Activities in two districts - Raichur and Bellary.

In turn, Actionaid has commissioned the Development Promotion Group (DPG)² to take up the Community Participation Component in Bellary District and Samuha in Raichur District. The former also gave the needed finance to the NGOs to carry out the planning exercise.

As per the agreement with the state government the NGOs are required to take up the tasks enlisted in the community participation component. The officials of the state government (at various levels) are supposed to provide support to the NGOs in the fulfilment of their tasks.

Bellary District as a case study

Bellary is one of the districts selected for implementation of IRWS & ES project. The district is studied as a case as DPG with financial aid from Actionaid which is involved as an NGO in charge of Community Participatory Component (CPC) in selected villages of the district. Totally about 110 villages are to be covered under this programme to be implemented in two phases. The first phase covers 29 villages where the CPC work has to be completed in two years. In the second phase of the work about 81 villages would be taken up, the work to be completed in 5 years. Though Bellary is selected for the intensive case study, comparison is also made with other districts to the extent possible especially regarding the extent of monetary contribution of the people in the development schemes.

Method for achievement of participation:

DPG has adopted the **Community Encouragement & Participation (CE&P)** method for achieving the participation of the community in the project. This method is considered to be a viable one to enable the local people to share, enhance and meet the facts of life's adverse conditions, to plan and to act. In simple terms, CEP refers:

to the involvement of people in the project and to encouraging them to play an effective and decisive role in the programme.

It is a methodology designed to assist the community to make a decision on how to meet their own needs and to make action plans to carry out decisions within a development framework.

The following are the steps involved in the CE&P method used by the Bellary Team. In the beginning, the DPG team led by the Project in-charge held detailed discussions regarding

² *Development Promotion Group is a registered voluntary organisation engaged in service of rural poor in various parts of South India. A non-profit making, secular service organisation starting with a modest aim of assisting smaller NGOs in training needs, the DPG has grown into a full fledged development organisation in 8 years. It assists many NGOs to plan, monitor and evaluate their own development programmes.*

the scheme with the district's higher officials like the Chief Secretary, and the Executive Engineer.

- * After getting their acceptance for the team's involvement in the programme the same kind of discussions were once again held at the block level with officials like Block Development Officer, Tahsildar, Asst.Engineer, Engineer etc.
- * At the next level, visits were made to all the programme villages wherein the scheme was briefly explained to a selected audience from the villages and with their co-operation, the **Community Encouragement Meeting** dates were finalised for each selected village for detailed community encouragement meetings.
- > As a follow-up measure at the village level, the project team consisting of 6 to 8 members met at the appointed village at least a day earlier, to put final touches for the start of the community involvement exercise.
- > Wide publicity was given through large posters at vantage points of the village as well as through public announcements (Tom Tom) about the education programme planning.
- > The posters contained short lists of the agenda to be taken during the programme time and requested all people to attend the first meeting.
- > After the formal customary inauguration of the education process, village volunteers, mostly youth were requested to help the planning team in the conduct of the different exercises.
- > Thereupon the youth were encouraged to make a Social Map of the village on a paper identifying landmarks in every street. Depending on the size, each village was then divided into 2-4 parts with the help of this map. For each segment of the village a group of villagers with one DPG staff as a facilitator of the process was formed.
- > To start with, the education process was more inclined towards helping the people in assessing the existing situation with regard to water and sanitation and then in establishing the area of strength and weakness with these services.
- > The team went to various streets and localities to identify existing facilities and its potential benefits. People were given enough encouragement and ample opportunities to study the problem in its totality by linking it with the overall system. This learning process was done in small groups in the localities. Simultaneously a brief family profile of the families in that area was also developed which clearly gave information on the family composition, information covering social and economic conditions, families' water requirement, the sources of meeting these requirement and the families' practices in relation to water, sanitation and health.

- > The second day was generally utilised by the same team to assess the people's priority and in whichever ward / street it was possible to sketch the proposed plan with all its details, the same was done.
- > Venn-diagrams were also prepared to understand the social relation and conflicts in this village. Some part of the day was also used to understand the community/ individual ownership rights in the villages: who holds water rights, who has access to water and sources available for any specific purposes etc. and also how the decision making pattern works in the village and the time it takes.
- > The day's proceeding mostly consisted of exchange of views with ward/ street residents and arriving at certain broad conclusions with regard to the problems and proposed plan.
- > Resource maps were also drawn on this day to identify water resources and their sustainability over the period.
- > As a part of the exercise, village children and youth were encouraged to prepare clay models of important landmarks. Again a model village with special demarcation with places of importance and common properties were drawn on the ground. All the details of the scheme were then imposed on this village map and the schemes were fully explained to the villagers with the help of this map - simultaneously encouraging any new suggestions or changes.
- > This was the most crucial meeting where the villagers were encouraged to come with their views on the proposed plan, make suggestions for any additional coverage etc., Efforts were also made to bring more people from weaker sections to this village meeting.
- > The clay model village presentation (both the existing facilities and the proposed scheme based services) was done at prominent places so as to enable all sections of the society to participate. The entire ground preparation was done by the villagers with the help of the project team.
- > Eventually on the approval of the plan by the villagers, they were enabled to form a Village Water Supply and Sanitation (VWSS) Committee of 8 members. These 8 members (at times a few others too) sign on bond papers - pledging to be responsible for the maintenance of the scheme and to provide the needed share of the capital cost.
- > As a follow up of the entire process, large size maps on walls at prominent locations of the selected villages were painted along with physical and financial details of the proposed scheme.

- > The first planning exercise was done in Arasikere village for six days in the name of PRA during August 3 - 8, 1993. It was in fact, not only a programme planning exercise for the people but also a training programme for a number of Government Officials like Junior Engineers, Mandal Secretaries and other project teams.
- > After the Arasikere planning exercise, as more and more project team members started visiting the villages, the team decided to call the entire exercise as Community Encouragement and Participation (CE&P).
- > For the CE&P process in Kudligi, a big team of 15 project members was drawn. In addition to the project staff, others like members of the Mandal Panchayats, NSS students and Anganwadi teachers also took part in it.
- > The one at Banigola village was perhaps the best experience. The people co-operated whole-heartedly. A good number of women took active part and the people made a new plan for environmental sanitation.
- > The most important feature of the CE&P was that all the workers stayed together in the village during the exercise time. The villagers whole-heartedly gave food and accommodation to all the team members.

Village Water Supply & Sanitation Committee (VWS&SC)

A major aspect of participation is the formation of village level committees primarily to assist the Mandal Panchayat in maintaining and operating the rural water supply and sanitation. Other functions include collection of contributions towards the cost of the project and cost on operation and maintenance, mobilisation of voluntary labour and maintenance of regular water supply to the villages. Formation of Committee was the toughest task in the planning process. Though the co-operation of the villagers and officials concerned had been encouraging, the project team had to face a number of problems in forming the committee. In some villages due to party based politics, constitution of the committee has been delayed.

Financial Contribution of Villagers:

It has been agreed both by Government and village committees that all the capital cost on the Water Supply Scheme would be borne by the state. The villagers only need to maintain these schemes. As regards the sanitation component, people are required to contribute 30% of the cost and the government 70%. People are aware that the scheme is beneficial not just for the rich but for the entire village. Hence every individual has an obligation to contribute on the basis of some norms fixed by the village committees. After a series of consultations and discussions most of the villagers roughly follow the following formulation.

Norms for Levy

For the irrigated land - Rs.50 / acre	For salaried people Rs.125/- each
For the dry land - Rs.10/ acre	Small Businessmen Rs.500 to Rs.1000

Those who do not have
agriculture land - Rs.5/ house

Medium size businessmen - Rs.1000 to 2500
Big businessmen - Rs.2500 to Rs.5000

Most of the villages follow this pattern for collection. However a few of the villages have chosen a slightly different method as in the case of Siddamanahali:

Cultivated land - Rs.30/- per acre Outgoing cotton- Rs.100/- per lorry
Landless - Rs.50/- per house Tractor - Rs.500/-
Shops and hotels -Rs.500/- per unit Pipes from new tanks -Rs.800/- per pipe

Of the 295 villages in the state for which data is available, upto Oct. 94, 88 per cent of the villages are found to have contributed for the project. Of this, 62 per cent of the villages have contributed upto 50 per cent of the agreed cost and remaining 26 percent more than that. Thus it can be seen that in a vast majority of villages, public have contributed towards the cost of the project.

Table 1
Extent of Cash Contributed by People in all districts

S.No.	Share in the Stipulated Cost	No.of Villages	Percent
1.	0	17	6.6
2.	0-25%	92	35.5
3.	25-50%	50	19.3
4.	50-75%	46	17.8
5.	75 + %	54	20.8
Total		59	100

Table 2
Contribution by number of villages in Different Districts

S.No	Districts	Total number of villages data Contributed	Number of villages Contributed so far	Percent
1	Dakshin Kananada	19	19	100.0
2	Bidar	18	18	100.0
3	Mandya	29	29	100.0
4	Raichur	26	26	100.0
5	Shimoga	29	27	98.1
6	Belgaum	28	25	89.3
7	Mysore	29	27	93.1
8	Bellary	29	28	96.8
9	Bangalore(Rural)	24	23	95.8
10	Gulbarga	28	15	53.6

When we see the share of cash contribution, only in Dakshin Kannada, it is more than 100 per cent. In Shimoga, the contribution is 50 to 100 per cent. In a number of districts (viz. Shimoga, Belgaum, Mysore, Bidar, Mandya, Raichur, Bellary). the cash contribution is in the range of 25 - 50 per cent. In Bangalore(Rural) and Gulbarga, the contribution is about 11% only. (Table 3)

Table 3
Share of Cash Contribution in Each District

S.No	District	Percent of CASH CONTRIBUTION to agreed cost
1.	Dakshin Kannada	100
2	Shimoga	67
3	Belgaum	44
4	Mysore	54
5	Bidar	32
6	Mandya	31
7	Bellary	26
8	Raichur	37
9	Bangalore(Rural)	18
10	Gulbarga	11

However, there are variations in the extent of contribution by the public across villages in each district(Table 4). However in Gulbarga, the extent of contribution to the project so far is seen to be minimal.

In Bellary

Bellary ranks seventh as regards to percentage of cash contribution. It is also seen that in 30 per cent of villages the contribution is upto 25 per cent and in another 30 per cent villages, it is in the range of 25 to 50 per cent. In about 34 per cent of the villages, the contribution is 50 - 100 per cent and more (Table 4)

Table 4

Extent of contribution to the stipulated cost	Percentage of Villages to Total Number of Villages									
	Dakshin Kannada	Shimoga	Mysore	Belgaum	Bellary	Bangalore (Rural)	Bidar	Raichur	Mandya	Gulbarga
0	0	10.3	3.4	7.1	3.4	0	0	0	0	35.7
0-25%	0	24.1	24.1	28.6	55.1	54.2	38.9	42.3	38	42.9
25-50%	0	7	20.7	25	20.7	29.1	22.2	38.5	17.2	10.7
50-75%	0	3.4	38	25	7	16.7	33.3	15.4	31	7.1
75 +	100	55.2	13.8	14.3	13.8	0	5.6	3.8	13.8	3.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

We were in a hurry to get people's participation and approval of the plans in the villages, as well as the engineering study in both I & II phases. Sufficient time was not given to stimulate community members to think about and express their ideas. There is a need to create a relaxed atmosphere and encourage people to participate more and more. There is a need for adequate discussion of project related issues within the community. We should go through a period of 6-8 weeks' time creating opportunities for the people to talk more about the scheme. There is also a need to develop initial contact with the community, over a period of few weeks. People should be encouraged to expose their needs for water in terms of how much is required for different purposes or the quality of water.

FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

There are several factors contributing to the participation of people in the designing of the plan, revision of it and sharing cost of the project. As already mentioned, the method adopted for achieving participation of people is found to be effective to introduce the project to the people. Hence as a first step the project staff stayed in the villages and explained the details of the project. The method was also effective in removing reservations of the people about the project. This being general, other factors which helped to achieve better participation of the people are as follows.

Felt Need

It was noticed that in villages where there are acute problems of drinking water and drainage, people come forward to co-operate with the government and NGO in planning and implementing the project. The villagers mainly depend upon ground water for drinking which in many villages is not potable. Also the supply is inadequate due to various reasons. Problems in the distribution network has also resulted in supply not being received in the assured quantity. All these made drinking water supply unreliable and inadequate. People in many areas were experiencing severe problems for drinking water. Hence the proposed scheme was very appealing to them and they were ready to participate. In some villages the drinking water problem is not acute and hence the participation of people there was relatively less. In addition, bad sanitary conditions and drainage in almost all the villages have contributed bringing the people together.

