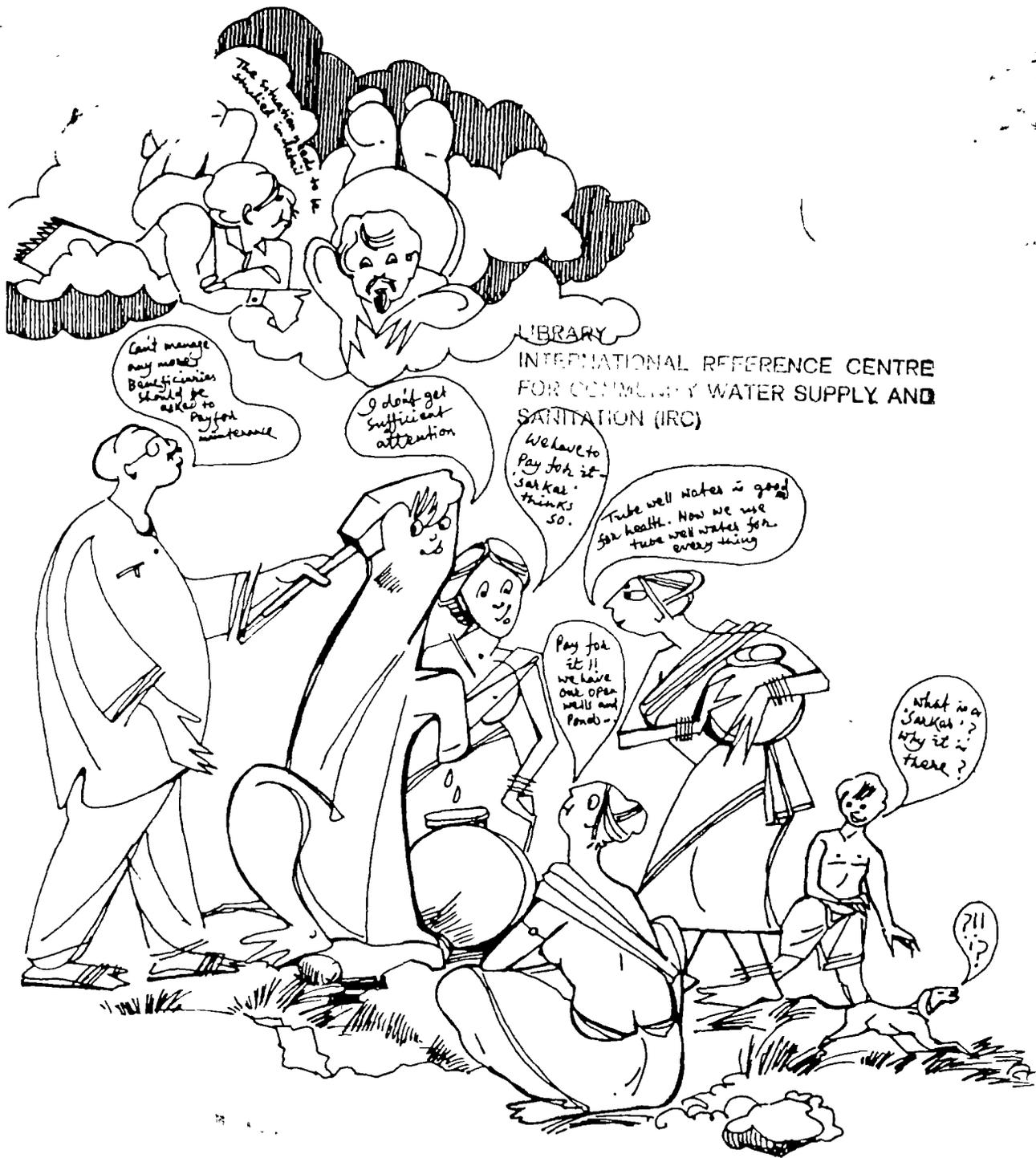


Will the Community Pay?

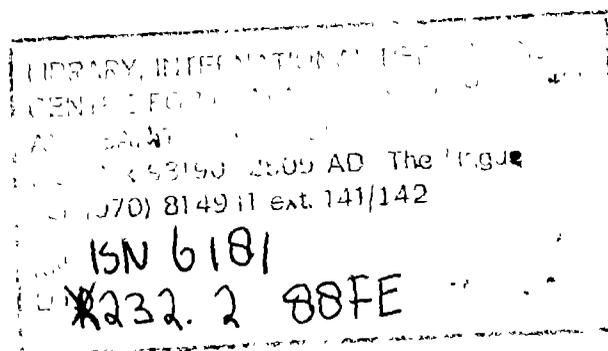


FEASIBILITY STUDY OF USERS CONTRIBUTION FOR HANDPUMP MAINTENANCE

Socio-Economic Division
 Orissa Drinking Water Supply
 Project (DANIDA)
 Bhubaneswar Orissa India

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CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
1. Preface	1
2. Conclusions and Recommendations	5
3. Objectives	32
4. Methodology	34
5. The Study Area and the Project	36
6. Users opinion regarding different models of HP maintenance through collection of contributions	42
7. Opinion of Gram Panchayat functionaries on different models of HP maintenance involving users contribution	48
8. Management and function of the proposed 'water committees' and other models of contribution	51
9. Village level Institutions: Organisation and Activities	55
10. Gram Panchayats: Organisation and Function	59

ANNEXURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED

SEM	-	Self Employed Mechanic
HMR	-	Handpump Maintenance and Repair
WC	-	Water Committee
VC	-	Village Committee
PHED	-	Public Health Engineering Department
DANIDA	-	Danish International Development Agency
HP	-	Handpump
G.P.	-	Grampanchayat
Congress, Janata Swatantra, Janacongress	-	Political parties
Dasahara	-	Festival of Goddess Durga
Dolamelan	-	Congregation of palanquines of 'Radha Krishna' in connection with Holi Festival
Ganesh	-	Hindu God of Knowledge and Wisdom
Holi	-	Hindu festival celebrated during spring time. People play with colour powder and water
Kotha	-	Common property in villages, used in special occasions and for develop- mental work
Puja	-	Act of worship. Religious festivals
Project	-	The Orissa Drinking Water Supply Project
Shramadan	-	Contribution of labour
Samiti	-	Society, Formal Committee
Sarkar	-	Government
Saraswati	-	Hindu Goddess of learning
Yatra	-	Plays enacted on open pendals. It is viewed from all the directions.

1. PREFACE

In rural water supply systems, especially in handpump installation programmes, proper and consistent operation, maintenance and repair are considered as very important components in order to maintain a sustained services of the water supply facilities created. But adequate and suitable maintenance systems are yet to emerge out of the experiments being carried out in various parts of the country.

Gradually, the problem of supplying safe water to rural areas is getting alleviated through implementation of different programmes under International Drinking Water and Sanitation Decade and various special programmes run by the Central Government and the States. The problem connected to the maintenance and repair of handpumps is simultaneously mounting to a gigantic proportion. "While impressive results have been achieved in providing water supply facilities in the rural areas in the sixth plan, the maintenance of these facilities, mostly the handpumps, has been badly neglected..."(1)

Until recently maintenance was a disregarded issue in handpump installation programmes. However, for the first time the 7th five year plan observed the importance of maintenance and repair of handpumps - "it has been realised that the assets created for provision for water supply in the rural areas of huge cost can not be allowed to go waste or even become partially defunct. For the first time, therefore, a maximum of 10 percent of the plan funds under MNP is being earmarked for the maintenance of the water supply systems in rural areas". (2) The five year plan also advises the State Govts. "to create a suitable machinery for the regular maintenance of the water supply systems in rural areas by actively encouraging community participation". (3)

Two issues usually surface when maintenance and repair of handpumps is discussed: (1) lack of adequate funds required for handpumps maintenance and repair (2) lack of suitable machinery to take care of handpumps maintenance and repair.

State Govts. and other agencies are at present engaged in experimenting with various maintenance systems. But the source for adequate funds that should be made available for handpump maintenance and repair (HMR) is largely being debated and no clear direction for action has yet emerged. However, one of the carefully nurtured idea being floated is that the community should contribute for the HMR. The major reasons forwarded in favour of this are: (1) the Govt. will not be able to meet the increasing expenditures involved in HMR (2) the communities contribution can inculcate a feeling of responsibility and involvement in the community towards HMR.

Even though HMR is an issue which only recently has been recognized, the concept of community participation in rural water supply schemes is not new in Orissa. During the first five year plan (1952-57) the rural water supply scheme consisted of "digging of new wells and tanks and ordinary and masonry repair of old ones, ii) sinking of tubewells. Active co-operation from the local people, contribution either free labour or labour at cheap rates, hastened the progress of drinking water supply schemes in rural areas.."(4) Here focus is on the communitys involvement in the installation of drinking water supply.

The seventh plan report observes that "the burden on the exchequer could be reduced to the extent that the beneficiaries are asked to pay. Water supply is a service to be paid for by the direct beneficiaries. x x x x x Even in rural areas, while the poorer sections can not be expected to pay for the water, in many villages, through local

4. S.N. Rath, The Development of Welfare State in Orissa,
P.152.

Initiative it is possible to collect a small charge which would cover at least a part of the maintenance expenses".(5)
 (4) It is also expected that the community should participate in maintenance systems and most of the maintenance systems presently being tested are based on community participation in varying degrees.

The intention behind the references made above is to stress that at various levels the 'community' is considered vital and it is expected to participate in the installation of water supply systems; and it is expected to contribute for the maintenance of these systems. The present report attempts to trace the near elusive 'community' and its capacity to rise to various expectations and examine whether the installation and maintenance strategies adopted in the rural water supply schemes to obtain such participation from the 'community'. The observations, to a large extent are limited to the Project area and implementation strategies of the Orissa Drinking Water Project.

The findings of the study shows that most of the users (not the "community") are willing to pay under varying conditions and through various machineries. But surprisingly this findings have implications that does not make one optimistic about community contribution or community managed maintenance system. The analyses of the following issues that emerge out of the study justify the subdued reaction to a seemingly optimistic finding. The issues are:

- The present state of the community that is expected to contribute and participate in HMR.
- Present state of the community organisations that are expected to play an active role in organising maintenance and repair work.

5. Seventh Five Year Plan, Vol. II (Govt. of India, Planning Commission) P.301

- The longterm credibility of users willingness to contribute for HMR.
- The present state of Panchayats and how far they are/will be capable of shouldering the responsibility of HMR.
- The support facilities available for HMR at present and how far it can cope with a community managed maintenance system (if it materialised).
- Peoples' expectations from Govt. and the constraints in imposing a general water tariff system. (including the wide variations in distribution and quality of water supply)

It is not only the matter of users expressed-willingness to contribute for the maintenance and repair of the handpumps that is important. Equally or even more important is the fact whether the Govt. or the machineries who are involved in rural drinking water supply can create such support facilities, which are imperative to maintain a steady service of safe water and develop suitable systems which can utilize the users willingness to contribute on a sustained basis.

The present report has purposefully gone a little beyond the scope of the 'study' in that an attempt has been made to remove some of the mysticism and popular jargons surrounding handpump maintenance and repair issues.

It should be noted that the final compilation of this report fully reflects the views of the undersigned and does not necessarily reflect the opinions of either the Socio-Economic Division or the DANIDA Project Directorate, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Special thanks are conveyed to the Socio-Economic Adviser Mr. Jens Sjoerslev and the Socio-Economic Executive Mr. Dipak Roy, Socio-Economic Division for their cooperation in reviewing the report and giving their comments.


Sanjay Kumar Khatua
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ORISSA



PROJECT AREA OF DANIDA ASSISTED ORISSA DRINKING WATER SUPPLY PROJECT.

* Sample blocks taken for the Feasibility Study.

2 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

2.1 ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

The major questions raised in connection with the present study are:

- whether the community will be willing to contribute for the maintenance and repair of handpumps,
- whether the community will take care of the collection of the contributions and organise repair and maintenance work through formation of 'water committees' or other such bodies,
- whether it will be possible to involve the Gram Panchayats in collection of contributions from the users and organising maintenance and repair work of the handpumps as an alternative (to the arrangement with the users),
- whether it will be possible to incorporate the 'water committees', if formed in to the general administrative systems of the Gram Panchayats (for overall administration),
- whether it will be possible to entrust the maintenance and repair work of the handpumps entirely to the Gram Panchayats so in order to raise funds it will either take initiative to organise 'water committees' or it will impose tax to meet the expenditures.
- whether an additional amount should be collected along with the other general taxes and the PHED should continue to be responsible for the maintenance and repair of handpumps.

On the basis of the findings and observations made in the 'study', attempt has been made to find answer/arguments to the questions listed above.

1. Whether the community will be willing to contribute for the repair and maintenance of the handpumps?

The community should be willing to contribute - from a Project specific point of view the arguments in favour of this could be: 1) adequate quantity of standard handpumps (installation + water quality) have been provided in all the habitations of the Project area 2) adequate maintenance and repair support has been provided through the II-Tier Maintenance system. To substantiate the arguments it can further be added that the potential users were involved in the installation process such as site selection etc; and they have been made aware regarding the importance of using safe drinking water and the maintenance of the tubewells fitted with handpumps. Thus, the cumulative result of all these activities should be a happy mass of users of tubewell water; assured of a steady water supply and prepared to do something when approached.

The immediate reading from the findings is that about 68% of the users are willing to contribute some way or the other. But what hides behind this fragile willingness and may surface when the real occasion came are the wide variation in distance from handpump to the user households, variation in water quality, variation in the presence of alternative water sources; and the resultant variation in the use of tubewell water.

The findings made in some of the studies carried out by the Project on the performance and use of the handpumps justify the apprehensions made above. The preliminary report on Functionality Study of handpumps, November 1987, observed that - "In case of 20% of the handpumps, all the potential households live within a maximum distance of 70 mtrs. from the pumps, for 48% of the handpumps within 110 mtrs., for 21% within 150 mtrs. and for 11% of the households are located more than 150 mtrs. away." Of the 1945 handpumps surveyed by the Functionality Study 82% are found to be used both ^{for} drinking and cooking by

most or some of the potential user group. The study further observed that, "Well functioning installations yielding good water constitute 56% and are used by more than 90% of the potential user group. 18% of the handpumps are either not used at all or only for one of the purposes originally intended."

The Utilization Study of Handpumps carried out by the Project in April 1988 consolidates the scenario-"Of the sample households from Phase-I blocks 61% use only handpump water for drinking and cooking, 8% use only traditional sources for these purposes, and the remaining 31% use water from both handpumps and traditional sources."

All these variations presented above and the resultant fluctuation in the use of HP s will pose a major problem for implementing any uniform system of contribution. Any 'users-payment system' will require a great amount of monitoring and coordination which again demand a credible leadership on village level. The conclusion from this study is that the leadership on village level is unidimensional in the sense that it is primarily focussed on micro-level politics (sahiwise) or is linked to external political interests. As such a political leader on village level or GP level can only claim to represent the community but will in reality represent narrow and vested interests.

2. Whether the community will be willing to take care of the collection of the contributions and organise repair and maintenance work through formation of 'water committees' or other such bodies?

The pros are basically argued in opposition to Government institutions. About 68% of the respondents have expressed their opinion either to form special 'water committees' in order to organise maintenance and repair of handpumps through collection of contributions on a regular basis or only at the time of breakdowns or to entrust the existing village committees with these responsibilities.

The opinions in favour of 'water committees' (WC)/village committees (VC) taking responsibilities of HP maintenance through collection of contributions are mainly based on their impression that Govt. has not been efficient in keeping the HPs in good working condition and this will further deteriorate as there has been a substantial increase in the number of handpumps but, the WCs/VCs, with support from handpump mistry and through collection of contributions will be able to manage as villagers have unity and more so because dependence on tubewell water is gradually developing.

The arguments against 'water committees' are basically founded on perception of the village not as a community - but as a disintegrated conglomerate of mutually competing interest groups. The contradictions to the feasibility of WC s/^{have} come from the same villages and express that committees formed by the villagers cannot handle the maintenance and repair of the handpumps as they do not have unity; 'as no one will pay regularly; as 'there will be misappropriation of funds' etc..

These contradictions may have their origin in various political factions, 'sahi' or individual conflicts; factions of various other interests or may be from experiences based on facts or persons perception of their fellow villagers. Whatever might be the reason for this phenomena, it will definitely create enormous problems and again demand very efficient and credible leadership which as discussed above, is very doubtful.

3. Whether it will be possible to involve the Grampanchayats in collection of contributions from the users and organise maintenance and repair work of the hand pumps as an alternative (to the arrangement with the users)?

Only 1% of the respondents have expressed their views that the Gram Panchayats should be given the responsibility of the repair and maintenance of the handpumps for almost the same reasons used by the respondents to contradict views in favour of 'water committees' - that the^{village} politics, lack

of unity, apprehension for misappropriation of funds etc. will stand as barriers to form 'water committees'. In place of WCs and VCs, they have argued that Panchayat will be the best choice for handpump maintenance because it has not spent any money since the handpumps were installed by the Project (money thus saved could be utilized for HP maintenance) and also because it is involved in developmental activities as such.

The lukewarm response in favour of the Gram Panchayat managed maintenance system is not limited to the villagers only. Of the Gram Panchayat functionaries interviewed, only 24% favoured Panchayat managed maintenance system. In support, they forwarded the same set of reasons as the villagers and added that maintenance through 'water committees' will be further difficult as people have resentments over the water quality and the siting of the handpumps. But they are relatively confident that the GP functionaries can do it through collection of tax.

It is suitable that the same set of problems that are anticipated in case of maintenance through village /committees' are in play when it comes to GP administration of HP maintenance. The problem of credible and popular leadership is the major issue at ^{both the} levels. The claim that Grampanchayat can manage maintenance through collection of tax is not valid as the GP administration is not able to collect the cycle and other taxes properly because of fear of losing votes and because they do not have adequate enforcement power.

As discussed in chapter (10) maintenance of HP's through collection of Tax will not be possible through the present staffing pattern and the dismal state of office administration of the GPs.

4. Whether it will be possible to incorporate the 'water committees' in to the general administrative systems of the Grampanchayats (for overall administration)?

Suggestion to this effect has neither come from the villagers nor from the Gram Panchayat functionaries. However, the issue is that ^{whether the}

resources created/ ^{by} village committees could be administered by the Panchayat (remuneration to the handpump mistries etc.) and ^{whether} Panchayat could organise the support facilities like procurement of spareparts and tools?

To release the village committees from the burden of administration, and at the same time free the Gram Panchayats from the uncomfortable task of organising the basic village committees and the problems of collecting the tax due to their sensitive political affiliations, it appears to be a sensible idea to provide support facilities at the Gram Panchayat level and mobilise some pressure on the water committees for timely collection of funds.

The problem is doubleedged in the sense that GP's are reluctant to directly collect funds due to their sensitive political affiliations and on the other hand the water committees, which are not entangled in the political network, cannot handle the administration of the maintenance.

The obvious solution would be to separate the administrative and the collection of fund functions — handover to the GPs, the administration responsibilities while letting the funds being collected through 'water committees.'

But again it must be stressed that at present the Panchayats have a very poor office administration, where the poorly paid Panchayat Secretaries are the only permanent staff. So in order to take this responsibility Panchayat administration has to be strengthened and streamlined. If this materializes at all, another problem will be the procurement of standard spareparts and tools, for which purchasing outlets are not yet available and which is a pressing problem for the PHED itself. Thus, before giving any serious thought to the possibility of Panchayats playing the role of coordinators, at the minimum, the above mentioned two issues has to be sorted out.

(In this context it should be noted that responses in favour of Panchayat managed HP maintenance have

come from a very negligible portion of the users. Rest of the users have neither made any positive remark nor negative remark on the ability of ^{the} GPs to maintain handpumps. Nevertheless, this indicates that the GPs do not have any image in the minds of the users. This has implications in regard to the role of GPs playing administrator to the 'water committees', if at all they are formed.

5. Whether it will be possible to entrust the maintenance and repair work of the handpumps entirely to the Grampanchayats and it will take initiative to organise water committees or it will impose tax to meet the expenditures ?

Leaving the maintenance and repair responsibility entirely to the Grampanchayats seems to be another good idea but not free from problems. The issues like weak infrastructure, poor administration, political hyper-sensitivity and other factors which are discussed in other chapters will be matter of concern to put the suggestion made above into practice.

6. Whether an additional amount should be collected along with the other taxes and the PHED should continue to be responsible for the maintenance and repair of handpumps ?

Of the respondents interviewed 9% expressed their views in favour of collection of tax/^{in order} to repair and maintain the water sources. 21% of the respondents suggested for a free Govt. maintenance system. The reasons as expressed by respondents are: 'people are hard pressed to earn their livelihood- they can not afford regular attention to HP maintenance'- 'people are poor - they can not pay more tax; some point out that in a 'Welfare State' it should be the responsibility of the Govt., to provide the basic facilities to it's people.

Imposition of tax primarily depends on the political will of the Govt. . Nevertheless, that will entail a uniform and a standardised water supply system, which is not existent, even in the Project area.

2.2 THE LEVELS OF HANDPUMP MAINTENANCE

A pattern emerges out of the responses made by the respondents: arguments, counter arguments in favour and in contradiction evolve around three levels - the village, the panchayat and the state; without any attempt to correlate one level with the other.

But exactly the cooperation between different levels is imperative for a sustainable and effective maintenance system and a steady supply of safe water.

In relation to the maintenance of the tubewells and handpumps, the views expressed by the respondents are short sighted. It is evident that the respondents have difficulty in visualizing the maintenance issue from all perspectives. This is not surprising considering:

- that only recently most of them came to use the hand-pumps,
- that for the first time some one asked their opinion on subjects they know very little about or have not given thought earlier,
- that suddenly they are confronted with a question which implies that they should pay for something they consider free of cost like other development benefits,
- that they have varying experience regarding different administrative levels, as well as their own village institutions and leaders.

To summarise: their views have the reflection of their environment, perception regarding the relationship between

the State and other levels, and to be specific, the special efforts made by the Project to obtain their participation. The following is an attempt to trace out the correlation that may exist between the factors presented above.

2.2.1 THE VILLAGE LEVEL

The religious and cultural activities like 'Dasaharā', 'Holi', 'Yatra', Theatre which are sparsely organised in villages are often projected as the reflection of cohesiveness and unity of the villagers. But in reality these occasions are quite often used as tools to compete and to show off power and arrogance. At least in two of the sample villages, Basantapur and Machapada the youth clubs have been defunct following conflict aroused out of the celebration of 'Dolamelan'.

Celebration of the same festival at different street corners of a village can be clearly identified with different factions. It is true that in some cases the socio-cultural activities ^{does reflect} the unity and cohesiveness of a village on a cultural level. But that unity which exists, pertains to a shared value system giving the structure to the modes of social mobility, of social groupings, of identity formation, in short, of differentiation implying a constant crystalization and cracking of the fabric of social bodies. That unity can exactly not be equated with the functional requirements for formation of 'water committees' or other such bodies for maintenance of handpumps which demands a value system ; which gives importance to equal access to goods, to a sustained functional oriented organization, which disregards its activities as being signs which can be appropriated by persons or groups for use in the game of prestige competition. Their participation and monetary contribution are often related to temporary or longterm utility functions such as fulfilment of religious urge, entertainment, power of the group, showing off status, creation of goodwill etc. 9% of the respondents expressed

their willingness to contribute in case of breakdowns only could be taken as the reflection of this attitude. They will not contribute for the longterm benefits of institution building.

During various celebrations some monetary concessions are given to the poor and socially under privileged families either out of pity or social discrimination. This is not expected in case of contribution for handpump maintenance.

