INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NEPAL : A STUDY OF TWO DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WITH REGARD TO THEIR ORGANISATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BENEFITS

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
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DEDICATED TO MY FATHER
AND LATE MOTHER

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The failure of the 'growth models' and the persistence of poverty in the least developing countries rural sector, necessitated them to adopt the integrated rural development model in their plans. To bring the rural mass out of their deplorable conditions, it was essential that a joint multi punjent attack must be made on poverty, i.e. political, economic and social. Hence the I.R.D. Programmes embraces all aspects of rural life.

The effectiveness of development programmes such as IRD largely hinges on the organisational viability of such programmes. Organisation of the rural poor for participating in such programmes, is a sine qua non. As the rural development programme are intended to benefit the rural poor it has been advocated widely that they should participate both in the process of planning and implementation of development programmes in an organised manner. Emperical evidence has shown that Government channels are only or more utilized by the better off rural society. In L.D.C.s as in Nepal the poor has very little access to Government channels through which the benefits of the Governmental programmes parcolate.

The present study therefore seeks to explore the organisational set up of two IRDPs in Nepal. Specifically this study aims to determine IRD efforts in enhancing the rural participation and in achieving equity among the project's poor section. It seeks to assess the socio-economic benefits distributed among the population in the two projects. An attempt has also been made to specify the shortcomings and suggest the appropriate policy, strategy and

operation in this regard based on the findings of the study.

The study initially begins with two maps of Nepal; while the first one portrays administrative divisions along with five development rejoins, the second one represents the universe of study comprising the central and eastern development regions. The sampled village panchayats where IRDP's major investment have been shown meticulously

In the background, besides a broad glimpse of Nepal, the situation existing in the country before the advent of multi party system has been historically explored.

The Introduction is divided into seven sections, in which, the purpose of the study, theoretical framework, objectives and components of the I.R.D.P's are given.

Chapter two produces the socio-economic outline of the five districts and the ten village panchayats of the study.

Chapter three goes through the basic features of organisational structure of IRDP. It presents the evolution of rural programmes vis-a-vis institutional forms.

Chapter four deals with implementing agencies particularly bureaucracy. It also examines peoples participation in IRDP.

Chapter five presents the existing socio-economic profile of the respondents. It examines also the distributive effect among the different segments of the rural population.

Chapter six recapitulates the entire study and puts down the summing of the findings.

Suggestion and recommendation have been laid down in chapter seven. It also incorporates the new dimensions of public administration in Nepal. Strategies and models of rural development have been extensively discussed here in the light of which future rural development in Nepal may be undertaken.

A few words relating to the study are in order. As the present study is limited to Sagarmatha and Rasuwa-Nuwakot IRD Projects, the findings may not be helpful in generalisation. In absence of time series data the study is limited to that of 1984-85. In the collection of data the study posed a serious problem. Most of the respondents did not maintain records of their farm output. Some of them were so ignorant that they could not clearly state number and the names of the family members. And data therefore had to be collected by way of prolonged interview which made both the researcher and the respondents jittary. In view of different topographical position of the panchayats the number of respondents covered in a day was very small.

The investigation of other IRDPs could have been helpful to draw more effective conclusive findings, however the researcher was limited by finance and time.

I am greatly indebted to Dr Dhrubajyoti Bhowmik, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal, that he agreed to give his invaluable time to guide me on this unexplored field of study. Without his inspiration at every stage, this work would have remained incomplete.

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My thanks are due to the libraries of Tribhuvan University, North Bengal University, Indian Council of World Affairs (Sapru House New Delhi), Indo-Nepal Cultural Centre, Kathmandu, American Library, Kathmandu, Agriculture Project Service Centre (APROSC) Library, Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA) Library, Kathmandu, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) Library, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu and Regional Library of Thakur Ram Campus, Birganj (Nepal).

Above all I must acknowledge my thanks to staff and officials of Sagarmatha and Rasuwa/Nuwakot I.R.D.P. Co-ordinator's Office, Chief District Officer, Local Development Officer and line agencies. I am also thankful to Pradhan Panchs and respondents of the concerning village Panchayats.

The contribution of Mr. Dibya Ram Bhandari (Ex Chief District Officer) and Mrs Manju Bhandari and Mrs Lali Shrestha for their hospitality in my continuous stay in Kathmandu is unforgetable.

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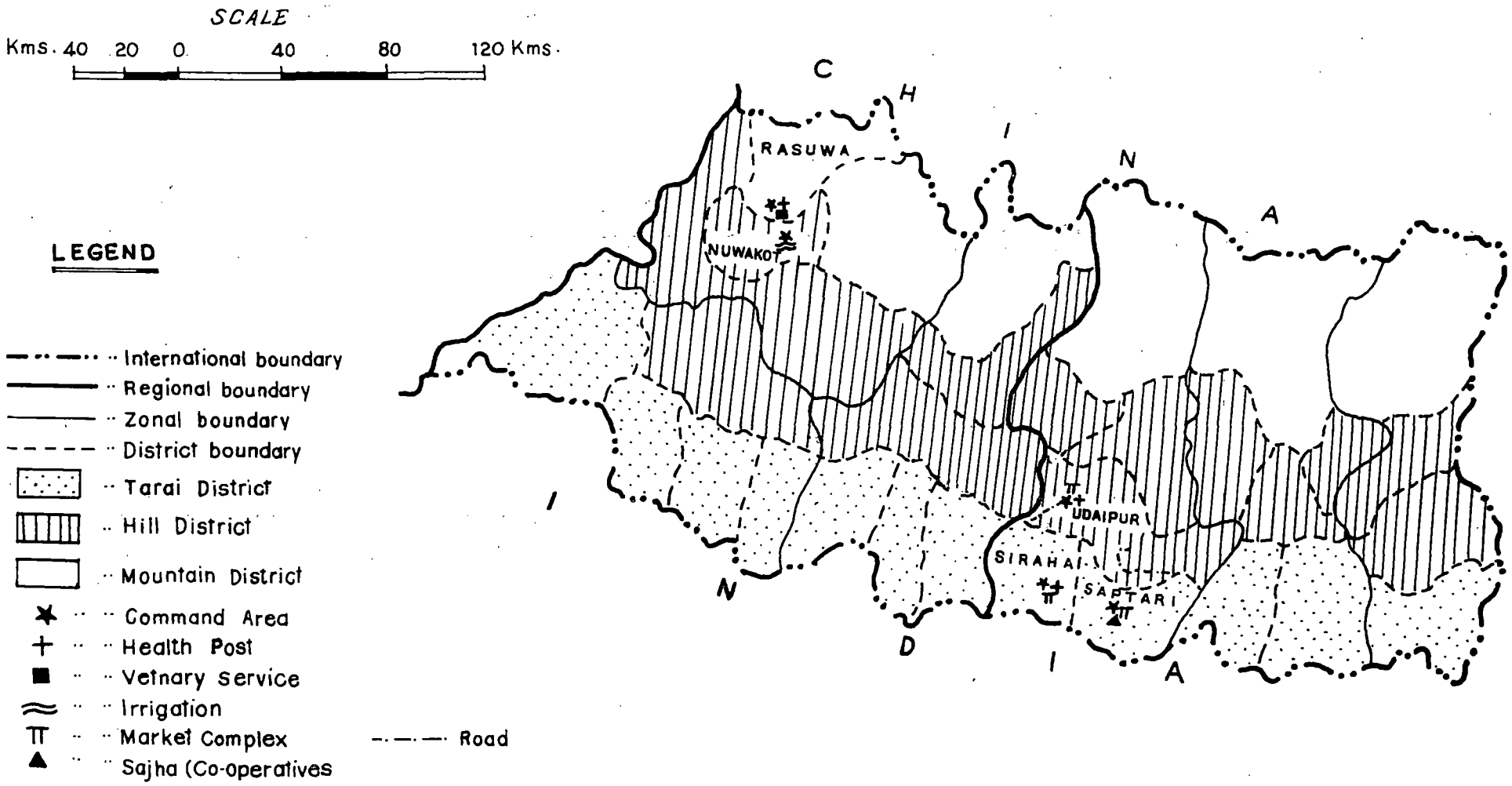
Partha Kumar Chakrabarty.


NEPAL
SCALE
Kms. 40 20 0 40 80 120 160 Kms.
MID WESTERN DEVELOPMENT REGION
FAR WESTERN DEV. REGION
WESTERN DEVELOPMENT REGION
CENTRAL DEV. REGION
EASTERN DEVELOPMENT REGION
CHINA
INDIA
Humla
Darchula
Bajhang
Baitadi
Bajura
Mugu
Dandel Dhura
Doti
Achham
Jumla
Kalikot
Dolpa
Kanchanpur
Kailali
Dailekh
Jajarkot
Mustang
Rukum
Manang
Surkhet
Sallyan
Myagdi
Bardia
Rolpa
Baglung
KASKI
Lamjung
Gorkha
Banke
Parbat
Gulm
Piuthan
Dangdeokhun
Syangja
Tanahun
RASUWA
Sindhu Palchok
NUWAKOT
Arghakhanch
Palpa
Kapilvastu
Rupandehi
Nawal parasi
Dhading
Dolakha
Sankhuwasabha
Solukhumbu
Ramechhap
Kabhre
Chitwan
Makwanpur
Tapiejung
Khaldhuegal
Khotang
Bhojpur
Parsa
Bara
Sindhuli
Sarlahi
Dhanukha
Routahat
UDAIPUR
SIRAHA
SAPTARI
Dhankuta
Sunsar
Morang
Panchthar
Ilam
Jhara
LEGEND
International boundary
Zonal boundary
District boundary
Regional Development Boundary
Zonal Head Quarter
District Head Quarter

CENTRAL & EASTERN DEVELOPMENT REGION OF NEPAL



BACKGROUND

"If the expression 'Wonderland' has any justification to-day, apart from the world of romance and fairy tales, then it is here in Nepal"[1] (Tony Hegen). This beautiful expression of the writer is in fact, a mirage. Nepal to-day is listed as one of the least developing countries with a per capita income of $ 150, and average annual growth rate of GNP per capita of 1.9 percent (World Bank Report 1988). The main hurdles in the path of its development, is the rate of population increase by 2.6 percent and the fast depletion of its forest resources. Hence two major challenges lies ahead of Nepal, one is family planning and the other reforestration[2] (Edmund Hillary).

The land locked country exhibits geographical, racial, ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity within a very small span. Covering 57.563 square miles, it incorporates flatlands, valleys, alpine meadow, jungles and also the highest peaks in the world. Hence the climate ranges from tropical heat of the low lands to the aretic cold of the high altitude. Unfortunately seventynine percent of the country's land resources belong to the Himalayas, the mountaineous regions and the hills and only 21 percent lies in the tarai that is plain land. Thus limiting agricultural expansion and making economic development costly.

Ninetysix percent of Nepals population live in small villages, many of them in remote mountain valleys, accessible only by trail.

The density of the population decreases, with the increase of altitude, the highest being in the tarai and midlands. Viewing the racial and ethnic variations the inhabitants can be broadly divided into the Tibeto-Nepali and the Indo-Nepali groups. More than 30 languages and multitudes of local dialects are spoken. Nepali (Devnagric script), however, is the national language, understood and spoken throughout the country.

Basically an agrarian economy, with 93% population depending on agriculture, and its contribution of 60.3% in G.D.P. Nepal has a very low production per hectare land with poor irrigation and low consumption of fertilizers, credit and HYV seeds and the majority using traditional technology. Increase of agriculture production cannot be expected. Hence the agricultural sector still hinges on the vagaries of nature.

On the industrial front, the country is still largely dependent on imports, specifically of Indian origin. Though recently the country has announced self-sufficiency in 22 manufactured goods, this sector has absorbed only about 4,000 workers annually, as against an increase in the labour force of about 100,000 per year[3].

Even with the completion of its VIIth Five Year Plans and huge investments on infrastructure development no significant impact has come forth. Main highways run in accessible places only, and in many parts of the country transportation is difficult as well as costly. Education and health facilities are enjoyed by few. Life

expectancy is at 47 years (1986) infant mortality is high (17 per thousand 1986) and literacy rate only 39.6 percent (1988).

Inspite of Nepal's trade diversification policy from the 60s, dependency on India has not reduced. And with the recent confrontation and reconciliation between the two countries, this dependency is sure to increase. The Economic Survey of fiscal year 1984/85 showed that trade deficit increased by more than five-fold during the ten years period (Nepal Rastra Bank Report 1974/84).

With this economic scenario, the best option for Nepals' Development lies in its huge hydro power (83,000 MW), labour resource and tourism. There is no doubt that, Nepal is on the forward march in socio-economic and political field. The hindu kingdom with 30 years of partyless panchayat system as its political base, on April 1990 discarded this system. After some unpleasant occurrance, centering around the capital, the king complied with the peoples demand for a multi party system. Though the panchayat polity professed the diffusion of democratization and decentralisation critics described it as a bunkum and empty expression. The system encouraged nepotism favouritism, redtapism and widespread corruption, in the polity, bureaucracy, and in the business community. Rishikesh Shaha while focussing particularly focussed on corruption and resulting non-performance of government argued that, no technical and administrative changes would reverse the situation, without change in the political system[4]. Hence it is hoped that the multiparty system of government, will be competitive enough to face and over come the economic challenges the country faces to-day. Strategically poised between the two Big Bosses of Asia, i.e. India and China having

contrasting political set up, Nepal has been capable to balance its existence, with non-alligned foreign policy. The opening up of the country to the outside world (1950) increased diplomatic relations throughout the world. Nepal has succeeded in drawing attention of the world community to the sad economic plight of her people. This has resulted in the flow of grants and aids through bilateral, multilateral, private and public sources for Nepal's development.

Looking at the bleak state of the rural economy, where majority of its people live in sub human condition, the country introduced Integrated Rural Development Programmes way back in 1970. These programmes had been also financed by bilateral and multilateral aids. At present there are eleven IRDP covering 23 districts, out of 75 districts of the country. The programmes are launched on sectoral, functional as well as geographical basis.

These projects generally have the following objectives:

1. Increasing the production of various rural productive sections, with emphasis on agriculture.

2. Bringing equity in sharing the fruits of development.

3. Fulfilling the basic (minimum) needs of the common people.

4. Providing opportunities for gainful employment on a sustained basis.

5. Ensuring peoples participation in the development process.

6. Maintaining ecological balance in the project region.

7. Ensuring self-sustained type of development through the development of viable rural institutions.

8. Maintaining the cultural heritage of the social environment[5].

Our study is concerned with only two IRDPs, namely Rasuwa/ Nuwakot project and Sagarmatha Project. (Annex. A). The organisational structure show that in the Appex there is the National Planning Commission which formulates these plans. At the district and village level the respective Panchayat institutions were made the vehicle for its plan formulation, implementation and evaluation. Dissolution of the Panchayat system has brought this responsibility to the district development committee and village development committee. The supporting agencies, are different committees at the centre, zonal and district level. The responsibility of coordination and monitoring lies with the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development at the centre. At the local level the responsibility rests with two Project Co-ordinators, assisted by the Local Development Officer (L.D.O) at the district level. The technical help is provided by technical sub-committees at the district level and service centres at the village level. In reality main brunt of responsibility for implementing IRDP rests with the concerned agencies that operate at the district level headed by the LDO. At the village level, Multi-purpose development worker is to monitor all development works. Popular Participation in the development activities is assumed through Co-operatives (Sajha) and Users Committees.

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Section 1.1 Purpose of the Study

"Scientific confidence asserts that there is a solution to every problem, but experience teaches us that there is problem to every solution and more than one. Consider the change from emphasis on industrialization to agriculture and rural development"[1]. Our reference to this expression is simply to show that in this dynamic world no theory or policy/programme based on them holds true or effective for all periods of economic development. Further empirical studies have proved that economic development (Rural Development) depends on hosts of inter-related factors. Recognizing this relation I.R.D.P. has emerged as a solution to the problem of rural poverty; but there again it has its shortcomings. However, since our subject matter is the impact studies of IRDP in Nepal; it becomes essential to trace out in what context this programme has developed as a strategy for rural development.