Leadership

Local informal leadership has played an important role in mobilizing people to participate actively in discussion of the plan and in lending their support (both monetary and physical) for the implementation of it. In many villages, the office bearers of the people's committee were unified and took active interest in the confidence building proceedings and collected funds for the project. They devised many novel methods to achieve the target of fund collection. Such methods include conducting lotteries, musical programmes and drama by famous artistes, approaching philanthropists, utilising temple funds etc. In villages where there were factions, mobilisation of support of the people for the project was minimal. Generally it is found that participation is very high where there is not much difference in terms of caste. Infact in mono caste villages, the decision of the leadership is followed by the people strictly and contribution is made to the maximum extent.

Agricultural Prosperity

People were found to contribute more in seasons when there were good rains and good harvest. Wherever the crop was affected by either drought or pests, farmers were not ready for participation especially monetarily. Also in areas where there are assured irrigation facilities, people's contribution is relatively more significant than others. As irrigation contributes towards higher productivity and higher income, people were able to contribute liberally, especially the rich farmers.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

People's participation is an important concept in programme management especially development programmes. In olden days, people's participation was considerable in the management of resources like land and water. Village assemblies of various kinds were involved in the administration of villages. Generally, they were called "Sabhas" in wet villages and "Nadus" in dry villages. (Sarada Raju 1956).

After the advent of the British Rule, the importance of village institutions slowly decreased and they were taken over by the state. However, contrary to claims they have not completely lost their importance in village affairs. It has been noted by some recent studies that people's

participation through informal organisations like village/caste panchayats is significant in managing village affairs like administration of temples, management of irrigation and maintenance (kudimaramath) of the structures (eg. MIDS 1989, Rajagopal 1991, Tang. 1992). However as regards formal development schemes by the government, involvement of people is noted to be minimal. Community development programmes and agricultural development programmes implemented by the State since independence are examples to this.

Nevertheless, thanks to NGOs success in people-based programmes, people's participation is given some importance in recent times in government programmes also. The Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Project, Karnataka also sought to achieve people's participation in its planning and implementation. The project shows that participation of the people in planning of the project and sharing the cost of it, in general, is quite significant. The method adopted by the NGO - Actionaid in collaboration with Development Promotion Group in achieving people's participation for the project is found to be in most cases very effective.

The experience clearly shows that people were ready to participate in the project if it addressed their basic problems and when they saw gains from such participation. It also proves that pessimism expressed by collective action theorists like Hardin (1968) and Gordon (1954) is unfounded. According to them, people will not co-operate with each other in dealing with the common property resource like water. However, it is seen that when motivated by NGOs and local leadership, people's co-operation is forthcoming to the project on a significant scale. An acceptable minimum level of community participation was achieved in Bellary and the manner of involvement of the community at different levels is reasonably consistent. But then the most important lesson we learnt is that in a project of this nature, the communities need to be involved early in project planning and need to be encouraged to play an active and decisive role in the programme:

- * in assessing the existing situation.
- * in arriving at the strength and the deficiencies of the system
- * in selecting priorities and finalising the scheme.
- * in making decisions regarding the maintenance of scheme.

As far as this scheme is concerned there is little scope for participation of the people in the early stage, meaning during the engineering study. As far as this IRWS Scheme operational method is concerned nearly 30% of the work is done during this period without involving communities in the consultative frame work. Hence provisions must be made for involving people during the engineering study itself. There is need for this because the quality and the quantity of water have become major issues in the villages.

A few villagers still believe that the scheme may not be in a position to supply the "quantity" of water which it says it would supply, as the villagers have their own apprehensions with regard to the quantity of water in their own area. This being the case Mariammanahalli pressed for a surface based scheme but the team had to ignore the opinion. The present stages of already drilled borewells under the scheme corroborate their feelings. On the other hand had the people

been involved in the early stage itself, they would have had their say in the engineering study matters and would have taken the ownership of the study and the decision.

The experience also showed that red-tapism and apathy of government officials could discourage, to a great extent, the co-operation of the people to the project. More specifically, the undue delay in the implementation of the project even after the agreed cost was met by the people in many villages has discouraged contribution in other villages. The delay in implementation has also resulted in escalation of the cost of the project and people are unnecessarily required to meet their portion of additional cost. It is unfair to ask the people to share the additional cost as the government is solely responsible for the delay. Hence it must meet this part of the cost of the project.

The delay in implementation has also resulted in government incurring expenditure on crash schemes for providing drinking water in some villages. This could have been avoided, had the government taken up the scheme for implementation as per the original time plan.

The problem has also brought discredit to NGOs as they mobilised the support of the people to the project with an assurance that the scheme would be implemented within a time frame. This has resulted in erosion of people's confidence in the project.

The delay also necessitates the planning exercise to be taken up afresh as it was completed more than a year before. Hence there is need for re-designing and re-estimation of the project.

In some villages people had reservations about the government project because of their past experience. In one village people had earlier contributed money for building a maternity hospital with assurance of a share from government. Since the scheme had not materialised, people were very skeptical about the new project also. However repeated confidence building exercises in these villages have instilled confidence among the people and they have started participating in the project.

Engineering Study	1991-1992
People Endorsement	1993
People Contribution mobilization	1994
Implementation	1995-1998. (?)

(I understand that in only about 12 villages in Bellary district the programme will be started in 1995)

The Government does not provide information to the communities regarding the time required to process the various stages of work. In the end, huge public deposits were tied up for long periods in the bank without any use to anybody.

This kind of Scheme must have a penalty clause or public accountability clause in the design of the scheme itself. Later on, the non-co-operation of anyone should be considered as breach of contract.

Another major problem faced in achieving people's participation is political interference, especially in the collection of money for the project. Local politicians of all hues have given assurances to the people that the project would be implemented by the government, even without people's contribution to it. According to them, water is a fundamental right of the people and hence it is the duty of a welfare government to provide it at any cost. Politicians also gave hopes to the people that they would take up the issue with the government and see the scheme sanctioned without monetary contribution by people. Carried away by such promises, people in a few villages are reluctant to contribute towards the cost of the project.

It has been noted by others, that political interference is a problem in other government development schemes also. In the co-operative movement, this is the main reason for people not repaying the loans and hence mounting overdues. Due to political interference in the administration and management of local bodies, their very democratic character is spoiled. (Mathur 1979). As regards irrigation projects, because of political interference, engineers were compelled to prepare unviable project plans by including as much area under the project, as possible (Vaidhyathan 1983). These examples strengthen the argument that political interference is a major problem to be reckoned with in implementation of any government scheme.

Unfortunately, in the project no adequate measures were taken to inform the political bosses about the various salient features of the project. The community participation requires integration of action to be taken at all levels from the community upto Government level.

Yet another problem is lack of co-ordination among various agencies involved in the planning and implementation of the project. Many of them work in isolation which contributes for inefficiency and delay in the planning and implementation of the project. During the last year only one meeting was convened at the district level to review the progress of the scheme. Hence problems faced by one are not known to others in the project.

A tri-party venture of this nature can effectively be planned, implemented and monitored only when politicians, bureaucrats and the people understand the scheme in its totality without any politics of development. Slackness at any stage would result in the other parties to losing interest in the mechanism which in the end would result in unnecessary expenditure.

Therefore I strongly feel the need to establish a monitoring cell at the district level with representatives from the following departments / organisation.

- * *World Bank Engineering Cell Representatives* 2
- * *NGO Representatives.* 2
- * *Elected Representatives* 2
- * *Engineering Consultant Group* 2
- * *Village water supply committee members* 2 or 3 on
rotation basis

Either the NGO or the Engineering Cell may be given the responsibility to convene the meetings. It should meet once in 2/3 months to take stock of the situation and plan for the next three months. There is a need to establish a similar body at the taluk level. All the decisions regarding this need to be discussed in these forums so as to establish the relevance of this scheme and also make it a more participatory one.

The Government has rightly recognised the need for a separate Engineering Cell at the District level and World Bank cells (at various Districts) are being established. The composition of this cell is as follows:-

<i>Executive Engineer</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Asst. Executive Engineer</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Asst. Engineer</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Supportive office staff</i>	<i>8</i>

Our experiences with Engineering Departments at various levels give an impression that this cell is inadequately staffed. There are 110 villages under this scheme in Bellary District for which there is a need for continued support from this cell. Roughly a village demands 40 mandays of work in a year.

Mandays Required per Village

Tasks	Mandays required
Planning Assistance at the village	7
Planning at office	7
Programme monitoring visits to the village	10
P.M.V office Work	10
Other related work	5
All Tasks	35-40 days

Assuming that 12 villages from phase -I will be taken up for implementation in 1995, this would necessitate 12 X 25 mandays. Another 50 villages from the phase -II would be taken up for the planning which would roughly require about 15 mandays for each village work.

Phase -I	12 villages	12 X 25 = 300
Phase -II	50 villages	50 X 15 = 450
TOTAL	Mandays	750

As against this requirement of 750 mandays per year the cell can provide only 300-400 mandays roughly 50% of the requirement.

	:	Required Mandays	750
Equation	:	Available Mandays	450
	:		<u>300</u>

There is a need for atleast two cells of the present size at two convenient locations in the district to make the cell more effective. If need be, even committed persons from the open market can be drawn to this cell to provide good back-up support.

As far as the IRWS project is concerned, people are supposed to meet 30% of capital cost of Environmental Sanitation alone and the other capital cost comes free. The assumption inherent in the project is that if the capital cost of water supply can be paid by the state, then the villagers will pay for O&M. This must be probably one of the reasons why people were not consulted much during the Engineering study of water component of the scheme. There is a possibility that when the actual maintenance comes, the community may take a side role. Hence, this project should be offered to the community as a package and the cost sharing must go to all aspects of the project. This would provide more equity in cost sharing across the villages. It is better we offer choices to the community regarding cost sharing. Making it compulsory to pay 30% E&S cost results in the weak and poor communities paying more for the service while the rich escape with minimal cost sharing.

I.R.W.S & Equity

Sl.No	District /villages & socio-economic status (Category)	Population	PerCapita Investment for DW Rs.	PerCapita Investment for E&S Rs.	Public Contribution Rs.	If it is 10% of total Cost Rs.
1	Bellary Taluk H Veerapura -Poor	2,397	321	301	90	62
2	Harapanalli Taluk Teligi - Middle	4,980	226	102	31	32
3	H B Hally Taluk Rannagara	10,122	428	262	78	37
4	Huvira Hadagali Taluk Magala -Rich	4,547	627	191	57	81
5	Kudligi Taluk Gadekote- Middle	5,614	289	171	51	46
6	Sandur Taluk Bhojanagar - Middle	4,051	344	92	28	43
7	Sriguppa Taluk Karur -Middle	5,142	576	158	47	73
8	Hospet taluk Venkatapura -Poor	1,832	380	489	147	86

Operation and Maintenance, known as (O&M), is an important aspect of the scheme. In other words O&M must ensure sustainability of the scheme. VWSCs are expected to undertake O&M responsibilities. In a sense, the government wants to transfer O&M responsibilities from skilled professionals to untrained community members. Of course, people are ready to collect user fees and meet the expenses connected with the services but then they definitely need technical

support. A programme of this nature could be sustainable if,

- * Reliable water supply is maintained at an adequate level.
- * The water consumption is not over-exploited and is adequate.
- * Measures are taken to maintain the quality.
- * Efforts are made to establish laboratory facilities to test quality.
- * Spare parts are supplied to keep the system going.

Adequate thinking has not gone into this aspect of the project. Now the Zilla Parishad Engineering cells are expected to create miracles! Just like over worked Anganwadi workers at the village level are loaded with all the motivation work of all government schemes, similarly, wherever any engineering aspect is involved, ZP Engineering Division is asked to provide support. But they are busy in repairing the same old buildings and roads year after year. They have the least commitment to these schemes and even if they do, they do not have adequate manpower and time.

In view of the above, there is a need to create a separate O&M Cell to ensure the O&M work well. The VWSC needs to draw its hardware support from this cell

In spite of the many problems discussed, it must be mentioned that the project gave an opportunity (perhaps the first occasion) for government, voluntary agencies and people to work together in planning a project which involves crores of rupees. On the positive side, it has amply demonstrated that there are quite a few officials at the Government who mean business and can be counted for initiatives of this type. On the negative side, it also brought forth the difficulties of working with the Government as the latter has its own procedure in administrative matters which unfortunately gives room to unnecessary delay. The public have now come to the conclusion that there is no need to work in a hurry. It has created a kind of apathy in the mind of the people. It is the duty of all of us to see that the scheme works well.

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**COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN KARNATAKA'S INTEGRATED RURAL
WATER SUPPLY AND SANITATION PROJECT - SOME EXPERIENCES**

Poornima Vyasulu

PREAMBLE

There are few developmental projects today that do not draw on 'Community Participation' at some point or the other in the project cycle. To talk of projects which have no Community Participation is almost unheard of, in the current developmental context. What do we really mean by the term community participation in project design, how do we integrate this into project processes, have real and concrete changes taken place in project planners, implementors and the user communities - in their approaches, attitudes and perspectives, are such projects indeed more effective and efficient? These are the questions we are looking into during this conference.