In two villages (Rajkanika) traditional village committees exist and said to be taking care of developmental activities and as reported by the respondents no acquisitions such as misappropriations are levelled against them. Even these village committees are not prepared to take the responsibility of all the handpumps in thier village. For example, in Balarampur village or Rajkanika where the village committee is claimed to be about 100 years old and functioning up to the satisfaction of the villagers, suggested to form handpump level 'water committees' consisting of ^{only} the users and offered to give support ^{of contribution} only to the extent of deciding the amount/. It would neither collect the contribution nor actually organise the 'water committees' or maintenance system in general. This could be due to the fact that this function does not fit within the traditional paternalistic attitudes of the village committees and also because handpump maintenance is alien to them.

The suggestion for forming 'water committees' taking only the users as the members also poses the possibility of losing of users, the moment contribution is demanded, as the dependence on handpumps is still considered fragile and also as there are alternative sources available.

A wide range of models of 'water committees' incorporating the payment to the hanpump mistry and for the spareparts, and payment for spareparts only in case of breakdowns have been proposed by the respondents. While on the one hand all these individual handpump based 'water committees' of divergent shape and size will it self be a problem to handle,

on the other hand it can not be helped to express doubt regarding the credibility and consistency of the commitments made by the users. It appears that these commitments are based on emotional grounds-"we are annoyed with the Govt. maintenance and repair performance", "PHED is not able to maintain a limited number of handpumps, now it can not maintain a large number of handpumps", "we have not paid any thing so far to enjoy the benefits-this is high time that we realise our duty", "the person who donates a lamp does not put oil in it" etc. are the most commonly forwarded reasons behind the willingness to contribute. Moreover, in the proposed models the related issues like the degree of spareparts consumption, procurement, accountability of the handpump mistry etc. have not been considered sufficiently. So it is feared that when the real occasion will come, these commitments will give way to many excuses.

This further appears problematic in face of the fact that about 31% of the users who preferred modes other than water committees have raised serious doubts regarding the capacity and concern of the villagers. - The following reactions made by this section of users illustrates the degree of their doubtfulness on the feasibility of the "users supported maintenance system": "now a days people do not give money for religious celebrations, how can they be expected to contribute for handpump maintenance!", "we have not paid for any other developmental activities, why should we now pay for the handpump maintenance", "there will be misappropriation of fund, as there is no unity", "too much politics in villages, committee will not live long if formed" etc..

the

Some have resentments at the implementation strategy of/Project and because of that do not see any reason what so ever to contribute for the maintenance. "Prior to the installation of the tubewells nobody has sought villagers opinion regarding contribution towards maintenance", "Govt. has already spent a lot of money towards installation of handpumps, so maintenance will not be a problem for it", "DANIDA is taking care of the maintenance and repair activities, prior to its withdrawal the State Govt. should take over" etc. are the kind of responses the respondents have made in support of their arguments regarding free maintenance.

It is also feared that the moment 'water committees' are institutionalized that will give rise to different matter of rights. The Utilization Study of Handpumps carried out by the Project in April, 1988 observes that "water collectors from households with a relatively higher social standing within a village are in a comparatively better position to use the handpumps, since others are not likely to question their use of the pump for purposes such as bathing, washing of clothes and cleaning of utensils. This state of affairs has implications for the general inclination of households of different social standing regarding their use of handpumps". The social discrimination related to the use of handpumps given for mixed caste groups may also pose a problem in their regard.

2.2.2 COMMUNITY MAINTENANCE-WHICH COMMUNITY ?

At present, 'community participation' is synonymous with all the Rural Development Programmes including the Rural Drinking Water Projects and to be specific the 'maintenance and repair' of handpumps.

The question, however, is, how can the 'community' that is expected to take on the responsibility and participate and contribute regarding the maintenance of handpumps be defined ? From the responses recorded in interviews and through discussions with villagers it emerges quite clearly that a community defined as a uniform interest group does not exist. At least within the Project area the 'community' as an identifiable, bounded and socially coherent entity is sociological fiction. The organisational frameworks regarding handpump maintenance suggested by the respondents varies both with regard to structure and scale ranging from a voluntary associations of actual handpump users to the entire State of Orissa.

What exists in place of the 'community' then, is different organisational and institutional frame works catering to specific needs and interest of villagers such as caste groupings, factions, temple committees and various formal institutions introduced by the State.

Whether the respondents regard one or other these as the suitable organisational framework for a handpump maintenance system or none of them at all appear to depend on the extent to which they fulfil other functions satisfactorily or not.

The above mentioned factors may divert attention from the idea of formation of 'water committees', but in fact, ^{this exposition} is an attempt to consolidate the related problems and issues to facilitate a further development of the concept of user based payment systems.

2.2.3 THE GRAM PANCHAYAT LEVEL

The organisation and function of the Gram Panchayat has been discussed in other chapters. The major areas of constraints which have been identified are lack of funds, poor infrastructure and administration, and lack of proper orientation of Gram Panchayat functionaries towards their work.

An impressive array of activities have been listed under the obligatory functions of the Gram Panchayats. But at the same time it has been stipulated in the Orissa Gram Panchayat Act 1964 that 'it shall be the duty of the Gram Panchayat within the limits of its funds to undertake, control and administer and be responsible for' the activities listed under the Obligatory functions. So no fund, no activity. For fund raising through the provisions available to the GP., there is no strong will. Whatever possibilities are there are not properly enforced due to lack of support facilities; due to lack of willingness apparently caused out of apprehension of incur^{ring} public resentment and loosing votes, in case the G.P. administration exercises its powers seriously.

In most of the cases a poorly paid part time or full time secretary without proper training in office administration is the only permanent staff. While writing this report, the Panchayat Secretaries from all over Orissa had assembled in the capital city to press their demands with the Govt. for better service conditions. Nothing substantial can be expected from this lone ^{person} in his present service conditions.

The Sarpanches and other Panchayat level leaders come from various socio-economic strata, so their attitudes towards different developmental programmes are varying. Their approach in most of the cases is either guided by their own political interest or the stand of the political parties they are affiliated with. Under the circumstances, instead of fostering participation and cooperation among people they foster conflict, clash of values. They often have a negative impression on their electorate. The following is illustrative of the presentations made above.

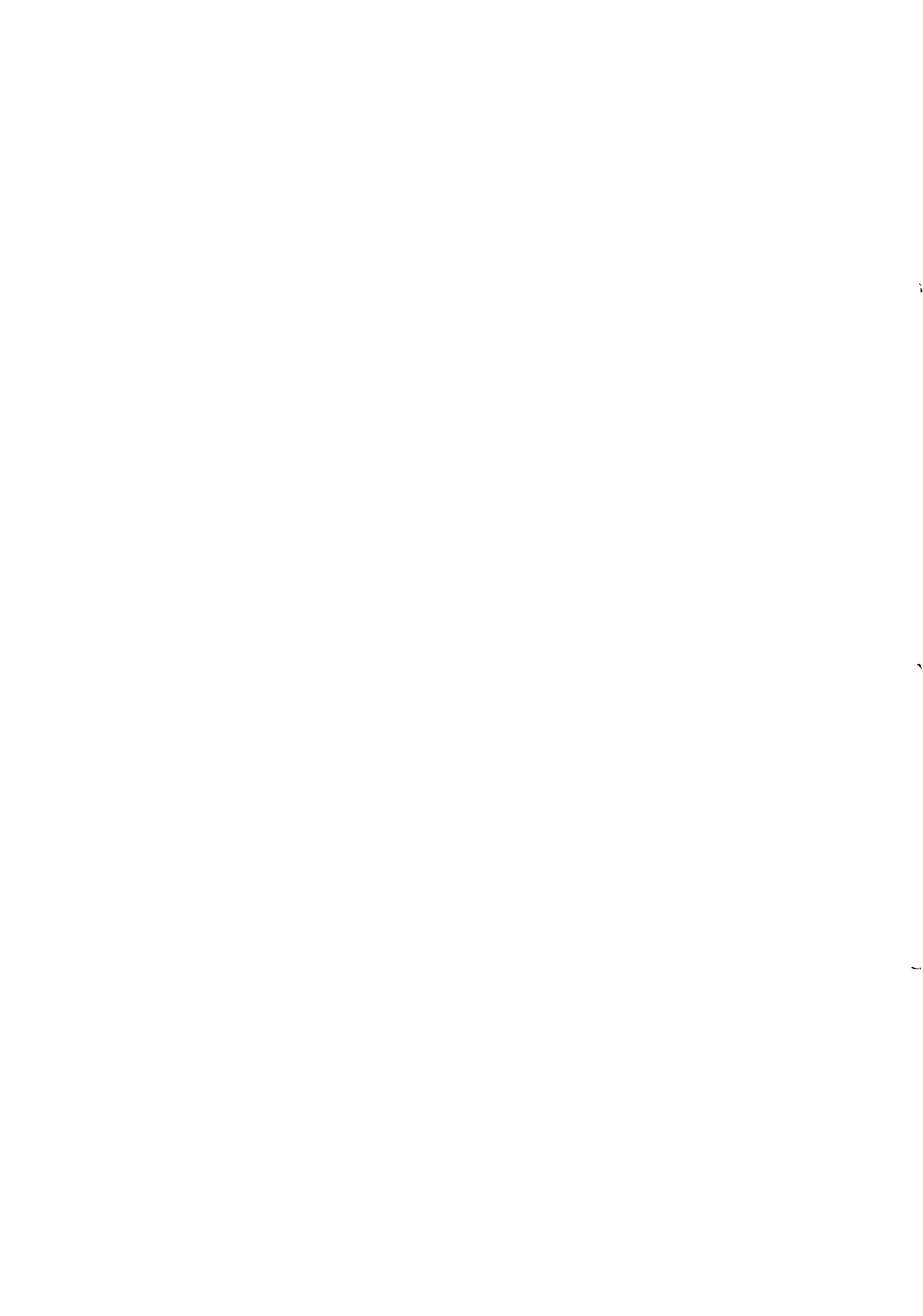
None of the Sarpanches have expressed their views in favour of the 'users supported' maintenance systems. In all most all the cases they have begun their responses with "formation of water committees for handpump maintenance is a good idea but it will be short lived due to lack of unity among the villagers", then they have gone to ^{either} suggest imposition of tax or free govt. maintenance system or panchayat managed maintenance system through imposition of tax at the Panchayat level. As regards the 'users supported' maintenance system, their comments are: "considering the amount of money spent for the installation of tubewells it will be suicidal for the govt. to handover maintenance responsibilities to the villagers", "without force no one will pay voluntarily", that "people will spend money from their own pocket for handpump maintenance is unthinkable" etc.. Some of the Sarpanches have even expressed that the II Tier Maintenance System presently being tested will not operate after DANIDA's withdrawal, as "there will be conflict among the SEMs. 'Congress' SEMs will not have entry to 'Janata' areas and vice versa".

Based on the factors presented above, Grampanchayats taking initiative to form 'water committees' does not appear possible. But the Grampanchayats managing maintenance and repair of handpumps through imposition of tax at Panchayat level ^{appears} to be more sensible and plausible compared to the former. However, this will entail strengthening

and streamlining the infrastructure and administrative procedures and sorting out other constraints relating the distribution, and quality of water supply sources, availability of spareparts etc. (discussed earlier)

It will be appropriate to point out, that as per the Orissa Grampanchayat Act 1964 the Grampanchayats have already been entrusted with the responsibility of providing and maintaining the drinking water facilities including tubewells, and the necessary provisions to raise funds have also been provided. Even a receipt to ^{collect water} tax have been developed for this purpose. "A receipt on form 27 shall be issued for collection of latrine taxwater rate.... and such other fees or taxes as may be levied under the Act from time to time. " -(15) provision for appointment of tax collector(s) is also existing.

Thus, it is primarily a matter of political will which is required to give the right push at the right place to create functional situations through enforcement of already existing, provisions for Handpump maintenance and repair.



2.2.4 THE STATE LEVEL

30% of the users have expressed their views in favour of Govt. managed HP maintenance system-21% of them suggested for free maintenance and 9% in favour of maintenance through imposition of tax.

66% of the Gram Panchayat functionaries have expressed their opinion in favour of Govt. managed HP maintenance system. Out of them 54% suggested for free maintenance and 12% in favour of maintenance through imposition of tax at the State level.

Both the HP users and the Gram Panchayat functionaries who opposed to the idea of 'user supported maintenance system' have repeatedly stressed that "unless force is applied, no one will pay voluntarily; water tax can be collected with other taxes - the problem of misappropriation (which is most likely with the users supported maintenance system) will not arise." To support their views, they have enumerated a number of demerits of a 'users supported maintenance system' discussed earlier.

Those who have favoured a free Govt. maintenance system argued that - "tubewells have not been installed with prior consultation with the villagers", and "Govt. has already spent so much money for installation of tubewells, likewise it can take care of the operation and maintenance". - So there is no need for contribution from the users.

Two Sarapanches, one from each of the ^{sample} blocks have stated that 'in a Welfare State it should be the responsibility of the Govt. to provide the basic requirements of the people'. This particular statement has importance in the sense that it can be easily sensitised to modulate public opinion.

Let us what other implications it may have.

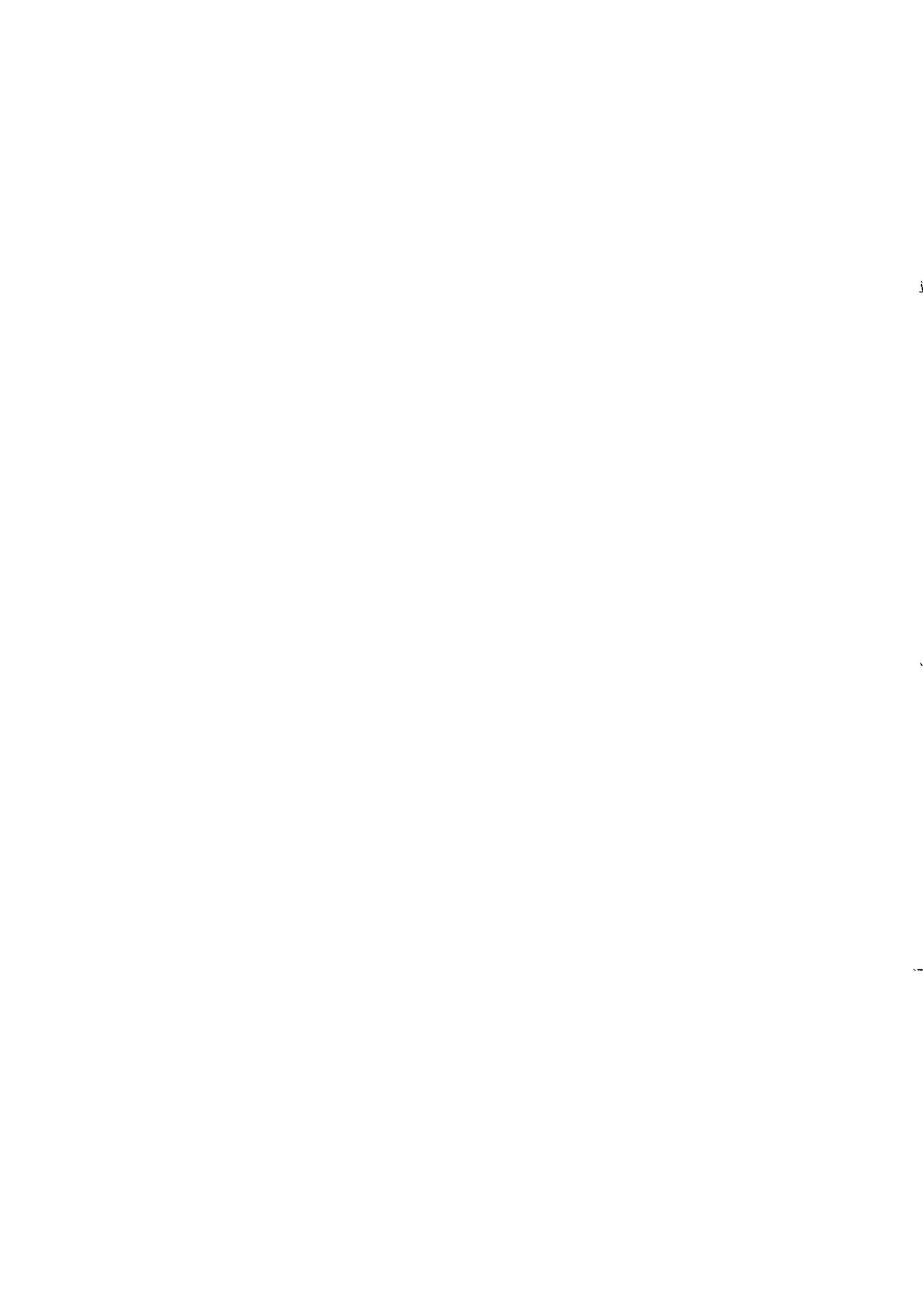
The common understanding of the Indian Welfare State among the educated mass is that the Govt. ^{is} implementing faithfully through positive measures the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution.

Article 47 of the Indian Constitution, under the Directive Principles of State Policy, stipulates that "the State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties ..."

The concept of "Welfare State" in the past 40 years has "gained popular acceptance in principle, vaguely among the mass of Indian voters, and more pronouncedly among the educated in all parts of the country. Since about the first general election in 1952 many resolutions and manifestations published by the Indian political parties, regional and national, reflect more or less their rising expectation from the Govt., their views regarding what the Union Govt. or a State Govt. like Orissa ought to be doing for the welfare of the people".(16)

It is in this context, and also taking cue from the reaction made by the respondents, it can be said that among other things, the present state of affairs in rural drinking water supply sector and peoples attitude towards the Govt. responsibilities may boil down to the understanding that after over 40 years of independence the Govt. has not been able to provide safe drinking water in its villages and now it is out to collect tax. Considering the impact this may generate, it can be said that it will entail a strong political willpower and appropriate strategy on the part of the Govt. to take any step, ^{to} impose tax on the drinking water facilities created in the rural areas.

(16) S.N. Rath, The Development of the Welfare State in Orissa, P.1.



As to the issue presented above the feelings of the Govt. can be illustrated from the following:

"The State Govt., due to political reasons are found reluctant to impose any additional tax on land as it directly affects the agriculturalists. There is a strong case to reform the present system of land revenue or to replace it by a tax which takes account of the income and circumstances of the land owner. But as a part of the political move to create a dramatic impact on the agricultural sector, which yields a large political influence in an agricultural country under adult suffrage, various State Govt. moved to abolish land revenue or at least to exempt the tax from small land holdings.(17) In Orissa, the 'Swatantra-'Jana Congress' Coalition, which was in power during 1967-71, had a 21-point Common Programme to implement in which abolition of land revenue was one of the main items.(18)

Land revenue is very commonly known and paid by the villagers. The respondents in favour of imposition of Tax have suggested to collect small additional amount along with the land revenue.

The apparent reluctance on part of the Govt. to impose or increase tax on such items, which will incur mass resentment, the apparent lack of funds to maintain the drinking water facilities created, and at the same time the rapid increase in creation of facilities

make the situation more complex. In this context the Govt. only wish 'that the burden of the exchequer could be reduced to the extent that the beneficiaries are asked to pay'. (19) These factors in confluence result in the Government's apparent reluctance to express this intention directly, but only envisage that 'through local initiative it is possible to collect a small charge which would cover at least a part of maintenance expenses'. (20)

The apparent hesitation on the part of the Govt. to impose tax to cover maintenance cost of the water facilities apart, the other major issues inherent in the prevailing drinking water situation, which might pose barriers or at least

17. Taxing Powers And Distribution of Revenue, A study of Centre State financial relations under Indian Constitution by Narendra Kumar, P.204
 18. S.N.Rath, The Development of the Welfare State in Orissa, See Appendix.1.
 19,20. Seventh Five Year Plan, Vol.II, Govt. of India Planning Commission p.301

not justify for imposition of tax. are the wide variation in distribution of water sources, water quality, maintenance facility etc.

Concerning the issue of free Government maintenance, the opinions and counter opinions, commonly circulated among the persons involved in rural drinking water supply are discussed below. Considering the wide differences in income between urban and rural people, and the effort on the part of the Government to narrow the gap, a continuous subsidy for water use and a change in resource allocation through public funds to the rural areas in the form of investment and operation expenditure would be a step in this direction.

The other line of thought is that water supply should be considered as a part of the general rural development. Water in rural areas is being provided on humanitarian motives to create humane living conditions, so the financial aspect should be considered as secondary. It is further argued that increased health benefits may be achieved through supply of quality water, free of cost (demand for payment may deter people to use improved water supply and fall back on polluted sources). Considering the staggering expenditure on rural health facilities especially on treatment of diseases caused due to the use of polluted water it is justified to supply safe water free of cost (to enhance its use) in order to reduce expenditure on rural health.

The major arguments against free water is that the recurring expenditure in this sector is so high that it might not be possible on part of the Government to allocate adequate resource to this sector without cutting substantial amounts from the other sectors.

In favour of a cost recovery system it is argued that if water is free or heavily subsidised, sufficient amount of money may not be made available by the Government for efficient and consistent operation and maintenance of water supply facilities.

The presentation made above is not an attempt to provide solution to the issue, but to put the issues that concern the optimal function of the rural drinking water supply to be debated in a wider circle. However, it can be said that instead of remaining in the dilemma of 'free'/'payment based water supply' and sustaining a rural water supply with badly maintained, short lived tubewells and the objective of 'raising the standard of living... and the improvement of public health'; it is required that the Government take a policy decision whether to regard rural water supply as a utility service (so that people pay for it) or as social service (so it is free of cost for the people and finance from the general revenue) or any ^{position} in between. The policy and strategy(ies) should be spelt clearly and be based on the objective assesment of the needs of the people, needs of the facilities to be created, the circumstances of the people and the duty and obligation of Government.

2.3 CONCLUSIONS

1. Users of the handpumps can participate in its maintenance only to a limited extent

The users can only operate the handpump carefully and inform the handpump mistry when the need arises. Helping the mistry in repair work can not be done by the users (specially in case of IM-II) to any great extent due to complexities of the tubewell mechanism. Keeping the handpump surrounding clean and nice should not be mixed with maintenance, those activities are more a part of the villagers general aesthetic sense.

2. Handpump is not an adequate tool to be used to revive the socio-cultural institutions in the villages

Whatever participation that has been received from the villagers have come through individual initiative. It is very doubtful whether this initiative can be institutionalized. Moreover, at present a number of developmental activities having different objectives and strategies (In many cases contradicting each other) are being implemented in the rural areas. This often result in a confusing situation and spark off clashes of interests. In such a situation the 'water committee' with its mundane responsibilities stand^a/slim chance to survive .

3. The issue of participation and contribution in handpump maintenance must be separated

Participation and contribution are two different things. They do not necessarily depend on each other or give guarantee for each other. Participation is subject to perception of an issue and individuals orientation regarding where contribution can be made non-committantly. So participation not only in handpump maintenance, but in other areas of rural development, requires a different approach and can not be dealt with as a singular issue.

To create a felt need for the tubewell water and to generate care for the tubewell and the handpump, the entire issue of health, hygiene and sanitation, both at ^{the} household and ^{the} village level has to be addressed. This requires an imaginative and sustained effort. Already a number of agencies are working for this end or at least have been created to work for this end. The need to add one more like the 'water committee' might be superfluous.

In this connection it can be said that there is a need to consolidate different efforts made in the rural development programmes and formulate a general guideline.