The continuous persistence of poverty, the core of our problem has been the results of past doings or shortsightedness of our planners. It has been established that the growth model adopted by the developing countries and the least developing countries like Nepal resulted in increased polarization between the haves and the have-nots[2]. Nothing trickled down to the poorest section, as a result of development. As "Pakistan experienced over all growth rate of 8 percent per annum during the sixties, however, paradox to the situation

overall poverty was increasing. The benefits of increased growth rate was confined to limited number of society"[3].

In the 1960s and in the early 70 'growth with redistribution' and 'basic need model' was advocated. In these periods attention of scholars and planners were attracted to the structural question of whether there was a built-in mechanism in the socio-economic structure of the developing countries that inhibited growth and equitable distribution[4]. But failure of effective policies and slow economic growth of the developing countries, did not have any significant impact on poverty of the mass[5].

Hence in the late 1970s emphasis was laid on peoples participation in the development process at the grass root level[6]. World's attention was attracted to the deteriorating condition of the least developing countries. It was voiced in the international forum that unless the rural poor were mobilized through their own organisation to participate in their self betterment, the shackles of poverty could not be loosened.[7]

The scenario of the developing world especially of the least developing countries (LDC) was aptly exposed by the former World Bank President Robert Macnamara and he advocated for a strategy to the neglected chunk of the population through deliberate and integrated efforts. He highlighted that growth was not equitably reaching the poor[8].

Likewise, there are numerous records depicting the poor (inhuman) conditions of the rural people of the third world. Let us

here, put forth these data, in order to show the magnitude of poverty (Nepal's condition is of no exception) the problem of our research paper.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimate that nearly one-third of the world's people are really poor by their or any one's standards, and they number about 1,210 million. Of that number more than half of them are destitutes suffering from sub-nutrition. There are 800 million illiterate adults, a figure destined to rise enormously as there are now 250 million children not being schooled, about one-half of the world population live in the rural areas of the LDC (Least Developed Countries), and the vast majority of them are poor and with no leverage to change their conditions[9].

Similarly, the World Bank estimates that the great majority of the absolute poor accounting for over 90 percent are rural people, who work on farms, or do non-farm works that depends partly on agriculture. More than half are small farmers who own or lease their land; another 20 percent are members of collective farming, mainly in China. The remaining one fifth to one quarter are landless, and their livelihood is partially precarious[10].

To be more specific we quote here the report of the Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific (CIRDAP). It is estimated on the basis of fragmented evidences that more than half the world's poor, nearly half a billion might be living in the South Asian countries and Indonesia. In Bangladesh more than 80 percent of the population live below the poverty line. In India and Nepal the percentage is about 35. In Nepal about a third of the population live below the poverty line while in Pakistan about a quarter is assumed

to suffer from inadequate nutrition (the poverty line is defined as a minimum annual income of US $ 70 per year)[11].

To sum up we may produce the substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed countries (LDC) adopted by the LLDC's Conference in 1981 named, among others, the main features as being descriptive of these countries' economic and social problems. Thus,

(a) very low per capita incomes and shortfalls in satisfying the basic needs of the masses.

(b) very high proportion of population in the subsistence sector.

(c) extremely low agricultural productivity and lack of agricultural promotion.

(d) very low per capita exports and extremely limited availability of imported goods.

(e) inadequate institutional and material infrastructure in the most important areas among them public administration, transport and communication[12].

In reviewing the magnitude of poverty we find three distinctive features: First, the polarization of poverty in the rural sector; Second, agriculture is the centre of concentration of poverty; third, low employment, low income and so on continues the vicious circle of poverty. In the present situation the problem of poverty is the outcome of both supply and demand.

The Green Revolution, one of the fruits of modern technological development in agriculture, has no doubt trippled agricultural production. But it will not be sufficient to tackle the poverty of the

growing population[13]. Likewise the Malthusian nightmare of population out stripping food production has not materialized. Instead, the world has been faced with the problem of many people not having enough to eat, despite having enough food for all. This is not a failure to produce enough food, still less a failure of agricultural technology. Its roots range from macro economic policies to the economic and political structures of local societies that inhibit the ability of many households to procure enough food[14].

Hence the multifacet problems of poverty necessitated a multifarious attack on poverty. This attack came in the form of Integrated Rural Development Programme. The Director of CIRDAP Shamsul Haque expressed the view that overhalf of mankind, majority of whom are ppor, inhibit in the Asian Pacific region. Hence, rural development has always been the concern of these countries. Experiences gained by the First and Second United Nations Development Decades led to a change in approach of rural development. This development stressed upon two directions. First was to adopt an integrated multi-sectoral approach to solving the problem of rural areas and the second was to ensure people's participation in the entire development process — from planning through implementation to evaluation of programmes to stimulate greater self-reliance[15].

Now let us look specifically at the country of our study. Studies (though very few) show that the four decades of planning and the continuous emphasis on rural development has made little impact on alleviating poverty. Hence IRDP came forth as a national thrust to erradicate poverty. Like other LDC the agrarian sector of Nepal is characterised wherein "majority of the rural mass are tenants or

self-cultivating farmers with fragmented land holdings. Unemployment, under employment, low level of family per capita income and unequal income are dominant features which is the cause of poverty"[16].

The high degree of under employed is shown by a study which showed that out of the 323 annual working days per rural worker, only 118 days are utilized[17]. The magnitude of unemployment is more worse in the hill areas. For a study estimated that farm workers in the hills do only 55 days work on an average annually[18]. The other chief factor responsible for persistent poverty, is the wide disparity in resource ownership - the land, S.C. Jain observes "two thirds of the working people of Nepal are agricultural tenants and prior to the implementation of the New Land Reform 1964 few land lords of Nepal possessed as much as 1000,000 acres a large chunk of a small country"[19]. Inspite of various Land Reform this pattern has only changed a little. Recent estimation shows that 21 per cent of the cultivable land is owned by 53 per cent of the households, while 1.2 percent of households own 13.5 percent. Hence it is noted that the landless and near landless categories in Nepal have been growing in both absolute number and as a percentage of rural families[20].

The present decade of 1980 show that in near future the prospects of the population to rise above the poverty line seems very limited. There is even fear that more and more population may go down below the poverty line. This fear is based because of the trends in expected growth of population 2.6 percent, real GDP 2.3 percent and inflation growth 7 percent per year. The realized annual rates of growth of these variables were 2.7 percent, 2.7 percent

and 20 percent respectively between 1981 and 1985[21].

Next to population growth the ecological imbalance is the propelling factor of poverty. This is brought about by pressure on marginal land and rapid deforestation; the rate of which is expected to make Nepal a desert within 30 years, if drastic step to stop it is not taken[22]. Blaikie et al sum up the situation by stating that "The symtoms of malaise in Nepal as a whole appear visibly in the form of erosion, landslides, and widespread deficiencies in food, shelter and clothing"[23].

1.2 : General theoretical frame work

The word 'integration' connotes the existence of different disintegrated factors that need to be integrated into a whole. We can then perceive integration as an action; well planned, well organised and united, taken to achieve a definite goal. In this light, integrated rural development can be assumed as an action of unison of varied factors responsible for rural development.

The countries that have introduced I.R.D.P. in their development plans, have envisaged through multifarious programmes, targeted for the development of the rural mass. Presently, the concept of I.R.D.P. is a very complicated and vague thinking[24]. Though there exists common traits and objectives of I.R.D.P. followed by these countries, the Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific.(CIRDAP) report remarks that "the basic tenets of IRD as an approach have never been fully articulated but there have been numerous national regional and international seminars and huge literature eulogizing IRD so much, so that IRD has almost become banal"[25].

The report further points out the disagreement between writers and policy makers in relation to its concept. Hence different interpretation has been put forth. As to some describing it as a set of goals, some as a strategy, some as a consistent and coherent set of Rural Development Programmes and some even as an ideology. The report quotes Ruttan who describes IRD as an ideology in search of a methodology. Further it shows the absurdity of the concept itself by quoting Lipton "Lipton questions who wants disintegrated development" and expresses the opinion that "Integrated rural development can easily become an empty phrase ... It makes sense only if the key components can be isolated and concentrated upon"[26].

The preceding discussions point out the fact that the concept of IRDP is vague. But let us now view here some of the ideas that have been percolated in different forums. These are relevant for our impact study of I.R.D. in Nepal.

In the words of Dr. Ensminger "Integrated Rural Development is three dimensional - a method, a process and an objective. It is a method that seeks to involve all the people and encompass all place of rural life. It is a process that seeks to transform traditionally oriented rural cultures towards a greater acceptance and reliance on science and technology. It is an objective that seeks to improve the quality of life of all the people, provides for all the people opportunities to earn a living and to have socio-economic institutions and services similar to those of urban areas"[27].

Salauddin Md. Aminuzzaman points out that due to limited success of the first decade of development experiments, the U.N. General Assembly Passed Resolution No. 2681 (XXV) on December 11,

1970, which called for a reorientation on the development strategy. It advocated for a 'unified' or integrated approach premised on the concept that development is not only an economic process but a multi-sectoral undertaking involving the whole of society. The world conference on Agrarian and Rural Development, further stressed, on the integrated approach, when it called for a "frontal attack on poverty... by a deliberate policy of integrated rural development". As a result of these resolutions, I.R.D. has emerged as a common strategy in most of the Asian - Pacific regions.

He comments that I.R.D.'s uniqueness lies in its aim to integrate the different component of development into a system. Integration is required in this Model in

(a) between human beings with their need and aspirations. This in turn with the broader socio-economic and political aspirations of the nations.

(b) among existing fragmented sectoral approach toward a comprehensive approach, recognising the interrelationships of socio-political, economic and technical factors.

(c) between development efforts taken by national, regional and local Government for the eradication of poverty and its related problems[28].

Kuhnen views corroborate this when he states "it is not possible to understand the concept of IRD without familiarizing onseself with some basic assumptions on which IRD concept has been built". These assumptions are (a) Rural Development is a part of the

overall socio-economic development, (b) development is a system of interrelated social change (c) agriculture has a multitude of functions in the development process and (d) agriculture development is one aspect of Rural Development[29]. Let us now review the actions or components envisaged in this model, expressed by different writers. Vasant Desai is of the view that the concept of I.R.D. was first used by planners for productivity and equity[30]. Dr. C.B. Mamoria says that in India the I.R.D.P. reflects the economic activity of the rural family whose employment and development is the basic objective. This objective is realised by developing the Primary, Secondary and the Tertiary sectors. In the primary sectors intensive plans for agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries and forestry will be undertaken. Programmes for villages and cottage industries, skill formation and supporting services development comes under secondary sector. While tertiary sector will be developed by creating facilities for organised marketing, processing and allied activities so as to absorb the increasing number of local people[31]. Likewise S.K. Rau remarks that I.R.D. "is not a technique but a plan of detailed action". He points out that IRD stress on four types of activities relating to (1) increasing production (2) employment generation (3) on several rural activities and (4) labour mobilisation[32].

B.K. Bhargava has the view that "most of the earlier schemes of rural development, Community Development Programmes, Small Farmers Development Agency, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour Development Agency are now merged into one scheme viz., the I.R.D.P"[33] Basically it is a programme for rural development inaugurated in

1976-77 for local needs, resource endowments and potentialities, aiming at the 'poorest of the poor' to improve their economic and social conditions[34]. There are other host of Indian writers such as R.N. Tripathy, B.P. Mailtlmi, K.M. Pradhan etc who hold identical views of I.R.D.P.

Prof. M. Mahbur Rehman of Bangladesh holds the view that I.R.D.P is a "semi autonomous national programme in Bangladesh". It is not an imported idea but a replication of the 'Comilla model'. This model was "developed within the country through a series of experimental actions since the sixties in the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development. The main action and object is to organise the small and medium size farmers through co-operatives, and to help them "increase agricultural productivity and hence ameliorate their socio-economic conditions in village communities[35]. Stfan de Vylder supports his view that organisation was the cornerstone of Comilla model ... "in order to mobilize savings, accumulate capital and become more independent of the local moneylenders"[36].

R.C. Arora enlightens clearly on the other aspect of I.R.D.P. He comments that no outside agency can sustain the economic activities for any length of time. Hence the I.R.D.P. brings out the importance of integrating all economic activities in consolance with the local resources, so that villagers themselves become viable for eco-socio development[37].

American economists such as D. Ensminger and Paul Bomani advocate for the programme and point out the following specific objectives achievable through IRDP (a) Remove the conditions contributing to rural poverty and broaden the base of employment for the unemployed

and partly employed. (b) Develop a food-producing agriculture following scientific methods with special emphasis on small farm subsistence agriculture. (c) Develop both physical formal and informal socio-economic institutional infrastructure to serve the people. (d) Balance population growth with resources essential to raising the nutritional quality of diet. (e) Provide, within rural areas, a variety of socio-economic services and cultural programmes that are comparable in quality to services of urban areas. (f) Stimulate and promote a sense of community concern and pride in achievement. (g) Transform the educational system by stressing community education and development of self-respect. (h) Foster policies and plans and programme strategies that will provide balanced growth, giving special attention to the poorer region and the neglected weaker yet vulnerable sectors of the population[38].

Briefly overviewing above, the various ideas of different scholars and the plan of actions taken in India and Bangladesh under I.R.D.P. we can conclude that it is a programme for viable rural development. And all activities envisaged, here, revolve round two major objectives, i.e. to increase agricultural production and to bring about more equal distribution of income/wealth in the country as a whole. While in Nepal besides these, other factors have also been emphasised. These factors are relating to development of infrastructure such as roads, tracks and bridges etc. development of social service facilities as health and education etc. coupled with development of viable local institutions for sustained local development e.g. co-operatives and village panchayats. Further, the I.R.D.P.

of Nepal has placed due stress on the reduction of regional imbalance and on the depletion of natural resources[39].

Before winding up our discussions on the conceptual development of I.R.D.P. we can add the view of Dr. Atiq Rahman and Dr. Sheikh Maqsood. They remarked that "the basic principle of I.R.D. as it is practised in CIRDAP member countries, lies not in some deep ideological commitment to the recognition of the fact that a consistent and harmonious set of policies and programmes have much better chance of delivering better results (i.e. making dent into hard core rural poverty) than costly and isolated programmes". These scholars also advocate the government's role to play in promoting decentralised administration with peoples participation to attain balanced growth through involvement of both public and private sectors[40].

From the view point of different scholars we can conclude that the I.R.D.P means all round development of the rural people. In the third world countries like Nepal, it is not only important to increase agricultural productivity, it is simultaneously important that benefits of development be shared mostly by the needy. The programme recognises that sustained eco-socio-development is possible by more and more people's participation. Thus in IRDP integration means, in short, to bring together all the essential needs that are required for the development of the rural poor. Hence it is a dynamic concept to bring changes in the condition of the rural mass.

1.3. Objective and Components of Rural Development Project

I.R.D.P. objectives aim to make multifarious attack on poverty. The Appraisal Report of Sagarmatha I.R.D.P. laid down that the Sagarmatha "project aims to give further momentum to the Government approach and initiative towards I.R.D. The integration is envisaged to be realized through infrastructure development of transportation, and irrigation systems, appropriately inter-linked with supporting agricultural services and facilities"[41]. Similarly the Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRD project was designed to support His Majesty's Government's (HMG) development strategy, which sought to balance economic growth with income distribution; provided for more equitable regional development and to ensure productive benefits from previous road investments. This was to be realized by increased agricultural and livestock production, by the provision of health services and village water supplies and improvements in communication and cotage industries all reflecting the needs of the people living in the Project Area[42].

Looking over these objectives we find that, these programmes, like its counterparts introduced in different regions of Nepal, attempts integrative thrust on poverty by — (a) Integration of programmes introduced under it, (b) Integration between line agencies and local institutions, (c) Integration of efforts of the government and rural people. (d) Integration between National, Regional and local plans. This integration is hoped to bring growth, better income distribution and regional equality. All activities undertaken under these programmes will be reflecting the needs of the people residing in the specific project areas.