Community Participation seems to come in many shapes, colours and costumes! The term itself sounds too general to describe these adequately. So, it is best that we start with an operational definition of Community Participation.

Participation has three dimensions: involvement of all those affected in *decision making* about what should be done and how; mass contribution to the development effort, i.e., to the *implementation* of the decisions; and sharing in the *benefits* of the programmes¹

All of these dimensions may not be present in each project claiming to integrate Community Participation, conversely, each of these dimensions may occur to some extent, at some stage in all projects. So, how do we assess the nature and extent of CP in a project? Let us examine two parameters that can help us tackle this :

1. What is the form of Community Participation, depending on the nature of the project, and
2. What is the reason or motive in seeking CP.

White (ibid) notes that forms of Community notes that forms of Community Participation in projects can be arranged on a continuum - from those that are initiated by external agencies like the Government, donor agencies, NGOs, to those that are initiated by the communities themselves. Forms in between these are -

1. Consultation
2. A financial contribution by the community
3. Self-help projects by groups of communities
4. Self-help projects by the whole community

¹ World Bank, 1978, cited in "Community Participation in Water and Sanitation - Concepts, strategies and methods", Tech paper series 17, IRC pub, 1981.

5. Community specialised workers
6. Mass action
7. Collective commitment to behaviour change
8. Endogenous development
9. Autonomous community projects
10. Approaches to Self-sufficiency

Most water and sanitation projects are somewhere in the realm of 1-5 of the above forms, even though shades of other forms may be exhibited within these, at some point. For example, water supply activities may have elements of 2, but environmental sanitation activities may draw on 4,5,7 too.

As for the motives for CP, it could be cost-effectiveness, or capacity building for self-reliant systems, or even a basic donor policy.

These two factors then, determine how projects are formulated and operationalised.

THE NEED FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PROJECTS

In any project, which creates common facilities and services for use by the community like WATSAN projects, the need for CP arises due to -

- * the perceptual and experiential gaps that exist between the planners (who generally tend to be urban based educated elite) and user communities (who are largely rural), that need to be bridged,
- * the need to create a sense of ownership of the facilities by the users, for responsible usage and maintenance,
- * the need to evolve a system of decentralised and cost-effective management of established facilities,
- * the need to ensure that the created facilities do indeed meet the felt/actual needs of the community, but at the same time are within the broad project framework and its finite resources.

In the IRWSSP, assisted by the Netherlands, the approach has been to look at how the community can be meaningfully involved in the project planning, implementation and post-implementation phases. But, first let us look at some basic information about the project itself.

THE IRWSSP-SOME BASIC INFORMATION

The IRWSSP is a bilateral project between Government of Karnataka and Government of Netherlands, being implemented in two districts of the state - Dharwad and Bijapur. It covers about 200 villages that suffer from drinking water problems - scarcity, brackish water, high fluoride content and a few villages affected by guinea worm.

The main facilities to be created by the project are -

- * Safe and reliable drinking water supply
- * Improved Environmental sanitation
- * Construction of Anganwadi buildings

Water supply is planned using a single village or a cluster approach, looking for common and suitable sources. Environmental sanitation works (such as lane paving, drainage, soak-pits, latrines, wash slabs, cattle troughs) are to be taken up by the communities themselves, with a fixed per-capita budget to be provided by the project and Anganwadi buildings to be built by the community with a fixed budget to be provided by the project.

In terms of sequencing, the community mobilisation activities come after certain technical aspects of the water supply have been examined and determined.

Community Participation is initiated through PRA activities - an introductory street play, social mapping, transect, seasonal calendar, water quality ranking, daily activity profiles, chapatti diagrams on caste/power structure, household sketches, priority ranking of problems, community action plans I, formation of the Village Committee and further refining of CAP I to the detailed CAP II.

In the earlier paragraph, we mentioned the perceptual and experiential gaps that exist between project personnel and communities. These gaps can be represented as follows -

What we know	What they know
What communities also know (Eg-Names of the villages)	But we don't know (Eg-caste structures, Traditions)
What we know but they don't know (Eg-project budget, water schemes)	What we both don't know (Eg-fluoride content in water)

The PRA activities contribute to exchange of information between the communities and staff and thereby enable widening of 'What we both know' segment above, allow tailoring the project activities in decision making using time, space and resource issues. It has also contributed to establishing a common ground of shared knowledge, identification of appropriate and representative village level bodies that can be involved in project activities, bringing in the community perspectives at various stages.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION-NOT A CAKE-WALK!

In projects like the IRWSSP, Community Participation is not without problems or conflicts.

How are conflicts of interest and perspectives to be dealt with? These could be in technical, organisational or attitudinal aspects.

For example, in our project, the typical community priority ranking lists water, sanitation and anganwadi buildings in that order. However, in terms of procedures to tackle these, water is the most complex (needing the involvement of contractors and consultants), sanitation is relatively easier as it can be taken up at the village level by the communities themselves, as also the anganwadi building. Thus, the technical givens will allow us to take up top priority problems only at a later stage, while lesser priorities can be taken up earlier. How then can we convince the community on these constraints?

Another example is organising a village committee - in one case, the village people felt that women's representation in the VC was not practical as they were not yet ready for playing such important roles, but we felt to the contrary. Can the project force women's representation, keeping true to participatory principles? How can we play a facilitating role, rather than a commanding role in this? As project managers do we get into the tricky role of social reformists? Is that ethical at all?

And what about the attitude of the communities that all these are the responsibility of the government - supplying water, paving lanes, building latrines and anganwadis? Can we really expect Community Participation in the face of such attitudinal blocks?

How are we to deal with real and concrete conflicts that exist in rural areas - of caste, class and gender? Things that are not created by the PRA process but brought to surface by it, leaving both the project staff and the community in a disturbed state. For example - in a village where the social map clearly brought the caste divisions, some started looking at the political implications and alignments in an opportunistic way, which was far from the mind of project staff!

There is also the question of differing policies and expectations of different funding agencies - The World Bank, DANIDA and the Dutch in the Karnataka State Rural Water and Sanitation Projects, each of these have CP elements in them, but of a varying nature and extent. How do the implementing departments handle these differing frameworks, varying budgetary allocations and expected results? There is but one AP in each district and one PPMU at the state level!

In fact, each village community is unique in its own way, and CP brings up this uniqueness in surprising ways, defying the application of any theories of participation. And yet, projects have to have some definitive framework, some boundaries that define the scope, before they can be implemented.

The ultimate challenge to project implementors is in being true to participatory principles, keeping in mind the project 'givens', letting neither become an obsession at the cost of the other. Perhaps the trick is to define some broad project principles and let the communities

define the process by which these could be realised in ways that are congruent with those principles, for example - in the IRWSSP, disposal of sullage water is to be done through open drainage or soakpits, and not through underground drainage, which is more expensive and difficult to maintain. One village in the project insisted on underground drainage, as they had already built one in some parts of the village, which was being maintained well. The project had to accept this, but placed certain conditions that must be met

The environmental sanitation works had to be planned in such a way that they benefited the whole community and not just one section; sanitation conditions of the whole village would have to improve as identified in priority ranking and not just one part of it; if the planned works exceeded the available budget, the community would have to raise the additional resources; and conversely if they manage to save from the allocated budget, they would be able to use this for additional works as needed by them. This way there would be no violation of the project principles and the village would enjoy flexibility in implementation that meets its needs.

One can be sure that many challenges of this type will keep coming up. As long as project staff remember that participation is not just a gimmick, but really a value that needs to be internalised and realised, and that we all need to keep learning together, such projects can be made meaningful and effectively implemented.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AT A GLANCE IN DANIDA-ASSISTED INTEGRATED SANITATION AND WATER SUPPLY (IRS & WS) PROJECT IN TAMIL NADU

C. Rajathi

This paper discusses the strategies adopted for strengthening community participation in IRS & WS Project with focus on PRA. It also explains the limitations experienced in implementing PRA in this bilateral assisted project.

Introduction

In India, rural water supply programmes are a free service under the Minimum Needs Programme of State Governments. Since this is free of cost to the users, there is a corresponding lack of sense of ownership among the users and a subsequent lack in maintenance of such facilities. This problem is further intensified by the increasing number of hand pumps and depletion of ground water level every year causing greater economic burden on the government.

With regard to sanitation, latrine is perceived as a filthy and unwanted thing among the rural people. With increasing health hazards due to population growth on the one hand and the reluctance of people to change from traditional behaviour on the other hand, introducing the new practice of using latrines in the rural areas needs a lot of efforts at all levels.

In this critical situation, community participation is recognised as imperative to water supply and sanitation programmes. Sustainability of these programmes is now considered achievable only when the villagers are not only receivers but also planners, implementors and managers of their water sources and sanitation.

Given this situation, the IRS & WS project applies different strategies and techniques in order to strengthen the community participation in the project activities at various levels.

Background of the Project:

The IRS & WS project is aimed at improving the health and general living standards of rural people by providing 40 litres per capita per day (lpcd) of water supply through hand pumps and 15% coverage of population under sanitation programme while emphasising community participation in all project activities.

This project is being implemented in Portonovo Block of South Arcot Vallalar District and Marakkanam Block of Villupuram Ramasamy Padaiyatchiyar District of Tamil Nadu since 1990. The total outlay of the project is to the tune of Rs. 8.23 million for a period of 4 years. It is implemented through Department of Rural Development and TWAD Board with the assistance of Project Advisory Group (PAG).

By December 94, the project has completed installation of 681 hand pumps, and rejuvenation of 20 hand pumps and 17 power pump-based schemes. In the sanitation programme, it has constructed 4674 household latrines and 114 school latrines in both the blocks for which

survey finding shows about 60% utilization.

This project has adopted the following strategies and techniques to evolve a sustainable programme through community participation in all project activities:

1. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) system.
2. Establishing Village Councils and strengthening their activities.

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

PRA is used in the project to assess the socio-economic and demographic status of a village, existing infrastructural facilities, resources, problems, and needs of the village, by the villagers through participatory meetings. It is intended to develop a Village Plan for implementation based on this information. Mobilisation of resources for improving water supply maintenance and sanitary conditions around water sources has been initiated recently in a few villages through such participatory approaches.

Objectives of PRA

The objectives of PRA in the project are:

To involve users' communities from the very beginning of the project activities.

To obtain latest, relevant, and required information about a village and to assess the actual needs.

To create awareness among the villagers about the project objectives, activities.

To convey to villagers their responsibilities in operation and maintenance of water sources and sanitation facilities.

To enable project personnel to understand the village situations, problems and to establish a cordial relationship with the villagers.

Participants of PRA

Villagers are the main actors of PRA exercises, representing all socio economic and geographical groups of the village. The size and the proposition of gender groups may vary based on the project activities at different levels. The influential group leads the exercises like mapping of the village, assesses the economic status of each household and others react and assist them. The field level functionaries- Rural Welfare Officer (RWO) from BDO's Office and Field Investigators (FI), from the project, act as facilitators to that group. Hydrogeologist from TWAD also participates in the exercise of site selection for hand pumps.

Application of PRA techniques in IRS & WS Project :

PRA techniques are being applied only from the middle of the project implementation

period, i.e. from 1992. This was because the decision to use PRA was taken in early 1992 and because it requires a lot of preparatory work such as training of the field staff. By the time PRA began to be used in the project, water supply and sanitation activities had been done in 36 out of the total of 99 Panchayats in the project area.

PRA has become a series of exercises conducted at different stages by adopting the following methods:

Mapping Exercise

Participants: Representatives of all socio economic and geographical groups and interested persons.

Facilitators: RWO & FI

This is the first step of the project activities when entering a village. The villagers provide all relevant information and visualise the nature of their village in the form of map.

During this exercise, the field workers (RWO & FI) brief the villagers about the project objectives, activities and introduce the importance of community participation from the very beginning of the project activities. Then the purpose of the meeting is explained to the villagers.

Next, is the mapping exercise. The field workers act as facilitators in preparation of the map and the information in it. The group starts the discussions while drawing the map.

The map is directly drawn on a paper and not on the ground. The information collected during the mapping is appended separately in Annexure 1.

In addition to this information, the villagers provide household details using a separate format (Household particulars) to support the map with details of each household like identification numbers, name of the head of the household, total male and female members, caste, occupation of the household, land possession, economic status of the household, etc.

Assessing economic status of each household

During this exercise the facilitators do not reveal the purpose of ranking the economic status of households at this stage in order to avoid bias. The group uses the map and the household particulars format and assesses the economic status of each household, broadly dividing them into three major groups like 'poor', 'middle' and 'high' income families.

The project staff uses another format to obtain the details of each water source to support the map through interview with the group.