4. Demystification required

To a great extent, the activities related to handpump installations and maintenance are shrouded in mystery, or at least kept beyond the reach of the common person, the user. 'Operate it with care', 'keep the surrounding clean' are among the few things which are usually communicated to the users. A great amount of problems related to the drinking water installations can be eliminated and the impact can be enhanced through a systematic and consistent information flow (incorporating the items such as the need for safe water, why and how the TW water is safe, proper operation and maintenance, existence of service supports etc.) targeted at the potential users. It is expected to create a 'demand and service structure' where people would know what to demand and where to demand and at the same time their own responsibility.

To a certain degree the Project has taken this approach in the implementation strategy and the results are positive. Under the II-tier Maintenance System the communication between the users of the handpump and the SEM has been satisfactory.

In this context it can be said that rural drinking water supply should not be viewed just as a 'handpump installation programme'. Within its scope the Project should attempt to find out technical alternatives with scope for better participation, use and maintainability. It should also aim at creating more skilled persons knowledgeable on drinking water and sanitation installations. Attempt should be made to make available spare-parts and other relevant components (handpump+sanitation) at the points accessible to the users.

All these attempts will facilitate in creating a situation when the users of drinking water facilities will be willing to contribute, may be not in cash but ⁱⁿ various kinds.

5. Need to debate Govt.'s participation along with the Community participation

It is required to take a fresh look at rural water supply. The need, the strategy; the whole concept need to be reassessed. The State should take the obvious responsibilities to its shoulder, the Community participation and other related issues should be given proper and appropriate importance. (The focus from this important factor is possibly reduced by diverting its energy and attention to different sociologically fictional issues).

From the experience of the Orissa Drinking Water Project related to this study it can be generalized that the rural drinking water supply has acquired a much wider dimension and requires constant attention and skill-full handling by professionals (until it has not found simpler alternatives). So, only selected items can be left to the village or the Gram Panchayat level (especially, participation in planning, proper use, postcare, demanding the service and most importantly initiative to relate safe drinking water to other levels of hygiene and sanitation).

The Govt. needs to give priority to management issues pertaining to efficient and adequate rural drinking water supply system and a policy decision should be taken regarding appropriate funding arrangement. The Govt. should make it's stand clear whether to collect revenue from the users. Through ^{systematic} efforts it can make people understand the need and can avoid the apparent risk of losing confidence with the people.

As it is, it requires great effort on the part of the Govt. to coordinate the activities of the machinery involved in rural water supply. In creating more administrative levels (water committee etc.) and entrusting them with unrealistic responsibilities can only result in increasing the hierarchical structures.

If decentralization and community participation is the issue, Grampanchayat should be considered as the basic infrastructure. It should be involved in planning the implementation strategy, act as information and documentation centre, take initiative to make people aware and create a service demand structure, be involved in the post-care activities, (to the extent that it can handle) not only in drinking water but also in other sectors. This is only re-listing some of the activities that have been already entrusted to the G.Ps. The fact is that the Grampanchayat with its ideal functions (discussed in chapter 10) to a great extent is confined only to the Acts and Regulations. The primary effort to revive the G.Ps. has to come from the Govt. To achieve the goal of decentralization and users participation this will obviously require the participation of the Government.

6. A need for change in the strategy

A more meaningful participation from the users will entail a change in the implementation strategies those are generally adopted in the rural drinking water supply projects. This also apply to the Orissa Drinking Water Supply Project. Often, a suggestion is given that, instead of delivering the goods directly to the potential users, a need should first be created through making people aware about the benefits involved in it. This is a much debated issue. The change in strategy suggested here only refers to realistic demand on the users which has

to be made a precondition for receiving the benefits of the Project activities, and priorities be given as per the fulfilment of the conditions. That will require an integrated approach and there will be more items to offer; along with a core item - f.e.x. a tubewell with latrine, soakage pit or garbage pit for individual households, village drain, clean village street, inoculation etc. The precondition could be that the core item will be offered in exchange of any other item(s). This should not be strictly limited to the activities related to the core offer. Here a 'revitalized Gram Panchayat' can be involved in assessing the need of the habitations out of a selected list and liaise with the implementing agencies or act as implementing agencies if possible.

2. SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

1. One or two Grampanchayat may be identified in relatively needy areas where an integrated approach as suggested above can be tried out through active involvement of the Grampanchayats and in close collaboration of the Health and Sanitation Sub-division. Among other things the Grampanchayats will be involved in assessing the need of various habitations (out of a master list), planning implementation strategies for specific habitations, mobilising villagers and the implementation of activities, take responsibility to organise the basic requirements for necessary maintenance activities. The Grampanchayat(s) will appoint required staff through the Project funding. A matching funding from the G.P. will be tried to take care of office maintenance and other incidental expenditures. If this arrangement is not possible the Project should take care of the entire funding.



The objectives of this experiment will be to assess the organising capacity of a Grampanchayat in ideal condition (staff and finance wise), degree of acceptance of the role of the Grampanchayats by the villagers, level of political influence/interference and the overall feasibility of the strategy.

2. In some selected villages of different sociological characteristics, (maybe in drinking water problem areas) users will be required to pay to the SEM for each preventive maintenance and repair work on a standard piece rate basis. The users will be required to fix the contribution to be made by different user households.

The option of raising a common fund through regular collections or extempore collections and to organise the entire activities related to maintenance will be made open to the users. The Project staff will be required to make the users understand the basics at the beginning and only interfere through monitoring. A contract to this effect will be made with the villagers prior to the installation of the tubewells.

The objective of this experiment will be to identify the issues in fixing the contribution among different households, consistency in payment, whether this arrangement deters any household from using tubewell water, the gross annual expenditure per pump, constraints in getting the spareparts, frequency of repairs requiring interference from the level beyond the SEM and above all to identify the ways and issues involved in organising the users.

3. A study may be undertaken in some selected villages representing different social characteristics and degrees of development,

to assess the implementation strategies adopted for different development activities in relation to variations in degree of acceptance, variations in degree of implementation, impact on general socio-cultural life of the village with special emphasis on the involvement of village level institutions, power blocks and the Gram Panchayat. A case study method should be adopted for this study.

3. OBJECTIVES

In the Interim workplan of the Orissa Drinking Water Supply Project, 1987 it was stipulated to carry out a feasibility study on the possibility of establishment of 'water committees' and introducing a water tariff system involving the users of the handpumps.

It was expected that the users of the handpumps would contribute to the covering of costs of repair and maintenance of handpumps through 'water committees'.

This was based on the following assumptions:

- that the maintenance of a large number of pumps in the Project blocks may prove to be too heavy a burden on the State Govt.
- that a decentralised maintenance system like the II-tier (see Chapter 5 for details) will be further strengthened if the villagers are directly involved.
- that the user's direct contribution to cover part of the maintenance costs is likely to ensure consistent supply of safe water through handpumps (contribution may induce a sense of involvement, care for handpump operation and maintenance and thus reduce the logistical constraints connected to a maintenance system).

The feasibility study of user's involvement in the handpump maintenance had the following objectives:

- to gather knowledge on the existence and function of village level socio-cultural institutions with emphasis on mode of collection and management of funds during various festivities in the village.

- to gather knowledge on the function of the Gram Panchayats with specific reference to collection and management of funds. To explore possible means to incorporate water committees, if established, within the scope of Gram Panchayat administration.
 - to gather knowledge on user's willingness and ability to pay for handpump maintenance, users ideas regarding the collection and mode of administration of funds.
 - to suggest a possible organisational set up and mechanism of collection, administration and execution of funds.
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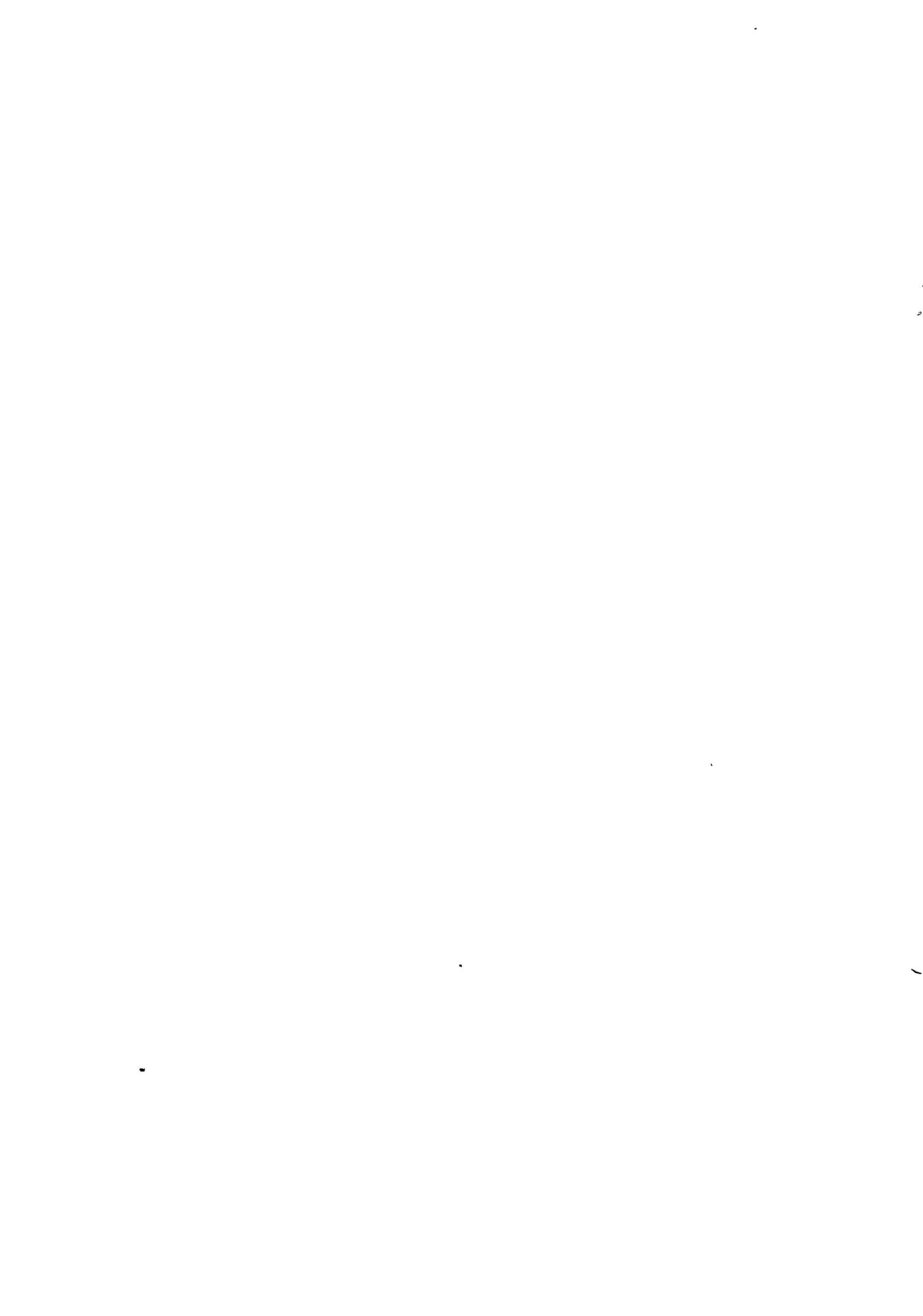
4. METHODOLOGY

The study was carried out in 16 villages located in 4 Gram Panchayats of Delang and Rajkanika blocks. These blocks were selected because they represented differences with regard to Socio-Economic conditions, caste, local institutional infrastructure, dependance on handpumps as drinking water source, and communication facilities. (For details see table 1,2 in Annexure 2)

The varied socio-economic and institutional features were expected to have a differential impact on the motivation of the handpump users regarding their willingness to form 'water committees' and pay for part of the maintenance costs.

Data collection comprised the following steps:

- A house listing was carried out in each of the sample habitations.
- Structured interviews were held with a sample of 15 respondents from each habitations according to an interview schedule covering their economic status, educational level, degree of use of handpumps, and their willingness to pay for handpump maintenance as well as suggestions regarding the forms in which this might be done. The opinion of the respondents concerning the modalities of possible future 'water committees' was also recorded.
- Structured interviews were also held with leaders of village institutions like Gram Panchayats, Youth Clubs, Village Committees and socio-cultural bodies regarding their functions, membership and their mode of collection, administration and use of funds.



As part of the interviews the reasons behind the 'feasibility study' was explained to the villagers and the representatives of the institution. This introduction to the background of the study was based on a set of questions to the respondents regarding their satisfaction concerning the functioning of handpumps in their village, the services of the handpump mistry trained by the Project, and the anticipated fate of the handpumps after termination of the Project and transfer of the responsibility for maintenance to the Govt.

As it might not be possible for PHED or the Govt. to bear the entire maintenance costs, the formation of 'water committees' was suggested as a possible solution, and the response of the persons interviewed was recorded.

In all the habitations the respondents viewed the survey as a prelude to the imposition of a tax regarding use of handpumps. As a result the interviews often developed into group discussions, because the respondents sought the opinion of other villagers before they would commit to an answer to the question of a user payment system.

In some instances such groups consisted of most of the males in a habitation who happened to be present at the time of the interview.

For sample of interview schedule see Annexure I.

5. THE STUDY AREA AND THE PROJECT

5.1 THE STUDY AREA

The findings of the study and the views expressed by the respondents has direct/indirect correlation with 1) the pre-project drinking water situation, 2) Project implementation strategy and 3) special characteristics of the study area with regard to village level organisations and leadership. It is felt necessary to discuss these issues as a prelude to the study.

The Project area is not a water scarcity area. Traditional, more or less unsafe, water sources such as open dug wells, ponds, tanks, rivers etc. are abundantly available. Some of these water sources are seasonal, and some has water quality problems (limited to specific areas).

Prior to the handpump installations by the Project, compared to all Orissa average the study area was well covered by tubewells fitted with handpumps. A study undertaken by the Project indicated an average number of existing public tubewells/village at 2.3 for Cuttack and 1.4 for Puri.

Maintenance of the handpumps in the study area was carried out by PHED through a mistry stationed at the block. The maintenance was irregular and inadequate. As a result the down time span between breakdown and repair of handpumps was high. The quality of installations, their surrounding, as well as water quality was in a number of instances very poor. Further more the potential beneficiaries often had resentments regarding the location of the handpumps.

A combination of sub-standard installations, non-reliability of handpumps, poor water quality, deficient maintenance and or socially unacceptable locations had seriously affected popular credibility and reliance on the tubewells fitted with handpumps.



It is in this context of different socio-cultural structures that the uniform users-contribution system is envisaged by the planners of the Project to be implemented.

5.2 HANDPUMP INSTALLATION STRATEGY OF THE PROJECT

The Project aims at covering all the habitations in the Project blocks through installation of tubewells fitted with handpumps located within maximum distance of 70 mtrs. from the core potential households. As per the Project norms handpumps should be provided for an average population of 225. In special under situations i.e. socially/economically under privileged habitations or in distantly located habitations a population of 70 can be considered for providing one handpump.

Requirement of the villages are determined by a detailed survey of habitations by persons of professional background. This takes into account the existence of alternative water sources, social and physical accessibility and other factors that are usually related to the use of drinking water sources.

Prior to the installation of a tubewell the site is selected in collaboration with the potential users. Specifications for elevation of Platform and required drain length is made as per the requirement of the site in consultation with the potential users. Platform and other facilities are provided subsequent to a brief interval after the drilling work. Attempt is made to provide tubewells yielding water acceptable to the users.

Old tubewells with acceptable locations and water quality are rejuvenated by installation of standard handpumps and construction of Platform and drainage.

Briefly after a given area is saturated with new and rejuvenated handpumps, maintenance and repair work is undertaken through a II-tier maintenance system presently implemented on experimental basis in the sample blocks. Village artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, cycle mechanics or persons resident of the area and with aptitude for technical work are selected and trained



as handpumps mistries. After completion of training they take responsibility of 20-25 pumps located in 5-6 neighbouring villages. As payment they receive Rs.100 per annum per pump they keep in working condition and also the required tools and spareparts free of cost from the Project. They maintain and repair the handpumps on the basis of information received from the users on the maintenance and repair need while also following a monthly visit schedule.

After a given area is saturated with handpumps and the maintenance system have been commissioned, all the habitations are covered with a health and hygiene education programme targeted at all the villagers with particular emphasis on women and children. The Health and Hygiene Education Programme comprises of a series of orientation workshops for different category of village leaders, school teachers, Gram Panchayat functionaries and block/village level Health and community development workers; group discussions with village women; special programme for school children; traditional cultural programmes and modern audio-visual programmes; exhibitions and posters.

After the Health & Hygiene Education Programme has been implemented the activities of the Project narrows down to monitoring of maintenance activities. Installation of a total 1678 handpumps (new/rejuvenated) have been completed in 3 blocks i.e. Rajkanika, Delang, Chandbali during Phase-I of the Project (August 1985-June 1987). The distribution of handpumps have been as follows: "In case of 68% of the handpumps the user group falls within the range of 21-45 household, while for 19% of the handpumps it as above 46 households, and for 13% below 21 households (average family size 6). (6)

Two-Tier Maintenance System has been commissioned in Delang and Rajkanika blocks in Phase between August 1986 to January 1987.

6. Preliminary report on Functionality Study of handpumps, Nov. 1987, Socio-Economic Division, DANIDA Project.

Focussing on the study blocks, Rajkanika had more numbers of hand-pumps than Delang. The dependency on handpump was higher in Rajkanika than in Delang owing to comparatively bad traditional water sources (water quality/seasonality and distance).

Looking at the situation regarding social organisational structure the characteristics of traditional leadership and village organisations widely differ in Cuttack and Puri districts. Common for both the districts, is that local/community leadership is generally a question of economic standing/land owing. But while in Puri district leadership is generally exclusively a question of economic standing/land owing, in Cuttack district leadership is often based on a capacity to establish external links (economic, political) as much as on local standing. In Puri district the leadership has a more traditional and caste oriented character. But as a result of the gradual breakdown of the traditional land owing based leadership, a void has been created wherein different factional groups or individuals have social space for mobilizing through political and economic means to claim leadership status.

Puri district villages, due to their proximity to the religious capital of Orissa i.e. Puri, the seat of Jagannath, the number and impact of Socio-religious activities in Puri are much higher when compared to Cuttack. As a result there has been and still is a mushrooming of formal/informal socio-religious organisations. To support all these activities there has been a tradition of keeping a village 'Kotha' or common properties'.

Though at present they are in various degree of decadence, the role of "Kotha's" and Socio-religious institutions in socio-cultural life and their contribution to the creation of new leaders, is still very strong. In Cuttack district, on the other hand most of the presently existing socio-cultural organisations owe their origin to the post-independence developmental activities through community development programmes.

All the habitations in the Project area have been covered by Health and Hygiene Education Programme between February 1986 - June 1987, most of them for about one year period.

In the meantime evaluation of different Project components have been made. As the findings and observations made in these reports have implications for the present study, references are made where necessary.

6. USERS OPINION REGARDING DIFFERENT MODELS OF HP MAINTENANCE THROUGH COLLECTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS

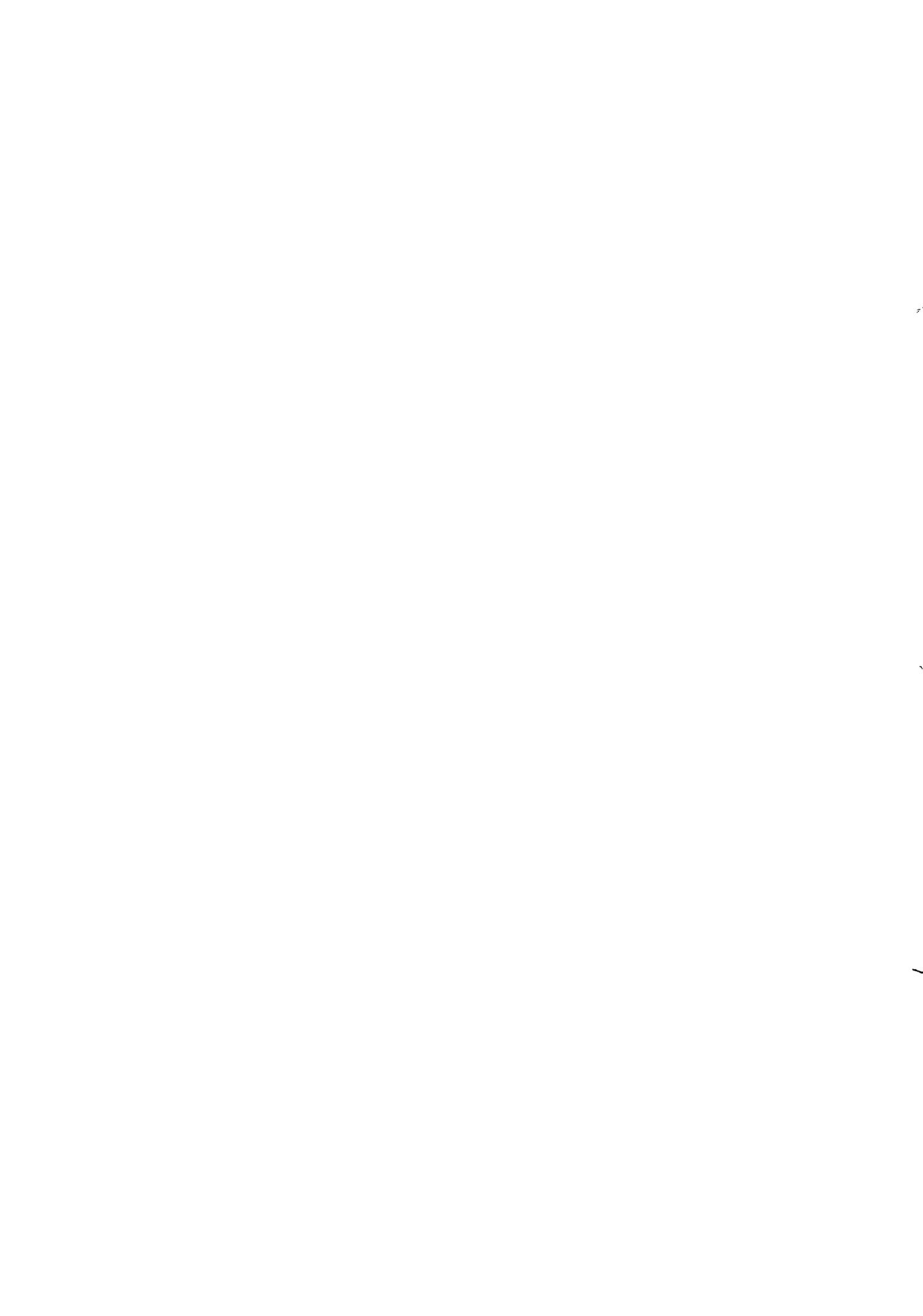
6.1 GENERAL FINDINGS

Of the 120 respondents interviewed in Delang block 27% expressed their opinion in favour of handpump maintenance through specially formed 'water committees', 18% in favour of Tax system, 12% in favour of traditional village committee, 6% in favour of payment only in case of breakdowns and 35% in favour of free Govt. maintenance system. The remaining 2% did not agree to give their opinion.

Of the 120 respondents interviewed in Rajkanika block 61% expressed their opinion in favour of handpump maintenance through specially formed water committees, 17% in favour of traditional village committees, 12% in favour of payment only in case of breakdown 8% in favour of free Govt. maintenance system and 2% in favour of Panchayat maintenance system.