The components of the I.R.D.P. of our study will be broadly discussed here to show, how they are relevant in the solution of the problem of poverty. These activities may be grouped under the following headings, for our convenience: (a) Agriculture development. (b) Cottage industry development (c) Animal husbandry development (d) Infrastructure development (e) Resource conservation development (f) Social service development (g) Institutional development.

Agriculture development:

It is an established fact that the importance of agriculture is immense in countries like Nepal. This importance is beautifully manifested by E.F. Schumacher in his book "Small is Beautiful" (1972). His expression runs as such "Real life consist of tensions produced by the incompatibility of opposites, each of which is needed, and just as life would be meaningless without death, so agriculture would be meaningless without industry. It remains true however that agriculture is primary whereas industry is secondary, which means human life can continue without industry, whereas it cannot continue without agriculture"[43]. Agriculture in Nepal is its backbone, and all round development hinges on it. Because she is predominantly an agricultural country where about 93 percent of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood, agriculture contributes 62 percent of the gross domestic products, about 56 percent of the aggregate export comprises of primary production[44]. But the rural mass is in the grip of vicious circle of poverty. This is mainly because agriculture is still now carried out on traditional basis with low inputs, low technology and low investment all summing up to the result of low output. Hence its pace of economic development is slow and as

such the World Bank has listed Nepal as one of the least developed countries. The country per capita income is very low (US $ 150) GNP per capita is US $ 160 (1985) average annual growth rate in percent is also low 0.1 (1965-85). Viewing these statistics it is very logical that Nepal's IRDPs should give priority to this sector. Under these component wide ranges of activities for increasing agriculture production has been taken. They are provisions for irrigation, credit, fertilizers and improved and High Yielding Varieties of seeds, insecticides etc. These facilities are provided to the farmers as subsidies and on soft term loans.

Animal Husbandry:

Rearing of animals is a common feature for the Nepalese farmers. The country's terrain which includes 79 percent of high mountains and hills has restricted much of cultivable land. So animal husbandry is a source of income and food, a source of security and a source of organic fertilizer for the farmers. From the plains of the Tarai upto the high mountains rearing of goats, sheeps, cows, yaks, buffaloes, oxen, pigs etc. is practiced. Realizing this importance the I.R.D.P. has laid emphasis on this occupation by supplying vetenary services, animal feed, upgrading the genetic quality of all livestock and providing good breeding domestic animals and poultry birds.

Cottage Industry/ Non-farm employment

Previously mentioned under employment record show that out of 323 annual working days per rural worker only 118 days were utilized (NPC 1978). This proves the necessity of cottage industries in rural Nepal. The topographical and economical conditions hinder the development of large scale industries. Hence, cottage industries can be the best sort of

industries for supplementing the farm income. These industries can be utilized by local manpower and local natural resources at least to meet the local needs. The Appraisal Reports of both the projects have laid down the pressing need of the specific regions. In the higher altitudes of Rasuwa and Nuwakot such industries have special significance as they would help to meet the bare necessity of life (cloth) and provide non-farm employment[45]. Similarly, these industries are most important where they are absolutely non existent, as in the project area of Sagarmatha[46]. The programmes undertaken here were credit facilities, training, exhibitions etc.

Infrastructure development:

Transport, communication and electricity etc are the basic for economic development; in their absence production, consumption and distribution are retarded. Transportation facilitates mobility of goods and mobility of human beings and reduces cost and creates place utility. In a country like Nepal, economic development presupposes a prior development of these infrastructures, for the formidable physical barrier has isolated, a large part of the population from one another, and has made resources untappable for they are scattered over many inaccessible places[47]. Hence the I.R.D.P has included the development of these infrastructure to facilitate maximum exploitation of available land water and human resources[48]. Special emphasis under this component is placed on construction of north-south road net work in absence of which has created regional imbalance in Nepal. Further the construction of hill tracks, suspension bridges and maintenance of these tracks have also been undertaken.

Resource Conservation:

This means conservation of land, water and forest resources. The importance of this activity is best realized as we see the bitter consequence of not conserving these resources. Due to this, the country is facing a dilemma, for on the one side, there is fast rate of population growth and on the other there is alarming depletion of the scarce resources. To feed the burgeoning population new lands were made available by clearing forests and by intensive cultivation. Consequently, there is country wide soil erosion, floods and landslides, which have threatened the ecological balance of the country to a great degree[49]. This state of affairs has posed precarious hardship for the existence of the rural mass. In light of this the IRDP has accepted the challenge to create preventive measures like watershed management with the help of afforestation, construction of retaining wall, and check dam gully control etc.

Social Services:

These services are mainly those that preserve life and improve the quality of life. They include health facilities as prevention and cure of disease. The dirth of these services directly and indirectly affect the productive capacity of a person. The country's health indicators are very poor. Different studies undertaken by NPC (in 1978) World Bank (1974-77) and various Ministers of His Majesty's Govt. provide support to the above. Hence under social services programmes as supplying of hygienic drinking water, medical treatment, construction of health posts, Provision of medicines are given importance by IRDP. It was assumed that the provision of pure

water and sanitation would significantly reduce the impact of water borne diseases; while the immunization would improve the general state of health of the ppor and their life expectation, especially of children[50].

Education is the other key factor which has been emphasised. The importance of education lies not only on increasing the efficiency of labour productivity, but also in increasing awareness of the change, for the better. By education technology spreads faster bringing more effective results of economic activities. Village studies have shown, that with the expansion of education facilities, there has been a greater use of higher technology. It may generate awareness of the need for change among the people. Under this IRDP provides physical facilities and education facilities, to the local schools.

Institutional building:

Under this heading we have taken all the programmes that help to create a viable rural economy. These are vocational schools, farmer training programmes, extension services, community development programmes for utilisation of irrigation, conservation of resources, social upliftment programme etc. However, we find that I.R.D.P. investment are more centred on extension services, market development, input supplying institutions as Sajha (Co-operatives) Agricultural Bank and Agricultural Input Corporation. Due emphasis by I.R.D.P. is given to local implementing institutions the village Panchayat and District Panchayats. Training programme and construction of panchayat buildings are undertaken. The above activities envisaged by the IRDP have their respective importance in Nepal.

Informal non-compulsory education and training programme for adult farmers have a significant impact on agricultural production; continuous learning is essential for all as new technologies are constantly being discovered. Similarly market development is essential as farming becomes commercialised. For the purpose of providing non-farm employment, vocational training is important. E.F. Schumachar has used an impressive example of skill development. According to him, to give to a man a fish is to help him temporarily; "but to teach him to make his own fishing tackle and you have helped him to become not only self-supporting, but also self-reliant and independent"[51]. Likewise importance of agricultural research in overall national crop production strategies has been emphasised in availing simple, low cost, relevant and adaptable technologies to the majority of the farmers of different geographical conditions for realising production goals[52]. Importance of Agriculture extension services for developing countries are cited by many scholars. Genetic improvement of plants, brought forward the Green Revolution[53]. There are other research findings advocated, is conservation tillage, multiple cropping, and joining bio-technologies with traditional farming. The effective diffusion of these can be possible only by extension services provided to the rural people[54].

1.4 Operationalising I.R.D.P.

The operationalising of I.R.D.P. has been followed by different countries in different ways. But two traits are common in these countries. Firstly, IRD has been incorporated in their National Plans. Secondly, IRD's have become instruments for promoting decentralised

administration with peoples participation. "The increasing tendency towards decentralisation of planning and administration from Central Government to State, region, district, local agencies, field units of Central Ministries, Local Government and Parastatal bodies arose from three converging forces:

(a) disillusionment with the results of Central Planning and Central Development activities during the 1950's and 1960.

(b) The implicit need for participatory management of development programmes to conform to the growth with equity strategy of 1970's and

(c) the realisation that with the expansion of Government activities and resulting complexity it is difficult to plan and administer all development activities from the Centre"[55]. The shift from the centre to the local involves changes, that are not "just technical and administrative, they are political. They involve a transfer of power from the groups who dominate the centre to those who have control at the local level"[56].

Hence in light of these thinkings, we find different countries operationalizing, rural development programmes, through different kinds of institutions. There are two extremes; at one point there are purely government controlled insti utions such as Block Development Offices in India. These offices are responsible for development for a cluster of villages in a locality. They are therefore manned performing multipurpose activities. While at the other point there are the communes of China, largely autonomous collective bodies. These communes take care of all economic, social problems of a defined rural area including a large number of villages. Though these communes are subject to regulatory directives from above, they enjoy considerable

freedom in the internal organization of their work so that they have much scope for spontaneous initiative by their members. Now between these two extremes lie various kinds of institution which involve a mixture of "Central authority and local autonomy in various kinds of Co-operatives and collective frameworks for example the Ujama villages of Tanzania"[57].

It should be mentioned here that there has been changes in the institutional framework for implementing rural programmes. As in India these programmes have undergone from comprehensive community development structure to disciplined co-ordinated district development plans. The community development programme launched with 55 projects in 1952 and by 1969 covering the whole country was the first organised effort at rural reconstruction. For its functioning the whole country was divided into 5011 blocks. Inspite of various shortcomings, it was realised that there existed a wide disparity in the distribution of its benefits. Hence a more viable programme the IRDP came into existence. "With focus on Block Development. The Indian IRD programme to-day is moving forward with an increasing realisation that development of the poor mainly depends on giving institutional command over resources. Hence the concept, aims mainly on the targetted group such as landless, the woman, the scheduled caste and tribe"[58]. Consequently, the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) was established as the institutional framework for implementation of the IRDP in all the 400 districts of the country. Further, for effective implementation it was necessary to initiate the rural mass for direct and active involvement in the IRDP. For this peoples organisations such as the cooperatives and Panchayati Raj institutions was developed. The Panchayati Raj

institution was conceived of as an agency for rural development administration or local level development management[59].

While Bangladesh sets an example of how traditionally based local institutions could be formed into various co-operatives. It is these co-operatives that form the implementing agency for IRDP. This programme which was launched in 1960 was known as "the Comilla model". This Comilla model, though used the existing institution for rural development, had a distinctive innovative character of its own; it showed : (a) how marginal farmers could be organised into effective co-operatives of their own (b) how they could save out of their low income and generate equity capital for institutional loans. (c) How they could get extensive knowledge about improved agriculture (d) How local government institutional could be used to provide the needed economic and administrative infrastructures and finally (e) How a bottom up decentralised plan could be evolved out of this integrative approach to development[60].

The past heritage of different local institutions that existed in India and Bangladesh, which were vehicles for the implementation of IRDP did not exist in Nepal. Hence Nepal had to struggle to develop such local institutions. Before 1960 sporadic efforts were made to develop local institutions for rural development. The Tribhuvan Gram Vikash Yojana which was based on India's principle of community development can be cited as an example. Likewise Rapti valley credit society and co-operative societies were established in different parts of the country, for some specific area development, and/or to provide input facilities to the farmers.

The political change of 1960 brought fourth the three tiered pyramidical partyless, Panchayat (system) form of government. At the appex is the Rastrya Panchayat then comes the district panchayat and the lowest unit is the village and town panchayats. These units are all representative elected bodies of their respective areas. Altogether there are 75 district Panchayat and 29 (1981) town Panchayats and 4100 village panchayats in Nepal. The two main basic principles of the system, were democracy and decentralization of power at the lowest level. Consequently, the district and the village panchayats came to be the institutions responsible for rural development. The formulation, implementation and evaluation of I.R.D.P. is undertaken by these local bodies. However there are different committees comprising bureaucrats and technical personnels and local representatives at district level to help in the planning, implementation and evaluation of I.R.D.P. At the village level the co-operatives known as Sajha societies have been established to provide inputs. For effective use of such societies these institutions have been made as the vehicle for implementation of I.R.D.P. To provide technical guidance service centres have been created in the rural level.

The above discussions of operationalization of I.R.D.P. simplifies that bureaucrats, technocrats and peoples represented elected bodies constitute the institutions for functioning of programmes as IRD. But there are evidences showing that, in actual practice, its bureaucrats and technocrats who eclipse the powers and functions of local representative bodies. Thus they are the true powerful institution of I.R.D.P.

1.5 Bilateral and Multilateral Foreign Aid for Rural Development

The magnitude of poverty and the continuous vicious circle of poverty, with low incomes, low savings, low investments, low productions and low consumptions, exposed in the above discussions, substantiates aid assistance to Nepal.

Ever since the kingdom was opened to the outside world in 1951, the country started receiving generously, bilateral and multilateral assistance. Nepal thus "provides a facinating example of recipient who gets economic assistance from diverse sources - Communist non-communist, aligned non-aligned, development and underdeveloped"[61].

Donors, include about more than 18 bilateral and 20 multilateral sources[62]. In the successive noted period between 1961 and 1971 Nepal became members of IMF and ADB/M respectively. In 1964 with the establishment of UNDP office the opening of the World Bank resident mission in Kathmandu, and finally the then President of World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara's visit in 1972 combined to accellerate the inflow of aid from multilateral sources.

The main agencies are IDA, ADB/M, UN Group, OPEC Fund EEC etc. Multilateral assistance to Nepal commenced from the Fourth Five Year Plan (1970/75). With its comparison to bilateral aid now, its share has increased sharply from 5 percent (95% bilateral) in 1970/71 to 57 percent (43% bilateral) in 1984/85. Visualising the composition of multilateral aid, the share of loans to grants has been steadily rising. For in the Fourth Plan it was 65% in the Fith 74% and in the Sixth plan it came upto 85%[63]. This trend is an unhealthy sign manifesting the growing debt burden on the Nepalese people.

No doubt, substantial amount of aid has helped the tradition based economy, with low domestic saving, non-existent technical know how, and under/unutilised natural resources to come in the stream line of eco-socio development. But how far it has actually touched the majority of the poor is a big question before us.

Aid embraces all sectors of the Nepalese economy. There is hardly any road or any project, that is not financed by external resources. All development plans have continuously utilised larger and larger amount of aid. Increasing from NRs 192.4 million in the First plan to NRs 476.0 million in the second, to NRs 967.8 million in the third NRs 1508.9 in the fourth NRs 4240.8 in the fifth and NRs 10585.2 million in the sixth plan[64].

Even with this growing trend of foreign support poverty continues. Recapitulating the state of poverty we see that two out of every five Nepalese are not in a position to meet even such basic needs of survival such as food, shelter, clothing, safe drinking water, elementary health care and primary education[65]. Their standard as expressed by McNamara, is "beneath any reasonable definition of human decency"[66]. Thus the disillusionment of the growth model in the 60's and 70s and the widening gap between the rich and the poor had also its influence in the sectoral change of aid in Nepal. The infrastructural sectors as transport and communication, consistently absorbed a large part of the total aid flow of about 39 percent uptil the Fifth plan. This later declined to 21 percent in the sixth plan. The share of agriculture which was about 20 percent before increased to 30 percent in the sixth plan. A large part of this assistance is also absorbed by

social services the increase of which was 15 percent in the fourth plan to 18 percent in the sixth plan[67]. In this way we find the trend is towards those sectors which satisfy the basic needs of the majority of the people of Nepal.

Thus, foreign aid has come in the form of finance, material and technical know how, presently focussing in the rural sector. The Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP, as such came as the result of the ambitious and hopeful thinking of donors towards the rural sector in 1975/76. With it followed several other IRDP, financed both by bilateral and multilateral aid. These IRDP have come with varied programmes, some covering two and others three or more districts over different geographical zones. The major bilateral agencies supporting IRDP are USAID, U.K. Canada, Swiss, West Germany. While the major multilateral donors are IDA, UNDP, IFAD, ADB/M and EEC.

Concluding, the problem of our study restates the overall picture of the economy. This manifests that no significant changes in the economic policies, and performance has taken place and hence, poverty persists. The country seems trapped between growing expectations (due to demonstration effect having a strong pull) rising population, underutilised manpower and natural resources, on one hand, and on the other the growing dependency on loan, even for maintenance owing to poor performance and low absorbing capacity. Hence, it is advisable that radical changes in implementing agencies combined with prudent use of foreign assistance should be tried.