The particulars of the artisans like masons, mechanics, carpenters, 'kalajatha' group, brick kiln, cement works, , etc. also are collected by the project staff during the mapping exercise.

On the basis of the above information, a Village Plan is developed and used at different stages of project implementation.

Formation of Village Council and strengthening of its activities

This is the second step of the project activities in the field. During the mapping exercise some interested persons are identified by the field staff in addition to members of ex panchayat body, Youth association leaders, and Mathar Sangam convener. Local Government functionaries like RWO, Teacher, Child Welfare Organiser, and Village Health Nurse also constitute members of the Village Council. Normally the ex panchayat President is the President of the Village Council but not necessarily so, and RWO holds the position of Secretary. The group is informed about the necessity of the Village Council and their roles. Then the selected members form the Village Council and the meeting proceedings are recorded in a register. In some villages, the existing functioning informal village committee/ panchayat continues to act as Village Council. The role of Village Council is detailed in Annexure 2.

The Village Councils are trained and motivated by the project staff. Later, the Village Council plays an active role in assisting the project staff in field activities like site selection for hand pumps, selection of beneficiaries for household latrines, collection of contributions, construction of latrines, conducting mass education campaigns, and in few villages, mobilising resources for water supply maintenance and sanitation. Problems are discussed and some of them are solved in the subsequent meetings.

So far, 71 Village Councils have been formed and 520 Village Council meetings held. In the 32 Panchayats, where water supply and sanitation activities preceded the formation of Village Councils and motivation activities, the utilization of household latrines is poor and the number of hand pumps installed was not based on a need based assessment of the habitation.

PRA in site selection for hand pumps/stand posts

Participants: Predominantly women's groups from all strata of the village and Village Council members.

Facilitators: RWO, FI and Hydrogeologist.

In order to provide water supply to all strata of a habitation, appropriate sites for the proposed hand pumps are selected by the villagers. The selection is made taking into consideration existing water sources and accessibility to all households, calculated to the projected population of 2001 from the 1991 census population. In many cases, the actual required numbers of hand pumps are assessed based on the local situation during this PRA, since the calculated numbers of hand pumps vary somewhat from the actual needs.

During this exercise, the women are consulted and asked where they want the new hand pumps to be installed. The group interacts and selects the sites where pumps are actually needed by using the PRA map. Then the group moves around the village and marks the

sites in the selected locations. After that the Hydrogeologist conducts technical surveys to confirm the suitability of the sites. Since waste water from the hand pumps poses a serious health problems, in most cases due consideration is given to proper waste water system while selecting the sites for hand pumps. The project staff sketches the design of a suitable platform in consultation with the group. If a source is not available at the selected site, in some cases, the Hydrogeologist selects alternate sites in consultation with the users. The users' responsibilities in the handling of hand pumps and maintenance of sanitary conditions around the pump sites is also stressed during that exercise.

This kind of exercise helps the implementors to apply appropriate techniques in providing hand pumps with suitable cost effective waste water disposal. Women's participation is strengthened and their decisions are considered since they are the prime users of water. It reduces the political and social influence in water supply.

425 hand pump sites and stand posts sites for 9 power schemes were selected with users participation in coordination with RWOs and Hydrogeologist.

PRA in selection of potential beneficiaries of household latrines

Participants: Beneficiaries identified by the Village Council and the members of the Village Council.

Facilitators: RWO and FI.

Existing sanitation practices, problems faced by women, diseases caused by open air defecation, beneficiaries' perceptions on latrines, are discussed through different methods like pocket chart, photo parade, etc. by using different pictures, posters, etc. Based on the information emerging during the meeting the beneficiaries are informed about the importance of latrines and motivated to have them.

Then the strategies of the project's sanitation delivery system, beneficiary's contribution and responsibilities, designs, different models, costs, use and maintenance, etc. are explained by using videos, pictures, posters, demonstrations, arranging visits to neighbouring villages, user households, etc.

Next, potential beneficiaries are selected by the Village Council, in consultation with the group. Preference is given to the poor households since the inception of PRA by using the list of household particulars which contains the details of the economic status of each household already assessed by the villagers.

PRA in community-based hand pump maintenance system

The project is planning to use PRA techniques in establishing community-based maintenance of the hand pumps. The strategy is being developed.

Achievements through PRA

Since PRA is implemented from the middle of the project implementation period, it could

be done in two-thirds of the project area. The technique of participatory approaches is applied widely in plans for water supply and sanitation, site selection for water sources, selection of about 1500 beneficiaries for household latrines, with 60% - 70% utilization, and in a few villages, implementing recently established community-based maintenance of alternative energy power pump schemes and proper waste water disposal, etc.

Limitations

- . PRA is difficult to apply in bigger villages (over 400 households).
- . Since PRA has not been applied from the very beginning of the project implementation, developing systematic village plan for all activities in a habitation has not been achieved.
- . The concept of PRA was accepted at government level with great reluctance.
- . Frequent transfer of RWOs hampers building a rapport with communities, which is inherent in PRA.
- . Since RWOs have multiple responsibilities, only 60% -70% of their participation in PRA is achieved.
- . If there is a large time gap between PRA and implementation of the project activities, people lose their interest and confidence. However, in practice, there are delays due to many reasons.
- . The presence of project appointed field staff is required in most cases to organise and lead the PRA.

Annexure 1: Information gathered in mapping

General identification particulars of a habitation-District, Block, Panchayat, Village, habitation, etc.

Distance from the main road.

All houses with the identification number starting from '1' according to their geographical distribution, types of houses using different colours, names of streets, area of social groups SC and ST , etc.

Social, education, religious, health, and other existing institutions , etc.

Type and locations of existing water sources, working conditions, taste of water, use, and sanitation conditions around hand pumps , etc.

Houses having private water sources.

Existing tanks or ponds and their use.

Pockets of good / saline water, available area, depth of ground water level, (minimum & maximum depth) according to the experience of the villagers.

Nature of soil - sedimentary/rocky/clayey , etc.

Households having latrine facilities, institutional latrines, community latrines and use, etc.

Problematic area of environmental sanitation like open air defecation, garbage disposal, water stagnation , etc.

Nature of outskirts of the habitation like sea/forest/paddy field/hills/waste land/, etc.

Names of influential persons who have charted the map, number of villagers participated (male/female), and date of mapping , etc.

Legend of the map.

Annexure 2: Role of Village Council

To communicate the project activities and strategies to the villagers.

Assist the implementors in developing Village Implementation plan.

Assist the field workers during site selection of hand pump exercise.

Motivate the villagers to accept household latrines.

Assist the RWO for identification and selection of beneficiaries for household latrines.

Assist the RWOs in selection of local masons, mechanics and power pump operators , etc.

Assist the field workers in organising meetings and conducting mass meetings.

Mobilise the community, resources and cost sharing towards operation and maintenance of water sources.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE IRWS&ES PROJECT -VIKASANA'S EXPERIENCE

P.K.Namboodiri

VIKASANA, is a voluntary agency, based in Melkote of Mandya district, working since 1984 in the area of Rural Development. This organisation was entrusted with the responsibility of implementing the community participation component (CPC) of Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Project in 29 villages of Mandya District in March 1993. Vikasana has since then completed the following:

Coordination at District Level

- * Vikasana has met district heads of department in Z.P. Engineers, Public Health, Dry Land Development Officers, Assistant Director of Woman and Children, Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Panchayath, etc., to seek their cooperation.
- * District Level meetings involving Block Development Officers, Health Officers, Assistant Executive Engineers, Assistant Engineers, and Main Representatives of Project Villages, Mandal Secretaries etc., to discuss in detail the programme and each one's role and to fix dates of Village Grama Sabhas and Participatory Rural Appraisal Training.
- * This was followed by Taluk-level meetings involving village-level functionaries of the Project villages, people's representatives, village landlords, representatives of youth organisation etc.

Village Meetings Grama Sabhas and P.R.A.s

Each of the 29 project villages was visited by the staff of Vikasana several times in order to give a wide coverage to the programme. This was followed up by a Puppetry programme on Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation, highlighting the various stages and the needs for people's participation in the above programme.

In the Grama Sabhas also the pros and cons of the programme and people's role in planning, execution and maintenance of the I.R.W.S. & E.S. scheme was discussed extensively. The response of the villagers was good. This was followed up by holding PRA, in all the villages, culminating in preparation of social map and execution of a Bond from the committee members. All these processes were complete by November '93. Then came the first bottleneck of the Programme-Panchayat Elections. All our programmes for collection of people's contribution was marked by the frenzy of Election. We feared that the whole programme may lose its impact.

Mobilisation of 30 per cent of sanitation cost from people

Vikasana has kept a constant touch with all the 29 village water supply and sanitation committees and the committees have been revamped in the light of the panchayat elections.

Vikasana is happy to say that though the overall target of Rs.57 lakhs has not been achieved, through great efforts, 31% of the targeted amount has been raised by the committees. Only in 7 villages the contribution is less than 10% and we are striving hard to improve the situation in these villages. One village has contributed 100% of its share.

V.W.S.E.S.C.s have tried out on the 'spot collection drive' during village meetings, castewise group formation, streetwise group formation and entrusting the work of collection to village 'Yajamans', benefit shows etc. We have found that wherever there is an acute problem of drinking water and village leadership is strong, collection has been satisfactory. But where villages are divided by politics and caste fractions, or where there is no immediate need of drinking water and sanitary facilities, the collection is not gaining momentum.

Some of the problems areas which are beyond control are as under:

- * The elections have divided village social life, and there is a leadership crisis in the sense that old leadership is at loggerheads with the new leaders.
- * There is no coordination between the V.,W.S.E.S., committees and the Grama Panchayat Members; this has affected collection.
- * In most of the villages where this scheme is sanctioned, there already exists piped water supply scheme run by the State government. This has also dampened the spirit of the programme. The people expect that a little pressure on the government will solve the problem of drinking water and sanitation.
- * In some villages the village leaders have a bad reputation in managing public funds. This has discouraged the villagers from contributing money.
- * Maintenance collection is not yet started.
- * But once the programme is implemented in the village where people have contributed at least 75%, we hope that will inspire other villages also which are lagging behind.

NGOs INVOLVEMENT

Vikasana has taken up this programme as a challenge. This programme has helped it to have a district-wide perspective and experience. Its relationship with Government machinery has been satisfactory. In the initial stages, the participation of Government machinery was not satisfactory.

There was confusion about who should coordinate the whole programme, World Bank, Project Officer, was opened after some delay.

Now such confusion no longer exists. NGO and Government machinery are working hand in hand for the full success of the whole programme.

FEELING THE PULSE
An ongoing exercise in people's participation in water

Andra Tamburo, Vijay Jani and Project team

Description of water problem in Banskantha

Gujarat is one of the most arid states in India, with the northern and western districts of Gujarat suffering the most from scarcity of water. The Banskantha district, located in the northern part of Gujarat is bordered by the Rann of Kutch to the west, Pakistan to the north and the state of Rajasthan to the East. The Kankrej, Randhanpur, and Santalpur blocks are located in the western most regions of Banaskantha, which is extremely arid and is considered a semi-desert zone. Because of its close proximity to the Rann of Kutch, there are visible salty patches in the landscape, and most of the natural water sources are saline for part of, and many times, all of the year.

Agriculture is the main activity of the local economy. The demand for water for irrigation is much higher than for human consumption, around 90 - 95% of water is used for irrigation purposes. This demand for water for irrigation has put pressure on the groundwater sources of Banaskantha and has caused problems for the pipeline project.

Because of the severity of the water problem in this region, the Gujarat Water Supply and Sewage Board (GWSSB) installed a pipeline, a bilateral aid project sponsored by the Indian and Netherlands government to provide drinking water for the villages of the Santalpur, Radhanpur and Kankrej blocks of Banaskantha. The pipeline project has been financially assisted by the Dutch Government and falls under the auspices of the Santalpur Regional Water Scheme (SRWSS). Technical designs for the pipeline began in 1978, and by 1986, 72 villages were being supplied with water. Presently, 134 villages are supplied with water. The final goal of this project is to supply 151 villages with an adequate supply of drinking water by 1995.

For the initial stages of the project, tube wells were sunk into the bank of the Banas River, where there is recharged groundwater, that provides a good, clean source of drinking water. After a few years, the tube wells could not supply the full amount of water needed by the population of this region, hence other tube wells and one aerial well have been sunk to increase the water supply. Project coordinators recognize the severity of the water problem and recommend that the villagers should utilise their traditional pond water for cattle, washing and irrigation uses and conserve the water from the pipeline for personal drinking purposes only.

The Dutch Government was primarily involved with the financial and technical aspects of this project. Over time, the objectives of the project have expanded from a technically assisted project to one that examines and provides for the socio-economic needs of the people, especially women, of the Banaskantha district. For this reason, women-oriented NGOs, such as CHETNA and SEWA were asked to join this project to work on health education and income generating projects.