The overwhelming response in favour of 'users supported maintenance system' in Rajakanika compared to Delanga could be due to the fact that the need is more in Rajakanika compared to Delanga (abundance of openwells) and due to the fact that people of Rajakanika have been using tubewell water since a long time compared to Delanga (see chapter. 5). Apparently, they have close experience of the difficulties ^{caused} when the handpumps go defunct. Also, it could be due to the fact that compared to Delanga, in Rajakanika, as claimed by the respondents the traditional village committees function well and enjoy the confidence of the villagers.

It is remarkable that in both the blocks 68% of the respondents have expressed their opinion in favour of users supported maintenance system.



Only 30% consider that a Govt. supported maintenance system will do good for them.

A negligible 1% have conferred their faith for proper maintenance of handpumps on the local administrative units i.e. Grampanchayat.
(See Table 2 in Annexure 2)

6.2 IN FAVOUR OF USERS SUPPORTED MAINTENANCE SYSTEM

Responses have come in favour of 3 type of mechanisms: 1. specially formed 'water committees', 2. traditional village committees and, 3. payment only in case of breakdowns.

Why do people support the idea of handpumps maintenance and repair through their own efforts ? Some of the typical reasons forwarded by the respondents in support of this is given below:

- 'Govt. machinery has been inefficient in keeping the handpumps in good working condition.'
- 'Tubewells installed prior to DANIDA never functioned satisfactorily. DANIDA TWs are good - so it should not be let to the hands of the Govt.'
- 'People have not paid anything to enjoy the benefits of tubewell water. It is hightime that they realise their duty and pay for the maintenance and repair.'

Their faith that 'water committee/village committee can efficiently manage the operation and maintenance of handpumps is based on the following assumptions as expressed by the respondents:

- 'Villagers already have experience regarding the capacity of the village committee - there will be no mismanagement in money matters.'

- 'Use of openwell has come down considerably and tubewells are gradually becoming indispensable - so the villagers will not hesitate to pay at the time of breakdowns.'
- 'Villagers have unity and undertake developmental activities for the village. All the households contribute for 'kotha' and temple samiti. Likewise they will pay for the maintenance of handpumps.'
- 'There are village committees existing in some of the villages. Along with other activities they can take care of handpump maintenance and repair.'

The respondents who favoured contribution in case of breakdowns only, had given the following reasons in support:

- 'Easy to collect contributions in a situation of urgency - specially in a situation where people do not have alternative sources and where people have developed dependency on tubewells.'
- 'There is little scope for misappropriation, as the money spent can be shared on the basis of actuals.'
- 'There is very little chance that people will contribute regularly (one of the reasons being peoples poor economic condition) so contribution at the time of breakdowns is the only possibility.'

6.3 IN FAVOUR OF GOVT. SUPPORTED MAINTENANCE SYSTEM THROUGH COLLECTION OF TAX

It is interesting to note that the respondents who have expressed their opinion in favour of Govt. managed maintenance system categorically contradict the views

of the respondents in support of 'Users supported maintenance system'. The reasons forwarded are:

- 'People do not have the habit of paying regularly for any activity. They will only pay if force like tax is imposed on them.'
- 'There is no active institutions in the villages which could take responsibility of handpump maintenance and repair.'
- 'In view of the present day village politics, formation of water committees will not be possible.'
- 'There will be misappropriation of funds in case people take responsibility of maintenance and repair of handpumps. Moreover, villagers have no unity, so no regular village based maintenance system will be possible.'
- 'Traditional institutions like 'Kotha', temple samiti can not undertake jobs like handpump maintenance and repair.'

They strongly recommend that imposition of tax is the only solution as:

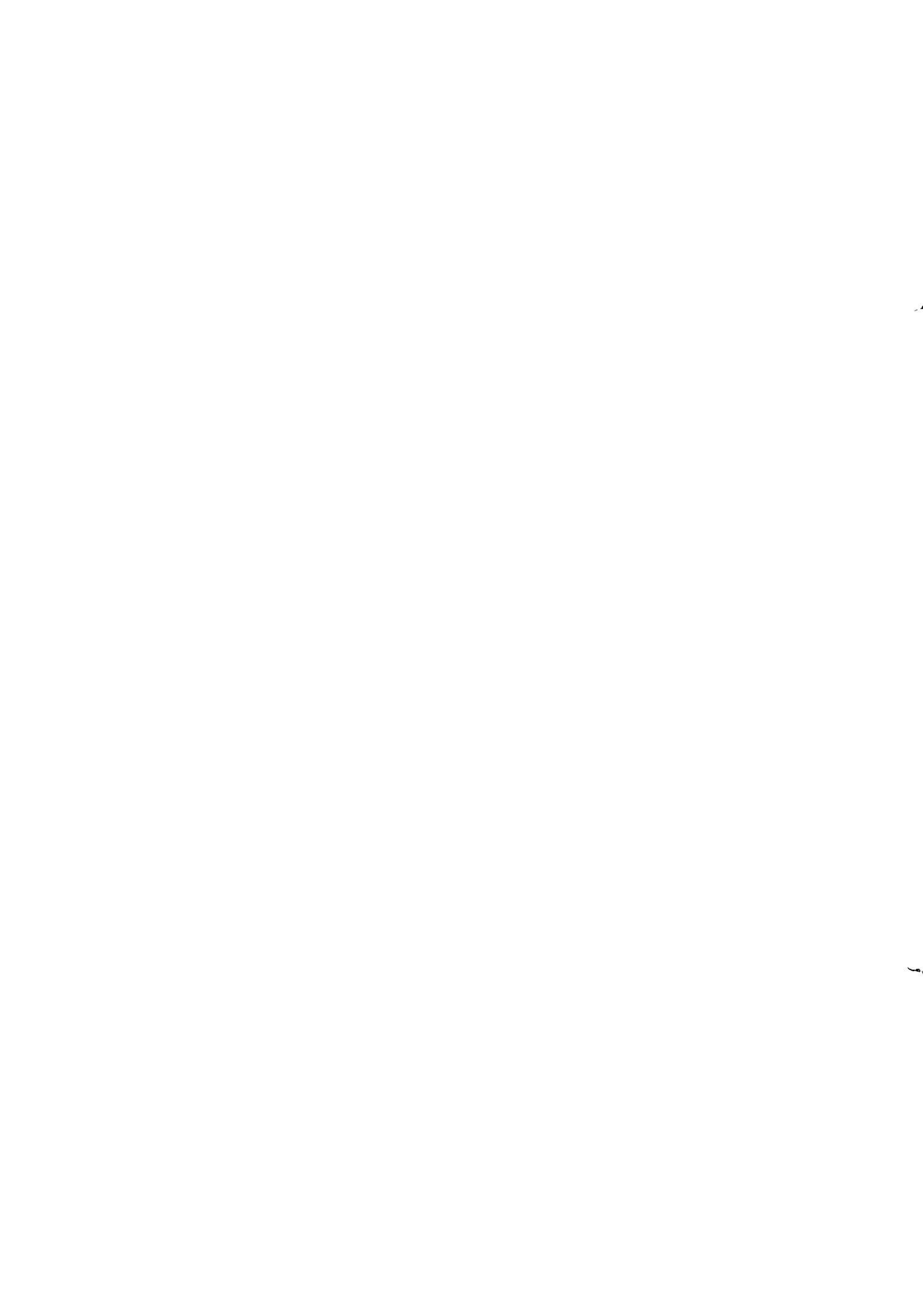
- 'There is no management problem in tax system.'
 - 'Tax for handpump maintenance and repair can be collected with other usual taxes.'
 - 'People will pay only through compulsory methods. on one will pay voluntarily.'
-

6.4 IN FAVOUR OF A FREE GOVT. MAINTENANCE SYSTEM

The respondents who favoured a free Govt. maintenance system also strongly contradict the views in support of 'Users supported maintenance system' and at the same time advocate that maintenance is the responsibility of the Govt. as of the installation of handpumps.

The reasons forwarded are:

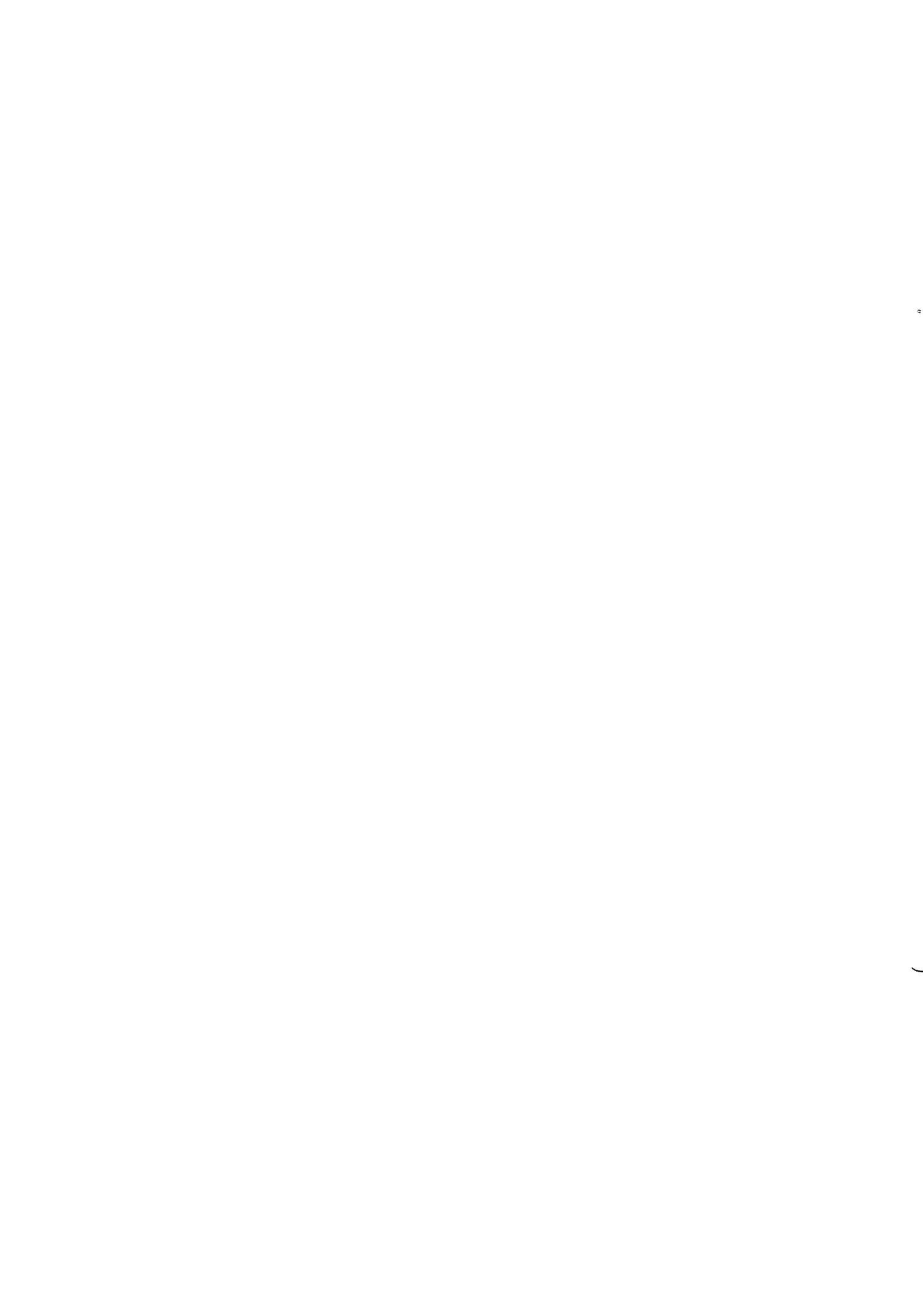
- 'Other systems will not work as there is no unity among the villagers.'
 - 'Villagers have never paid for any Govt. developmental activities (directly) - why should they pay now ?'
 - 'If people take up responsibility for operation and maintenance, there will be misappropriation of funds. As villagers have no unity, they can not manage handpump maintenance and repair in a regular manner.'
 - 'Villagers consent have not been taken prior to the installation of HPs. DANIDA/PHED has already spent a lot of money for HP installation. So it should not be a problem for them to look after the operation and maintenance.'
 - 'People are hard pressed to earn their living - there will be no time for active involvement in HP operation and maintenance. And also, people can not pay due to their poor economic condition.'
 - 'DANIDA/PHED is now paying for HP maintenance. They can continue to do so.'
-
- 'DANIDA is taking care of the O & M now. After the expiry of the Project the State Govt. should take over.'



6.5 IN FAVOUR OF GRAMPANCHAYAT MANAGED MAINTENANCE SYSTEM

The few respondents who have given their opinion in favour of Grampanchayat managed maintenance system stated the following in support of their opinion:

- 'Present day village politics will not allow the formation of water committees. If people take up responsibility for maintenance and repair of handpumps, there will definitely be misappropriation of funds. Moreover, villagers have no unity, thus Panchayat is the best choice to handle maintenance and repair of handpumps.'
- 'After the installation of handpumps the Grampanchayats have not spent anything for openwell renovations - funds thus saved should be utilized for handpump maintenance and repair.'
- 'As Grampanchayats undertake other village level developmental activities, it should also be given responsibility for handpump maintenance.'

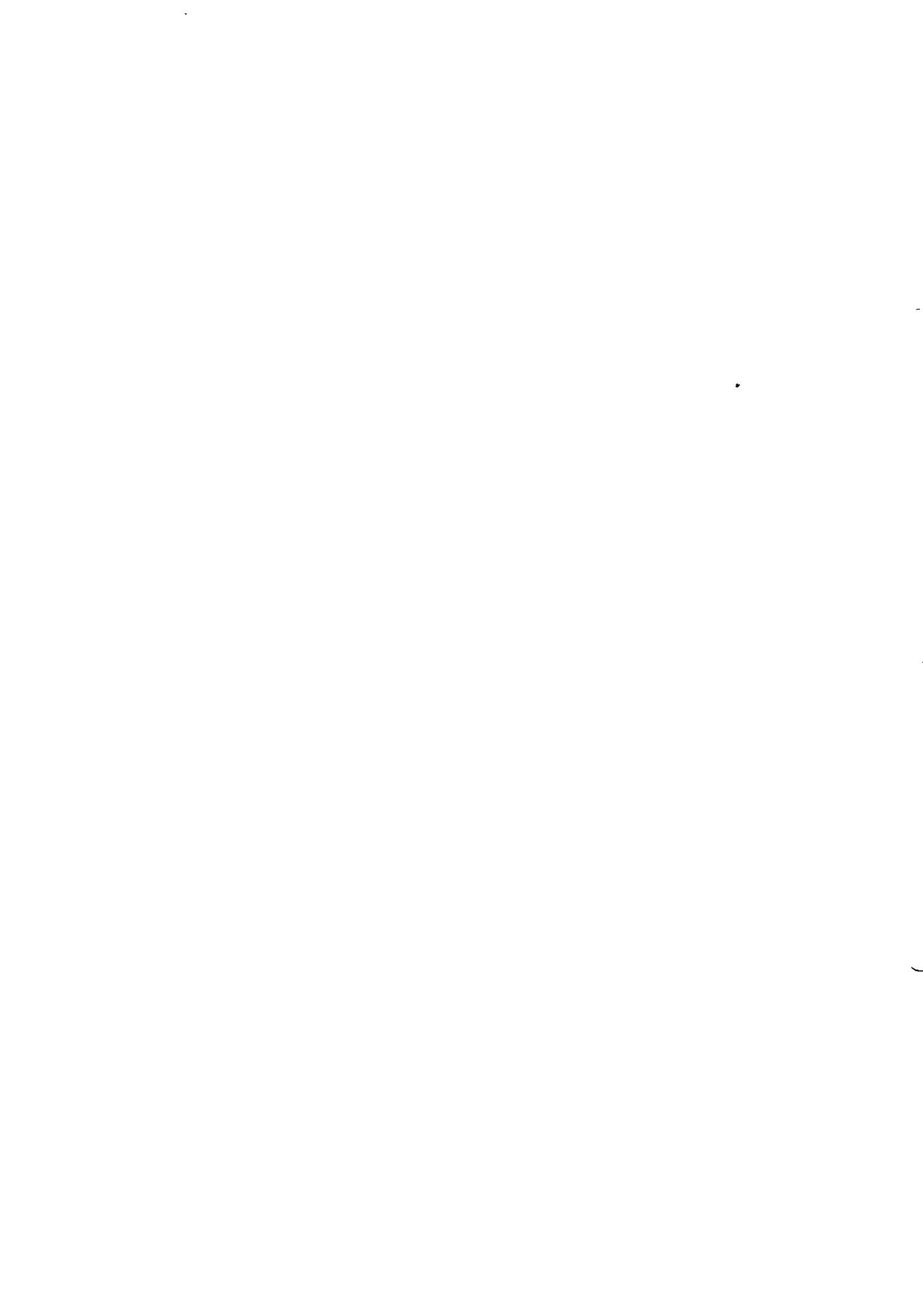


7. OPINION OF GRAM PANCHAYAT FUNCTIONARIES ON DIFFERENT MODELS OF HP MAINTENANCE INVOLVING USERS CONTRIBUTION.

Of the Panchayat functionaries interviewed 76% favoured Govt. supported maintenance system. (23% in favour of imposition of tax and 53% in favour of free maintenance). 24% of the opinion came in favour of the Panchayat managed maintenance system.

All most all the Grampanchayat functionaries interviewed have serious doubts over the possibility of the formation and function of 'water committees'. Some of the functionaries have expressed their views bitterly - "who will be their to whip them all the time ? - now a days no one pays voluntarily". Most of them have said that due to narrow village politics it is not possible to build up any organisation which can live up and function for a reasonable period. Some are even doubtful regarding the continuity of the SEMs - "after DANIDA's withdrawal, there will be conflict between 'Janata' and 'Congress' SEMs' and that will be the end".

Among other reasons, mostly it is the negative attitude towards the villagers, that have led the G.P. functionaries to express their views either in favour of Govt. or Panchayat managed maintenance system. The opinions in favour of the Panchayat managed maintenance have not either come with their conviction. 'If the govt. wants or decides to handover the responsibility to G.P., it can manage through imposition of tax but help of some voluntary organisations will be required to motivate people to pay tax - as the G.P. can not force people in fear of loosing vote' was invariably the prelude before the views in favour of Gram Panchayat managed maintenance were expressed.



7. 1 Grampanchayat functionaries opinion in favour of Govt. maintenance system

The reasons forwarded for the above are the following:

- 'People do not like to contribute for collective activities - even they hesitate to give 'Shramadan' in time of natural calamities. People will not contribute without any force applied on them - which will be possible through imposition of tax at the Govt. level.'
- 'In a welfare, State the Govt. should take full responsibility of providing basic needs like safe drinking water.'
- 'Villagers lack unity and concern for maintenance and repair of handpumps. Considering the amount of money spent on installation of handpumps, maintenance and repair responsibility should not be given in the hands of people - all the efforts will be in vain.'
- 'The handpump mistries (SEMs) are doing their job satisfactorily. The PHED has the infrastructure and technical knowhow in handpump maintenance and repair. When DANIDA withdraws PHED should be requested to take over.'
- 'It will be very difficult for the Grampanchayats to handle the responsibility of handpump maintenance and repair, as they have neither money nor men.'
- 'Prior to the installation of handpumps, the GP was not consulted. The Govt. has installed the pumps - it should take care of them.'

7.2 Grampanchayat functionaries opinion in favour of Panchayat supported maintenance system.

The following is indeed a very feeble voice in support of the above.

- ' Villagers lack unity - so it will not be possible to get direct contribution for handpump maintenance and repair (paying for handpump mistry's remuneration and cost of spareparts). This will be further difficult, as the people have resentments over the water quality and siting of the handpumps. In this situation Grampanchayats can take responsibility of handpump maintenance through collection of tax at the Grampanchayat level.'

- ' Grampanchayat has the capacity to pay for the maintenance and repair of the handpumps including the remuneration of the handpump mistries. If necessary tax should be levied at the G.P. level.' (*)

* Opinion of the Sarapanch of Kantapada GP, Rajkanika block. Reportedly the GP has annual income of over Rs. 70 thousand from the revenue from ferry ghat and market places.

8. MANAGEMENT AND FUNCTION OF THE PROPOSED 'WATER COMMITTEES' AND OTHER MODES OF CONTRIBUTION

The users of the handpumps, functionaries of the village level institutions and Gram Panchayat functionaries have proposed a wide range of 'water committees', direct contribution and tax systems in regard to their level, formation, funding and responsibilities. The following are the different type of 'water committees', contribution systems and tax systems proposed by the respondents.

SL. NO.	LEVEL	FORMATION	FUNDING	RESPON-SIBILITIES	OTHERS
1.	Water Com-mi-ttee for each hand-pump	One represen-tative from each HH will be member of the WC	Every HH will give equal contribution	Will take care of SEM's fees and the cost of spareparts	
2.	Water Com-mi-ttee for each hand-pump	WC will con-sist of 4-5 members	A fixed amount will be colle-cted from each house-hold on mon-thly basis	Will take care of SEM's fees and the cost of spareparts	
3.	Water Com-mi-ttee for HP	No struc-ture sugges-ted	Monthly con-tribution of Rs.1 should be collected from each household by a selected member of WC	Will take care of SEM's fees and the cost of spa-reparts. WC will under-take the improvement work of HP surroundings	SEM will be paid annually. Spareparts will be purchased from the local PHED office.
4.	Water Com-mi-ttee for each HP	No structure suggested	10 paise will be collected from each HH every month	Will pay only cost of spa-reparts at the time of breakdowns. SEM will bring the spare-parts	SEMs remuneration will be borne by the Govt.

SL. NO.	LEVEL	FORMATION	FUNDING	RESPON-SIBILITIES	OTHERS
5.	Water Commit- tees should be formed at the 'ward' level	-There will be a general body compri- sing of Ward- member and one member from each household. -There will be an execu- tive commit- tee (5 mem- bers) who will be ele- cted through secret ballots. -One member of the execu- tive commi- tee will be given finan- cial respon- sibility	Every HH will give 30-50 paise every month on a parti- cular date. Money thus collected will be kept in a joint bank A/C.	Will pay cost of spareparts, and SEM's fees. Take care of proper ope- ration and use of hand- pumps and development of HP surro- undings ,	
6.	Traditio- nal vila- ge commi- tee	Wardmember will specia- lly assigned to lookafter the mainte- nance and repair of HPs.	Households will pay as per their capacity. Rules and regulations will be made in this regard.	Will pay SEM's fees and cost of the spare- parts. Youth Club will take care of the HP surro- ndings.	Development work of surrou- ndings of each of the HPs in the village will be done unifor- mly.
7.	Traditio- nal vill- age comm- ittee /Temple samiti	A separate body will be created within the traditio- nal village committee/ Temple samiti in order to look after the mainte- nance and re- pair of HPs.	Money will be spent from the general fund of the village/ Temple samiti. If necessary money will be separately co- llected for the maintena- nce and re- pair of the HP	Will pay spareparts cost and SEM's fees	Village will have it's own SEM who will be trained by DANIDA.