A more extensive and deep study is required to find out the actual amount of benefit that has been extended to the rural poor for whom the huge amount of aid is spent. Naturally a grass root level study is required. The study has revealed fruitlessness of aid in some aspects of development programme.

1.6 Significance of the Study:

Recapitulating the problem faced by Nepal and viewing the importance of I.R.D.P., it has been quite logical for Nepal to try a new model to reach the hard core of 40 percent of population, being below the poverty line. The I.R.D. programmes that are implemented in the country mainly aim at (a) increasing agriculture productivity, (b) increasing rural employment, (c) balancing ecological environment, (d) providing social services (e) establishing the delivery centres closes to the people. Dr. Prachanda Pradhan points out that "Integrated rural Development Programmes often envisage the development of the local capability so that the same level of services will be maintained even after the completion of the project life. Therefore, I.R.D. is not only of administrative problems, it involves the political problems as well the extent of involvement of the local people in the project formulation, implementation, maintenance and evolution"[68]. Hence in this context our study on impact of I.R.D.P. will obviously have its significance.

Secondly, the trend of recent years show that social scientists are devoting an increasing interest to resource allocation by the public sector. Programmes, goals and objectives may be good, but unless, they are implemented they become only beautiful paper works.

This brings forth the importance of implementing institutions, on which depends the effective use of resource allocations. The interest of scholars on this can be partly attributed to the demand of Institutional change — a demand which increases the social values of research on how institutions work. Will the goals set by the change lead to redistribution of income for the better, or for efficiency of programmes. Our study of institutions that have developed for implementation of IRDP, will have its due place of significance. Further, the study of results brought about by the programme will be more effective if it is based on the understanding of the factors promoting or hindering it. These factors which can be inherent in the institution itself or in other predominant institution of the society.

Thirdly, all I.R.D.Ps in Nepal are funded by bilateral and multilateral aid. It is thus most essential that these resources be utilised to the maximum. Leakages by underutilisation and misutilisation of funds, can be possible; but it should be minimized. Such actions can no doubt, be aided by evaluation and impact studies of such programmes. Viewing the magnitude of the problems faced by the country, there is less chances even in the coming future for not depending on such aids. Hence to attract international and bilateral flow of resources, it is imperative to conduct research studies of such programmes.

Fourthly, the significance of our study comes fourth when we find that there has been very limited empirical study of such programmes. There is no doubt that there are host of scholars contributing to the studies of I.R.D.P. impact in India but it is negligible in Nepal. Institutional studies with reference to I.R.D.P. that the

researcher has come across were useful, for the present study are given in the Annexure 'B'. Here we shall give only those studies that are concerned with Nepal. Specially of Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha I.R.D.P. to which our study remains confined .

(1) Rasuwa/Nuwakot Rural Development Evaluation Project by Development Research Communication Group (DRCC) 1981.

(2) Rasuwa/Nuwakot impact on meeting Basic Human Needs by Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA)- 1982.

(3) Rasuwa/Nuwakot Rural Development Project. Second Phase Project Preparation by Agricultural Project Service Centre - 1983.

(4) I.R.D.P. in Nepal - A Review by Bharat Bahadur Pradhan- 1985.

(5) Implementation of IRDP by Dwarika Nath Dungal - 1987.

(6) Rapti IRDP - An overview by Govindha Bahadur Hada - 1986.

(7) IRDP in Nepal by Rajeswar Acharya - 1983.

The research study of Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDP that we have undertaken differs from the above because (a) our study is not an evaluation study of the whole project; (b) the study focusses the role played by IRDP organisation or institutions in relation to its impact on socio-economic benefit of only four village panchayats of Rasuwa/Nuwakot and six village panchayats of Sagarmatha. (c) The study is a comparative study of the two projects and also a comparative analysis of the impact on the hills and the Tarai.

The significance of our study can also be seen in the light of the government policy of covering all the 75 districts with IRDP. At

present there are eleven such programmes operating in different parts of Nepal and covering thirtyfour districts. Out of these we have chosen Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha. Because Rasuwa and Nuwakot project is the first of its kind. It represents a very contrasting picture of areas where modernization and even civilisation has by passed the households, though 47 Km apart from the nearest motor way to the capital Kathmandu (47 Km. from the district head quarter of Nuwakot). While Sagarmatha project is the first project introduced in the Terai. The terai belt is known as the 'Granary Basket' of Nepal. Comparative to the hilly and mountaneous areas the terai is accessible and its development has been enhanced by the Mahednra high way running from east to west. Nevertheless, many parts remain backward and the standard of living is very poor. The impact study of I.R.D.P. in such places will therefore be significant.

To sum up, the significance of our study we can quote the words of E.F. Schumacher "Economic development is something much wider and deeper than economics, let alone econometrics. Its roots lie outside the economic sphere in education, organization, discipline and beyond that, in political independence and a national consciousness of self reliance"[69].

1.7 Methodology

The study was executed in five districts covered by the Sagarmatha and Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP. From each district two village panchayats were purposively selected, thus total village pnachayats surveyed was ten. The following charts reflect the districts and Village Panchayats covered by this study.

Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP

Rasuwa district		Nuwakot district	
Dhaibung V.P	Ramche V.P.	Chaugadha V.P.	Ganesthan V.P.
Village	Village	Village	Village
(1) Dhaibung	(1) Ramche	(1) Chaugadha	(1) Ganesthan
(2) Jiljibe	(2) Timrang	(2) Pipal Gahari	(2) Dharapane

Sagarmatha IRDP

Siraha district		Saptari district	Udaipur district
Govindpur V.P.	Sukhipur V.P.	Katari V.P.	Risku V.P.
Village	Village	Village	Village
(1) Govindpur	(1) Sukhipur	(1) Katari	(1) Risku
(2) Jutki	(2) Dhaipaudi	(2) Gabua	(2) Belha
(3) Danda			

Kalyanpur V.P.	Khojpur V.P.
Village	Village
(1) Chakia	(1) Khojpur
(2) Muskarnia	(2) Ranjeetpur

Note : V.P. - Village Panchayat

Though there are other integrated rural projects introduced in different parts of the country, the researcher has chosen Rasuwa/ Nuwakot project R/N) because it represented first IRDP in the country, while Sagarmatha project was first of the type introduced in the terai area of Nepal.

The ten panchayats were selected by consulting with their respective co-ordinators of the two projects. Selection of the panchayats was made on the basis of investment made in the panchayats by the I.R.D. projects. It is natural that wherever the different development works are centred or located those households of the panchayats will be benefited more compared to those located further away from such works. The ten village panchayats were grouped into two classes. And defined as command area and control area. Command area represented those panchayats where IRDP investment was concentrated. While control area represented those panchayats where IRDP investments were not existence or negligible.

The panchayats of command area of Sagarmatha project were (1) Sukhipur (2) Kalyanpur (3) Katari and control area were (1) Govindapur (2) Khojpur (3) Risku. While panchayats of command area of R/N projects were (1) Dhaubung (2) Chaugadha and control areas were (1) Ramche (2) Ganeshthan.

Before visiting the panchayats the researcher also consulted the chief district officer (C.D.O) and local development officer (L.D.O.) of the respective districts, so as to facilitate the meetings with the Pradhan Panchas of the concerning panchayats. Information regarding organisations and managements were obtained from them.

In the village panchayats the pradhan panchas were consulted in order to have their opinion on the selection of wards. Households were selected at random so as to make the sample respondent representative of different income and caste groups.

The target was that from each panchayat at least fifty household respondants should be interviewed. But in remote areas the number of respondant had to be decreased. The following chart shows the number of respondants interviewed in various panchayats.

Projects	Name of Panchayats	Household respondents number
Sagarmatha	Sukhipur	50
Sagarmatha	Govindapur	50
"	Kalyanpur	50
"	Khojpur	43
"	Katari	50
"	Risku	50
Rasuwa/Nuwakot	Dhaibuing	33
"	Ramchey	29
"	Chaugadha	50
"	Ganeshthan	50
	Total	453

The number of respondents intervived in command area was 231 and in control area was 222.

Besides, household respondents, the project coordinators of R/N and Sagarmatha IRDPs; the L.D.O. of the concerning five districts, the pradhan panchas and the Multiple Purpose Development Worker of the ten village panchayat were also interviewed. Similarly the line

agencies that had their branch office in village panchayats were also interrogated. These agencies were Agriculture and Commercial Banks, health post, animal husbandry, Agricultural Extension Office and Sajha (Co-operative).

1. Organization

Effective implementation of IRDP is contingent upon its organisational structure. While briefly discussing the rural development programmes attention has been naturally directed toward the implementing agencies, their organisational set up, and functional contours. These have been provided in detail in Annex - 'C'.

The conomic and socio impact of the two projects are analysed on the basis of parameters namely (1) Caste (2) Land (3) Income (4) Consumption (5) Agriculture (6) Cottage Industries (7) Employment (8) Education (9) Health.

1. Caste groups were classified on the basis of the study conducted by NEW ERA 1982 [Community Forestry Development Project - Household Survey in the Hill and Terai (Nepal)]. (a) Higher caste: these include all tagadhari groups as Brahmin, Kshetrya, Jaise, (b) Tibeto Burman-Magar, Rai, Tamang, Limbu Gurung (c) Chokho hill groups (d) Occupational groups - Sarki, Damai, Mochi, Kami, Lohar, Sunar, Domes, Chamar, Mushar Dusaat, (e) Higher Madhaisay - Yadav, Mali, Halwai, Koiri, Mahato, Teli, Suri, Baniya, Kayastha (f) Lower Madhaisay - Kalwar, Tatma, Majhi (g) others - Danwar, etc.

2. Land: This includes ownership as well as rented land. Land is used to assess property status of the respondents. The number of livestock has also been taken as one of the indicators of wealth.

3. Agriculture : Inputs as seeds, fertilizers, credit, marketing of agriculture products have been taken up as to identify the problems in these areas. Since recording system on agriculture production of the surveyed panchayats was not available, Respondents were asked to respond about the "no impact" on production and significant and non-significant increase in major crops, after the implementation of the project.

4. Cottage Industries: This variable was to enquire on the scope of IRDP undertakings and problems perceived.

5. Employment: Respondents were enquired about the creation of temporary/permanent type of employment benefit received from the project introductions.

6. Education: Here the respondent, and their family members education level was taken up and classified them into literate and illiterate. Literate includes those who have participated in different level of educational institution as well as who can write and read and the rest is illiterate.

7. Health : Under this main variables were drinking water, their source, condition and the time taken to collect was considered. It includes the kind of treatment for disease and time taken to reach health centre.

8. Consumption pattern: This indicates only the frequency of dietary protein containing food on one hand and on the other daily consumption of non-edible goods as cloth (mill and hand made) shoes (rubber, leather and cotton) toilets (soap, tooth paste, hair oil). These were taken into enquiry to assess if there was any change after

the introduction of I.R.D. projects.

Income: The respondent's annual agriculture income and non-agricultural income were taken up. This variable was used so as to assess property status and awareness in I.R.D. programmes and the benefit received.

Household related variables: Caste, education, sex, occupation (Primary), Age groups, dependency ratio, family size of the respondent have been taken as to give a comparative general picture of the respondents household surveyed in different panchayats. The attitudes of the respondents towards I.R.D. project, their assessment of the project implementers, such as local development officer, Pradhan Panchas and village secretaries and their view of first, second and third priority of development works required in their respective villages were also studied.

Besides the investigation on the above variables, the respondents were also enquired to indicate their priorities on undertaking the activities in the IRD in order to compare the programme priority accorded by the IRDPs under study.

Survey instruments:

The major instruments developed to conduct the survey in selected village panchayats of five districts of Sagarmatha and R/N projects are specified as below.

(a) Households head questionnaire : This questionnaire was developed in order to obtain information or demographic characteristics, educational and economic status and economic activities of the family. Besides the questionnaire largely covered the awareness, the problems,

in the light of I.R.D.P. components. In short these questions were developed as to collect information on I.R.D. impact in the surveyed villages. The details are given in Annexure 'D'.

(b) Key person questionnaire: These questionnaires were formed to collect the views of implementing village level agency of I.R.D. programmes. Hence, the performance and problems faced by them and their vital suggestions were collected. The details of this interviews are given in Annexure 'E'.

(c) Village Panchayat survey form: With a view to get a general information of the sampled village panchayats, this survey form was designed. It includes detailed guidelines on collecting information about the social characteristics, educational data, geographic setting, economic activities, and development activities conducted in the village panchayats. These details are given in Annexure 'F'.

(d) The Introduction of Sagarmatha and Rasuwa and Nuwakot Projects and review of their works based on secondary data collected from co-ordinator's office and Agricultural Projects services centre, (A.P.R.O.S.C.). These details are given in Annexure 'G'.

Data analysis:

Chi-square tests were conducted to assess the association between variables and its results are reported at appropriate places. A test of significance was conducted to test the difference between means of per capita income of project area and control area respondents households. All tests were conducted at or above 95 percent confidence level. The time series for the data collection was from seven years onwards. That is within seven questionnaire years. The field survey for empirical data collection was done in the year 1984/85. It took about 181 days.

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CHAPTER - II

SOCIO ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY

Section 2.1 : Rasuwa-Nuwakot Planning Districts:

The Rasuwa/Nuwakot Integrated Rural Development Project covers two districts, namely Rasuwa and Nuwakot. They are among the eight districts of the Bagmati Zone, and fall under the Central Development Region of Nepal. Dhading, Kathmandu and Sindhupalchonk are their neighbouring districts. Important places of the districts are Ganesh Himal, Gosai Kund, Langtang National Park of Rasuwa, Trishuli Hydro Electric Project and Devighat Hydel projects of Nuwakot. The Nuwakot district has a special historical importance, for the historical leader of the Shah dynasty (present dynastry) Prithivi Narayan Saha, was able to annex Kathmandu Valley from here and thus establish the kingdom of Nepal.

These districts are situated between the Himalayan ranges in the north and the Mahabharat ranges in the south. Generally these parts are rainfed under the influence of the south west monsoon.

The Rasuwa district covering 1544 sq. km. lies in the extreme north, having Tibet (China) as its boundary in the east, west and north. It lies between the latitudes $27^{\circ}2'$ - $27^{\circ}23'$ and Longitude $85^{\circ}1'$ - $85^{\circ}45'$. The districts elevation rises from 905 metres to 7408 m, thus, having some of the country's important peaks such as Ganesh Himal (7408 m) Gosikunds (5122m) and Langtang (7247m). Its climate ranges from subtropical, temperate to alpine, with temperature $22.6^{\circ}C$ as maximum and $11.5^{\circ}C$ as minimum; and average annual rainfall of 944.3 mm.

The other district Nuwakot has an area of 1121 sq. km. Its boundary stretches upto Rasuwa and other districts in the north and west. And in the south/west it touches Kathamandu district (capital of Nepal). Nuwakot lies between latitudes $27^{\circ}48'-28^{\circ}06'$ and longitudes $84^{\circ}58' - 85^{\circ}30'$. It rises from an altitude of 518m to 4876 meters, and has sub-tropical and mid-temperate climate. The average temperature is $26.5^{\circ}C$ maximum and $16.3^{\circ}C$ minimum with an average annual rainfall of 1431.00 mm.

Comparing the two districts the prospect of development regarding agricultural land is greater in Nuwakot. For it has cultivable land of about 69445 hectares, but Rasuwa has only 1500 hectares. However Rasuwa has rich pasture land, where animal husbandry can flourish. Further with its beautiful peaks and lakes it has become a place of attraction for tourist as well as for pilgrims. The Alpine climate has made it a wild life sanctuary for scarce animals like panda, himal deer, snow beer etc. The government has therefore established Langtang Wild Life National Park for the protection of forest and its flora and fauna, covering an area of 1709.40 hectares.

Even with scarce arable land crops like paddy, maize, wheat, millet and potato are grown on terrace lands, and river banks. However maize and millet are the principal crops. Nuwakot covers valleys and hills, hence the main crops are paddy and wheat grown on low lands; while other crops are maize,millet, black dal grown on slopes.