CHETNA's Role

The Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE) has commissioned CHETNA to undertake the health education aspect of the SRWSS. The Health Awareness Campaign Banaskantha District (HABK) project team initiated a health awareness campaign on water and sanitation issues in the villages of the Santalpur, Kankrej and Radhanpur taluks. The CHETNA team works in two different capacities in the HABK project. The first is as a grassroots organisation in the Santalpur and Kankrej taluks, where CHETNA works in direct contact with women, children and men at the village level. Secondly, as a support organisation in the Radhanpur taluk, where CHETNA works in collaboration with Bhansali Trust, a locally based NGO. As both a grassroots and a support organisation, CHETNA is effecting a positive change in people's water and sanitation habits, through community participation.

The goals of the HABK Campaign is to achieve sustainability and effective usage through methods that are replicable.

Sustainability is achieved by capacity building at the local level, so as to enable communities to anticipate and solve their own problems.

Effective use entails optimal hygienic and consistent use of water and sanitation facilities. The HABK project has mainly focused its campaign towards women, since they are the primary water resource managers. The water practices of the villagers will be effective when the women themselves accept new practices and make them part of their everyday routine.

Replicability of this campaign is needed at both the community and the NGO level. At the community level, users should achieve a high degree of self-sufficiency so that they can expand their efforts to new areas. For other NGOs interested in this project, the successful methods and approaches should be transferable to other projects in other geographical locations.

CHETNA's Experiences in Community Participation with HABK

CHETNA mainly acts as a support organisation for other NGOs and GOs. The HABK project is one of CHETNA's few grassroots projects. HABK targets the many organisational levels that exist in most development projects. CHETNA therefore defines 'community participation' as being the inclusion of all people who are connected to water, be it the supply or the demand end. CHETNA believes that everyone, from the most disadvantaged people at the village level, to the teachers, to the gram panchayats, to the water engineers, to the government officials, should all be active educators of the water and sanitation message through community participation.

Santalpur Taluk - Institutional Factors and Existing Infrastructure

Full community participation for the water and sanitation campaign has been achieved in the Banaskantha region, because of the integration of institutional factors. It was important

for CHETNA to use the existing infrastructure at the village level to make the education of the water and sanitation message sustainable. The existing institutional factors/infrastructure in the Santalpur taluk that CHETNA trained to be water and sanitation educators are:

Pani Panchayat Members - women who were nominated and others who volunteered to take on a leading role in their communities with issues concerning water and health.

Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) workers -- Women who are formally trained to educate village women on pre and antenatal care and run the Anganwadi Centers where children from 0 - 3 years come for education and healthcare. The water and sanitation message is an important part of the health education given to new mothers.

Primary Health Care (PHC) workers - Women and men who give primary health care to people in the villages. Since many diseases are water borne or spread by unhygienic conditions in the villages, the PHC worker helps to prevent these diseases by giving information on water and sanitation to her patients.

Linemen - Workers hired by the GWSSB for pipeline, water tank and standpost maintenance. They play an important role of spreading the water and sanitation message not only to the women gathering water, but to the men of the village.

Teachers - Teachers educate children on the importance of proper water and sanitation care. The children then take this message to their homes, and educate their family members on the importance of water and sanitation issues.

CHETNA not only provided water and health training to these educators, but also held Communication Training so that the educators could spread the water and sanitation message in a most effective manner. Field tested visual material, such as flipcharts and posters, were distributed during these training programme to enhance the education of water and sanitation issues.

Another activity that CHETNA felt strongly about coordinating was a field trip to the Shiori tubewells for active Pani Panchayat members and linemen. This trip was organised to show the people at the village level where the source of the water for the pipeline came from. Once the Pani Panchayat members and the linemen understood how extensive the pipeline project was, they could then tell people back in their own villages the need to save water. One of the added benefits of this trip was that it was the first opportunity for many of these women Pani Panchayat members to leave their villages. This gave many women the self-confidence to move around freely, which they did not have before this trip.

Santalpur Taluk - Community Level Involvement and Contribution

Of the three blocks that the SRWSS provides water for, the Santalpur block has the most need for a consistent water supply because of its close proximity to the Rann of Kutch. For this reason, CHETNA has focused most of their efforts at the grassroots level in this block. CHETNA first became acquainted to the people in these villages by conducting a

knowledge, attitude and practices study (KAP study). Through this intensive study, CHETNA, became familiar with the Pani Panchayat members, teachers and the people in the villages and CHETNA learned about the water and sanitation habits of the people. Once a sense of trust and rapport between the CHETNA team and the people of the village were achieved (this usually took around six to eight months) CHETNA would then start initiating community projects such as Mahila Melas (Women's Fair), Bal Melas (Children's Fair) and Gynaecological Health Campus.

These camps and melas modify traditional fairs to incorporate the water and sanitation message. This form of communication is familiar to the people of this area, and the fairs act as a festive way to educate people about water and sanitation issues. During these fairs, CHETNA organises a clean-up party, where the whole community becomes involved with clearing the garbage out of the communal village areas.

Women Pani Panchayat members, trained by CHETNA, hold monthly meetings to discuss important water and health issues within their communities. These meetings also help to organise women to clean the standpost and the area surrounding the standpost and to make sure there is adequate drainage for the waste water from the standpost. With the help of CHETNA, the Pani Panchayat members are able to organise community based activities without relying on an outside NGO to do this work for them. This makes for active and sustainable community involvement.

CHETNA still makes regular follow-up visits to the villages of the Santalpur block to check the progress of the HABK project and to monitor action oriented work, such as community clean-up days, connected to the HABK project. The CHETNA team holds community level meetings with women Pani Panchayat members and any other people concerned who want to discuss water and sanitation issues. Most of the time, people want to discuss about the lack of water in their communities. This makes it difficult for the CHETNA team to discuss other related water and hygiene issues.

Radhanpur Taluk - Institutional Factors - Working in Collaboration with a local NGO

As mentioned at the beginning of this document, CHETNA mainly works as a support organisation. In this capacity, CHETNA collaborates with a local NGO, Bhansali Trust, in the Radhanpur taluk. Bhansali Trust has been working in this block for the last 25 years and has established a well respected rapport with the villages in this area. Bhansali Trust has established hospitals and one school in the Radhanpur block and has organised eye hospital camps and famine relief efforts as part of its overall development activities in the Banaskantha region. Bhansali Trust is also dedicated to water conservation and the promotion of traditional water sources. Because of their interest in water issues, Bhansali Trust was willing to work collaboratively with CHETNA on a water and sanitation campaign.

One of Bhansali Trust's sponsored projects is the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS). The ICDS workers are trained to provide general health education to new mothers and to provide pre-school education. Adding water and sanitation education to the

existing ICDS curriculum was not a difficult task. The ICDS workers have been very enthusiastic to integrate these new issues into their health education and have been integral to the planning and implementing of the Bal Mela (Children's Fair).

Bhansali Trust has a team of workers that are doing the same grassroots work that CHETNA did in the villages of the Santalpur block. The team consists of one full time worker and two enthusiastic ICDS workers that have taken on this work in addition to their ICDS duties. Bhansali Trust started their campaign by conducting a KAP study, with the support of CHETNA. CHETNA then held a Training of Trainers (TOT) for the staff of Bhansali Trust so that they could effectively take on the work of the HABK campaign in the Radhanpur block.

Along with the TOT, CHETNA has been accompanying the Bhansali Trust fieldstaff to the villages in the Radhanpur block. Like the follow-up visits in Santalpur, the Bhansali Trust team also monitors the progress villagers have taken concerning water and sanitation issues in their own communities. CHETNA gives support to the Bhansali Trust team on what is effective and what is not effective in their field level approach.

Lessons learnt after four years of active involvement

After actively working in the Banaskantha region for the last four years, CHETNA has gained much experience with community involvement. Some important points that CHETNA has learnt during this time are:

CHETNA's strategy from the beginning was to coordinate work at the grassroots level and the government level. Government agencies, such as the Water and Health Board, were encouraged to become actively involved with health and water education in the villages. CHETNA promotes this strategy to engage the help of the existing infrastructure and not to replicate agencies that can already do this work.

The dilemma of this strategy is that the integration of grassroots and government level work is not always the most efficient way to initiate community participation for the water and sanitation message.

During the initial stages of the SRWSS project, the pipeline and the standposts for the water were installed without any community input. When the SRWSS decided to add the health education aspect to their project, villagers had become accustomed to the government approach to water development and they were not prepared for the level of community involvement that CHETNA wanted to initiate in their villages.

At the village level, people have little sense of ownership to the water supply and the standpost. Because of this prevailing attitude, many people do not want to take on the responsibility of keeping the standpost and the area around it clean.

In some of the initial Pani Panchayat member training sessions, women demanded fees for their role in initiating community involvement. It was insisted by CHETNA that their work was for the betterment of the community and should not require a wage. Stipends

for travel and food were allotted at these training sessions.

Consistent and close contact between the NGO and the villages is needed at the beginning stages of the project. Constant repetition and reminding of the water and sanitation message was needed to motivate Pani Panchayat members, ICDS staff and teachers to organise educational meetings and fairs for the community. After people at the community level have taken up the initiative to spread the water and sanitation message, CHETNA could then rely on their follow-up meetings to monitor community activities.

The issue of time and what is an effective amount of time that an NGO should spend in the field on this kind of project, is still debatable after 4 years. In a majority of the villages, Pani Panchayat members and teachers have taken on an active role of organising and educating water and sanitation activities. But more work is still needed in some communities to motivate people to take care of the standpost and to be more conscientious of the hygiene standards of their communities.

Pani Panchayat members, ICDS, teachers and PHC staff were very enthusiastic about the field tested flip charts and posters distributed by CHETNA and they found these materials a valuable teaching aid.

Gender issues were considered from beginning, and women and children were the main focus of CHETNA's work. Even though women are the primary water resource managers in the villages, men still needed to be educated on these issues too. So, CHETNA included a male coordinator who took on the task of getting government officials to take the work that CHETNA was doing with water and sanitation seriously.

In most cases, women and children knew about the proper water and sanitation procedures, but some people are still not implementing this knowledge in their communities.

Education on these issues can be implemented, but it does not mean that people's habits can be changed.

Coordination is essential if more than one NGO is working in a designated area. Even if the projects of the NGOs are different, coordination of time and implementation of projects is needed if the NGOs want to be truly effective in all aspects of their work.

When an NGO is working in collaboration with another organisation, it is imperative that the collaborating NGO has a similar perspective on the project that is being implemented and that the planning process begins at the very beginning of the project so that interdependency does not occur during the middle of the project.

CHETNA has had to take on the role of liaison between the villagers and the Water Board. Villagers have very little patience to listen and partake in health education messages when they have no water. CHETNA realised the importance of this role and has built up credibility with both the villagers and the Water Board by taking on these responsibilities.

The issue of water conservation is an intergral part of the water and sanitation message.

Conclusion

CHETNA has learnt a great deal about water and sanitation issues through their grassroots and support capacity work. A complete evaluation of CHETNA's experiences are being recorded. A printed document will be put out so that other NGOs interested in this kind of project may learn from CHETNA's experiences.

SWARAJ, SELF-GOVERNANCE AND PRA

Sam Joseph

SUMMARY

Sustainability depends on the involvement of the local people. If benefits from development are to continue over long periods then the local people must manage such development and benefits. Individuals need good information to work in groups. PRA tools are able to provide such information on local issues. Outside experts can provide appropriate technical/scientific information. Local individuals can come together in sabhas (local user groups) to seek solutions which can be implemented by them with the assistance of the Panchayat (formal village administrative body). Sabhas from many panchayats can come together on 'samitis' (regional committees) to work out problems involving larger areas. Development benefits will sustain themselves wherever local people manage such development.

BACKGROUND

Is it sustainable? This question is often asked in development circles. It is also answered in a variety of ways. The term sustainable is used here in the following context: Development work results in benefits. Benefits may be in the form of more water, more credit, better access to educational or health services, more agricultural produce, more access to forest produce, etc. But if the flow of the benefits is dependent on "outsiders", the benefits usually do not last long. When local people or user-groups manage a problem, the solution is likely to be both relevant and long lasting.

The management of any problem demands attention in two areas. The first is information: its gathering, its analysis, and its use for developing solutions. The second is coordination: of people, equipment, material, and money, to implement solutions.

If the task of managing benefits is performed by "outsiders" (people who are not locals or users) then the dependency on outsiders is very high. Outsiders usually have levels of need which are much higher than a local person's. For example where a local person would ride a bicycle or await a local bus, outsiders need motor-cycles and jeeps to get from one place to another. This is not to say that outsiders do not have any role but only to recognise that the involvement of outsiders means an increase in costs. Outsiders may also arrive at solutions which are technically accurate but difficult to implement. example: a drainage system for domestic waste water drawn up by an engineer may be technically accurate, but wherever the drains cross somebody's yard or interfere with the tethering of animals near houses, those parts of the drain are likely to be later levelled. Costs of managing as well as relevance of benefits, are directly linked to sustainability. If benefits are to flow over long periods then management must remain with the local people. Technical solutions of outsiders must build upon local skills and knowledge.