SL. NO.	LEVEL	FORMATION	FUNDING	RESPONSIBILITIES	OTHERS
8.	Traditional village committee	A separate body will be created within the village committee in order to look after the maintenance and repair of HPs.	Money will be spent from the general fund of the village committee	SEM will be paid annually as frequent payment may lead to management problems	Village committee will not be responsible for the improvement of HP surrounding.
9.	GP. level	Annual tax should be levied by the GP.		Will take care of spare parts cost. SEM's remuneration development of HP surrounding	Prior to imposition of tax campaign has to be undertaken by voluntary agencies to motivate people regarding the need to pay tax for HP as the GP can not force the people
10.	State level	PHED will continue to be responsible for the maintenance and repair of HPs.	Tax for HP maintenance should be collected with land revenue		

8.1 THE AMOUNT USERS WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE

Of the total 240 respondents interviewed in both the blocks only 48% have specifically mentioned the amount of contribution in case of the formation of 'water committee', Tax system, and payment in case of handpump break-downs. The remaining respondents have either refused to commit or have said to decide afterwards after consultation with fellow villagers. Of the respondents specified the amount of contribution 56%

agreed to contribute a maximum of Rs.5 per annum, 32% agreed to contribute a maximum of Rs.10 per annum and only 2% agreed to contribute a maximum of Rs.15 per annum. As to the question, why they will not contribute more, in all most all the cases not withstanding the amount committed, the explanation was:

'from our behalf this is sufficient. After all we are willing to contribute for a public developmental work, which is primarily the responsibility of the Govt.' or 'can not pay more due to poor economic condition'.



9. VILLAGE LEVEL INSTITUTIONS: THEIR ORGANISATION AND ACTIVITIES

Of the 16 sample villages covered by the 'study', 8 villages have some kind of village level institutions. They include: 5 functioning youth clubs, 3 defunct youth clubs, one 'Holi' festival committee, one 'kotha' and temple 'samiti', two functioning village committees.

(See Table - 3)

Youth Club

The youth clubs in the villages are usually come in to being out of the interest of some like minded, enthusiastic youths in order to do some good work for their village (this usually includes: development work like road making, pond cleaning etc, organise cultural and sports activities) or to make use of the funds available under various Govt. programmes (library, adult education, social forestry etc.) or just to have a place of their own to pass time.

In number of cases, the youth clubs represent various interest groups/factions in a village, and their number sometimes depend on the number of such factions.

The activities of the defunct and the functioning youth clubs in the sample villages are almost identical, e.g.:

- renovation of pond and school buildings
- repair of roads
- organise various sports - or/and cultural activities

Income of Youth clubs is primarily based on contribution from it's own members. In special occasions when a cultural programme is appended to '~~Ganesh~~' or '~~Saraswati Puja~~', or in other similar occasions a small amount is levied on villagers. Donations mostly depend on interest of a

particular HH and Youth club members goodwill or interaction with them. Developmental activities like renovation of pond, repair of road etc. is erratic and mostly depend on the mood of the members or the presence of the 'core' leaders who take ^{usually} initiative in these activities. Heavy turnover of the 'core leaders' is an usual feature with youth clubs. When the leader or the enthusiastic members go out of the village for higher studies or to pursue employment, the youth clubs go defunct or cease to function temporarily; until it is replenished with new spirited members or leaders.

As in number of cases the youth clubs represent various interest groups in the village, they do not command the goodwill of the entire village; as a result their activities are limited to a sahi/street. In Delanga, two youth clubs have been defunct following dispute out of celebration of Holi festival.

Two of the youth clubs in the sample villages get financial help from the village committees.

Village Committee

Of the sample villages in Rajakanika, two have traditional functioning village committees - Bansuria and Balarampur. The village committee of Balarampur is claimed to be 100 years old. Bansuria has a joint village committee.

Both the committees have an executive body and all the households are members. Activities of these village committees are limited to settle disputes, organise different socio-cultural activities, school management and small developmental activities like road repair etc. Apparently, the above mentioned village committees enjoy full confidence of the villagers. None of the respondents have levelled any complaints on them. None of the sample villagers in Delang have such village committees.

Festivities celebration committee

Two of the festival committees which organise, Holi festival, belong to Delang block. One is exclusively formed for the above mentioned purpose and the other is a 'kotha', which considers 'Holi' celebration as one of the major activities.

Activities of 'Festival committees' are not very consistent. It is dependent on so many variables: harvest, success of the previous years function, factions in the village etc. The activities range from just maintaining the ritual to very elaborate arrangements.

Thus, the amount of donation can vary widely. Reportedly, the fixed range is Rs.5-20 except that one can make special voluntary contribution. Usually, the socially and economically backward households are given concessions.

'Kotha' or village common fund/temple samiti

Only one village in Delanga has a 'kotha'. The 'kotha' owns a small landed property and a coconut orchard. The landed property and orchard originally belong to the village temple.

In order to raise fund the 'kotha' is engaged in pisciculture activities in the village pond.

The working capital required for this activity is collected from the villagers (usually Rs.20 per annum). Income thus generated is spent on temple rituals, festivals, entertainment or minor activities like road repair etc.

Apart from collection in the context of the formal institutions like 'kotha', village committee or youth clubs, for some activities like minor local

festivities or other small development activities like repair of roads (to facilitate agricultural work etc. villagers collect extempo donations which is spent for those specific activities. These are usually organised by enthusiastic villagers. Sometimes it involves only specific 'sahi'/street of the village.

Administration of funds

Donations for various activities are usually collected against printed receipts. In case of youth clubs the account related to income and expenditures is settled between the organisers, the villagers usually do not take interest. In case of village committee / festival committees income and expenditures are usually made public through general village meetings. In some cases one/more than one selected (usually they elect one of the member as cashier) act as the custodian of the funds generated. In other cases they have joint account in bank or in Post offices. Usually, prior to major celebrations or other activities general meeting(s) involving the villagers is convened; where the mode of celebration, amount of donation, distribution of responsibilities are discussed and finalised.

In Delang, the opinions regarding the activities of the village institution are divided between two extremes, good and bad. People have more doubt regarding the integrity of the institutions than faith. Where as in Rajkanika, both the above mentioned committees enjoy confidence of the villagers.

The attitude of villagers on their own village institutions have been reflected in their opinion regarding the 'mode of handpump maintenance'.



10. GRAM PANCHAYATS: ORGANISATION AND FUNCTIONS

10.1 THE IDEAL

10.1.1 ORGANISATION

A two tier Panchayat Raj system i.e. the Gram Panchayat and the Panchayat Samiti is in vogue in Orissa.

The Gram Panchayat (GP) is the first tier in the Panchayat Raj system. ^{Usually,} One Gram Panchayat is formed for about 5,000 population. The villages under one GP are further divided in to several wards (11-25 in a GP). Ward members from each ward and the Sarapanchs are directly elected by secret ballots. Elections are held once in every 5 years.

One GP is comprised of one Sarapanch, the Ward members, and Naib-Sarapanch (elected by the members. In case of vacancy or absence of the Sarapanch, the Naib-Sarapanch exercises the powers of the former). The services of the members of the Gram Panchayat are honorary. Except that, "the members of the Gram Panchayat including the Sarpanch and Naib-Sarapanch shall be paid a sitting fee of one rupee for every meeting they attend and such travelling and daily allowances as may be prescribed and all such fees and allowances shall be paid from out of the Gram Fund." (7)

7. Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1964.



It is required that the "Gram Panchayat shall meet for the disposal of its business at least once in every month and may hold special meetings whenever circumstances so require". (8)

Panchayats can appoint a wholetime/part time Secretary to maintain records and remain in custody of documents, cash and other valuables. Secretary is the only person to maintain continuity between the elected members. After appointment the Secretary is required to receive four months departmental training at the office of the district Panchayat officer. The whole time/part time Secretary receives a consolidated amount of about Rs.250/-/Rs.100/- per month from the Gram Panchayat fund. The Secretary is entitled to get travelling and daily allowances for visiting a place beyond 8 kms. of the GP headquarters. (Panchayat Secretary, the person to manage administration of drinking water and sanitation facilities in the Panchayat ?)

"Subject to the provision in the budget, the Gram Panchayat may, from time to time, by resolution, create new post or abolish any existing post and determine the salary to be paid to the holder of the newly created post." (9)
Standing approval is existing to appoint additional staff like scavengers, Tax collectors, Peons etc. Approvals for new posts can be obtained by putting proposals with District Panchayat Officer. (Panchayats can recruit handpump mistries, the SEMs ?)

8,9. Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1964.



For efficient discharge of its function the Gram Panchayat can constitute different standing committees. Five 'Functional Committees' are recommended by the Gram Panchayat rules, 1968. This includes one 'Functional committee' for Education, Health and Sanitation including rural water supply. Gram Panchayats can constitute 'Functional Committees' on other subjects deemed necessary. These committees will have 5 members from within its members and two will be nominated from villages. One outsider who is deemed knowledgeable on the subject will be taken as member to advise the committee. The extension officer and the village level workers may be official members for such committees without any power to vote. The Sarapanch shall be the ex-officio Chairman and the Secretary of the Grampanchayat shall be the Secretary of each Functionality Committee.

Two or more Gram Panchayats may, with the approval of the collector join in constituting a joint committee for any purpose in which they are jointly interested or jointly responsible. Procedure for formation of joint committees are detailed in the Orissa Gram Panchayat rules, 1968. (Functional Committee/Joint Committee to coordinate activities related to the maintenance of drinking water facilities ?)

The 2nd Tier in the Panchayat Raj system is the Panchayat Samiti, located at the block level. (10)

10.1.2 FUNCTIONS

Gram Panchayats have been entrusted with an impressive array of functions. Given below are some of the important functions.

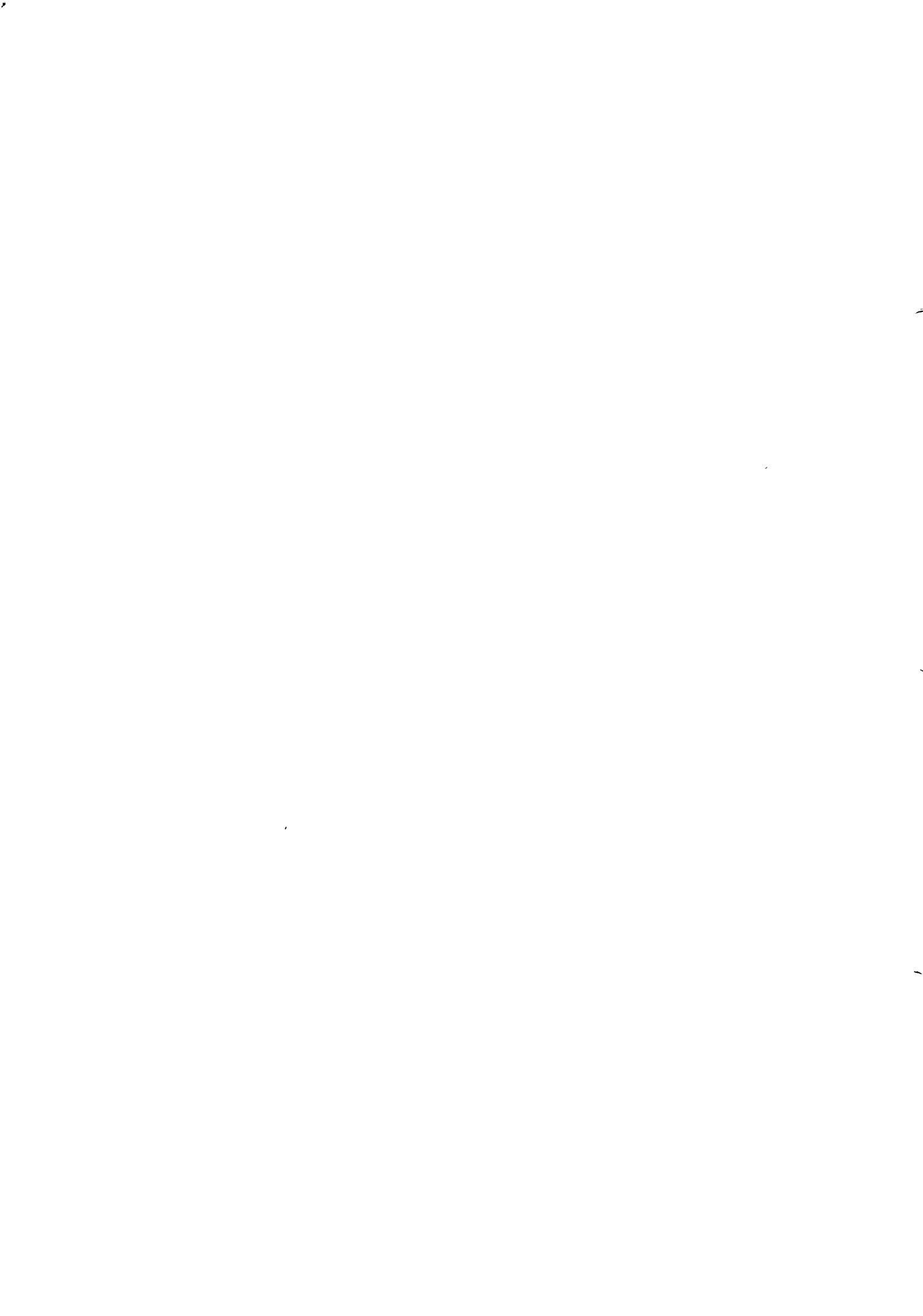
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10. The elected head of the Panchayat Samiti (elected by Sarapanches, Ward members) is the Chairman. Other members- Contd.

Obligatory functions - among other functions this include:

- Construction, repair, maintenance, alteration and improvement of public streets
- Lighting, watering and cleansing of public streets and other public places
- Construction, maintenance and cleansing of drains and drainage works and all public latrines, urinals and similar conveniences and the disposal of drain water sullage.
- Construction and maintenance works and means for supply of water for public and private purposes, and regulation of sources of water supply for drinking purposes and storage of water supplied for drinking purposes.
- Measures for preventing and checking and spread of epidemic or infections and other dangerous diseases. (It is already there - at the minimum Grampanchayat can be involved in creation and maintenance of safe drinking water and sanitation facilities ?)

Contd.

are the Sarpanches, Ward members, local MPs, MLAs; persons representing cooperatives etc. The Panchayat Samiti operates through its statutory committees such as: production programmes, social welfare, cooperatives, education, rural water supply, health & sanitation etc. Panchayat Samitis have an impressive list of functions and responsibilities. They do not have their own resources. Their resources mainly consist of a share in the land or local less duty on transfers of property, community development grants and funds allotted by the State Govt. for specific schemes.



Discretionary Functions: A number of activities are listed under this; mainly in the areas of social forestry, agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperatives, natural calamities, leisure activities for villagers, adult education, vaccination, relief work, organise social service works etc.

G.P. can also take "any measure not here in before specially mentioned which is likely to promote public safety, health convenience or general welfare."(11)

Delegation of duties to Gram Panchayats

The Gram Panchayats have to undertake activities which are transferred or delegated to them by or order of the local authority of the Central or State Govt. as the case may be. Detailed procedures for execution of development works by Gram Panchayats have been made under the Orissa Grampanchayat rules, 1968. (The responsibility of installation and maintenance of drinking water facilities can be delegated to the Grampanchayats ?)

Duties of Gram Panchayat in respect of water supply

"The Gram Panchayat shall provide the Gram or any part thereof with a supply of water proper and sufficient for domestic purposes and for such purposes may -

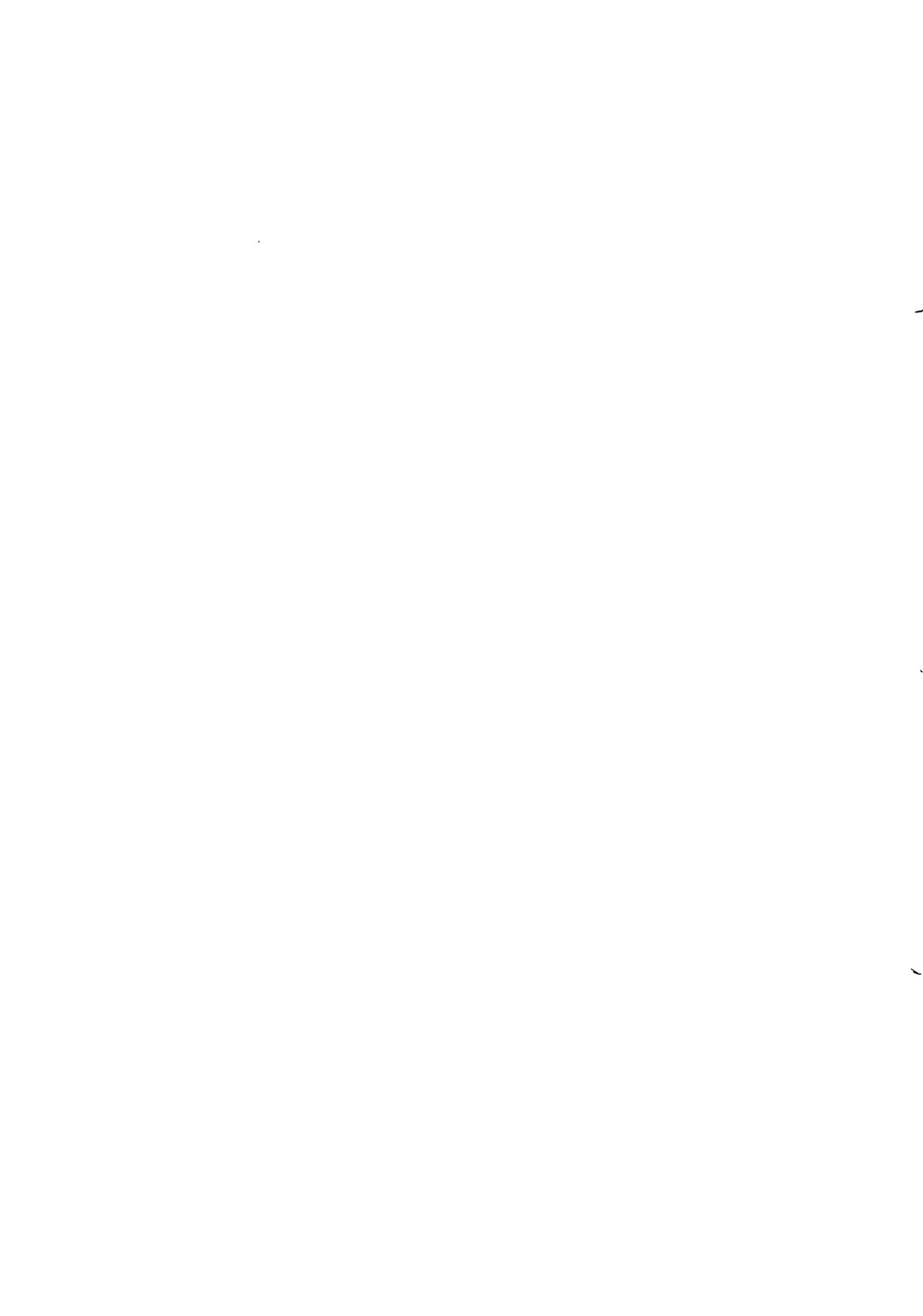
- construct, repair and maintain tanks, wells or tubewells or lay srvice pipes and other water fittings for supplying water and clear out streams or water courses.
x x x x x

~~do any other act necessary for carrying out the purposes of this section" (12)~~

(Has the Project taken out these functions ?)

11. Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, (45), 1964

12. Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, (51), 1964



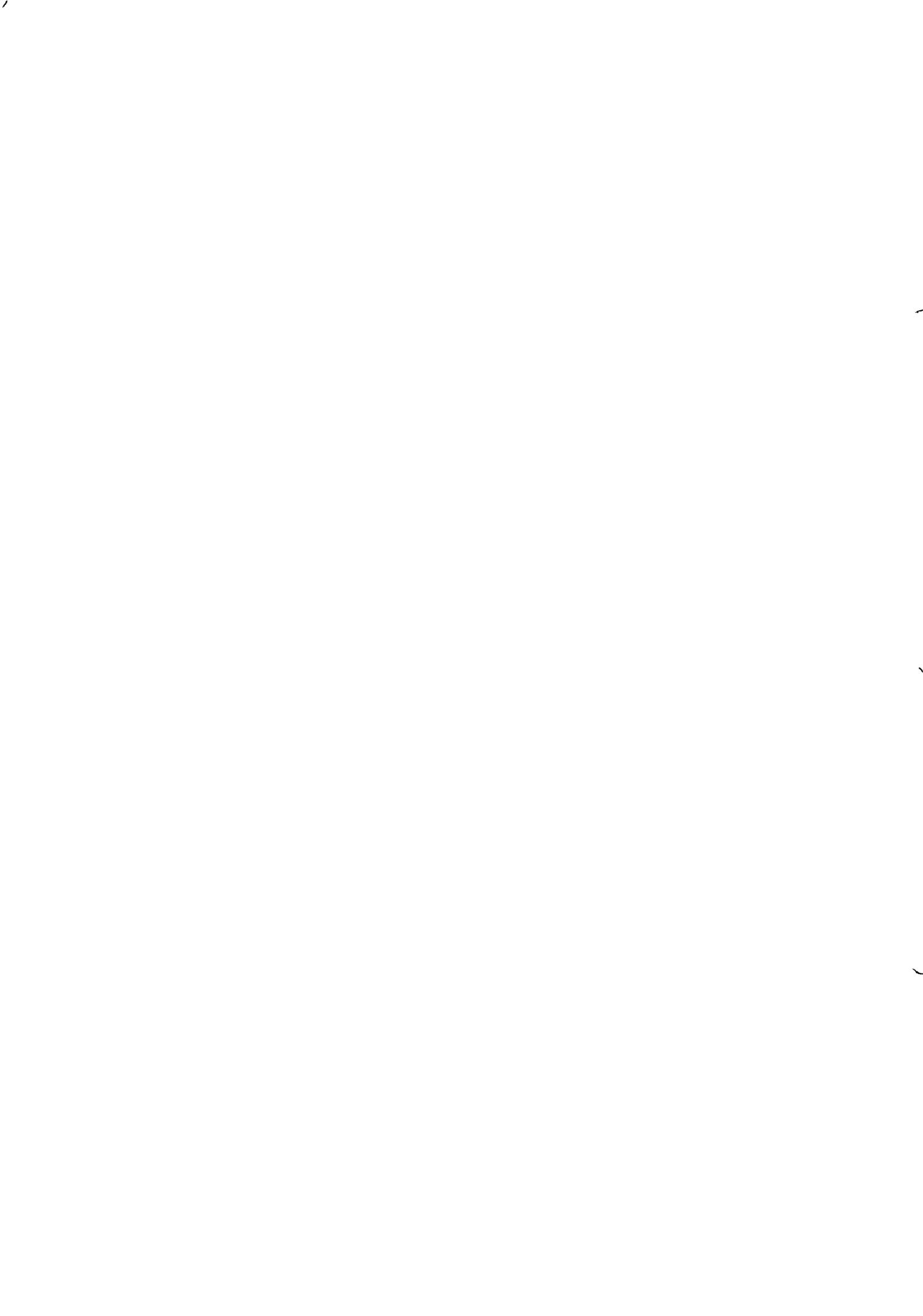
A number of functions related to the improvement of sanitation in villages, also have been stipulated for the Gram Panchayat.

10.1.3 FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

A number of provisions has been provided to Gram Panchayats to raise fund. They include:

- tax, toll, fee or rate imposed on markets, ferryghats, fisheries, cycles, rickshaws, bullock carts etc.
- fines imposed and realised in respect of offences committed within the jurisdiction of Gram Panchayat
- money received by way of penalty, or compensation
- income from any scheme undertaken by the Gram Panchayat on its own account or on behalf of Govt. or any local authority.
- sums assigned to the Gram Panchayat fund by special or general order of State Govt., from out of Govt. revenues, etc.
- sums received by way of loan, gift or contributions or other grants from any source what so ever by or on behalf of the Gram Panchayat
- and many more

The Gram Panchayat can raise the existing taxes or impose new tax if necessary to discharge their duties or obligatory functions. This will require the approval of the collector. The Gram Panchayats can impose any



tax "which it is empowered to impose or to enhance any existing tax in such manner or to such extent as the collector may deem fit:..." (13)

Elaborate procedures have been laid for collection of tax and take action on the defaulters.