The snow fed rivers such as Bhote Koshi Trisule of Rasuwa and Likhu, Tadi and Trisule of Nuwakot are good sources of irrigation and

hydro power, but they have been harnessed only negligibly. Electricity facility is available only in Dunche the headquarter of Rasuwa and Trisuli/Bidur the headquarter of Nuwakot. The recent completion of Devighat power project has helped electrification of some rural areas of Nuwakot.

Besides agriculture the other prospects of development are cottage and small scale industries. Cottage industries such as woolen, bambo products and ghee were practised traditionally. Government aid is provided to increase the production of these goods. Cheese and cotton textile industries have also been established by government support in both districts. A lead and zinc factory located at Ganesh Himal has started production recently, enhancing the importance of Rasuwa.

The infrastructure created for the development of these districts is limited. There is only one motorway from Trishule-Dhunche - Somdang of 114 km. in Rasuwa, which has facilitated mini bus service twice a day for this remote area. There exists altogether about 124 km mile tracks connecting some important places of Rasuwa. There is also an airway for small crafts in Langton (near Dhunche) connecting it with Kathamandu. The communication facility consists of a district post office, sub-post office and ten additional post offices. Tele communication service is available from Dhunche - Kathamandu - Nuwakot.

The institutional credit is provided from Agricultural Bank Nepal (ADB/N) and Commercial Bank of Dhunche, and from six Co-operatives known as Sajha established in different village panchayats. The

membership of Sajha was 4321 with share capital of NBs 101432, uptill 1985.

Comparatively, Nuwakot district has more infrastructure facility than Rasuwa. The district headquarter is connected with Kathamandu (Capital) by regular bus service which takes about four hours to reach. One can travel on trucks to the interior parts, to the important rice belts formed by Likhu and Tadi rivers via Chaugadha village panchayat. The communication service provided here consists of a district Post Office, 3 sub-post offices and 19 additional post offices. Telecommunication service is also available from Bidur (headquarter) to all the districts and Zones of the kingdom.

The district enjoys institutional credit facilities from ADB/N and Commercial Bank of Bidur and from 13 Co-operatives. The membership of Sajha was 8715 and its share capital was NRs 136554 uptill 1985[1].

The demographic picture of Rasuwa shows total population of 30,241 with male female ratio of 1:08. And density 19.6 per sq. kms. The total number of household comprised 5,791 with an average family size of 5.2. While Nuwakot has a total population of 202976 with male-female ratio of 1:06. And density of 181.1 per sq. kms. The total number of households constituted 37,137 with an average family size of 5.5. In both districts the main occupations are agriculture, forestry and fishery rhe percentage being nearly the same as 96.07 (Rasuwa) 96.92 (Nuwakot). The inhabitants of these districts come from various racial trends. The Brahmins and Chhatris who constitute about 31% of families are the socially, economically and politically

dominant castes. Tamangs who are the original inhabitants of the area are still the major ethnic group constituting of about 44% of families, living in clustered villages at higher altitudes. The other ethnic groups are Newers, Gurungs, Ghales, Magars. The service caste (Kami, Damai, Sariki) as blacksmiths, Tailors and cobblers each constituting about 6% of families (Final Report 1983)[2]. The household settlement is found to live between elevation of 350m and 3500m. Generally the Hindu villages have settlements which are dispersed. Whereas in the higher altitude Buddhist villages are nucleated[3].

Regarding health services, there is one hospital (Dhunche) and six health posts in Rasuwa. Nuwakot has one hospital (Bidur) and ten health posts. The tap drinking water scheme benefits about 12500 population of Rasuwa and about 21312 population of Nuwakot. The education facility provided uptill 1981 was: (a) primary schools 38 in Rasuwa and 176 in Nuwakot (b) Lower Secondary 8 in Rasuwa and 46 in Nuwakot (c) Secondary 2 in Rasuwa and 13 in Nuwakot. The total annual enrolment for that specific year was 2893 for Rasuwa and 22580 for Nuwakot. And the total number of teachers was 143 in Rasuwa and 648 in Nuwakot. Thus the district, Rasuwa gets comparatively less benefits of infrastructural development than Nuwakot.

2.2 Sagarmatha Planning Districts:

The other project of our study is the Sagarmatha IRDP. Out of six districts of Sagarmatha zone, the project covers three southern districts namely Siraha, Saptari and Udaipur. The zone comes under the Eastern Development Region of Nepal. Siraha and Saptari districts are situated in southern tarai region, touching the boundary of Bihar

(India) in the south, Udaipur in the north, Dhanusha in the west and Sunsari districts in the east. These two districts have extensive flat alluvial land made up by the Koshi river and its tributaries.

The altitude of Siraha rises from 61 metres to 305 metres and lies between the latitude 26°25' - 26°47' and longitude 86°28' - 87°7'. While the elevation of Saptari begins from 78 metres and rises upto 895 m. and lies between the latitudes 26°33' - 26°55' and longitude 80°6' - 86°27'.

The third district Udaipur is totally different. It is the only district of the zone which is made up of hills and inner tarai. It is situated between the Mahabharat and Churia range (both run parallel to each other from east to west). Hence the altitude is higher, rising from 360m to 2310 metres. It lies between the latitudes 26°39' - 27°11' and longitudes 86°9' - 87°10'.

All the three districts have tropical and sub-tropical climate. The maximum temperature being 36-0°C and minimum 17.0°C in Siraha and 29.8°C maximum, 14.3°C minimum in Saptari. The average rainfall of Saptari is highest i.e. 1717.5 mm than Siraha's 1442 mm. The temperature of Udaipur ranges from maximum 38.0°C to minimum 16.0°C with an annual average rainfall of 1668.6 mm.

The geographical area covered by the three districts is 1363 sq. km. , 1188 sq. km. and 2063 sq. km, of Saptari, Siraha and Udaipur respectively. The district headquarters of Siraha, Saptari and Udaipur are Siraha Bazar, Rajbiraj and Gaighat respectively.

Prospects of agricultural development show that in all these districts there is ample scope for increasing production. The area under cultivation is estimated as 10855 hectare of Saptari, 95637 hectares of Siraha and 69,968 hectares of Uadaipur. The immense source of power and irrigation of the three districts are the rivers as Koshi, Kamala, Trijuga and Tawa. These are virtually untapped. Thus, despite the potentiality of land and water production is low.

Varied crops are grown, but the poor irrigation facility has resulted in mainly mono-culture pattern of agriculture i.e. paddy in the flat lands and maize in the hills. Other secondary crops are pulses,oil seeds, wheat, sugar cane, jute and tobacco[4]. However, comparative to the Rasuwa/Nuwakot project, more irrigation facility is available here. The district records enlist the irrigated areas in Siraha as 27,606 hec., Saptari 13092 hec. and Udaipur 2726 hec.

Electricity facility is available only in Lahan (Town Panchayat) Siraha Bazar and Rajbiraj and that too from India.

Besides cultivation, the prospects for animal husbandry is also good. There are very few households who do not rear domestic animals. But their productivity is very low resulting "these assets into painful but unavoidable burden to the farmers"[5].

Physical barriers for establishing transport network in the two tarai districts does not exist. Hence the scope for industrial development is good. Industries based on agricultural and forest production, bricks and tiles, bidi, cotton textile are flourishing. In Siraha besides these there is one Khandsari sugar mill and a distillery factory[6]. In Udaipur, though some physical constrains

exists agro-based and forest-based industries are established but in limited number. One important addition is the establishment of biggest cement factory nearing completion in Udaipur.

The infrastructure facility to develop these area depict a better conditions compared to Rasuwa/Nuwakot (R/N) project. In all the three districts there are regular bus service twice or thrice daily to many important places of the kingdom. The Mahendra Raj Marg which forms a portion of Siraha and Saptari has aided to develop these districts. Many village panchayats have cart routes connecting this road. Important places of these districts also have connection to this road. Besides roads, there is Kacha airway for Twinatter (18 persons) in Rajbiraj providing service from Kathamandu-Rajbiraj, Morang and Khotang.

The communication facility in Siraha, Saptari and Udaipur is the telephone connection located in Siraha bazar and Rajbiraj, Wireless connection from here exists, for major parts of the country. But Udaipur has wireless connection with the districts of Sagarmatha only. In the three districts a post office with money order and savings bank facilities are provided. In addition Siraha has 4 Sub-Post Offices and 10 additional Post Offices, while Saptari has 4 Sub-Post Office and 14 additional post offices and Udaipur has 3 such post offices and 9 additional post offices.

The credit institutions serving Siraha, are Agriculture Development Banks (ADB/N) installed in two places, and the Commercial Banks established in three places. There are 23 Co-operatives (Sajha) with membership of 39,999 and share capital NRs 39,25917. Saptari has ADB/N in one place, Commercial Banks in two places and Nepal Industrial

Corporation in one place[7]. The Sajhas are 23 in number with 56,613 membership and share capital of NRs 80,49092. While Udaipur has ADB/N and Commercial Banks in two places. Sajhas that are serving these areas are 11 in number with share capital of NR 12,58107 and membership of 19155.

Besides these institutions, supporting services as Agriculture Research Farm and Extension, Animal Husbandry development and veterinary services and marketing services are available in all the three district headquarters.

The major exports of Udaipur are paddy, jute, maize, potato, oranges, ghee and woolen materials. Its important trade centres are Katari, Baltar and Gaighat. Siraha exports items as rice, pulses, tobacoo, oil seeds, herbs, mango and animal products. The trade centres are Lahan, Siraha bazar, Madda, Sukhipur and Bhawanipur. Saptari exports buffaloes, goats' skins, rice, timber, mango and litchi. The trade centres are Rajbiraj, Kalyanpur and Kanchanpur. Governments attempt to develop fishery has shown good results. Sirahas and Saptari are noted to have captured also the Indian fish market. The Rajbiraj fishery development centre of Saptari provides services in 15.76 hectares.

The total population of Siraha is 375358, with male female ratios of 1:08 and density per sq. km. as 316.0 and households comprised of 68,644. Saptari has a total population of 379,055 with male female ratio of 1:06, density per sq. km. 2781.1 and total household numbered as 68,646. And Udaipur has 159,805 total population with male female ratio as 1:02 density per sq. km. 77.5 and total households as 27,457.

The inhabitants of Siraha and Saptari are mainly of the Aryan race like Yadavs, Rajput, Kayastha, Sudies etc. While in Udaipur the inhabitants are a mixture of Mongolian and Aryan. Maithali, Tamangs, Danwar, Sunwar, Sherpa Gurung are main inhabitants. Besides the Hindus and Buddhists the Muslims also are the inhabitants of these districts.

The social welfare conditions prevailing in Siraha are two hospitals and one health post. In Saptari there is one hospital, two health posts and two Ayurvedic centres. In Udaipur there is one hospital and one health centre. The population benefiting from tap drinking water is 9700 in Udaipur, 7830 in Saptari and 38300 in Siraha.

The education facility existing is as such total number of schools in Siraha is 241, in Saptari 269 and 149 in Udaipur. The total students annual enrolment was 27,067 in Siraha with teachers numbering 761. In Saptari students enrolment was 31,082 and teachers 940. In Udaipur it was 14559 and teachers 525. In addition Siraha has one campus with 202 students and 8 lecturers, Saptari has one campus with 560 students and 30 lecturers and Udaipur has 2 campuses with 409 students and 34 lecturers.

2.3 An Emperical Survey of the Village Panchayats.

The village panchayats with sub-division of nine wards is the lowest and most important local level political administrative units. "Villages imply clustered rural settlement which have a considerable degree of social solidarity and self-rule tradionally exercised by

a group of elders called their Panchayat. Today, each village panchayat has typically 10-20 settlement but the range varies from 1 to 40 or 50"[8].

Ramche and Daibung are the two village panchayats (V.P) among the 18 Village Panchayats of Rasuwa district. While Changadha and Ganesthan are among the 62 village panchayat of Nuwakot district.

The main demarcation of the two village panchayats of Rasuwa is the, Trisule-Dhunche-Somdang road. Dhaibung lies on the east of this road and Ramche on the west. While the demarcation of the Nuwakot village panchayats is the Tadi river. Ganesthan lies on the east bank of this river, north of Changadha, while Changadha lies on the west bank.

The elevation of Dhaibung is 1524m which is a ridge overlooking the Betrawati river. And the elevation of Ramche is 1790m and lies on a high span overlooking Trisule valley. The approximate elevation of Chaugadha is 487m (Pipal) to 560m (Gadkhar). It is situated at the confluence of Likhu and Tade river west and east[9]. Whereas Ganesthan the north of Changadha has higher elevation.

The 1981 census shows the total population of Dhaibung village panchayat as 2878 and household as 538. While Ramche's as 1357 and its household 239[10]. In both the village panchayat the Tamang race predominates. Dhaibung inhabitats Brahmin, Chhetry, Magars in large numbers, but Ramche provides a conspicuous case where other castes are absent. The total population of Chaugadha Village Panchayats is 4490 and households numbered 833, while that of Ganesthan is 5557 and household 1115[11]. The predominant race in Chaugadha are the Rai,

Tamang and Magar followed by Chhetry and Brahmins. In Ganesthan the Chhetry, Brahmins are in majority followed by Tamang, Magars and Rai.

The main occupation of the inhabitants of Dhaibung is agriculture, supported by animal husbandry and cottage industries. The village panchayat source stated that about 50 households were engaged in making woolen carpets and garments. In Ramche Village panchayat agriculture, though being the major source of income is simultaneously supported by animal husbandry and potterage. There are 15 households engaged in cloth weaving, and about 95 persons are employed by the Bidur/Nuwakot village handicraft industry[12]. In the two Nuwakot village panchayat agriculture, mainly cultivation of crops are the main occupation. Animal husbandry and agricultural labour and loading of grains are the secondary occupations.

In all the four village panchayats, four or five households in each panchayat are found engaged in traditional service occupations. All the four village panchayats are devoid of hat bazars. The household purchase is done in Trisule bazars and Dhunche bazars. Buyers of crops, animals and animal products come from Trisule and Kathamandu. And sellers also go frequently for better profit to Trisule bazars. Whatsoever there are 4 general shops (kerosene oil, salt, sugar, soap, etc.) and one small textile shop in Dhaibung. And also 2 tea shops and 2 inns. Ramche village panchayat has 6 general shops and one tea shop and 2 inns. The Chaugadha village panchayat has 6 general shops, one medicine and one cloth shops while Ganesthan has 2 general and one cloth shop. Both Village Panchayats has 2 to 3 tea shops but no inns.

Except for Chaugadha Village panchayats all the other three village panchayats have poor infrastructure facilities. Dhaibung has about 20 km foot and horse trail. The distance from village panchayat to Trisule/Somdang road is about 10 km. Ramche Village Panchayat has about 3 to 4 km of foot trails and the distance from the second bus stop is about 20 km. Chaugadha has approximately 15 km. Kachha road. A rough road also connects the village panchayat (from Dhikure) upto Kabilas (10 km) on the Tadi Khola and also continues up the Likhu Khola (4 km) while in Ganesthan there is no roads, only about 4 km Kacha incomplete road exists upto Labdhu near Dhikure market.

The Chaugadha Village Panchayats enjoys the benefit of Agriculture Bank, Sajha, Agricultural input corporation, veterinary service, agriculture extension service and sub-post office. But Ganesthan and Ramche have no such benefit. Even Dhaibung gets the benefit of one health post and veterinary service only. Both Ramche and Chaugadha have their own panchayat office-cum-guest house. The tap drinking water facilities provided in these village panchayats are also very poor. About 200 households in Dhaibung and 75 of Ramche have tap water. While 2239 of the population of Ghaugadha have this benefit. Ganesthan has incomplete tap water works, so no idea could be drawn, as to the benefit of such facilities[13].

Altogether there is one secondary, two lower secondary and two primary schools in Dhaibung, while Ramche has only one primary school. In Chaugadha there is one secondary, one lower secondary and three primary schools, and Ganesthan has one lower secondary and two primary schools only.

2.3 Sagarmatha IRDP

In discussing the three pairs of Village Panchayats in the three districts of Sagarmatha project, we shall first take up the two pairs together of Siraha and Saptari districts. Since they largely represent similar physical and socio-economic conditions.