The first step in any development programme must be to ensure local involvement. In India, historically, the platforms for self-determination have been the 'panchayat' (village

level administrative body) the 'sabha' (local user-group) and the 'samiti' (regional committee). At present the Government of India is encouraging the effective functioning of the panchayat system.

Let us accept as an example a cluster of villages (perhaps a panchayat) as the work domain. All those who have leadership roles need to be contacted. Efforts must be made to involve them from the time of planning the information-gathering and analysis phase. This is crucial, as it will prevent the taking-over by outsiders, of indicators and analysis frameworks. Further, it gives local people a chance to test their own team-work and to build working relationships around new issues.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR 'SWARAJ' (SELF-GOVERNANCE)

It is proposed that first sabhas (user-groups) be facilitated to come together around specific themes like soil-and-water conservation, water-shed development, forests etc. The sabhas can be of any level like neighbourhood, ward, village, valley, ridge, contiguous farmers around a stream or wasteland patch, minor forest produce users, fuelwood users, etc. Local people should decide the boundary of the sabha. The sabhas then need to be integrated into the panchayat system so that sabha efforts can be actioned through the official administrative system. The sabhas should also be brought together on a larger platform, the samiti. The samiti will deal with issues which need integration across panchayats, water-sheds, several branches of irrigation systems, large forests etc. Again, the boundaries of the samiti should be decided by the local people.

Individuals, to function as members of groups, need information which helps effective group decisions. PRA methods generate information which is local, public and complex. The complex or diverse nature of the information provides pointers to multiple levels of need. (Example: a poor tribal views the 'mahua' as a source of food in times of scarcity while a not-so-poor tribal may view it as an exchange commodity for cash.) It is proposed that samitis be trained in the use of PRA methods. This will add to traditional ways of decision making by providing information which is largely visual and public. Assumptions which hand on words can be clarified through diagrams.

After the samitis are familiar with PRA tools, they should be encouraged to lead the analysis of problems; first within themselves, later with outsiders.

These outsiders would possess technical/scientific knowledge relevant to the theme of analysis. They would have also undergone training in PRA methods. They would have reached a stage of respect for the ability of local people to survive using scarce resources. Their own expertise would be on offer as an addition to (not instead of) the expertise of local samitis.

IDEAS TO MAKE THE CONCEPT WORK

1. Identify work domain: where are we going to try this?
2. Identify all development players and communicate this concept: who are all the

other workers in this area like other NGOs, government staff, academics, extension workers, foresters etc? How do we get them to understand what we are trying to do?

3. Identify local leadership. Who is respected in the village?
4. Communicate the concept to local leaders; How do we, who are paid for doing this work, get people, who will not benefit from attending our meetings, to attend our meetings? Why should local people invest time in working with others at the expense of their own work - and loss of livelihood.
5. Facilitate process :

Wait for samitis to form. Repeat wait. Give local people time to sort it out. Samitis may form, disband, reform several times.
6. Organise training of samiti members in PRA methods.
7. Organise training of samiti members in institutional design.
8. Encourage samitis to undertake a small project for which funds are assured.
9. Organise training of outsider technical/scientific experts in PRA, and institutional design/
10. Begin sessions of problem solving where local experts first present their own analysis to outsider experts.
11. Outsider experts offer suggestions for consideration.
12. Local samitis examine all information and arrive at working solutions.

Implementation plans are developed separately after consultation with panchayats, sabha and other agencies involved in the project.

CASE STUDY ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN NON-CONVENTIONAL ENERGY BASED WATER SUPPLY PROJECT

A.Devaraj

BACKGROUND

The habitation Anichankuppam of Kilpudupet panchayat in Marakkanam block of Villupuram district, is 15 km north of Pondicherry on the east coast. There are about 170 households, with a population of about 580 people, in this habitation. Fishing is the major occupation of the inhabitants who have also formed a Fishermen's Association to look after the socio economic welfare of its members.

In the late 80s, under the Minimum Needs Programme, the Government of Tamil Nadu installed a wind-mill based drinking water scheme with 5 public fountains and over head tanks with a capacity of 20,000 litres. This wind mill became non-functional after a few years because of lack of regular maintenance and also because the coast is prone to cyclones. By 1992, all the nine hand pumps in this habitation, except for one shallow pump, had also become non functional over a period of time.

The implementation of water and sanitation activities, through the IRS & WS Project in Marakkanam block, began in 1991. Construction of sanitary latrines was the first activity introduced by the project in Anichankuppam. A total number of 31 latrines were constructed. While the project felt the need for community support and motivation for the implementation of project activities, this preparation did not occur prior to the construction of the latrines. Eventually, in August 1992, in order to strengthen community participation, a Village Council was formed.

A survey of power pump based water supply schemes in Marakkanam indicated that many such schemes were not working due to poor power supply, break down of pumping equipment, failure of sources and lack of maintenance. In order to utilise available infrastructure, the project undertook to rejuvenate some of the existing schemes. Mudaliarkuppam and Anichankuppam, adjacent habitations, had defunct wind mill based water supply schemes. These two habitations became the starting point of the project's efforts at establishing non-conventional energy-based water supply schemes.

At first, talks were initiated with the people of Mudaliarkuppam to assess their views about rejuvenation of their wind mill. But majority of the members were not so receptive, probably due to lack of confidence in what was being said to them. A similar series of discussions in Anichankuppam however, were positive right from the start. The people were looking for an opportunity to repair the system and restore water supply. Late 1993, the project initiated the task of rejuvenating the wind mill and the drinking water supply system of Anichankuppam.

THE PROCESS

In a joint meeting of the Village Council and the Fishermen's Association, held on 17th December 93, views related to the rejuvenation of the wind mill were discussed. A quick assessment of existing water source, pipelines, households and other infrastructure was

made. Also, the expectations from the villagers, the roles of the Village Council and the project were broadly discussed. The Village Council created a maintenance fund and remitted Rs.3000 for this purpose. A resolution indicating willingness to look after the wind mill system was taken by the Village Council and communicated to the project and Block Development Office.

The work related to rejuvenation and installation of the wind mill was arranged by the project through a contract. The contract also included free maintenance of the wind mill for one year. The Village Council along with the project worked out the additional pipeline needs and this was finalised on the basis of number of houses in each cluster within the habitation. The Village Council arranged for voluntary manual labour for digging trenches for the new pipelines and in the construction of public fountains and soak pits.

The project discussed the reasons for the failure of the previous scheme with the inhabitants and stressed the importance of having one volunteer for the operation of the wind mill and regulation of water supply. The Village Council selected a local youth as the caretaker and a resolution to this effect was sent to the Block Development Officer. The Block Development Office had budgetary provisions for a honorarium of Rs.120 per month to the operators of such schemes and this was made available to Anichankuppam. The project arranged a training on the operation procedures of the wind mill and maintenance of an operation record.

During a follow up visit, the project observed a few problems related to poor maintenance of water supply, soak pits, drainage system and log sheets of the scheme's operation. It was decided to orient the Village Council members about their tasks of managing the wind mill effectively. The training not only included factual information about water borne diseases and environmental sanitation but also oriented them to get clear understanding of their role in the use and maintenance of wind mill.

PRESENT STATUS

The project makes regular follow up visits to monitor the use and maintenance of the wind mill and water supply. The Village council (1) undertakes regular cleaning of the over head tanks, (2) cleans soak pits and drainage systems, (3) assists the project in arranging user education programmes, (4) supervises the work of the wind mill operator. Recently the inhabitants have reconstituted the Village Council. Since the first caretaker left, another youth was selected. On December 94, the Village Council remitted Rs. 2000 towards the second instalment maintenance fund.

On seeing the wind mill working once again in Anichankuppam, the inhabitants of the Mudaliarkuppam village requested the Block Development Officer to take efforts to rejuvenate their wind mill also. During the visit of a Government Secretary, the village leaders presented a memorandum asking for the repair of the wind mill. However, the project maintained that both participation and financial contribution would be preconditions before rejuvenating the scheme. In June 94, the project convened the Village Council meeting to assess the technical and social feasibility for the rejuvenation of the wind mill based water supply and to study the level of community participation to be extended in

planning and implementing the scheme. The Village Council active participation and also made a deposit of Rs.5000 towards the annual maintenance fund. (this is Rs. 2000 more than the initial contribution of the Anichankuppam Village Council). The wind mill at Mudaliarkuppam has been now dismantled and work connected with the rejuvenation has been started.

CONCLUSIONS

- * While community participation was planned as an integral part of the project, it did not occur at the beginning, when latrines were constructed. It would appear that at that stage, physical activities of the project took priority over ensuring involvement of the people.
- * It was very difficult to involve the majority of the Village Council members and women, though women are the prime users.
- * Any delay, by the external agencies like the Project would lower the interest and enthusiasm of the members.
- * The level of community participation is relatively high in water supply activities as compared to sanitation. Though the water supply system has been re-established with active participation of the users, the utilisation of old latrines has not improved.

Sustaining the commitment and interest among the members was very vital for the success of community participation. This was done through a series of meetings with the Village Council and the villagers. Community participation is not a one time intervention, but needs long term interaction between motivators and various sections of the community. Short term intervention alone will not enable the community to make the programme sustainable.

Community participation can only be planned in general terms. Specific planning can become manipulative of the community. The nature, speed and degree of participation can and should never be pre-judged. The project should not claim monopoly of knowing what is good for the community. An open mind, willingness to learn and flexibility is needed.

BACKGROUND OF IRS & WS PROJECT

The Integrated Rural Sanitation and Water Supply project is being implemented in Marakkanam and Portonovo blocks of Tamil Nadu with financial assistance from DANIDA. The project implementation was started in October 1990. The project's development objective is to improve the overall health status of the people through an integrated approach to drinking water and sanitation through health promotion and community involvement. Its immediate objective is to promote innovative approaches to activities in water and sanitation which are sustainable and can be replicated elsewhere.

PROJECT STRATEGY

The process of community involvement and formation of village councils through Participatory Rural Appraisal is an important and significant feature of the project strategy. Efforts have been made to establish Village Councils in planning and monitoring the water supply and sanitation activities. Participatory Rural Appraisals are conducted by the Field Investigators of the project and Rural Welfare Officers (Gram Sevak) of the Block Development Office at the levels of the habitations.

COMMUNITY'S PERCEPTION OF A SANITATION PROGRAMME - SOME HIGHLIGHTS

Experiences of ActionAid Karnataka Projects in the implementation of Danida assisted IRS and WS Project in its target villages

Shankar Narayan, V. Varalakshmi and AKP team

Introduction

Actionaid Karnataka Projects (AKP) is a non-governmental organization implementing an integrated rural development project in Jagalur taluk of Chitradurga district, Karnataka state. This project, initiated in 1989, encompasses programmes in Education, Health, Agriculture and Income Generation implemented through a dedicated team of grass root workers at village level (also known as Programme Promoters), Cluster Co-ordinators in charge of a cluster of 4 - 6 villages and Sector Specialists.

AKPs experience in sanitation programme dates back to early 1993 when a Research cum Action project was taken up in Maharajahatty village. Under this 24 household latrines cum bath cubicles were constructed for each family in the village.

Danida supported IRS and WS Project

This project, a collaborative effort of AKP, Jagalur and Zilla Parishath, Chitradurga, was taken up in mid 1993. Implementation work started in November 1993 and continued till November 1994.

This collaborative effort is part of a larger programme in Jagalur taluk which is being implemented by a separate Engineering sub-division established by the Zilla Parishath with the support of Danida. The programme at Jagalur Taluk is part of a pilot intervention planned by Danida and the State Government, being implemented in Jagalur, Bagepalli and Hunagund taluks of Karnataka.

Process

The main components of AKP's programme were construction of 293 household latrines and drainage work in 5 villages including cattle troughs, washing platforms, sullage drains and soak pits.

Beneficiaries identified by the Anganawadi workers in 19 project villages of AKP were contacted in person and meetings were held with a group of beneficiaries regarding the programme. Details regarding the importance of latrines, related advantages, beneficiary contribution and details of subsidies provided by the scheme were discussed. Among the facilitators were AKP Programme Promoters, Cluster Co-ordinators and Consulting Engineers.

Since health and sanitation were part of the developmental programmes for AKP, a process

approach was adopted. Since village workers were in direct contact with beneficiaries inputs related to latrines were regular and very frequent. work was taken up only where beneficiaries came forward with their contribution. No beneficiary was unduly pressurised into taking up the programme.

In order to retain community enthusiasm and participation some compromises in terms of external appearance of walls. AKP appreciating the enthusiasm of villagers not part of beneficiary list, took up construction. Equal contribution was elicited from the two subsidy categories to maintain parity and facilitate ownership for this programme.