Since the focus is on the Gram Panchayats, a more detailed presentation of the GP organisation is felt necessary. It is found that already an elaborate ground plan is existing and there is no need to sit down tightly and make additional set of rules and regulations or ~~not~~ pitch hope on very thin reality which can hardly hold it.

10.2 THE REALITY

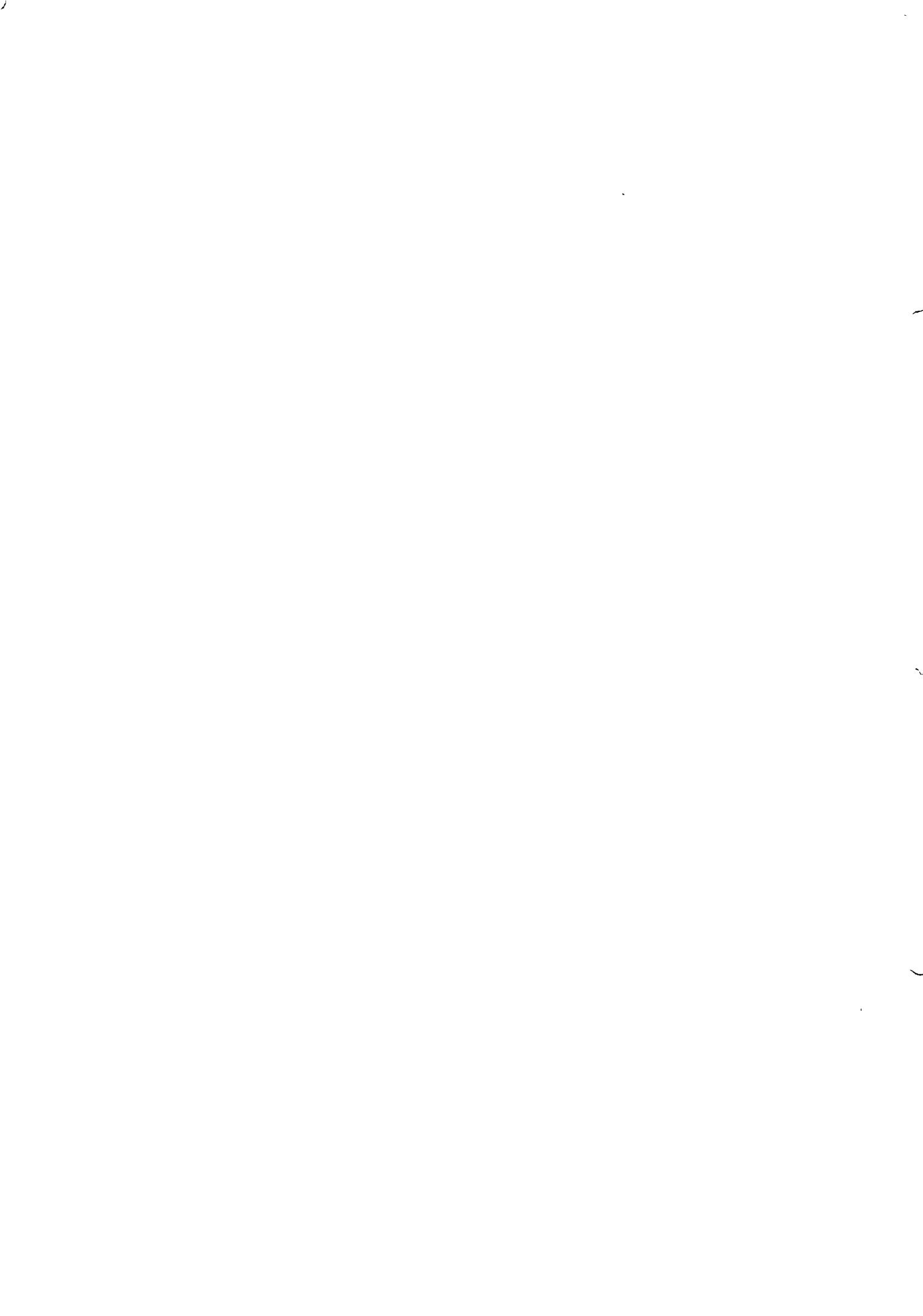
The reality wears a very grim picture. It has very little correlation with the concept of Panchayatraj and with the functions, rules, regulations so carefully formulated. The Seventh Five Year Plan document observes that "although Panchayatraj institutions, in one form or another exist in most States, they have for a variety of reasons not been actively and effectively involved in the implementation of rural development programmes except in few States." (14)

The last five years income, and expenditure abstracts obtained from the sample Gram Panchayats, though not very systematic, partly illustrates that the ideal of GP's in reality is just an ideal which still has to come through.

During years 1982 to 1987 three of the four sample Gram Panchayats of Rajkanika block have made average annual income of Rs.5880 and have incurred average expenditure of Rs.6765.

13. Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1964

14. Seventh Five Years Plan, Vol. II, Govt. of India Planning Commission, P.64.



The remaining GP, Kantapada has made its lowest income of Rs.18007 in the year 83-84 and the highest of Rs.73813 in the year 85-86. The lowest expenditure made by this GP was Rs.6732 in the year 82-83 and the highest of Rs.109092 in the year 84-85. This should be considered as an exceptional case as this Panchayat has the busiest ferryghat and market place in the area from which it gets this impressive revenue. This Panchayat supports a college and a High school from its revenue. Incidentally, the Sarapanch of this Gram Panchayat has expressed his confidence that the GP can manage the responsibility of maintenance and repair of the handpumps located in the GP out of it's own fund.

In Delang block, the sample GPs have made an annual average income of Rs.4885 between year 1982-87 and have incurred average annual expenditure of Rs.4239.

In both blocks collection from public tax i.e. vehicle tax (cycle,rickshaw, bullock cart) has been very erratic. This ranges from a mere Rs.84 to impressive Rs.6061. Income from this source should ^{actually} ~~because,~~ have shown increase in every succeeding year/as observed there has been a steady increase in the no. of vehicles. The reasons for this poor collection is apparently due to the fact, as told by one Sarapanch that "the Panchayat can not force people to pay tax in fear of loosing vote".

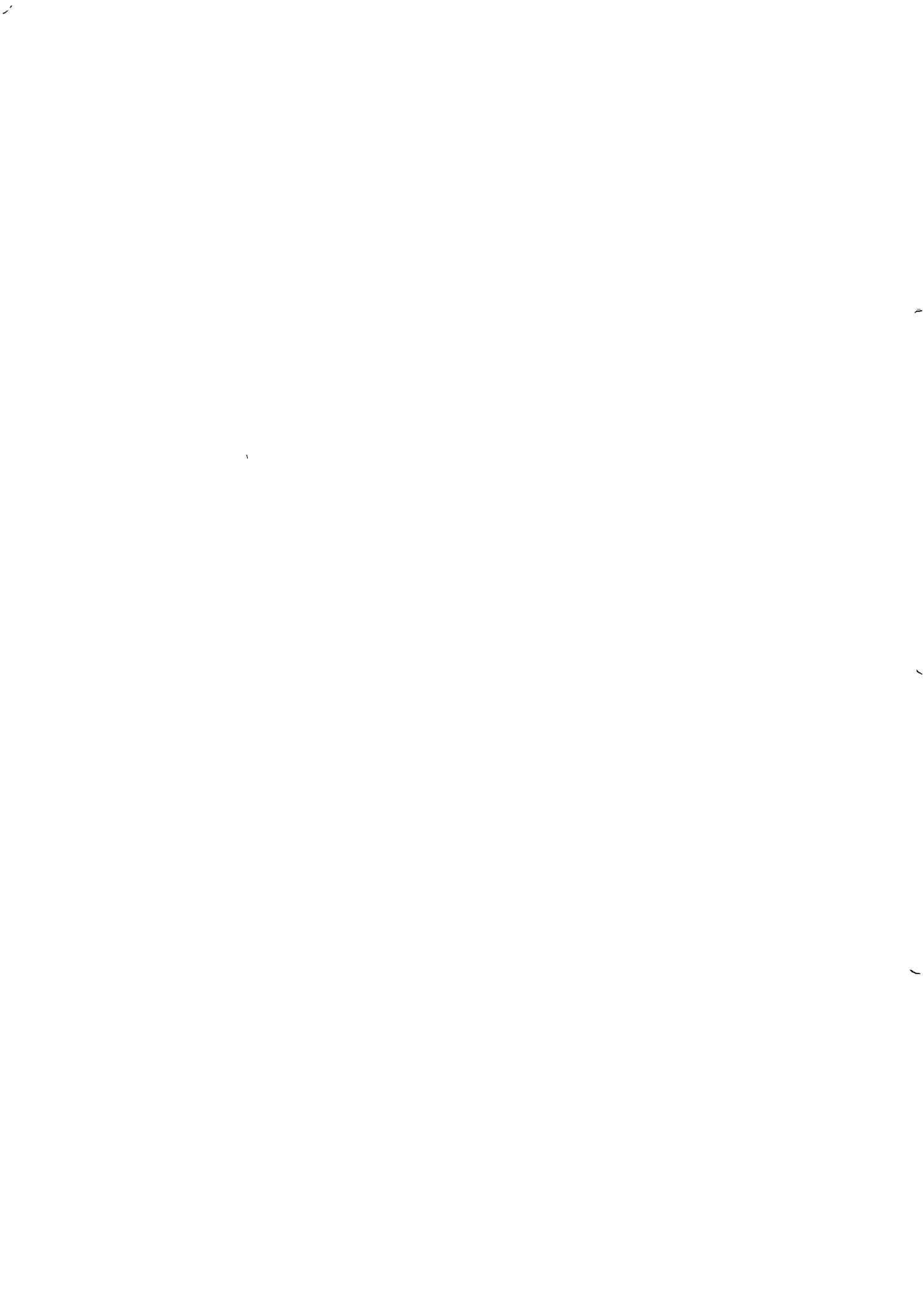
The Grant-in-aid for maintenance of GP staff, in both the blocks also have been very irregular. The amount fluctuates widely. In Rajkanika block, the sample GPs have not received the Grant-in-aid for the maintenance of staff in most of the years under review.

One of the most important item i.e. grant for maintenance of open wells have received the least attention. In Delang, all the sample GPs have received what so ever meagre amount (ranges from Rs.28 to Rs.288) most of the years. In Rajkanika, only two of the sample G.Ps have received the said grant- one Rs.76 and the other Rs.10. However two G.Ps in Delang have spent substantial amounts, compared to the grant, on the openwells. In Rajkanika one GP has spent Rs.595 in last 5 years though it has only received Rs.10.

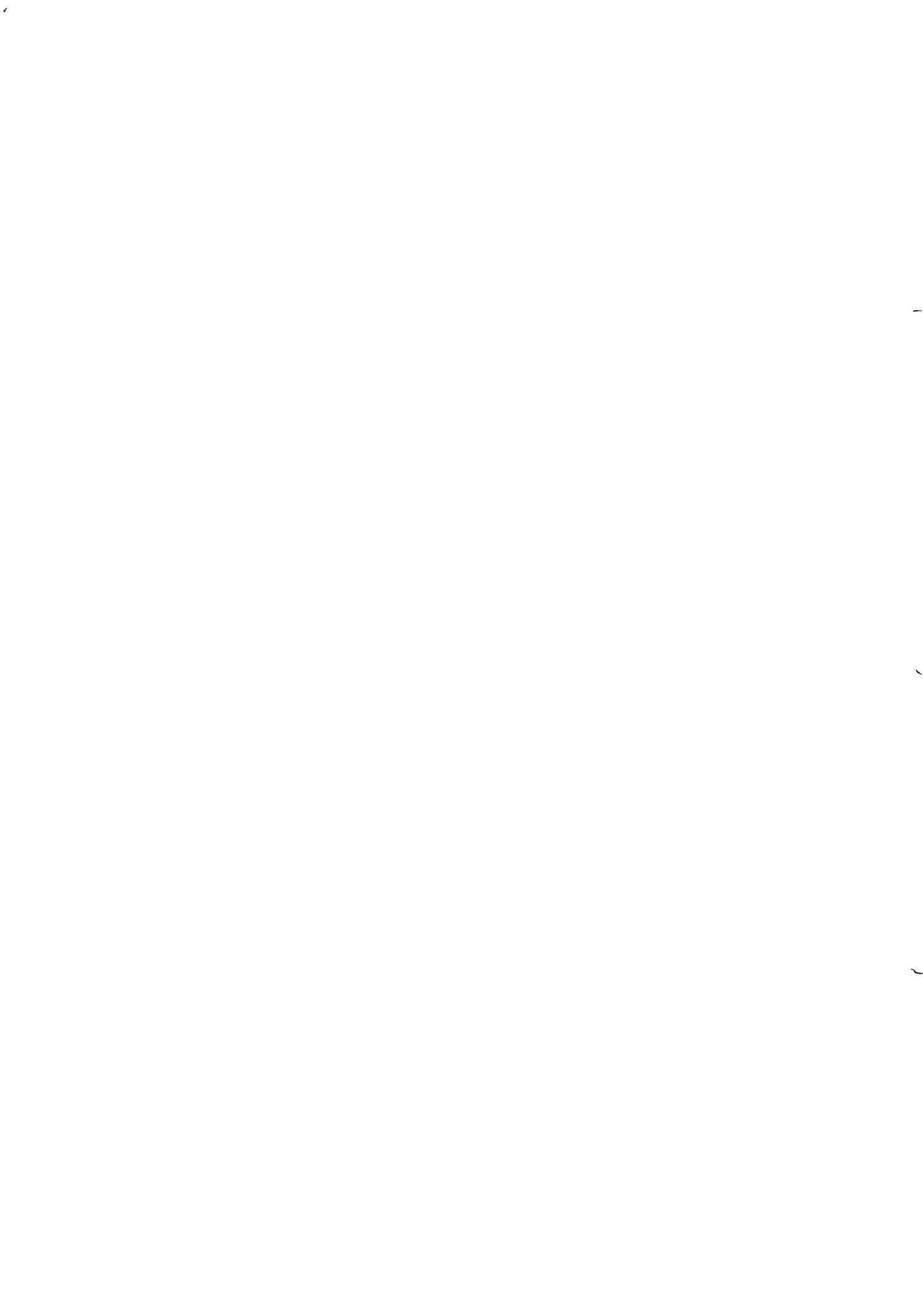
The other important area of income and expenditure is the road grant and the road repair. In Delang, all the sample GPs have received road grants in most of the years (ranges from Rs.104 to Rs.4500). Two GPs have spent higher amount than what they have received against this head. In Rajkanika all the three GPs, for which data is available, have spent average Rs.2671 every year not withstanding the low income they have received in some of the years.

Without going to the other items of income and expenditures, the frustrations of the Sarapanches and Ward members and their 'impotency in the eyes of people', as expressed by one Sarapanch is understandable. Not surprisingly, the Sarapanches use their position either to built their political carrier or pursue other personal interests.

Reportedly, the meetings of the Sarapanches and the Ward members have been very irregular. The other functions of the GPs in almost all the cases are limited to acting as recommending agency for selection of beneficiaries for various 'poverty alleviation' and other developmental programmes.



ANNEXURE 1



**SCHEDULE FOR DOCUMENTING USERS RESPONSES REGARDING CONTRIBUTION
FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR OF HANDPUMPS**

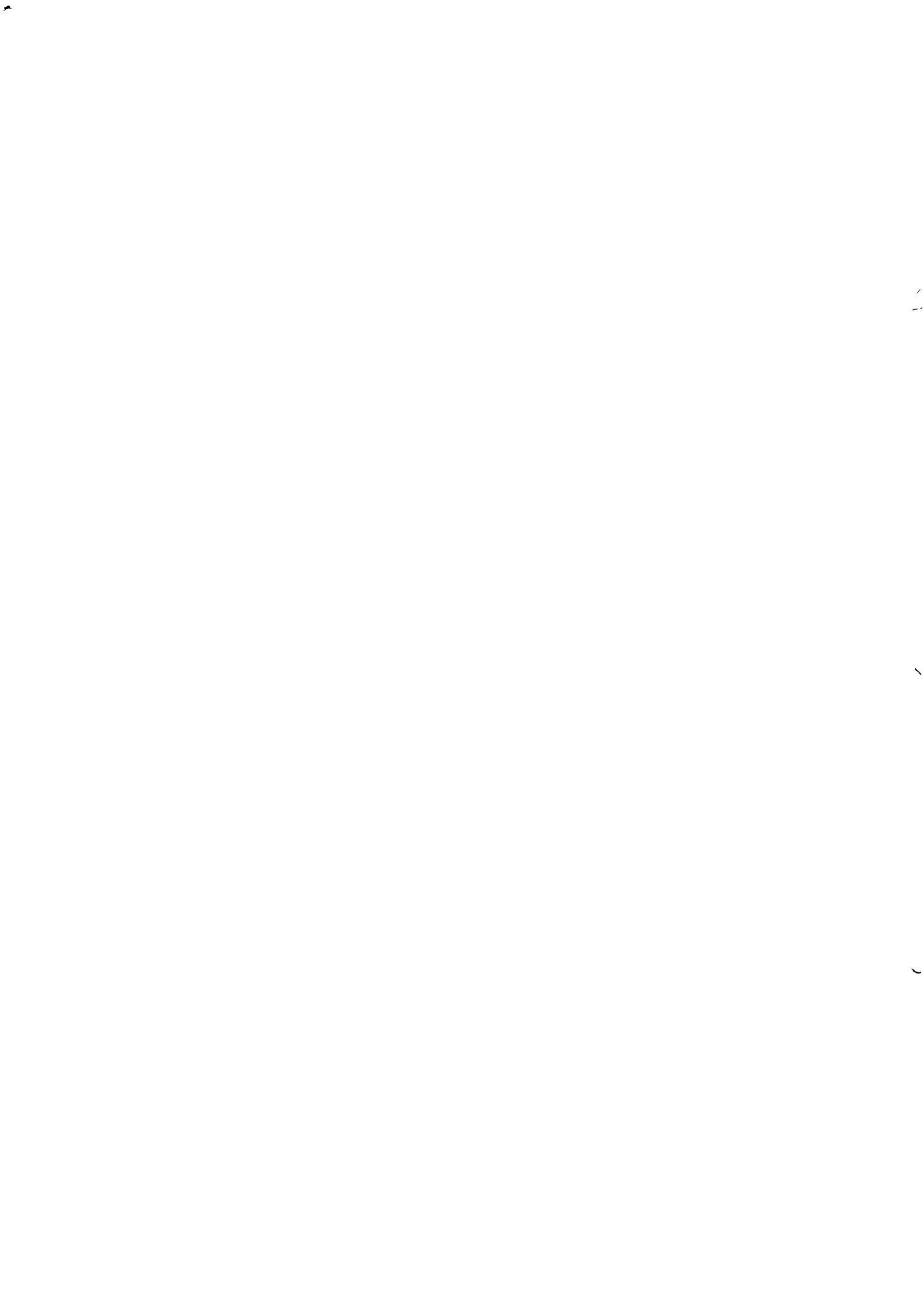
III. Particulars about the respondent

Name of the Respondent _____ Name of the GP _____
 Village _____ Habitation _____ Pump Regd. No. _____
 Age _____ Sex _____ Education _____ Economic
 status _____.

(This will be administered to the functionaries of all village/GP level institutions and to head of the households. First, explain why it is necessary for the users of HPs to contribute towards the maintenance and repair of HPs and how water users committees may be helpful to organise collection and administration of funds) (see guidelines for introducing.....).

Sec.I.] If continuous water supply is guaranteed how would you like to contribute towards the maintenance of the handpump:

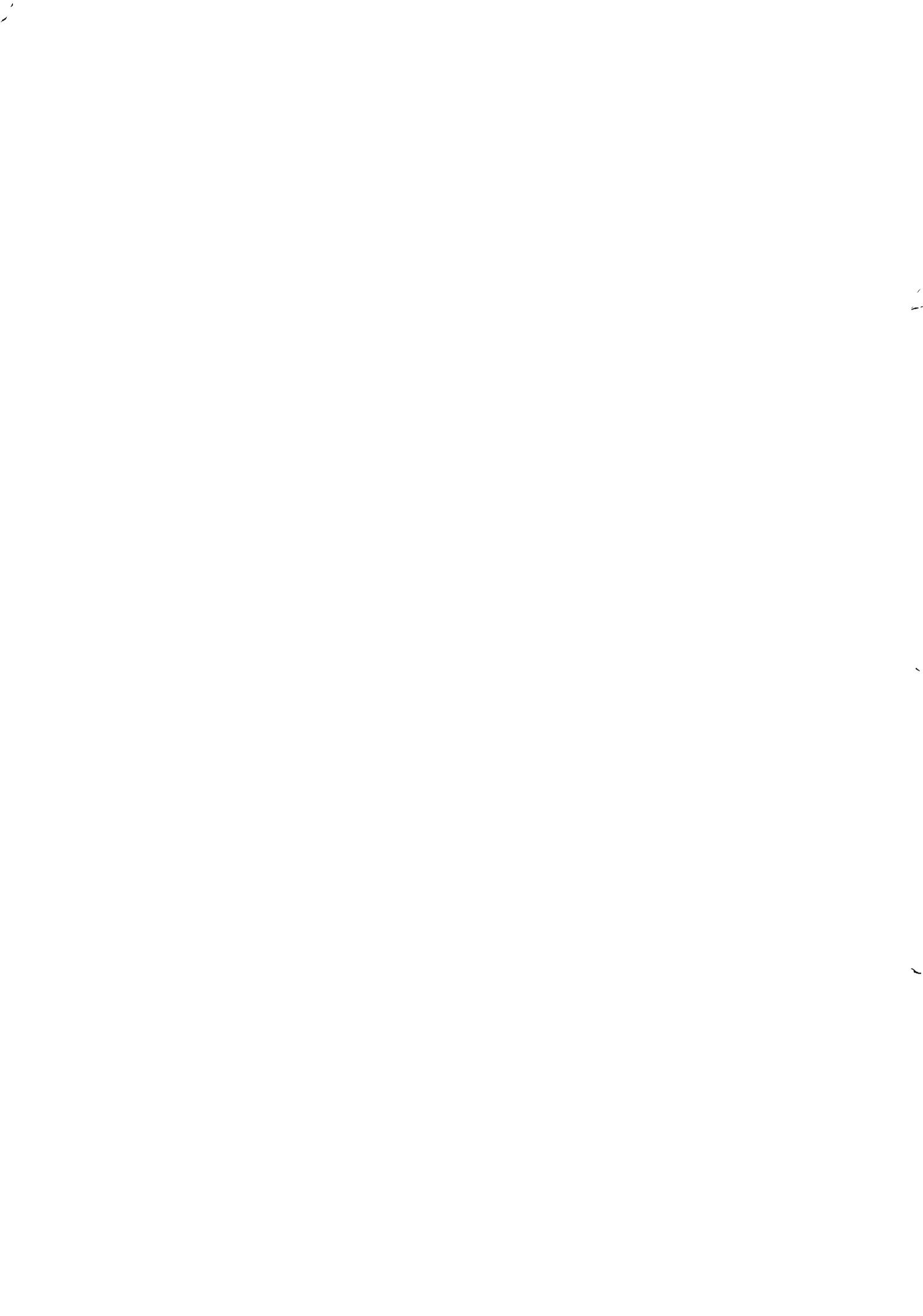
- A. My family can contribute on a regular basis ()
 Amount ? Rs. 1/2/4/6/8
 Why not more ?
- B. My family will contribute only in case of breakdown of the HP. ()
 Amount ? Rs. 1/2/4/6/8
 Why not more ?
- C. If continuous safe water supply is guaranteed, costs for maintenance and repair of HPs should be covered through water taxes. ()
 Amount of tax per year.
 What should be the amount of tax per year ? Rs. 1/2/4/6/8
 What not more ?
- D. Other, specify -
- E. To the answer(s) to Q. 1 Pl. enquire about the reasons(s) behind.