Sukhipur and Govindpur are the two panchayats among the 110 village panchayat of Siraha. While Kalyanpur and Kojpur village panchayat are among the 114 village panchayat of Saptari. From the headquarter Siraha bazar, Sukhipur lies approximately 12 km far and Govindpur 25 km. And from the co-ordinator's office (Lahan) Govindpur is about 10/15 km and Sukhipur 20 km. While Rajbiraj the headquarter of Saptari lies about 23 km far from Kalyanpur village panchayat and 26 km from Khojpur village panchayat. From the co-ordinator's office Kalyanpur is 15 km and Khojpur is 10 km.

From Kalyanpur and Khojpur the nearest Indian boarder can be reached within two hours through Rajbiraj and/or from Hunumannagar via bus service to Kunaule (India). The nearest big towns of India are Madhubani and Darbhanga. While from Sukhipur the nearest Indian boarder can be reached in about 3 to 4 hours walking distance. The nearest Indian town from Sukhipur is Jainagar. Govindpur has no such access.

The demarcation of the two Siraha panchayat is the Mahendra Raj Marga. Sukhipur lies south and Govindpur in the north of this road. The approximate distance from this road to Sukhipur would be 4 to 7 km and Govindpur 3 to 4 km. The difference between the Saptari village panchayat is, that this road runs between them. Comparatively larger part of Kalyanpur lies on the north side of this road compared to Khojpur.

The records of the district panchayats and village panchayats shows that Kalyanpur covers about 4124 bighas (1 bigha = 1.47 hec.) and Khojpur about 1180 bighas. Likewise Sukhipur has 2300 bigha land, and Govindpur has 1825 bighas. Both districts have extensive agriculture potentials but the negligible tapping of their respective water sources has resulted in dependancy on moonsoon rains. Therefore production is not upto the point.

Kalyanpur has about 2000 bighas of cultivable land but irrigation is available to only 200 bighas. Khojpur has about 1000 good land but irrigation is negligible. The perennial rivers as Khadgadha, and Lakayesary of Kalyanpur and Chapin of Khojpur have substantial capacity for irrigation. Kalyanpur village panchayat pradhan remarked that many applications had been forwarded to the irrigation department but no attention was paid to his pleas. Besides these rivers, there are 14 ponds in Kalyanpur and 5 in Khojpur, which are the sources of irrigation and fishery. The other sources of irrigation are hand pumps and wells for small areas which growing vegetables.

The important rivers of Sukhipur are Gagan and Pathara, and of Govindpur are Surray and Khute. The cultivable land is of about 2300 bighas of Sukhipur but only 500 bighas has good irrigation and 1100 bighas from monsoon irrigation. While only 60 bighas has good irrigation among the 1800 vighas of Govindpur and about 100 bighas more are irrigated from rain accumulated water. Sukhipur has about 15 ponds and Govindpur has 5 pons. One important lake of Govindpur is known as Manik daha which could be a good source for irrigation and also for drinking water for the panchayat and other nearby panchayats. But such silt has accumulated reducing the capacity of the lake.

Total population of Sukhipur is 7160, with male population of 3600 and female 3560, and households of about 1309. While Govindpur has 6690, households 1227 and male population of 3301 and female 3389 (1981). The Yadav, Kalwar and Tharu Chaudhury are the dominant caste in Sukhipur; while Yadav Koere and Sudi are dominant in Govindpur, Kalyanpur has total population of 7087, household 1179, with male population of 3539 and female 3548. Khojpur population comes upto 3221 with male 1626 and female 1595. It is the Tharu caste that dominate these two village panchayat. In all four village Panchayats the hill castes (Brahmins, Chhetry, Newar, Magars, Tamangs) and low caste (Harizan, Mochi, Dursat, Domes, Kame, Musher) form the minority caste. In Govindpur compared to other Village Panchayats the households of the hill groups are in greater numbers. Whereas muslim households are also found in minority in Kalyanpur and Khojpur village panchayats.

Farming is supplemented by animal husbandry, fisher and horticulture. Farm and non-farm labour also form the major occupation and engagements of these village panchayats. The 5 private farm nurseries of fruits and vegetables in Kalyanpur are famous. They are lucrative source of income for the farmers. Other engagements that attract attention to the large number of men and women folk (especially marginal farmers and labour class (with no assets) is felling illegal trees and selling them to Lahen and India border towns. The Kahair wood selling fetches high price, and is known to be encouraged by giving extra money as prizes to those who carry and bring more to the Indian market. The labour class of these village panchayat go

in search for work in road constructions and other works to the Indian boarder and towns as far as Sikkim. Cottage industries as soap making, pottery, bamboo products, repairing and making farm implements household utensils and tailoring are also the source of income in these Village Panchayats but very few household were engaged in these works. The women folk and the low income groups earn their livelihood by making beaten rice, and puffed rice. Altogether there are six rice and flower mills, one oil mill and one wine distillary in Sukhipur. Govindpur has 2 rice and flour mills and one oil mill. While Kalyanpur has four rice and flour/oil mills, and 2 small bidi factories (cottage industry). Khojpur has no such mills.

In Govindpur, Sukhipur and Kalyanpur hat bazars are held twice a week, while in Khojpur only once. In Sukhipur and Kalyanpur the market is quiet organised and are held in sheds contributed by Integrated Rural Development project. The other two village Panchayat have no such markets. Sukhipur has a big baila hat (animal sale and purchase) held yearly, prolonging for a month. Buyers and sellers come from far and near and even from Indian borders. In all the Village Panchayat except Khojpur there are several consumer goods, cloths, medicine, shops. And tiffin, tea, wine shops etc situated on either side of the main road. Khojpur has only 3 tea/tiffin shops and one consumer goods shop.

From the Mahendra highway all these village panchayats have cart road connection, Sukhipur with a difference has a motorway with a regular daily bus service from Lahan.

Institutional facilities and line agency services have centered around Sukhipur and Kalyanpur. The line agencies and credit institutions are Agriculture Bank, Commercial Bank, Sajhas, Agriculture service centre, Health posts, Animal development and veterinary service, Additional Post Office, Police Chouki and Forest Chouki. Sukhipur has its own panchayat-cum-guest house. But other Panchayats do not have this facility.

The drinking water source of these village panchayats are wells, hand pumps, streams and rivers. Govindpur panchayat has the problem of pure drinking water during the monsoons.

Finally the education facility existing in Sukhipur are, one secondary, two lower secondary and 2 primary schools. But Govindpur has only one primary school. The other levels are availed from the neighbouring Bastipur village panchayat. In Kalyanpur there is only 2 primary schools and only one in Khojpur. Students of these village panchayats go to Lahan, Bastipur and Banarjulla (South of Khojpur) for the upper grades.

We shall now discuss the two village panchayat of Udaipur district. They are Katari and Risku village panchayat, among the 47 village panchayats of Udaipur. This district lies on the north of Siraha and Saptari. Katari and Risku are located on the east side of the district.

The demarcation of the two village panchayats is the Tawa river. On the north east bank lies Risku and on the south-west lies Katari. The distance between the two is about three km. but from Risku interior or last border it comes upto 10 km.

Both village panchayats represent the inner terai region, formed by the Mahabharat and Churia ranges. Hence these panchayats are made up of hills valleys and river basins. The altitude of Katari is 190 metres and Risku's falls approximately in between 190m to 250m[14]. These village panchayat lands are formed by the Tawa and Risku rivers, which join the Trijuga and Kamla rivers of the district. The two rivers Tawa and Kakura in Katari flows from the sou-east and north-west respectively. While the Risku and Bajnath rivers, in Risku village panchayats flows south-west and north-east of the panchayat. These rivers are a blessing on one hand and a curse on the other. For they are source of irrigation as well as the cause of erosion of good farm land.

The inhabitants of these village panchayat are found growing different varieties of crops. However the principal crops are paddy, wheat, oil seeds, maize and millet.

After the erradication of malaria infested dense forest, Katari U.P. became an important market centre. Its comparatively good location with pleasant climate and fertile soil has made this place a small hub-bub. In establishing this centre, credit can be given to the private sector of the Nepalese Newer community coming from Kathamandu valley.

The reason for the development of this trade centre is because a big hat bazar is held twice a week. The people come from the mountainious areas as Sulokhumbu, Okhaldhunga, Diktal, of Sagarmatha zones and Sindhuli of Janakpur zone, to purchase and sell in this bazar.

The population census 1981 shows that Katari has total 9529 population, male 4919 and female 4610 with households of 1594. Whereas Risku has 6707, male 3390, female 3317 and household of 1125. The inhabitants are a mixture of different races. From the mountains, Rai, Tamang, Magar have settled, Newers, Chhetry Brahmins have come from Kathamandu and other hill places. While muslims, and maithali language speaking people have come from the terai. The retired British and Indian army personnels have also been attracted and form the inhabitants of Katari. Hence it is noted that the land value of the market place has scored high, equivalent to the suburbs of Kathamandu valley. In Risku this is not the case. The majority are the inhabitants coming from the Danwar caste. They are one of the most backward class of Nepal. Their houses, apperarance, attitudes and life style look similar to the primitive age. Most of their good land is bought by the Brahmins, Chhetry, Ghalais etc thus these castes also form the households of Risku village panchayat.

The infrastructure created in these Village Panchayats are very negligible. However, Katari is in a better position. The district headquarter Gaighat is 42 km from Katari. And other places as Goder (32 km) Kophle (16 km) and Toksel ghat (29 km), Katari has good tracks connecting these places. The IRDP has constructed (27 km) a good motorway connecting Katari with the Mahendra Rajmorg at Mirchaya. The IRDP co-ordinator's office in Lahan is only about 3 hours journey from Katari. Another important link, with bus service facilities is the Kusaha Gaighat road of 25 km. At present (means after our field Survey period) there is regular bus services from Katari to Kathamandu, Janakpur and Gaighat, Risku village panchayat has no such road links.

There are about 70 permanent shops, selling different varieties of manufactured and cottage industry products. As cloth, ready-made garments, consumer goods, general store, utensils, medicine etc. all established on both side of the main road of Katari. The hat bazar is held on Monday and Friday are like big melas, with display of varieties of goods, animals, sweets, foods and merry makings. The mountain people come to sell ceterus fruits, tejpata (curry leaves) potatoes and potatoe seeds, ghee, herbs, woolen materials etc. They buy salt, kerosene oil, sugar and manufactured goods. The buyers and sellers of Katari are quite organised group and reap good profit from their business, than those who come from the mountain areas. Risku village panchayat has no such hat bazar or shops, just two three small general shops and one tea/tiffin shop. The households go to Katari for their purchase and sale. Petty business men come from the terai and go door to door to do business on the basis of barter system, in Risku.

Besides agriculture and animal husbandry as main occupation, small scale and cottage industries also provide employment to the households of both Village Panchayat. These industries are rice, flour and oil mills, one chocolate sweets factory and one bread factory. The Cottage Industries as bamboo products, baskets, rope, biri, and knitting are also other engagements in the panchayats. There are about 30 to 35 tailors, who have got permanent employment. In the market centre, instead of agriculture the main source of income is business. Except for the retired and present army service men, it is the business community who are well off. In Risku there are negligible households who owns a business. One other lucrative source of income

in both Village Panchayats is the making of wine and jad (local light intoxic beverage). About 30 to 40 households are engaged in Katari and about 20 in Risku.

In Katari there exists 5 tiffin/tea and 3 wine shops, and three hotels for food and lodging. But only one is of decent standard. While Risku has only 2 small tea shops.

The tap drinking water facility is enjoyed only by those households that are clustered in the Katari market place, i.e. about 2000 population have this benefit. The rest of the households drinking water source is river and wells in both village panchayats.

Katari has one high school including in it lower secondary and primary classes. And other 3 primary schools. Risku also has one high school including in it lower secondary and primary classes and additional one primary school.

The offices of line agencies as Commercial Bank, Agricultural Development Bank, Sajha, Development of Livestock and Veterinary service, Health Post, Sub-Post Office, Police Chowki are all located in Katari. These also cater the needs of the households of Risku. An intensive agricultural development programme is run by Rastriya Commercial Bank. This programme covers 3 and 4 number wards (village division of 9 wards) of Katari village panchayat and 1 and 8 number wards of Risku. The programme is introduced especially to help the households below the poverty line, by providing group loan and supportive services. Agriculture Bank recorded that 80% of loan is provided to small farmers, for inputs and animal husbandry, while the big farmers took loan for inputs and pump set. The Sajha society also

provided benefit in supplying inputs and consumer goods and storage facilities.

The detail scenario of the five districts covered by the R/N IRDP and Sagarmatha IRDP, and the respective five pairs of village panchayats reflects the authenticity for the introduction of IRDP in these places. The Base line study of R/N and Sagarmatha IRDP as well as the Appraisal Report of the respective IRDPs also substantiate the implementation of this programme covering the five districts.

Further if we simply compare only two factors such as increasing birth rate by 2.66% (Eastern Development Region) and 2.86 (Central Development Region) one one hand, and on the other the declining land ownership, sums up the necessity of IRDP in these parts of Nepal.

Table 2.1

PER CAPITA LAND HOLDING DISTRIBUTION

DISTRICTS	Per capita Land holdings (in hectare)	
	Year 1971	Year 1981
Rasuwa	0.08	0.05
Nuwakot	0.40	0.34
Siraha	0.31	0.25
Saptari	0.34	0.29
Udaipur	0.62	0.43

Source: Census Reports 1971-1981

The above table shows that land fragmentation is rapidly increasing.

Finally the components of the programme depicts the relevance to the situation, that rural problems necessitates multidimentional programmes and encompasses these issues and their interrelationship. "It is not simple G.N.P. and G.D.P. arthmetic. It is growth with equitable distribution and social justice. It is modernisation of life and economic development. But both of these cannot be achieved by simply transplantation of sophisticated technology to the rural setting. It requires simultaneous and multifaceted efforts to tackle."[15]

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CHAPTER - III

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT : A STUDY OF ITS ORGANIZATION

Section 3.1 Organisational Structure : Its basic features

The conceptual thinking developed shows significant relationship between management, organizational growth and development activities in the rural sector. These in turn depend upon the efficiency, and dedication of the implementing agencies. But experience demonstrate that the success and failure of organizations set up for rural development is greatly dependent on participation of the rural mass. Any Rural Organization requires leaders of strong, conviction, clarify and honest commitment to the needs of the local people. Has such leadership developed? Has the concerning IRDPs set up, helped to generate local participation? What are its obstacles towards enlisting popular participation? The focus of this chapter is to answer these questions.

We must commemorate that any programmes of rural development constitutes a "socio-politic economic process which is naturally beset with incongruities and contradictions"[1]. Further the political system of any society is a basic part of its organization and thus has propound impact on its economic life[2].

The importance of organisations, can be traced back to the days when the Pharaohs used organisation to build the pyramids. The Emperors of China used organisation thousand years ago to construct great irrigation systems. And the first Popes created a universal Church to serve a world religion[3]. We, living in this modern age, cannot even conceive our existence, without organisation. Especially a least developed country like Nepal which is constrained with physical, social and economical barriers requires strong and effective organisations for its development. Amitai Etzioni aptly remarks that "modern civilisation depends largely on

organisation as the most rational and efficient form of social grouping known. By co-ordinating a large number of human activities, the organisation creates a powerful social tool. It combines its personnel with its resources, weaving together leaders, experts, workers, machines and raw materials. At the same time it continually evaluates how well it is performing and tries to adjust itself accordingly in order to achieve its goals"[4]. Fermont E. Kast and James E. Rosenzwing argue that organisations are imperative in human societies. The tendency to organise interdependent relationships is inherent in human nature.

In Kenn Wang states that broadly speaking, the purpose of an organisation is to provide a continuing mechanism for the pursuit of some interest or interests of its members as collectively identified by them or as may be so identi i ed by them in the course of organised activity[6].