Evaluation - Mid-term

Implementation

Mid-term evaluation revealed certain difficulties in the implementation of the programme. Credibility and rapport established by AKP especially from the last 4 years was a definite positive factor which facilitated implementation of the project. But it was difficult to ensure proposed and planned beneficiary contribution.

The completion of one to two latrines motivated others in the village. Super Structures erected motivated beneficiary contribution for pit digging and materials. Pits dug before construction of Super Structure were found to be dangerous for fear of children/aged/animals falling into them. Also local masons who were less skilled were better than professionally trained masons because of the reliability and trustworthiness of the former. The use of existing walls for some latrines not only helped to save on costs but with use of similar material for latrine construction as that of houses, gives a better and aesthetic look.

Engineering Division of the Zilla Panchayat often perceive NGOs as contractors rather than as development organisations. This attitude is very discouraging for the NGOs and is a inhibitive factor for the implementation. Local Government Engineering Staff often feel jealous of NGOs and try to interfere and disturb their work. Umpteen number and types of hurdles exist in the release of funds to NGOs.

Latrine use pattern

Initial observation revealed that about one third of latrines constructed were in use and women and children were among the majority users with some others expressing difficulty in adapting to latrines. Many however were using these as bathing cubicles. Also usage of latrines was more in the upper caste villages as against the SC and ST villages.

Drainage and related aspects

Villagers expressed that in many villages cattle troughs are in disuse due to their distance from water supply source; that washing platforms needed to be re-designed to suit local requirements. Utensils washing is a major contributor to waste water in villages, and this needs to be taken care of with washing platforms.

Evaluation - Post completion

On completion of the construction of 349 latrines which included 54 additional, a detailed survey was undertaken. This was an assessment of the latrine usage pattern of the beneficiaries and essentially concentrated on three different aspects of construction/technical, attitudinal (both positive and negative for the programme) and motivational.

The questionnaire for this survey was evolved based on the general observation of the Project field staff and responses obtained from beneficiaries during the course of various meetings held with them over different stages of construction and on completion. Some important aspects that were covered include general attitude of beneficiary to the latrine concept and acceptance; beneficiary contribution; current usage; reasons for non-use; advantages of having a latrine; support provided by AKP; construction aspects; etc. Further each of these aspects were defined using some criteria to obtain greater clarity.

The questionnaire was administered to 309 out of the 349 beneficiaries. The 309 beneficiaries included 50 of those where work was completed only during the period from October to November.

Analysis

Since women, children and the aged were among the majority users and men did not figure among them; it would be important to focus more on these segments to improve usage. Privacy for women, especially for bathing, is being met by the latrines now constructed which will adversely affect the functioning of latrines.

The usage of latrines in the upper caste villages is almost 100% whereas the other villages with SC/ST majority population are yet to reach this level. Such villages will need greater focus for motivational, educational and awareness building programmes.

Use of local unsized stones and locally burnt bricks for the construction of superstructure has prevented a fine finish to the walls, but all structures are sound and stable. This compromise was essential to elicit beneficiary contribution.

People used to open air defecation, found the limited space of toilets highly suffocating. Poor ventilation and darkness also contributed to non-use.

With only hand pumps as water supply points in villages, the higher water requirements in the pour flush toilets was perceived as a burden by the people. They also had to say that water availability even for domestic requirements is scarce in the summer months.

Pit size was perceived to be inadequate and had a short usage span for large families. In the event of pits filling up within a short time, the beneficiaries were reluctant to clean the pit for further use. Increase in pit size would provide confidence to all family members to use these latrines.

The presence of AKP's staff in the villages for the past 3-4 years has played a crucial role in beneficiaries accepting the scheme in 19 project villages and completion of work in time

as compared to the other villages of the taluk where Danida Sub- Division is directly implementing the scheme.

Some important learnings

AKP's presence since 1989 in the area has played a crucial role in beneficiaries accepting and contributing to the programme. Further the construction of additional latrines due to a very enthusiastic and powerful demand from villagers and the still to be fulfilled demand from remaining villages, support this.

The introduction of the programme; its acceptance and usage has largely been facilitated by other sectoral interventions of AKP. Also sustainability of use is very much dependent on continued interaction as part of the integrated approach.

Women being the immediate beneficiaries in most cases of sanitation programme, they need to be targeted more for introducing the programme and improving the use levels in children.

That latrines are meeting privacy for bathing needs serious consideration for all future sanitation schemes to succeed and function effectively. This will only be possible by providing latrines and bath cubicles and it can be stated with a fair degree of confidence that people will come forward to accept and contribute for this.

In terms of the implementation costs for the programme, AKP has subsidized all administrative and programme costs where as a separate sub-division of DANIDA has been created to undertake this work in the rest of the Taluk. This programme took a significant portion of AKP's other regular sectoral interventions. The reimbursement received by AKP is only the construction cost for the latrines. In order to take up the programme on a larger scale beyond its Project villages, AKP would require an additional budget for staffing, programme expenses and administrative costs. A large scale implementation of the programme with community participation and ownership is essential to bring about a lasting and significant impact.

Survey Results

Presented below is the compilation of the results.

Category	Number	%
TECHNICAL ASPECT		
Contribution made by beneficiary		
Site for latrine	284	92
Material (Stones/Sand/Mud etc.)	309	100
Unskilled Labour for wall construction	255	83
Labour for digging pits	309	100
Others	5	2
About the Construction of latrine		
Construction good	269	87
Less space inside latrines	76	25
Low height	71	23
More ventilation required	62	20
Others	-	0
ATTITUDINAL ASPECT		
Important uses of latrine		
Disease Prevention	260	84
Privacy of use	206	67
Cleanliness in and around house	233	75
Use in monsoons	218	71
Others	1	0
Reasons for acceptance		
Convenience for women	232	75
Convenience for children	157	51
Latrine available at low cost	118	38
Convenience for the aged	186	60
Convenience for Sick people	186	60
Others	-	0
People currently using latrines		
Women only	91	29
Women and Children	63	20
All	127	41
Old / Aged	77	25
Nobody	47	15
Different uses of latrines		
Toilet purpose	106	34
Toilet and bath	86	28
Only bath	108	35
Storage	20	6
Others	1	0

Reasons for not using		
Small area and suffocation	61	20
Needs more water	109	35
Foul smell	117	38
Darkness inside	32	10
Not interested	78	25
Unable to use	47	15
Not habituated	42	46
Others	1	0
Advantages of latrines		
Use at night	175	57
Use in monsoon	176	57
Good for women	179	58
Safe from snakes and other poisonous animals	194	63
MOTIVATIONAL ASPECT		
Cleanliness in village due to latrines	Yes	72
	No	18
Household Surroundings cleanliness	Yes	72
	No	18
AKP's workers support		
Motivating beneficiaries	275	89
Creating awareness	275	89
Help during construction work	245	79
Timely material supply	272	88
Education on Cleanliness and Health	271	88
Need for more Latrines	278	90

Another very important problem identified by beneficiaries was lack of water for using latrines especially in villages where water is from hand pumps which are limited and in many cases situated outside the village. Beneficiaries have expressed inability to lift the large quantities of water for latrines and have preferred open air defecation which requires less water. This calls for a greater coordination between water supply and sanitation programmes.

Sanitation programme is not a priority for most villagers. Demand has come from villages where there have been constant inputs and interactions regarding the importance of latrines. But as NGOs and others are aware of the importance and use of latrines; demand for such programmes has to be generated at the village level and appropriate action taken.

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PRAYOG'S ROLE IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION ACTIVITIES IN WORLD BANK ASSISTED IRWS&ES PROJECT (PHASE I) IN BANGALORE RURAL DISTRICT

Ramakrishna Gowda and Shyam

Introduction

PRAYOG, a voluntary organisation for rural reconstruction working with the community in the areas of Malur Taluk of Kolar District, Karnataka, is one of the NGOs involved in the community participation activities of the Integrated Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation (IRWS&ES) Project

Activities

APPROACH & PROPOGATION : PRAYOG made preliminary visits to the project villages. Introductions were made with the Mandal Panchayath members and important villagers. Project aims & objectives were propagated through street meetings, door to door visits and the villagers questions & doubts were clarified through group discussions in the Mandal Panchayath offices. The opinions that emanated from these discussions were manifold. Some villagers accepted this project as a very novel idea, some others felt that the water supply facility was already incorporated in the village through other projects, yet others felt the urgent need for such a project but debated the 'contribution' aspect. A few villages pointed out that since the government had come forward with such an integrated project ought to carryout the implementation as well and questioned the need for responsibilities like contribution, VWSC, O & M etc., that were being laid upon them.

PRAYOG, through detailed discussions encouraged the villagers to analyse the aims & objectives of the project as well as their doubts. The outcome was that the villagers found answers to their doubts, realised the objective behind community participation and the impact that it would have on the sustainability of the project.

Finally the strong impression of the necessity of C.P.A. having been inculcated in the minds of each villager, they expressed their faith in the project and enthusiastically came forward with full-hearted co-operation to participate in the participatory rural appraisals (P.R.A.)

Participatory Rural Appraisal PRAYOG adopted the effective method of P.R.A. to involve the community in the planning phase of the project.

The P.R.A. in each village comprised of the following exercises:

1st Day (DATA COLLECTION) Awareness creation through entertaining programme like puppet show, street play, songs, kolata, skits etc., collection of village data like history of the village, meaning behind the name of the village, population, occupations, general health, village environment and sanitation conditions, relations between the government departments etc.

2nd Day (SOCIAL MAPPING & PRESENTATION) Discussions with the villagers, on the prevailing sanitary conditions and on the spot analysis of methods to improve the conditions. Later production of a village map on clean ground using Rangoli; colours etc., and marking the locations of existing as well as proposed facilities with the help of makeshift objects like tin cans, branches, clay pots, plastic etc.

The mapping and markings are done by the villagers through mutual discussions, suggestions and consent. Here the villagers showed their presence of mind by acting like BASIC ENGINEERS in planning the facilities they needed. Locations were marked without any bias, irrespective of caste, religion or status so that maximum benefits could reach all. Late in the evening this model-map would be presented to the gathered crowd for its consent.

During mapping, the villagers themselves found several flaws in the engineering design like hamlets being missed out; neglection of some hamlets while designing the facilities; insufficiency of proposed items. Emphasis was laid on covering all such loopholes.

3rd Day (VWSC FORMATION & AGREEMENT): In order to bear the responsibilities as agreed by the community, a committee of selected voluntary villagers; Gram Panchayath members and officials like Secretary, Engineer, Administrator etc., was formed in each village, called as the Village Water Supply & Sanitation Committee.

Expressing full confidence and faith in the project, the members of the V.W.S.C. agreed to put in their dedicated efforts, to shoulder all the necessary responsibilities and turn the project into a sustainable one. They debated the Community Contribution aspect as to what component they would contribute. Following suggestions by the villagers, they divided 30% contribution into feasible Cash, Material and Labour components. An agreement was then signed, stating the above aspects, between the V.W.S.C. and the government.

Though the VWSCs were constituted according to the stipulated bye-laws, there were some discrepancies that would creep in since villagers gave priority to the 'dominant' persons, in some villages to political leaders and in a few villages, ignored or suppressed capable women etc.

V.W.S.C. FUNCTIONING AND CONTRIBUTION MOBILIZATION

PRAYOG during its post-PRA follow-up visits to the Project villages assisted and maintained the functioning of the VWSC by convening meetings and discussing steps taken regarding funds mobilisation and bank deposits.

During these visits PRAYOG faced problems like insufficient participation of the VWSC members, non-participation of freshly defeated Gram Panchayath members, etc. When we confronted the villagers with these questions, different opinions surfaced. *In some cases the inactive members were already criticized and questioned by the villagers, some had*

expressed indifference to the VWSC members who were not interested and in some other cases interested voluntary villagers came forward to work in place of inactive members, with the attitude that the village was theirs and hence the project was also theirs and that everyone had equal responsibility towards it.

The stay on Gram Panchayat election in some villages & non-availability of Gram Panchayat Secretaries for VWSC meetings was also a hurdle in initiating fund mobilisation. Some Secretaries felt that this was an extra burden on their duty while others actively convened meetings, discussed and initiated door to door fund mobilization.

Some VWSC periodically mobilised and deposited contributed funds while others gave lame excuses like personal work, absence, poor agricultural yields etc. A few VWSCs wanted the PRAYOG staff to carry out door to door mobilization.

POLITICAL INGRESS & POLITICAL INDIFFERENCE IN THE VWSC MEMBERS DUE TO PARTYISM & CASTEISM SEEMED TO BE THE MAJOR HURDLE IN THE HIGHLY POLITICALLY INFLUENCED BANGALORE RURAL DISTRICT DUE TO ITS PROXIMITY TO THE STATE CAPITAL.