(If the respondent does not answer to any of the questions in Section A Pl. go to Section II)

2. As may be the answer in Q. 1 - can this contribution/tax be collected through 'water users committee' ?
() Yes () No
3. If yes, how will be the composition of the 'water committee' ?
() Users of a single HP only
() Users of all HPs in a habitation/hamlet
() Users of all HPs in a revenue village
Others: specify - _____
4. Who will collect the money (water fees) ?
A. The water user committee will appoint a person ()
B. The following institutions/members will be engaged in collection of the money on behalf of the water committee.
1. Youth Club () 2. Mahila Samiti () 3. Temple Samiti () 4. Ward Member () 5. The Sarapanch ()
6. Other GP appointed persons () 7. JE at the Block level () 8. The Tahasildar/R.I. ()
9. Others ()
5. As to the answers to Q. 3,4 Pl. enquire about the reason behind.
6. What will be the frequency of collection of fees ?
() Monthly/() Quarterly/() Half Yearly/() Yearly.
Why do you think so ?
7. The amounts collected should be utilized for :
() Only SEM's remuneration
() Only cost of spareparts
() Both SEM's remuneration and cost of spareparts
Others, specify - _____

Why do you think so ?
8. What will be the other functions of the water users committee.
A. Maintenance and improvement of HP surrounding. ()
() Proper operation of handpump
() Bathing slab



- () washing slab
- () Kitchen garden

Others:

Any idea as to how will the activities (as suggested above) organised ?

Sec.II.1 Who do you think should pay for the O & M of the handpump ?

- () Govt. () PHED () DANIDA

2. If any one of the above, ask why:

- () They have already spent a lot on a TW, therefore cost for maintenance & repair should not pose a problem.
- () Now they are paying for the maintenance & repair, they can continue to do so.
- () Govt./DANIDA did not ask us before installation of tubewells.

Any other reasons :

3. Do you have any other reasons to form this opinion (as in Q. 2)

- () The HP water is not a felt need, since good alternative sources (OW) are available and equally valued.
- () Water is not to be paid for, it's a free gift of nature.
- () The SEMs service is not satisfactory/necessary.
- () The TW water is not needed/quality unacceptable.

Others : specify -

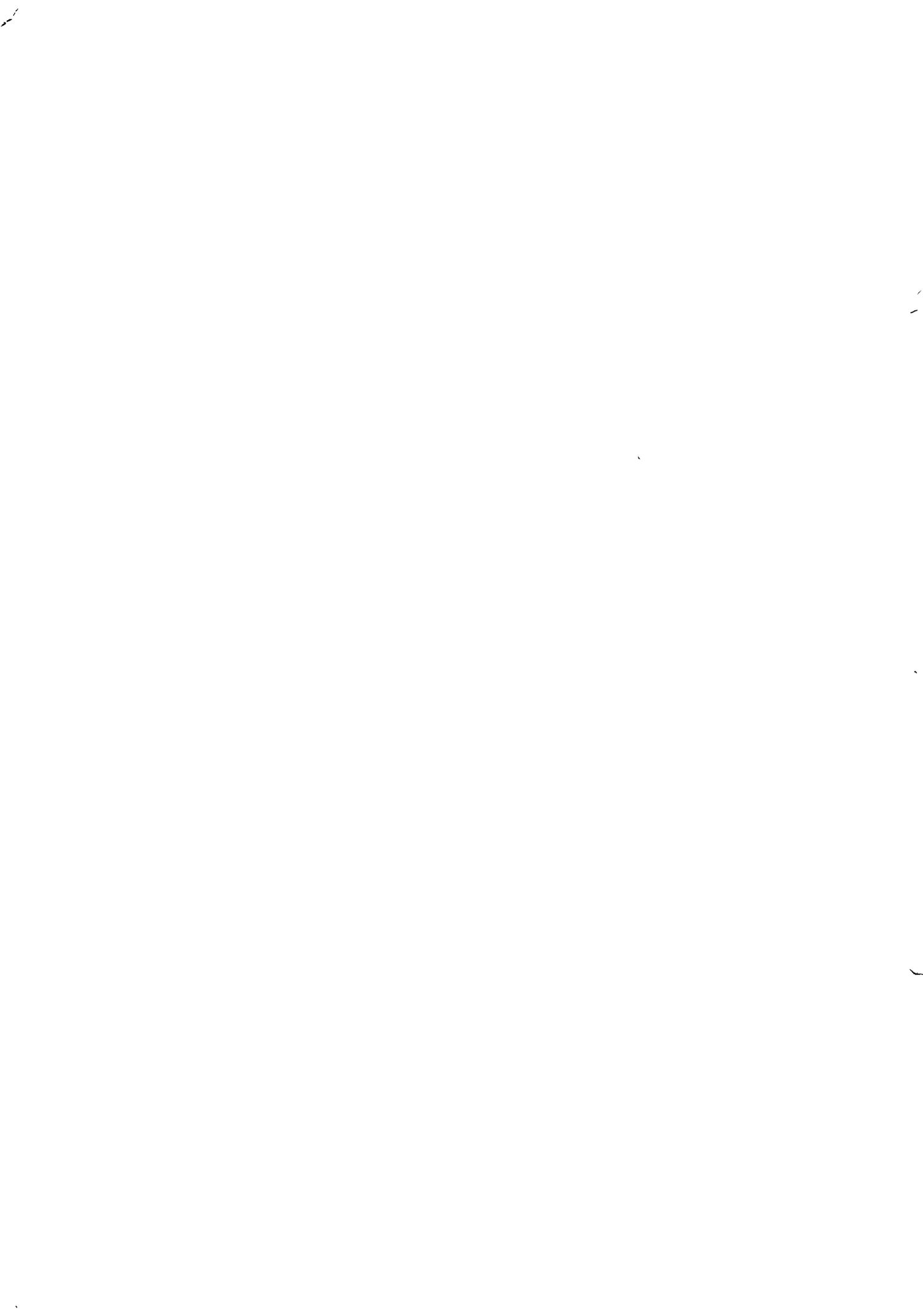
III. General observations by the interviewer.

Date:

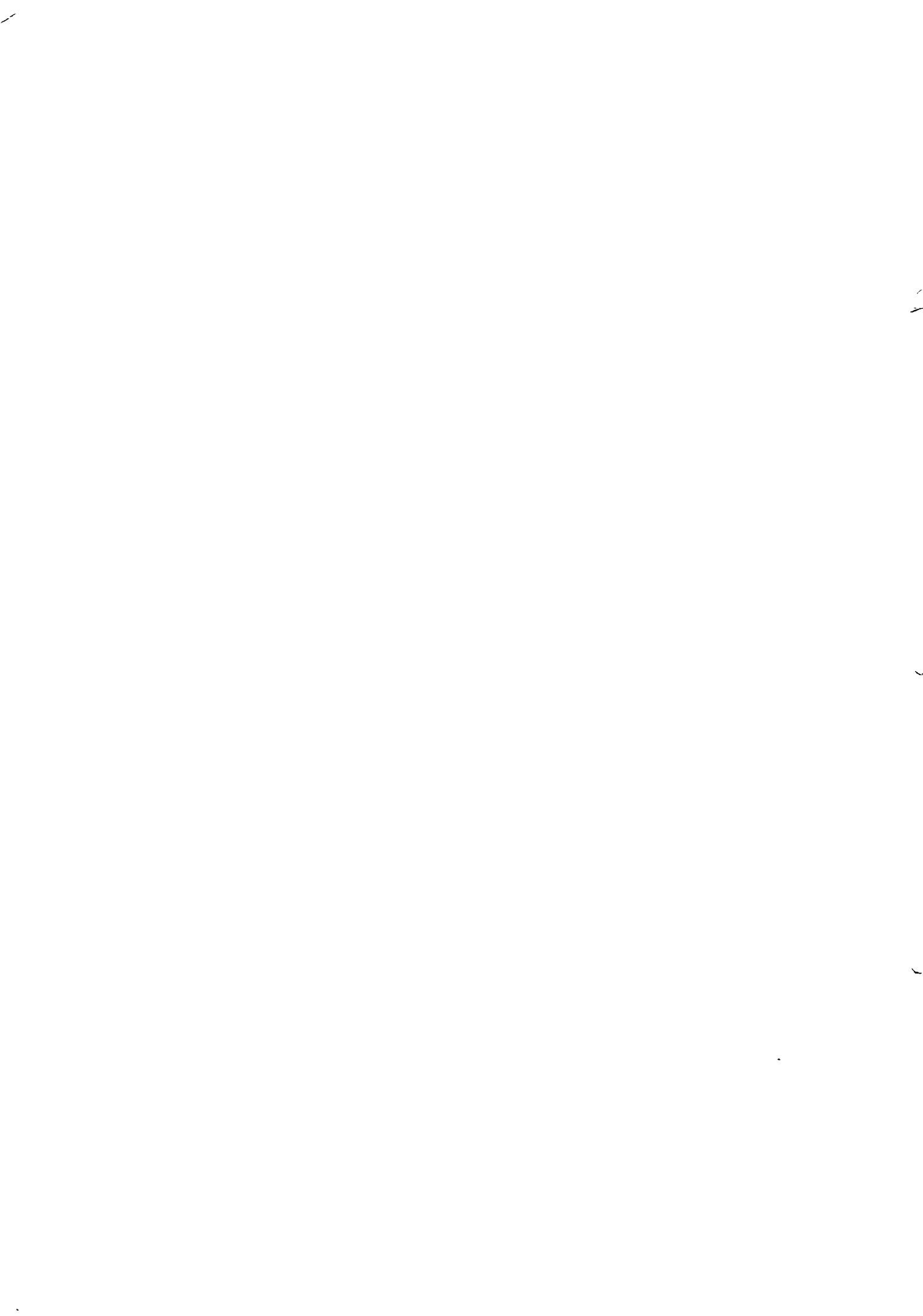
Time: _____

Name of the staff:

Signature



ANNEXURE 2



SAMPLE HABITATIONS WITH NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS

TABLE-1

DELANG BLOCK

Name of the GP	Name of the Village	Name of the sample habitation	No. of HH in the habitation		
			Total	Gen. caste	SC/ST
Singhberhampur	Harirajpur	Patnasahi	36	36	
	Basantpur	Badasahi	29	29	
Gualipada	Humar	Kshetra-palsahi	41	41	
	Machhapada	Malisahi	43	43	
Jenapur	Sadapada-II	Sadapada-II	23	23	
	Jenapur-II	Beherasahi	18	7	11
Arisol	Brahmana - Taraboi	Talasaahi	57	55	2
	Odalang	Odalanga	30	30	

RAJKANIKA BLOCK

Name of the GP	Name of the Village	Name of the sample habitation	No. of HH in the habitation		
			Total	Gen. caste	SC/ST
Koranda	Bansuria	Bansuria	22	22	
	Koranda	Kumbhara-sahi	18	14	4
Olavar	Olavar	Harijan-sahi	20		20
	Balarampur	Kumbhar-sahi	26	26	
Kanlapada	Mahurigaon	Proper	39	39	
	Arasa	Nua Arasa	32	32	
Jagulaipada	Ganja	Proper	33	27	6
	Chrentapada	Jharamahu	34	18	16

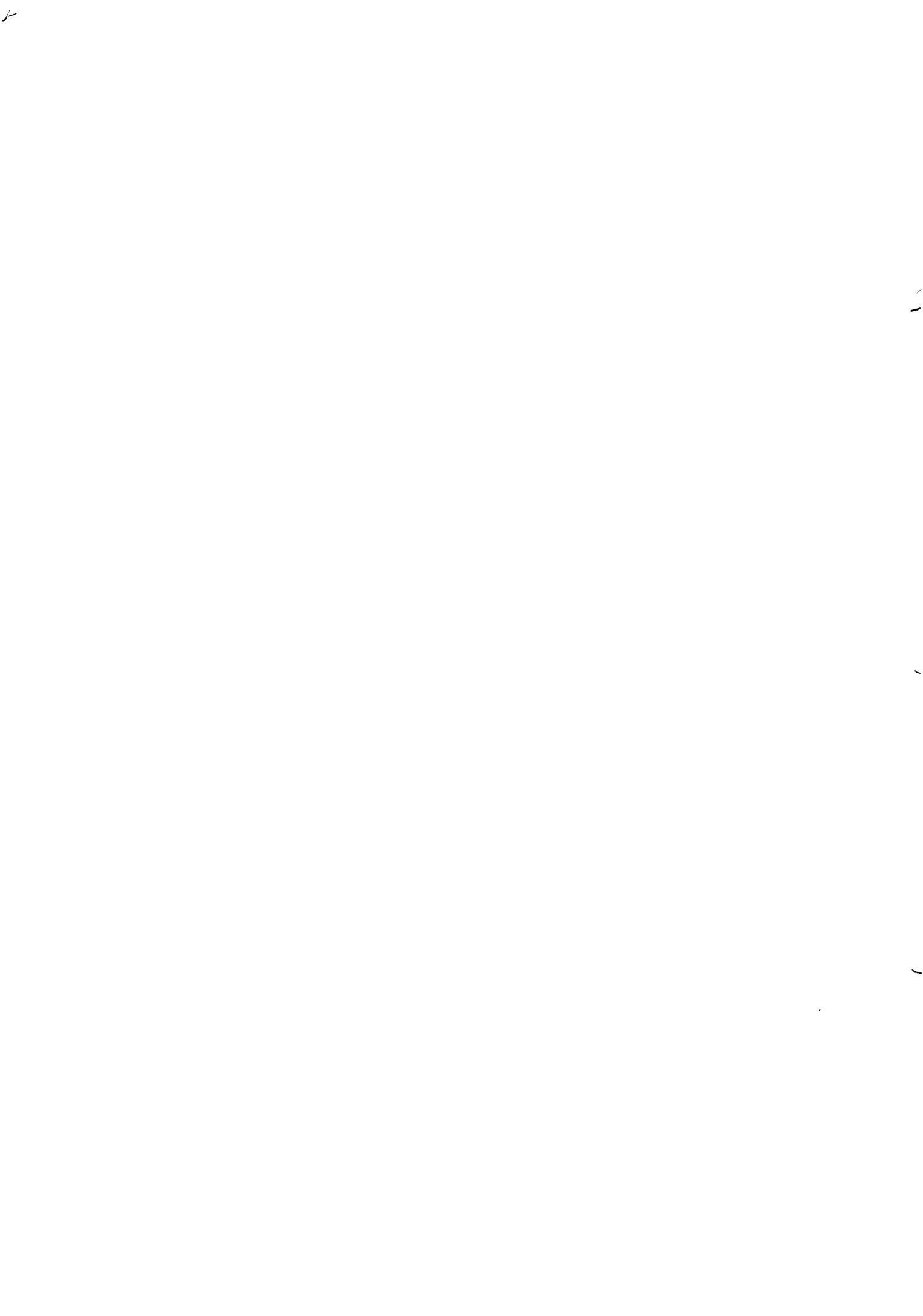


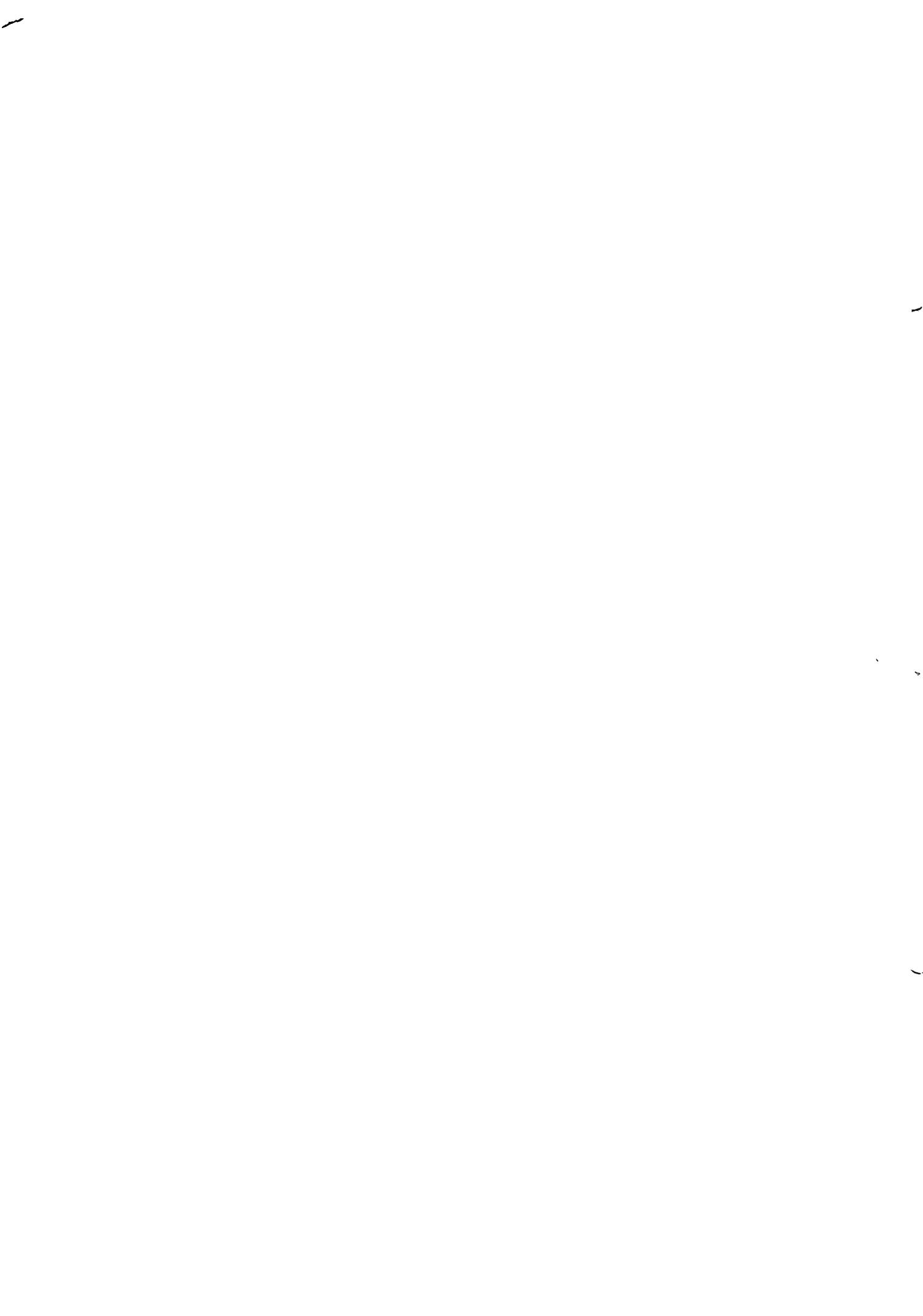
TABLE-2

**RESPONDENTS OPINION REGARDING THE MODE OF CONTRIBUTION FOR HANDPUMP
MAINTENANCE**

Block/Village	In favour of						
	Water commi- tee	Tax system	Tradi- tional village commi- tee	Payment only in case of break- down	Free mainte- nance by PHED/ DANIDA	Pancha- yat	Did not give any opinion
DELANG							
Harirajpur	7	4	2	2			
Basantpur	9	3	-	1	2		
Jenapur-II (Harijansahi)	-	2	1	1	11		
Sadapada-II	-	7	-	-	8		
Machhapda (Malisahi)	2	1	-	1	11		
Humar (Khetrapalsahi)	2	2			9		2
Bramhantaraboi	10	2	1	1	1		
Odalanga	2	1	11	1			
TOTAL:-	32 (27%)	22 (18%)	15 (12%)	7 (6%)	42 (35%)		2 (2%)
RAJKANIKA							
Koranda (Kumbharsahi)	1			14			
Mahurigaon	10				3	2	
Bansuria			14		1		
Cherantapada	13				2		
Nua Arasha	13				1	1	
Olavar	6		6		3		
Balarampur (Kumbharasahi)	15						
Ganja	15						
TOTAL:-	73 (61%)		20 (17%)	14 (12%)	10 (8%)	3 (2%)	
GRAND TOTAL:-	105 (44%)	22 (9%)	35 (15%)	21 (9%)	52 (21%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)
G.P. Functionaries							
Delang	-	2		1	3	1	
Rajkanika	-	1	-		4	2	
TOTAL:-	-	3	-	1	7	3	

* No. of respondents from the HP users: Rajkanika-120, Delang-120

* No. of respondents from the GPs: 13-both the blocks.