The foregoing views presented by these scholars brings out the important characteristics of an organisation. They are : (1) It does not involve individual human actions but group actions. Hence any action is the responsibility of all in the group, (2) Since it involves collective work it presupposes coordination between the groups. (3) Organisation stands for actions, this then involves functions which in turn is a harmonious combination of Man and Nature (raw materials). (4) This harmonious combination is a continuous process, firstly because past actions may not be suitable for the present conditions and secondly new horizons open up for application of knowledge and technology which may lead to higher levels of

development. So adjustment is essential for effective organisations. (5) Lastly, all human actions are done for some specific goals. Hence an organisations first and the last work is to establish clear cut and definite goals and then collectively pursue to achieve these goals.

The Integrated Rural Development Programmes, as the name stands represents the collective actions or efforts involving groups of politicians, leaders, economists technicians, administrators and local rural people for achieving one broad goal. That goal being the alleviation of poverty deep-rooted in the rural sector of Nepal. The IRDP has all the ingredients of an organisation except one, that is continuity. The countries that have adopted IRD as a programme or as a project, may be regarded as a temporary action. It is not that all organisations must be permanent; there are different organisations some temporary and others permanent, but in the context of rural poverty continuity would be a better option. In Nepal this has been adhered to. There is a general agreement between politicians and planners that, though IRDPs have not lived up to the expectations of the rural people it should not be dropped down; instead the whole country should be covered by these programmes. Initially Nepal started only with one IRDP covering two districts (1975) now it has eleven projects covering thirtyfour districts out of its seventy five districts.

The goals of organisation serve many functions. They provide orientation by depicting a future state of affairs which the organisation strives to realize. Thus, they set down guidelines for

organisational activity. Goals also constitute a source of legitimacy which justifies the activities of an organisation. Moreover, goals serve as a standard by which members of an organisation and outsiders can assess the success of the organisation"[7]. It should be noted that the nature of goals and the setting up of goals may impede the functioning of an organisation. This may result in failure of the organisation. For example, when a fund raising organisation spends more money on staff, building and publicity than on the charity itself, for which funds are raised organisation then reduce the service to their initial goals in order to satisfy their acquired need, rather than adjust the service of their acquired needs to that of their real goals[8]. This holds quite true for the IRDP in Nepal, which we shall refer later. It is, therefore, necessary to keep in mind the real goals of I.R.D.P.

The major goal of all IRDP, irrespective of the country which they are functioning is, erradication of poverty. This objective calls forth the interplay of multisectoral programmes having multipurpose goals. But limits of an organisational ability to serve multipurpose goals should also be remembered. There may be loss of effectiveness in achievements. Conflict may arise over the amount of means, time and energy to be allotted to achieve each goal. Instead of integration of different components or programmes of IRD, there may be disintegration. Furthermore, serving numerous goals, may create strains for personnel. And there is much possibility that one goal may completely subordinate the other and sometimes more primary one.

Goal setting is an important aspect of an organisation. Generally, all organisations have formal, explicitly recognised, sometimes legally specified organ for setting up the initial goals and for their modification. But in practice, we find that goals are often set in a complicated power-play involving various individuals and groups within and without the organisation, and by reference to values which govern behaviour in general, and the specific behaviour of the relevant individuals and groups in a particular society[9]. Ameitai Etzioni points out that the main factor that enters into the struggle to determine organisation goals are organisational department or divisions, personalities of a strong leader occupying the key position and environmental forces. How the environmental forces limit the effectiveness of organisation may be illustrated by a prison to reform criminal to a measure deemed helpful in the shift from the goal of custody (keep them in)[10] to that of rehabilitations (change them while they are in). The establishment of peoples communes in China, can also be cited as an example of how the forces referred above, play important role. In order to make China strong and powerful, it was felt necessary to achieve rapid economic advancement. The commune system was considered as the magic solution to their problems by which they could keep all their other goals intact, and still achieve commensurate agricultural development to keep the economy rapidly moving forward. Clearly, therefore, the decision to organise peoples communes was as much a political decision as an economic one[11].

The structure of Integrated Rural Development Organisation, especially the Indian and the Nepalese are so formed (members are

peoples political representation, class representatives and administrative bureaucrat and technocrats) that groups, individual and environmental forces seem to have profound influence in setting up of goals. This seems to have created ample snags for effective working of IRDPs. It is, therefore, imperative if the rural society is to be developed, major roles should be given to local ruler leaders individuals, or/and institutions within the IRDP organisations.

The effective utilisation of man power, capital/finance and natural resources is the next requirement for the success of organisations. This then involves the planning process. Without planning, purposive and co-ordinated effort is not possible, instead the result is chaos, confusion and wastage of resources. Fayol observed that "planning includes, ... the line of actions to be followed, the stages to go through and methods to be used. It is a kind of future picture and it entails the running of business as foreseen and provided against over a definite period"[12]. R.D. Agrawal points out that planning elements respond to the questions as (1) what will be done (2) what resources will be required (3) how will it be done (4) who will do it (5) when will it be done?[13]. While Nathaniel, Lichfield and Haim D. Drakin remarked that planning includes plan-making, plan implementation and plan review... Further more they raise the question : are plans meant for implementation? If so, they have suggested the following factors responsible for success and failures (when absent) in plan implementation : (a) Technical inadequacy of plan; (b) Insufficient legal framework;

(c) Inadequate institutions. (d) Not in accord with high or lower-level authorities.... (e) Inadequacy or mal-distribution of economic resources ... (f) Inadequacy of financial resources for compensations ... (g) Lack of political backing (h) Lack of public backing[14].

So in forming IRDP plans the above these factors should be considered. In the introduction chapter we have given views of IRDP propounded by different scholars. So here we will only recollect and summarise. These plans must have the following aspects.

(1) It must ensure the optimal utilisation of local resources and the schemes must have a maximum multiplier effect.

(2) Correct the disparities which have been generated by past development efforts.

(3) The plan must cover in a decentralised way the whole of rural-urban continum offering progressively more specialised services and employment from village upward.

(4) It must provide for efficient marketing both in the field of agriculture and small and cottage industry calling forth the development of infrastructure.

(5) Another important field would be the flow of credit and other inputs. Hence the spectrum of activities to be covered will be banks, co-operatives, distribution centres, etc.

(6) Besides the economic activities which directly contribute to production, plans must provide for community facilities such as education, health, sanitations, environmental improvements and better housing.

(7) Planning must lay great stress on detailed exercise on administration and implementation.

(8) The plan should also indicate in-built mechanism for feed back, evolution and if need be for the revision of the plan[16].

Besides plans should try to involve maximum participation of local people (the beneficiaries).[16] Development does not merely mean an increase in gross natural production or per capita income. The increased income should be so distributed as to reduce the inequalities in income as well as wealth. Further in such plans the socio-cultural factors must be taken in to account in formulation and implementation of plans. And the adoption of technology for development should be guided by the social structure pertaining to the region[17].

The effectiveness of IRDPs organisation lies not only in sound clear-cut goals and good planning but also in implementation. Rather it is the implementation factor that holds the key to success. This can be illustrated by the IRDP working in Nepal. Here the objectives laid down and the plans formulated are quite scientific. But the flaw lies in the implementation of these programmes. There are many constraints that hamper the smooth working of the responsible agents. Shortage of agricultural extension personnels and the delay in the release of funds are two important constraints often mentioned in this regard. While the objective of IRDP is to increase participation of the local villagers in planning and implementation, in practice they are not even consulted and enlightened about the benefits of IRDP. At the higher level the coordination problem between the line agencies is voiced, recurringly but actually they hardly keep in touch with each other. These are some of the flaws in the implementation of IRDP.

So besides the above elements as planning, the management sector should be given due importance. For this the personnels (executors) should be made competent, ample scope should be provided for planning communications. Motivation of the employees, assignment of responsibility of delegation of Authority along with development of committed local leadership are some of the important aspects of organisational behaviour. In addition, it is necessary that implementation machinery should break the inertia of the people (the rural mass). Proliferation of bureaucracy should be limited as far as possible[18].

In the light of the above we shall now be able to analyse and see how the rural programmes have been effective in its historical perspective.

3.2 Evolution of the organisation for rural development

: Pre-Rana Regime (till 1955)
: Plan Period (beginning from 1956)

In a small country like Nepal pressed with the problem of numerous races, caste, and high illiteracy, it becomes difficult to seek mass participation for rural development. But we are perhaps forgetting that, there is ample proof of a glorious past, where societies were self-sufficient and institutions were well organised. The form of Hinduism in Nepal is 'entirely untainted by communal prejudices'. 'Religious tolerance contributed in making society comparatively free from ritual and caste prejudices[19]. The Nepalese tradition-bound society has many religious and social institutions as Dhikuri, Guthi, Tharukalyan Samities, Tuki, Propkar Sanstha, which have been performing social, religious and productive activities[20].

Even in the present we find the principle of co-operation, strictly followed in the form of labour exchange in agriculture and constructing activities.

Similarly, tracing back even to the days of pre-unification of Nepal, (1772 A.D.) as in the Kirates, Liechavi or medieval periods local institutions as panchayats working as local corporates were well established. These bodies were given extensive duties and responsibilities and powers granted to them were very liberal[21]. They enjoyed the powers of the state within their sphere of activities. The development functions were the public works they included, provision of irrigation, establishment of mines, factory, maintenance of preserves and grazing grounds, highways, water ways and facilities of communication. These public works also included the management and repair of temples, roads, guest houses etc. There was due care-taker for the health and sanitation of the people. Provision of hospitals and preventive measures of diseases were provided by these panchayats. The management of these works were done by the whole body or through number of separate committees[22].

Then in the early modern era in the period of the Rana regime (1846-1951) power was highly centralised; hence local bodies as the panchayat powers were limited. Bhola Chatterjee labelled this period where "government as it is understood in any civilised country was totally unknown. Depraving poverty, rampant illiteracy and despotic politics were the hall marks of Nepalese society"[23]. And administrative policy was progressively revenue oriented[24]. Little attention was paid to the improvement of the state of the

peasants. The merits of the personnel were determined by their capacity to make a surplus of income over expenditure[25]. However the main drawback of Rana Prime Minister (who stood at the apex of all powers) was that he was responsible neither to the king nor to the people[26].

But though the regime's demerits weigh heavy there were some merits (in politics economic and social) that can be said to have at least, paved the path for Nepal's future. It was the regimes diplomatic policy that Nepal was able to retain, its sovereignty, during the British regime. Establishment of Chandra Nahar, Sundarijal Hydel Project, match, cigarette factories, Darbar High School, Trichandra College, Bir Hospital and pipe water supply in Patan, Kathmandu, Dhankuta and Pokhara are some examples in the economic and social front[27]. Even in the administration system there was a host of departments, headed by Director Generalship for performing different functions. These in a modern term could be assumed as civil services[28]. For efficient administration the whole country was divided into East, West, South and North regions and into 35 districts. The head of the district was known as Bada Hakim (District Magistrate) who enjoyed in practice the status of king in the District and Village level, mainly due to geographical constraints[29]. Further, it was during this period that modern era of panchayat as local institution was reorganised (1926 A.D.). These panchayats were organised on the discretion of Badla Hakim. They were formed firstly in Kathmandu Valley (1930 A.D.). Later on, the satisfactory working of panchayats led the Govt. to extend its jurisdiction and formation in the Tarai (1936 to 1946 A.D.). The panchayats were

composed of eight members, of which seven were elected by the people while one was the nominee of the govt. Then again, it was during this period that the first (1949 A.D.) comprehensive Act for village panchayat was enforced. The detailed functions were classified into regular and optional. The regular functions were development and maintenance, health and sanitation activities, while the optional were aforestation, formulation of co-operatives etc.[30]

Irresistible conclusions that can be drawn from these two periods are: first, there existed local institutions as panchayats for local or village development. Secondly, whatever the real objectives may be there was distinct functions and powers given to the panchayat. Thirdly, these institutions were formed as local peoples representatives. Fourthly, the only difference between the two was that in the ancient period the general tendency was to curb the powers of the state (centre) officials "in order to allow a broad canvas for the activities of the local institutions"[31]. In the Rana period such autonomy was not granted, and there was tight official control.

After discussing the two periods we shall now try to assess the historical period in the light of the five year plan period of Nepal. But we shall deal with only those changes that have brought forward the Integrated Rural Development programme, as a strategy for rural development. The advent of democracy, with the overthrow of the Rana regime (1951) initiated the need for all round development which was brought about by systematic and scientific planning process. Such consciousness led to the introduction of the first rural development programme (1952) known as the Tribhuwan Gram Vikas

Yojana. This programme was undertaken with the assistance of U.S. Government and Indian Technical Assistance Programme. It was based on the community Development Model similar to that of India's Community Development programme with the objective of carrying out various village development programmes. The programmes was regarded to have had insignificant impact on the area. This was noted to be a failure because of lack of socio-economic overheads, trained personnel, technological know-how and institutional framework[32]. But still it was instrumental in mobilizing the rural mass in basic infrastructure building, improvement in agriculture, introduction of new ideas and some new technologies and new institution building. "In the areas served by the block, the people seemed stirred with some fresh activities and hope for a better future"[33]. This awakened in the mind of political leaders, planners and administrators that village development should be the central focus for a comprehensive national development plan in Nepal[34].

Plan Period (beginning from 1956)

As a result of the preceding conceptions, we find that, with the introduction of the plan era 1955/60, specific objectives and institutional development required for all round rural development was stressed. The first five year plan (1955/60) laid down a detailed chapter for village Development Programmes. The community Development model of Tribhuwan Gram Vikash Yojana was followed as the basis of the programme. A systematic structural administrative hierarchy was created. The village Development Board (more or less autonomous) was the most important institutional body at the centre. It came under the Ministry of Planning and Development, headed by its

secretary and comprising directors of concerned sectoral departments as well as foreign experts and advisors. The village Development Board was responsible for all annual planning formulation execution, co-ordination and evaluation of Village Development Programme. At the district level the Badahakim (district magistrate) assisted by district development officer of each district was responsible for implementation of these programmes. And finally at the lowest level the Block Development Officer (BDO) with number of village development workers in each block were responsible agents. For the operationalization of the programme, the whole country was divided into 159 blocks. A district had one or more blocks depending on the size of the district. And each block consisted of about 200 villages covering 10,000 to 13,000 families. The block was the basic operational unit[35].

The programme described as a pragmatic approach was to be implemented in three stages[36]. First the minimal level development activity (creating infrastructures as schools, tubewells, paths etc.). Second the middle level, was supporting agricultural investment activities. The third was intensive village development or higher development as the extension of scientific modes of production, High School development, cottage industry, market facilities, co-operative establishment etc. The important feature to be noted of this provision was that the first level execution of each programme called forth the participation of the local people as a must.

The other important programme towards rural development, was the Rapti Valley Development Project. It was a multipurpose scheme. This place is situated 90 miles south west of Kathmandu. It

was before a malaria infested uninhabited jungle, stretching upto an area of 600 square miles. Landless families were rehabilitated there and provided with equitable land and supported services for farming. Social services as health, education, and co-operatives, cottage industries for non-farmers were incorporated in a self-help atttitude.

Besides these programmes, mention should also be made of those attempts of the government as Tenancy Rights 1951, Land Reform Act 1957, Birta Abolition Act 1959 and co-operative establishment in 1953. These steps were enforced in order to remove the exploitation of rural people and especially the tenants, from the landlords and money lenders.

According to Nepalese economists there were minor and insignificant developments in natural perspective. But we can not agree with the comment of Dr. Prachand Pradhan where he concludes that the first 5 years plan "was nothing more than an estimate of income and expenditure for a five year period"[37]. Visualizing the time in which the plan was initiated with so many constrain, such as, lack of technical personnel, lack of experience, lack of basic essential data. How could we expect more results? So we should satisfy ourselves by the fact that, at least attitudes of the Nepalese towards aspiration and expectation were changed.

Then a turning point came in rural development programme after the end of Parliamentary system and the introduction of partyless panchayat system. The Royal palace note August 30, 1964 listed the causes of the termination of the Parliamentary system in Nepal.