Another factor that is now proving to be a major hinderance in maintaining the enthusiasm, zeal and tempo of the villagers in the project as a whole and fund mobilisation in particular, is the long undue delays in commencing the implementation phase of the project. Credibility is lost and the faith of the villagers diminished. It also comes in handy as a very good excuse for the less-contributing villages for their slow and lethargic progress and they have now turned the table on us.

Our words of assurance are now being taken by the villagers as false promises. However, in such a critical situation one ray of hope is the government letter of assurance from the Chief Secretary to the R.D.P.R. Department which we have widely distributed in the project villages. The letter of assurance was a result of pressurization from the NGOs to the PPMU.

The villagers are also corresponding with the government through PRAYOG requesting extension of time to fulfill their cash contribution.

PRAYOG'S WORK ENVIRONMENT

PRAYOG, in order to achieve the objectives of the activities assigned to it, has constructed a healthy working environment by building up an efficient rapport between the community and the World Bank Cell and has also maintained continuous liaison and coordination with the project related departments like the P.P.M.U; the P.H.C; the Om-consultants; the Z.P. Engineering Divisions and also with other consultants.

However, despite strong, committed efforts, we have not been able to bring about 100 per cent desired results from the C.P.A. due to the several un-avoidable factors like insufficient VWSC activity; insufficient encouragement and support to the community directly by the government departments; undue delay in implementation, the dwindling faith & tempo of the community, the decreasing enthusiasm and zeal of the PRAYOG

staff, difficulties of the community in contributing cash due to their poor economic conditions, etc.

PRAYOG was also subject to several embarrassing situations when they were unable to answer the villagers questions regarding a probable date for the commencement of work & the time schedule of the project. It faced severe pressurization for the immediate commencement of work from the committees that had completed major cash contributions since the committee was, in turn pressurised by the villagers.

ISSUES

PRAYOG wishes to underline a few questions that surfaced during the course of its C.P.A.:

- * Was the community involved while making the Engineering Designs of the villages?
- * The criteria for the selection of a project village
- * Why were NGOs assigned to bring about community in planning a model map if the demanded facilities are going to be curtailed?
- * If the presence of a VWSC is very necessary then don't its decisions have any consideration?
- * Why is there a delay and uncertainty regarding the commencement of implementation?
- * Isn't the government clear about the phases of the Project?
- * Are the people's representatives aware of the Project?
- * Why does the government not expect community participation in all the its developmental projects?
- * What are the lessons we, meaning all the involved agencies, have learnt from the project activities?

ANNEXURES

**WORKSHOP ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
IN DRINKING WATER AND SANITATION PROJECTS**

**Venue: HOTEL ASHRAYA INTERNATIONAL, 149 Infantry Road, Bangalore
19-20 December 1994**

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

19.12.1994

Monday

09.00-10.45 hrs	Inauguration
10.45-11.30 hrs	Group Photo, Coffee
11.30-15.30 hrs	Key Issues in Community Participation in Drinking Water and Sanitation Projects
13.15-15.45 hrs	Lunch
15.30-15.45 hrs	Participatory Methods in Water and Sanitation Projects-Problems and Prospects
17.45-19.00 hrs	Film Shows and Puppet Show

20.12.94

Tuesday

09.00-13.15 hrs	Institutional Aspects of Community Participation in Water and Sanitation Projects (Panchayat Raj, VWSC, Contributions etc.)
11.00-11.30 hrs	Coffee
13.15-14.15 hrs	Lunch
14.15-17.30 hrs	Role of NGOs in Community Participation in Water and Sanitation Projects
17.30-18.15 hrs	Valedictory

PARTICIPANTS LIST

1. Dr. J.Acharya,
Director,
Development Support Division,
ACTIONAID, Bangalore
2. Ms. Anasuya,
District Co-ordinator,
Development Promotion Group,
Bellary - 583 102.
3. Ms. Andra Tamburo,
CHETNA,
Lilavabben Lalbhai's Bunglow,
Civil Camp Road, Shahibaug,
Ahmedabad - 380 004
4. Ms. Anita,
VIKASANA, Melukote,
Mandya Dt. 571 431.
5. Ms. Anita Kumar,
Sector Specialist, Education Unit,
ACTIONAID, Bangalore
6. Dr. Antony Colaco,
Coordinator, Health Unit,
ACTIONAID
Bangalore
7. Ms. Anu Dixit,
Project Officer,
UNICEF, India Country Office.
UNICEF House, 73, Lodi Estate,
New Delhi - 110 003
8. Ms. Anu Sharat,
Social Programme Coordinator,
NAP Office,
42/4 RT Anandnilayam,
Barkatpura,
Hyderabad - 500 027.
9. Mr Bhakter Solomon,
Project Director,
Development Promotion Group,
Community Participation Activity Cell,
B.D O Office Compound, Fort,
Bellary - 583 102
10. Mr. A. Devaraj,
Integrated Rural Sanitation
and Water Supply Project,
DANIDA,
No.6, S.S.Dhandapani Nagar,
Cuddalore - 607 001
11. Shri. Dinesh Chand
Asst.Adviser,
Ministry of Rural Development
9th floor, CGO Complex, Lodi Road,
New Delhi - 3
12. Mr. Hamid Ahamed
Social Scientist, PPMU,
RD & PR Department,
Government of Karnataka,
6th Floor, F-Block, Cauvery Bhavan,
Bangalore - 560 009
13. Mr. Janardhan,
Project Officer, SAMUHA,
Kushtagi Road,
Sindhanoor-584 128.
14. Shri. D. Jayadevaraj Urs,
Vice President, AIPP and General Secretary,
Karnataka Panchayat Parishat,
186/6, Srur Park Road, Seshadripuram,
Bangalore - 560 020
15. Mr. Kaushik Mukherjee, IAS
Director, Watershed Development Programme,
III Floor, Podium Block, Visveswaraya
Centre, Dr.Ambedkar Road,
Bangalore - 560 001
16. Mr. Kullappa,
Om Consultants (India) Pvt.Ltd.,
No.84, 9th Cross, 6th Main, Malleshwaram,
Bangalore - 3
17. Mr G. Murugan,
Centre for Development Studies,
Prasanthanagar Road, Ulloor,
Thiruvananthapuram - 695 01
18. Mrs. Modesta Rajkumar
Social Development Officer,
A.P.Projects Office, British Council Division
Sarovar Centre, Secretariat Road
Hyderabad - 500 004
19. Mr. Mohan,
Om Consultants (India) Pvt.Ltd.,
"Kalpataru", No.84, 9th Cross,
6th Main, Malleshwaram,
Bangalore - 560 003.
20. Dr. Nalin Ranjan Jena,
PRIA,
42, Tughlakabad, Institutional Area,
New Delhi - 110 062 21.

21. Mr. Namboodiri,
VIKASANA,
Melukote, Mandya District - 571 431
22. Mr. Nanjundegowda
Joint Director, PPMU,
RD & PR Department,
Government of Karnataka,
6th Floor, F-Block, Cauvery Bhavan,
Bangalore - 560 009
23. Mr. Y. Narasimhaiah,
Secretary,
Training and Development Centre,
12-58, Ramakrishnapuram,
Dilsukhnagar,
Hyderabad - 500 035.
24. Mr. G. N. Narayanappa,
Joint Director of Agriculture,
Dry land Development Board,
Bangalore.
25. Mr. Paul Joseph,
MYRAJA,
2, Service Road, Domlur Layout,
Bangalore - 560 071
26. Ms. Poomima Vyasulu
Community Development Support,
Project Support Unit,
31, 17th Cross, 7th Main, I.T.I Layout,
Bangalore - 560 046
27. Mr. T. Pradeep,
Project Director,
SAMUHA, Jalahalli,
Devadurga Taluk,
Rachur - 584 116.
28. Mr. M. N. Prakash,
Correspondent,
Nagpur Times
Bangalore-40
29. Mr. A. Prasad,
Sector Specialist,
Education Unit,
ACTIONAID
Bangalore
30. Mr. K. Praveen,
Project Coordinator,
Manipal Industrial Trust,
Old NCC Compound, Saralebettu,
Manipal - 576 119
31. Dr. Prithvish
AA Karnataka Projects
Karunya Campus
Jagalur - 577 528
32. Ms. T.M. Radha,
Research Analyst, Health Unit,
ACTIONAID
Bangalore
33. Ms. C. Rajathi,
Integrated Rural Sanitation
and Water Supply Project, DANIDA,
No.6, S.S. Dhandapani Nagar,
Cuddalore - 607 001
34. Mr. Raj Iyer,
PRAYOG,
Plot No.26, Shaktinagar,
Gulbarga - 585 103
35. Ms. Rajalakshmi Karanth
Om Consultants,(India) Pvt. Ltd.,
84, 9th Cross, 6th Main, Malleshwaram,
Bangalore-3
36. Mr. Rajendra,
BUPP,
112, 11th Cross, 5th Main,
Malleshwaram,
Bangalore - 560 003
37. Mr. Ramakrishna Gowda,
Director, PRAYOG,
Huladenahalli
Malur - 563137
Kolar District
38. Mr. S. Ramanathan,
Arid Zone Environment and
Research Centre, URMUL Trust,
Lunkaransar - 334 603
Rajasthan
39. Mr. Raymond M. Myles,
Exe. Director, AFPRO,
25/1 A, Institutional Area,
Pankha road, D Block, Janakpuri,
New Delhi - 110 058
40. Ms. RoseMary Leslie,
IDM Fellow/Civil Engineer (CANADA)
Sadguru Water and Development
Foundation,
Post Box No.71,
Near RTO Naka, Dahod,
Gujarat - 389 151
41. Dr. K. C. Sabu,
Asst Social Scientist, DANIDA,
19/4-A, I Main Road,
Jayamahall Extension,
Bangalore - 560.046
42. Mr. Sam Joseph,
Director, PRA Unit,
ACTIONAID, Bangalore

43. Mr. Salil Shetty,
Executive Director,
ACTIONAID
Bangalore
44. Mr. Sanjoy Sengupta
Voluntary Health Association of India
40, Institutional area,
New Delhi-110 021
45. Mr. Sanjoy Ghose,
URMUL Trust,
C-110, South Extension Part II
New Delhi - 110 049
- 46 Mr. T. R. Satish Chandran
231, 18th Cross,
Sadashiv Nagar
Bangalore - 560 080
47. Mr. R. S. Sharat
Social Development Officer,
A.P Projects Office, British Council Division
Sarovar Centre, Secretariat Road
Hyderabad - 500 004
48. Dr. Shashikala
Senior Research Officer,
Institute for Social and Economic Change
Nagarabhavi,
Bangalore-560 072
- 49 Ms. Shawna O'Hearn
CHETNA,
Lilavatiben Lalbhai's Bungalow,
Civil Camp Road, Shahibaug,
Ahmedabad - 380 004
50. Mr. Shyam,
PRAYOG,
Huldenahalli,
Malur-563 137
- 51 Dr. Shyamala Abeyratne,
Chief Adviser, DANIDA,
19/4-A, I Main Road, Jayamahal Extension,
Bangalore - 560 046.
52. Mr .C. Sithapathi Rao
Director,
Institute of Resource Development
and Social Management,
10-1-123/A/3/1, Saifabad
Hyderabad - 500 004
53. Ms. R. Sreerangam,
Managing Trustee,
Gandhigram,
D Q M - 624 302.
54. Mr M. Srinivas.
Sector Specialist, LS Unit
ACTIONAID
Bangalore
55. Mr. Sukhwinder Singh Arora,
Coordinator, LS Unit,
ACTIONAID
- 56 Ms. Tamsyn Barton.
C/o British High Commission,
Chanakyapuri,
New Delhi - 110 021
57. Dr (Mrs) M. Thaha,
Deputy Director(CMP)
National Institute of Rural Development,
Rajendranagar,
Hyderabad - 500 030.
58. Mr. R. Thumma Reddy,
Executive Director,
Bangalore Integrated Rural
Development Society (BIRDS)
Chandapura P.O.
Bangalore - 562 145
59. Ms. Vanaja,
Om Consultants
Malleshwaram
Bangalore-3
60. Ms. Varalakshnu
AA Karnataka Projects
Karunya Campus
Jagalur - 577 528
- 61 Mr. Vasuki,
Correspondant
Deccan Herald.
62. Mr. G. Veerupakshayya,
Chief Administrative Officer,
Asian Institute for Rural Development,
7-A, Ratnavilasa Road, Basavangudi,
Bangalore - 560 004.
63. Mr. Vijay Jani
CHETNA,
Lilavatiben Lalbhai's Bungalow,
Civil Camp Road, Sttahihaug
Ahmedabad - 380 004
- 64 Dr. M. V. Yesurathnam,
Action for Integrated Rural Development,
Hyderabad - 500 029



Participants of the Workshop on Community
Participation in Water and Sanitation
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