INSTITUTIONS PRESENT IN THE SAMPLE HABITATIONS

TABLE-3/1

BLOCK/ VILLAGE	TYPE OF INSTITUTION	MEMBERSHIP	STATUS	ACTIVITIES	REMARKS
<u>DELANG</u> Harirajpur	-Youth Club-cum- Library	15	-Active	-Organise cultural programmes such as Drama	-Gets financial assistance from the 'Dola melan Committee'
	-Dola melan(Holi Festival commi- tee)	11	-Active	-Organise annual Dola melan, take care of the management of the village school	
Basantpur	-Youth Club	30	-Does not function	-Organise annual Dola melan	
Jenapur II (Harijansahi)	-Youth Club	20	-Active		-Recently formed. At present busy in raising a house for the Club.
Machhapada	-Youth Club	28	-Does not function	-Organise 'Dola melan'	
Humar	-Youth Club	25	-Does not function	-Celebration of Ganesh Puja -Repair of village road, village pond cleaning	

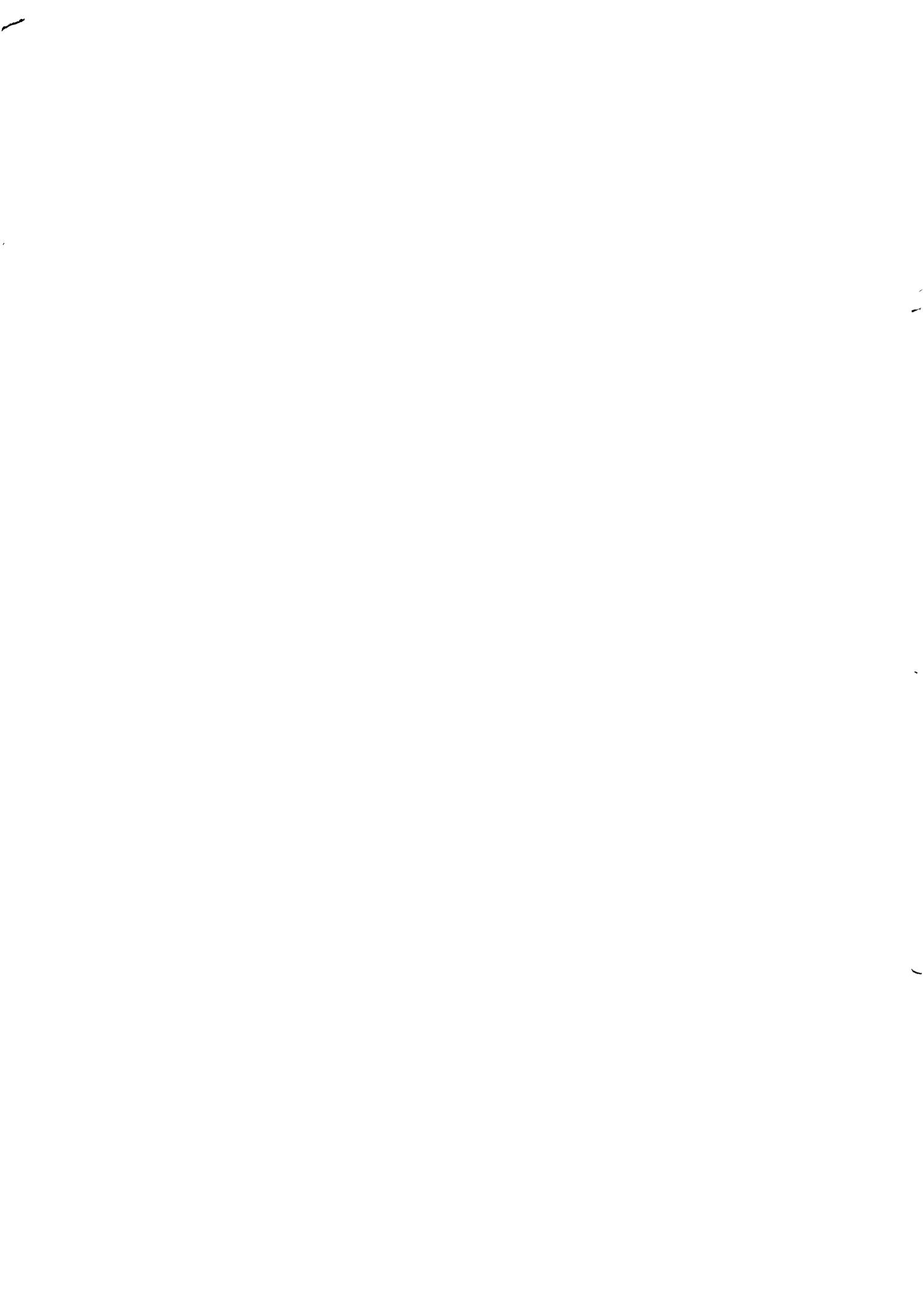
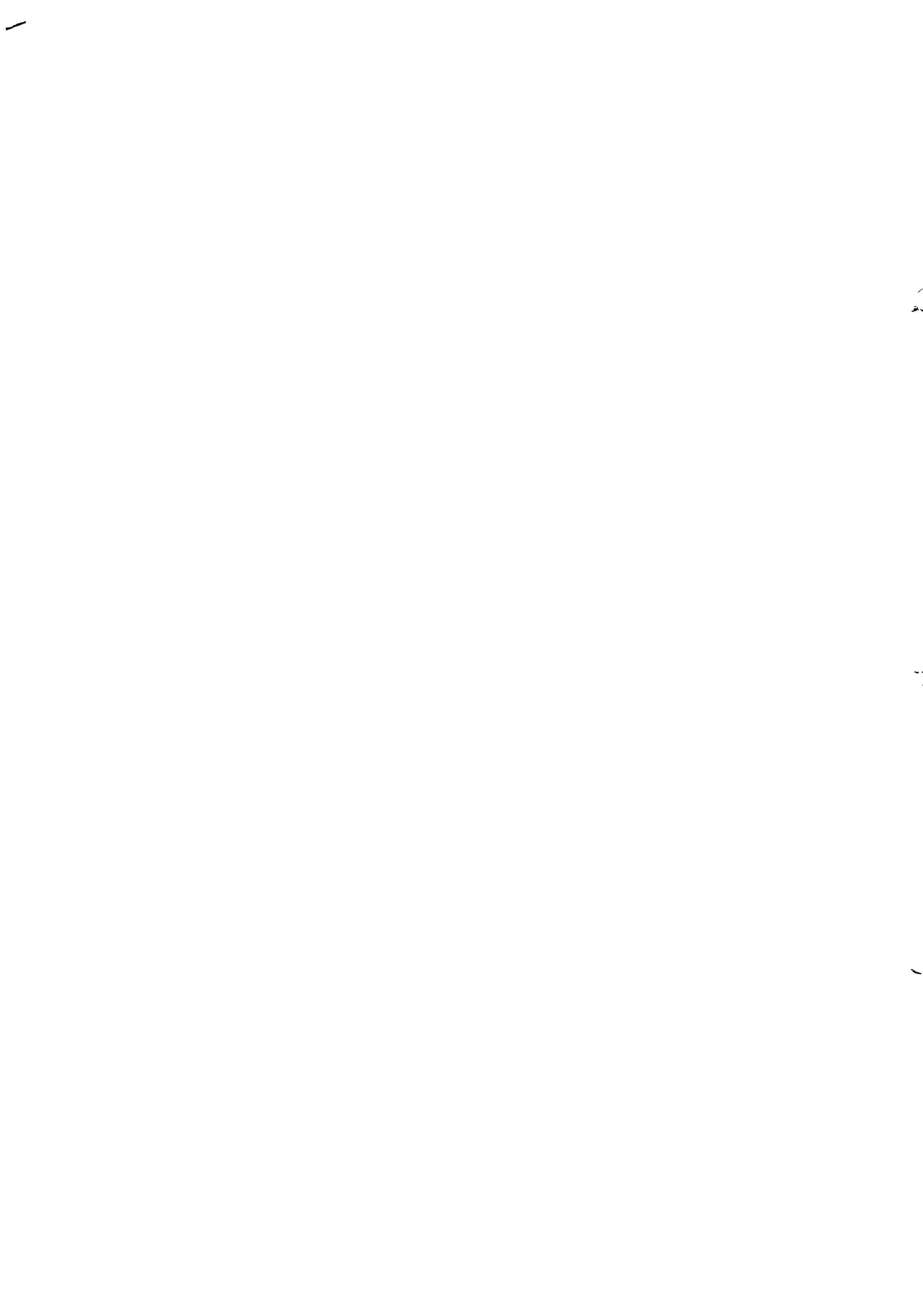


TABLE -3/2

INSTITUTIONS PRESENT IN THE SAMPLE HABITATIONS

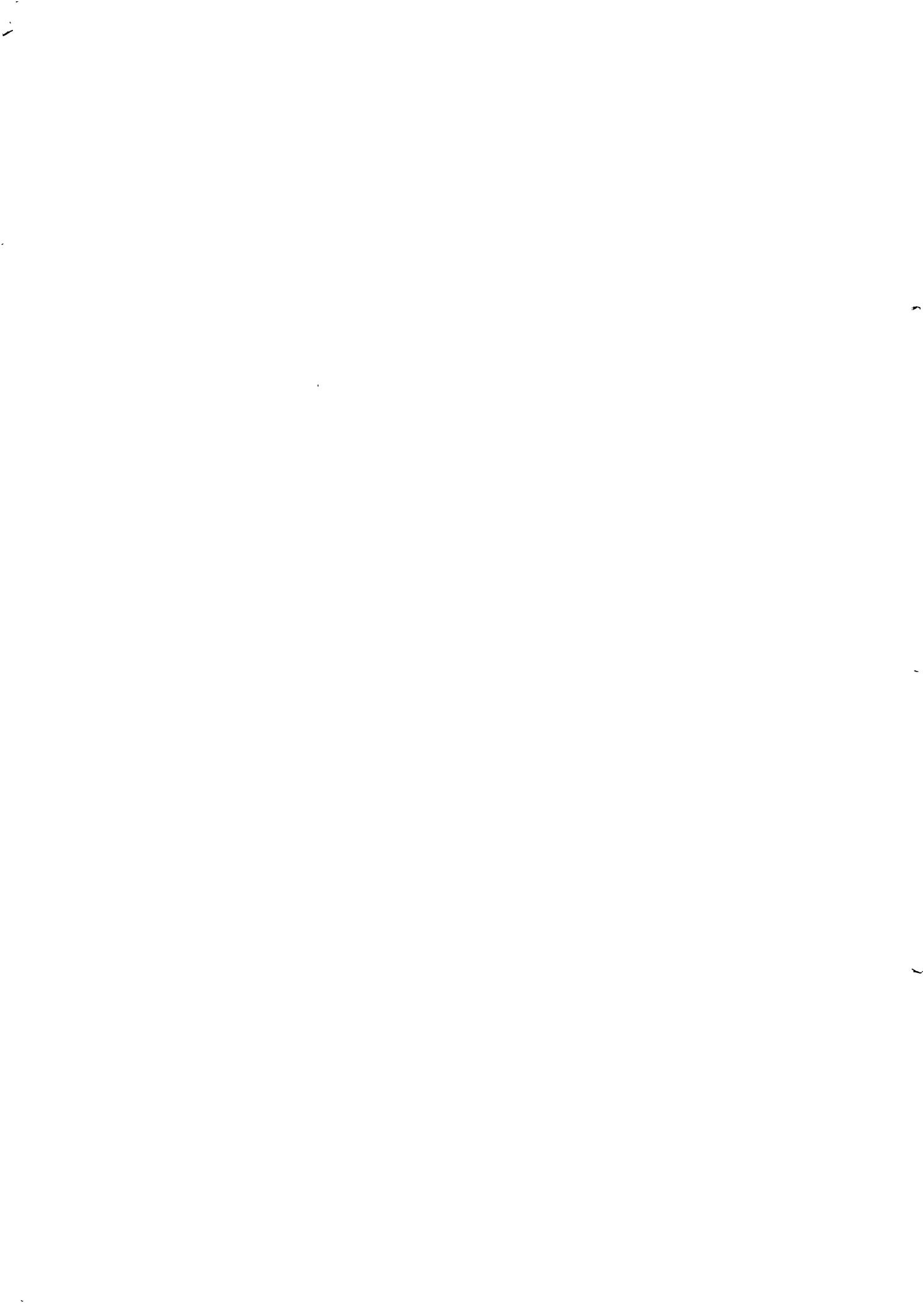
BLOCK/ VILLAGE	TYPE OF INSTITUTION	MEMBERSHIP	STATUS	ACTIVITIES	REMARKS
Odelanga	- 'Kotha' - Temple Samiti - Youth Club	50	-Active	-Organize Dola melan, Pisciculture village road repair -Organize sports activities, help Temple Samiti activities	-Gets financial help from the Temple Samiti
Rajkanika Bansuria	-Youth Club -Village development Committee	17 92	 -Active	-Road repair, renovation of village pond -Organize cultural and village developmental activities such as road repair, pond renovation tc.	 -This is a joint village developmental committee with another neighbouring village
Balarampur	-Village Committee		-Active	-Village school management, organize cultural activities	



ABSTRACT OF INCOME OF SAMPLE GRAMPANCHAYAT - DELANG BLOCK

Table-4/1

G.P.	Year	I N C O M E														G R A N T S - I N - A I D				Total Income	
		Vehicle Tax	Auction	Interest from savings	Road Tax	Security deposits during election	Common property Tank and Orchard	auction	Pisciculture	Huller licence	Income from sale of ration card	Pentha Tax auction	Kine house auction	Governmental award	Income from Yatra	Income from Share airt acution	Kendu leaf acution	Maintenance of GP staff	Road grants		Open well grants
Singherhampur	1982-83	6061	420	538.05	2095												360			1118.30	5135.88
	1983-84	531	1445	509.20	1081.90	260											360		231	1081.90	5127.00
	1984-85	957	1045.50	621.90		20											777.75	1020	223	1440.95	6106.10
	1985-86	951	627	581.85	1440.95												1200	2785			7588.80
	1986-87	987	798	543.40	1801												1200	1591	244		7114.40
Gualipada	1982-83			156	1080		1847		234								360			1198.00	4875.00
	1983-84			327	1160		1900		292								360		160	1161.00	5368.10
	1984-85			414			2900		163								777.75	1670	162.40	1546.50	10633.65
	1985-86			400	1566	700	3200		300								1200	3460	165		10971.00
	1986-87			485	1500		6742		442								1200				10369.00
Jenapur	1982-83	425						2050	3206.50								360	3720	280.80	776.50	10818.80
	1983-84	375						2058	3018								360	3900	300	835	10923.00
	1984-85	525						2658	2500								777.50	4500	275	857.70	12093.45
	1985-86	500						2000	2000								1200	4408	200	1142.40	11950.40
	1986-87																1200			1918.30	3118.30

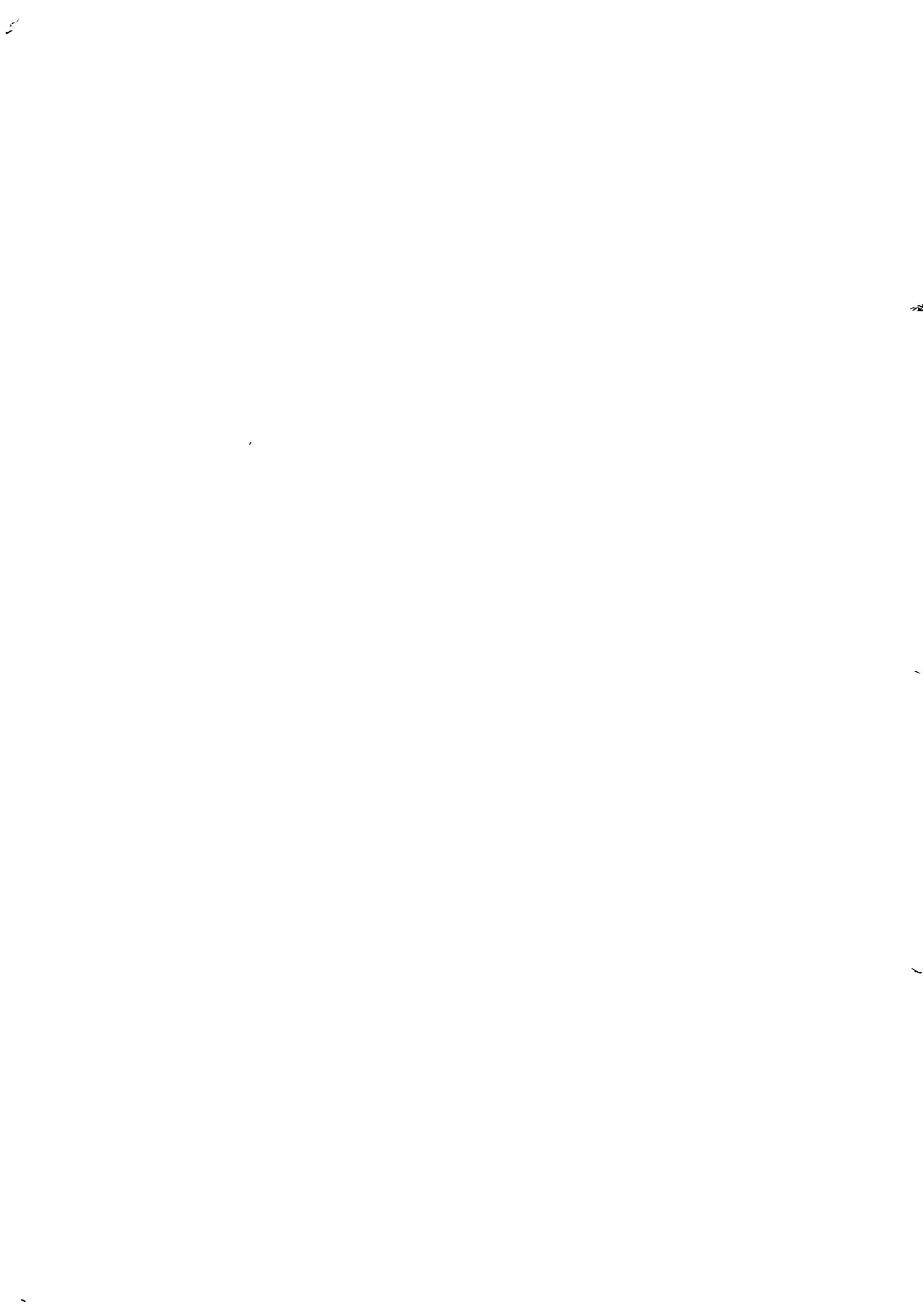


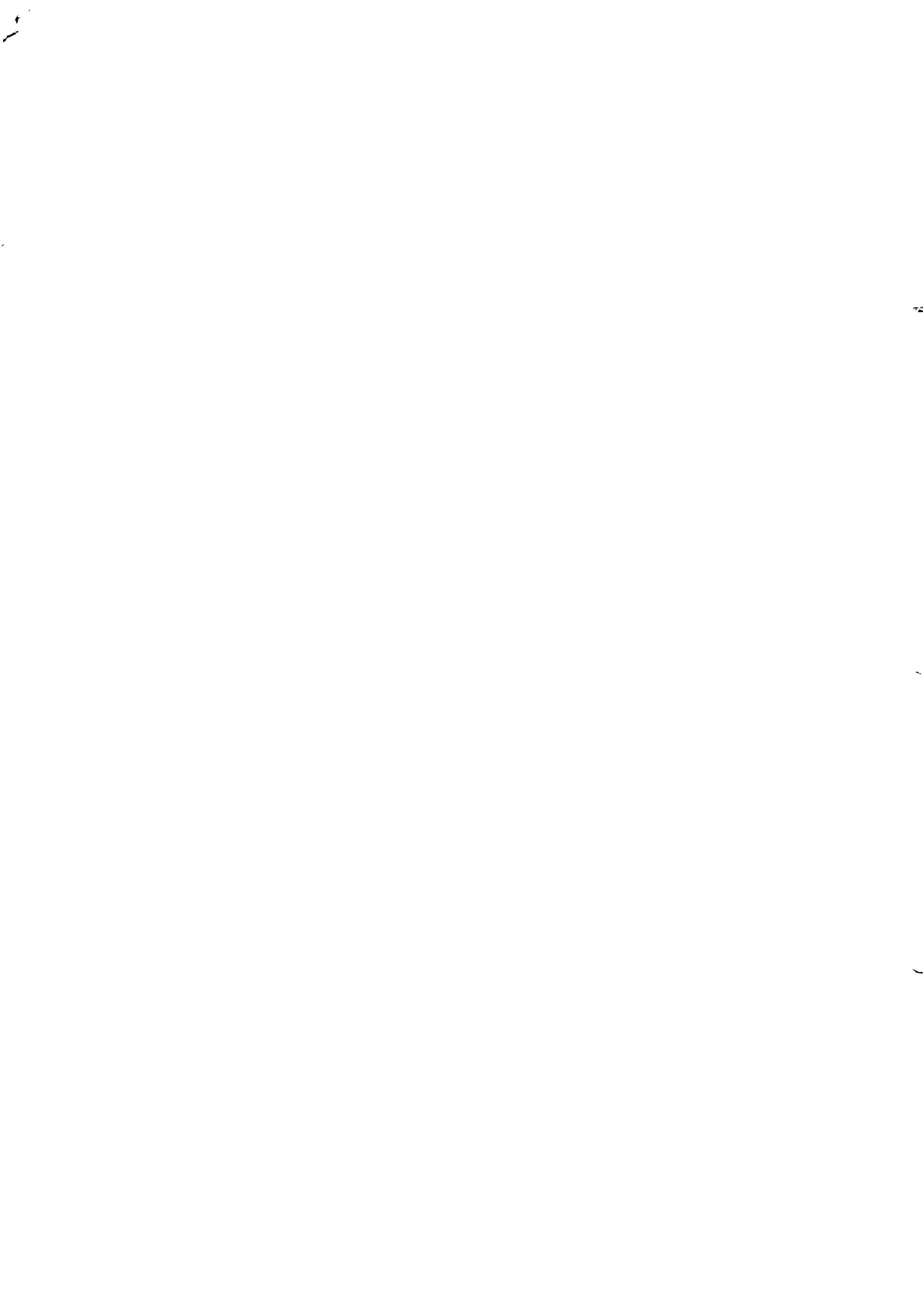
ABSTRACT OF EXPENDITURE OF THE SAMPLE GRAM PANCHAYATS-DELANG BLOCK

Table-4/2

Sl. No.	G.P.			Year	EXPENDITURE																	Total expenditure								
	JENAPUR	GUALIPADA	SINGBERHAMPUR		Road repair	Open well repair	Tank repair	Independence day assistance	Contingency	Staff maintenance	Tour expenses	Panchayatday expenses	Token purchase	Election security deposit	Return of security deposit	Office rent	Stationaries purchase	Preparation of voter list	Donation to Redcross	Cattle drum expenses	Dress of Peon		Kerosene expenses	Labour charges	Postal expenses	Ration Card purchase	Develop expenses	Expenses on festival Meeting allowance	Electricity expenses	
1				1982-83				100	167.86	1320	53	50	212						20											1922.86
				1983-84				100	18	1680	70	100	240	1000				90											3298.00	
				1984-85	1000	500		100	16	1680	70	100	350	701	700			30											5247.00	
				1985-86	4495	3800		100	101.95	3340	80	385	85					85											9332.90	
				1986-87	2788	880		160	261.36	3340	85	385	457.40					40											8316.76	
				1982-83					300	2100																		7600.00		
				1983-84					230	2100				1200														8530.00		
				1984-85					600	1440				1000														7540.00		
				1985-86					600	3600																		7500.00		
				1986-87					600	4200																		9300.00		
				1982-83	4000	2000		1000	100	700																		10800.00		
				1983-84	4500	2500		1500	100	3000																		12600.00		
				1984-85	5000	3000		2000	100	2000																		15100.00		
				1985-86	5000	3000		2000	100	2000																		15100.00		
				1986-87	*																									

* Information not available





ABSTRACT OF EXPENDITURE OF THE SAMPLE GRAM PANCHAYATS - RAJKANIKIA BLOCK

Sl. No.	G.P.	EXPENDITURE																												
		Year	Road repair	Open well repair	Tank repair	Independence day assistance	Contingency	Staff maintenance	Tour expenses	Panchayatday expenses	Token purchase	Election security deposit	Return of security deposit	Office rent	Stationaries purchase	Preparation of voter list	Donation to Redcross	Cattle drum expenses	Dress of Peon	Kerosene expenses	Labour charges	Postal expenses	Ration Card purchase	Develop expenses	Expenses on festival	Meeting allowance	Electricity expenses	Total expenditure		
1	KORANDA	1982-83	2845			100	92.40	1145	15.90	60				110	100															5378.30
		1983-84	3500			100	156.05	1313	100.					100	1200							30			880					7654.75
		1984-85	1500			50	173	3010	79		105	206	950	90	155.27									975						7279.27
		1985-86	4030			152	110	3304.75	100		80.80	138.50			142	5.67								460						9063.72
2	OLAVAR	1986-87	4500			100	56	2522	59				41.30																	7909.80
		1982-83	1250					750	9				101																	2491.00
		1983-84	3750					707						111										550						6497.00
		1984-85	1200					864	10		95	142.23	470	85.25																7150.48
3	KANTAPADA	1985-86	2050					3380.75					138.50	130																9568.50
		1986-87	1000					4002	192																					98.225
		1982-83	*																											124.5277.00
		1983-84	*																											6732.98
4	JAGULAI PADA	1984-85	*																											16369.59
		1985-86	*																											109092.26
		1986-87	*																											82701.84
		1982-83	750	100		100	217	1940	82		270			80																3992.50
4	JAGULAI PADA	1983-84	3500	300		100	261.58	2040	39.50	276	1000		79.75																	8815.23
		1984-85	2250			100	171.31	2040	210.	210			920																	5505.74
		1985-86	3485			100	258.75	1125	120.	220			20		111.54															8852.28
		1986-87	4450	195		100	206.45	2880	302		507			85																

* Details not available