They were : some political instability, mutual leg pulling, exploitation of poverty and ignorance of the people to further party interest etc.[38] The four tier partyless Panchayat system was set up envisaging a bottom-up approach for diffusing democracy and economic development throughout the country. Hence, the lowest body, the village panchayat, was made the responsible institution for development activities, through peoples participation while the district level worked as the co-ordinating body of the village panchayat.

This change of political system led to a different approach to local development. The Community Development model for village development programme was dropped. The reason attributed by Second Five Year Plan (1962-65) was (1) limited coverage (2) lack of peoples participation (3) the difference between the U.S. Aided and Indian Aided programmes. Rural development was treated as synonymous with agriculture development. Hence, the emphasis was shifted from the programme-oriented area approach to the sectoral or regional development approach. This policy focussed on two types of schemes for rural development. The first referred as 'general approach' laid down general socio-economic reforms on a equitable basis on all village panchayats such as primary school per village, a health centre per district and a government hospital, multipurpose school, an agricultural extension office per zone and cottage industry training centre. The second scheme termed as specific approach, centred on the introduction of multipurpose or integrated programme in some specific localities as a model for other places (if successful). The regional plan had been further emphaised in the third plan (1965-70). It enunciated a regional specialization programme

in agriculture with livestock development in the mountains, horticulture in the mid-hills and cereals plus cash crop in the terai. In order to make panchayat bodies viable, the third plan upgraded the Panchayat programme to a fullfledged sector, distinct from the public and private sector[39]. Hence allocation of resources in each sector was directly laid down.

During these two plan period (second and third) drastic administrative reforms took place. In line with two basic principles of the panchayat system i.e. democratization and decentralisation. The Local Administration Act 1966 was promulgated. The whole country was divided into 75 districts and 14 zones. Except for four or three zones each zone covers the three geographical regions namely the terai, hills and the mountains. This division was done to facilitate administrative and development works. Local Administration units were created "to concide with the units of different tiers of the panchayats"[40].

The Zonal Commissioner, instead of Bada Hakim was appointed in each zone (directly appointed by the king). At the district level Second Class gazetted officers of the Nepalese Administrative Service was appointed as the Chief of the district (CDD) with the responsibility of the local development works. He also worked as the Secretary of the District Panchayat.

The period also witnessed the continuous efforts to make improvements in the working of the panchayat system. The concern was how to make panchayats (peoples representatives) hierarchy, and the administrative hierarchy work in unision. These efforts were made by the Administrative Decentralisation Commission (1963) which

was chaired by Viswabandhu Thapa. The important recommendation was administrative reorganisation and phase-wise decentralisation. To create village and district panchayats based on the principle of self reliance, self-sufficient and self respect. In the lowest tier of the panchayat system the village Assembly was to work in the village as the National Panchayat (at the appex) and village panchayats as council of ministers in the centre. The administrative body or bureaucracy was suggested to perform the functions of a guide, co-ordinator, trainer, supervisor and as a technician to assist the local panchayats in exercising the delegated powers.

Then a change was suggested by the Bhajraj Committee (1967). It stressed a gradualism in implementation of decentralisation schemes. The abolition of grant-in-aid to the panchayats, and its replacement by development materials was suggested. And the authority given to the local panchayats to levy revenue should be replaced by extensive Panchayat Development Land Tax. It also advised that village and district development schemes should come under the national economic plan. Other important reforms were suggested by the Administrative Commission chaired by Bedanand Jha (1968). The commission was formed for making the administrative organisation efficient, competent and economic at different levels. To bring co-ordination among different elements of local administration and mainly to relieve the common man of the abuses of administration[41]. The commission gave a detail recommendation on administrative organisation, recruitment and promotion of personnels, austerity of financial matters, establishing corporations, economic planning and development and establishment of an Ombudsmen type agency[42].

Deploring the non-importance of many management improvement schemes, the commission noted the weaknesses prevalent among political bosses and high civil officers. Therefore, it demarcated the function between the two, keeping bureaucracy out of the political arena, and defined their inter-relationship.[43]

Lastly, the Jaya Prakash Committee (1969) was constituted to examine the effectiveness of (the working of) the decentralisation work. This committee emphasised the need for co-ordination among various ministries. It recommended the formulation of district level plans by District Panchayat and its implementation by C.D.O.[44]

The various reforms suggested by the commission reports, were not fully implemented. But at the most they paved the way for political and administrative decentralization. It was recognised that economic development commensurate with mobilization of local resource and growth of local leadership. Accordingly, the panchayat institutions were delegated the responsibility for rural or local development. And "thus necessary institutional basis for local development was laid out"[45].

Besides these steps there were other important institutional changes that effected the rural life in 60's . These were Land Reform Act 1964, the policy changes in resettlement programmes and the liquidation (of non-functional) and formulation of guided co-operatives.

Then in the successive decades, the 70s and 80s witnessed the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh plan (current plan) introducing important changes in planning, institutional organisation for rural programmes.

The fourth plan (1970-75) initiated the move towards sectoral planning. Though programmes for rural development were chalked out stress was placed more on reducing regional disparities. The plan stated that "Development is highly competitive in its locational aspect which calls for a conscious regional strategy that promotes redistribution of resources, while maximizing economic growth and national welfare".[46] For the realisation of the goal the country was divided into four macro regions, each having a few promising growth centres selected for specialised and diversified activities such as, location of industries, banking, trading and social service facilities. These would generate growth impulses in the hinterland areas. Thus entire area would be developed. During the plan two rural development projects, (1) the Jiri Multipurpose Development Project. (2) And the Remote Area Development Project were introduced; "with some elements of integrated approach"[47].

The fifth plan (1975-80) followed the same pattern of balanced regional development for rural development with more focus on the concept of integrated rural development. However, the spatial division of the country was altered. In its place the country was divided into four development regions (later five) namely, far western, western (mid-western) central and eastern with 'growth centres' respectively (Headquarters of the regions) at Surkhet, Pokhara, Kathmandu and Dhankuta. These plans provided the broad macro level regional frame. While to reach the lower level three kinds of programmes were introduced. These were : (a) The Integrated Area Development Programme (IADP) such as Rasuwa/Nuwakot, Sagarmatha,

Rapti etc. (b) The Small Area Development Programmes at the selected Panchayats. (c) The Integrated Panchayat Rural Development (IRDP) in a few selected districts.

The setback that the rural development or local Development received in the second third and fourth plan was retrieved fully by the sixth plan (1980-85). The programmes for local development were as follows: (1) District plan; these were plans submitted by the local panchayats to National Planning Commission and financed by development grants.

(2) Local Development Programme: These were ad hoc projects generated by the availability of aid from agencies like UNICEF, WFP, ILO etc. The programmes consisted of rural drinking water, hill transport, labour intensive, minor irrigation and roofing of school building.

(3) Integrated Rural Development : These were similar to the plans introduced in the 5th Plan.

(4) Remote Area Development Programmes: Conceptually though different names were given, all these programmes covered basically plans for certain rural area development. These were intended in improving the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants living in those specific places.

The search for effective agency for implementation of plans continued. Hence important institutional changes were also introduced by the local Administration Act 1971 and the District Administration Plan 1973 (DAP). These changes brought about a unified Administration at the district level, with the Chief District

Officer (CDO) as the head. The District Panchayat Secretariat headed by the Panchayat Development Officer (who works as a Secretary of the district panchayat) also came under the unified district office. Separate entities for sectoral planning at the district level were abolished; all of them were amalgamated into the unified District Office. The DAP was conceived to enable the systematic preparation of annual district plan by the district panchayat. This step was thus considered the "first comprehensive move towards decentralisation of development functions"[49]. By making CDO as the Chief Executive Officer of the district, the responsibility for formulation and implementation of DAP rested with him. At the village level the Multipurpose development worker (MDW) came into existence to shoulder the dual responsibility as MDW and as Secretary to the village panchayat as well.

It was noted that the fifth plan was a turning point in the development process of Nepal. Because for the first time the physical infrastructure which dominated the other plans was deemphasised. The plan stated notably that the "People oriented production on one hand and the maximum utilisation of manpower on the other, are the twin objectives"[50]. Hence the policy of the plan was "to integrate the development process with the Panchayat system"[51].

The small area Development Programme introduced in 4th plan had created co-ordination problem among the ministries and Local Development Departments. Hence, the programme of IRDP came into being. To remove the problems in IRDP and other development programmes, two important administration reforms were promulgated.

Bhek Bahadur Thapa Administrative Reform Commission (1976) was formed in order to lessen the legal procedural delays, strengthen planning cells of the ministries and make administrative development oriented. It suggested reform for greater involvement of the districts in development activities. The other step was the introduction of Integrated Panchayat Development Design (1976). It was hoped that his introduction would strengthen the planning and implementing institutional basis of the panchayat system. The design provided a chain of co-ordinating committees at various levels, starting from a cabinet sub-committee to central, zonal, district and village levels.

During these plan periods two other innovations for institutional improvement were introduced. The first was the multi-disciplinary Service Centres in each district for the delivery of services at the village level. Second was the formulation of a new ministry known as the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development (MPLD). This separate ministry was formed to meet the problem of interministerial co-ordination for rural development, and also to co-ordinate rural development efforts. At the district level the CDO was releived of the responsibility of development works. Because it was found difficult for him to perform dual work; as of keeping law and order and also to promote development[52]. The post of a Local Development Officer (LDO) as an equivalent rank of the CDO was created. Thus to the present, the LDO became the responsible agent for local development works similar to IRDP. He is also to act as a Secretary of the District Panchayat*.

*The German foundation for International Development (DSE) strongly recommended the separate ministry and the upgrading of the Panchayat Development Officer (PDO) to that of LDO.

Important supporting policies during this period was the role of banks. The Nepal Rustriya Bank gave directives to the commercial banks to invest at least 5 percent of their total deposit in small sectors (1974). And further stepped upto 7 percent in 'priority sectors' (1976). These included agriculture cottage and small scale industries, all relevant to rural development.

Further the Agriculture Development Bank in Nepal (ADB/N) implemented an innovative credit programme known as small Farmer Development Programme (SFDP). The general objective of SFDP was to improve the living standard of the rural poor (especially landless labourer, marginal and small farmers) with an integrated programme of supervised credit through group work plans. Again in the same period (1976) to consolidate and integrate the guided co-operative functions an institutional arrangement called Sajha was created. The 'strategy for Rural Development (1978) states that "The Sajha Movement should be incorporated where possible as the means of channeling basic inputs to development projects"[53].

In the present decade, under the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) and the current Seventh Five Year Plan the norms for rural development had been set. The meeting of the local representatives of Nepal Aid Group, arranged by National Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance in 1978 chalked out a 'Strategy for Rural Development', the basic characteristics of which were was : (1) Involvement of the people in the development process; (2) Basic needs orientation in the project components; (3) Planning with reference to intra regional and inter-personal differences alongside with inter-regional disparities[54]. Likewise the sixth plan made peoples' participation, the base for rural development. It intended to involve

the local panchayat in "all aspects of local level development programme from project identification, through implementation to final evaluation"[55]. The plan sought to institutionalise the existing participation of the people through local leadership[56]. On these principles the different Integrated Rural Development Programmes have been launched.

To initiate active participation of the local people it was essential that the principle of decentralisation, the base of the panchayat system, should be made more effective. Hence to guarantee this the New Decentralisation scheme implemented through Decentralisation Act 1982 and decentralisation bye laws 1984 came into existence. Important rural development activities were linked in the local level panchayats in this new scheme. They were planning implementation and evaluation activities, resource mobilisation and personnel arrangement to rural development. The basic problem of decision-making, power sharing was through devaluation of authority, local-level planning and implementation capability, inter-sectoral co-ordination at national and local levels and meaningful peoples' participation through organisation of beneficiaries have remained pronounced.[57]

It should be noted that, from the initiation of Rasuwa/ Nuwakot IRDP the bilateral and multilateral aid to different IRDPs, have been the main source of financial and technical investments. Therefore different organisational set up of IRDP have existed. With the enunciation of the New Decentralisation Act, there has been uniformity in the IRDP organisation structure. Now all IRDPs come under the ministry of Panchayat and Local Development, with the same pattern set by the Act.

The historical review of rural development in the four decades i.e. from 50s to 80s show the following distinctive characteristics.

1. There is a realisation that rural development for the country is a must to march forward in the path of development. Hence, emphasis is given on detailed planning in this sector. Though there had been some set back in the 60s, in the rural development, the momentum has been picked up by the initiation of the IRDP from the late 70s.

2. There has been a shift in the planning policy for rural development programmes. In the 1950s, 1960s and early 70s minimum functional and sectoral norms were laid down for the village, district and central level. Resources were distributed likewise. However, in this approach the main drawbacks were cited as "they were not directly related to the expansion of production and employment in the rural sector"[58]. Consequently from the 70s the multidimentional, approach involving Integrated rural Development Project were introduced.

3. Even prior to the plan period, various aspects of rural life received attention. Emphasis was that our rural policy should consider the traditional and social aspect on which a particular village exists. Efforts was concentrated, then to remove the constraints in the path of development. Finally the object was to modernize the socio-eco structure in order to meet the changing demand of the people. Embracing these we find that the component of rural programme have been activities supporting agriculture, animal husbandry, small and cottage industries, development of infrastructures, as well as health, education and rural institutions. With the introduction of

IRDP the emphasis is more urgent. This approach is to improve production related infrastructure and institutional facilities towards maximum exploitation of available land, water and human resources and to activate the people's participation in development[59].

4. There has been marked change in the development of supportive institutions responsible for rural development. In the early decades, Government guided co-operatives were formed to supply agricultural inputs at local level. Bureaucracy, posted at different levels was the main responsible agents for the purpose. But with the change of political set up, the responsibility was shifted to the village and district Panchayat bodies and bureaucrats and technocrats were now cast into the role of guide, supervisors and supporting agents to these bodies.

5. The involvement of the local people, the development of their own village or locality, so as to make them self-reliant has been the continuous concern in the plan periods. So programmes are laid down accordingly. But in the initial stages the involvement was pegged to fixed financial labour contribution, in rural development. With the advent of the panchayat system based on the principles of democratization and decentralisation, the involvement of the local people is more pronounced. It took the form of trying to involve the local people and their respective village and district panchayats, in planning, implementing and evaluating the rural development programmes such as IRDPs.

6. Attempts to strengthen and upgrade the administrative structure marked these decades. Different Administration Commissions were formed and Administration Acts enforced to implement rural

programmes more effectively and to bring supportive Service Centres, nearer to the villagers. The policies towards this direction is to adopt a decentralised pattern of administrative structure. And instead of top down, bottom-up planning became the rule.

7. Summing up the institutional set ups and the organisational structure of rural programmes such as IRDP, the following can be noted:

A. Tribhuvan village Development Programme 1952. Its objectives - A multipurpose organisation for effective means for supplying resources to the villagers and forum to voice their needs problems and solution. The programme laid special emphasis on training man power in technical and management fields. The institutions established for the programme was the co-operative services in the centre, Village Development Centres, covering different part of the country and Village Development workers in the villages.

B. Community Development Programme (1958). Later on, India also became interested to assist Nepal in Village Development[60]. The objectives of these programme were similar to that of Community Development Programmes as India's i.e. similar to that of T.V.D.P. Hence the activities undertaken were in the agricultural, cottage industries, and additional programmes such as social Education, Bhajan Mandals etc. The institution developed was the Village Development Board in the Centre. At the local level Blocks, headed by the Block Development Officer (BDO) was the responsible agent. While at the village, Village Development workers were to assist in the implementation of the programme. The programme was supported by India, financially and technically. The main merits of these programmes were

that the planners, leaders and local level people were awakened from their slumber of backwardness. And local people came in contact with advanced inputs to increase the agriculture productions and its allied sectors. Benefits of technical and management training were also received.

But these programmes were dropped because it created rivalry between the two donors (India and America) . This resulted to the termination of assistance by both[61]. The area coverage was also limited. Hence benefits were also negligible[62]. Due to administrative constrains and lack of trained manpower, the implementation of the programmes was also poor[63]. Another main drawback of these two programmes was the subordinate position of the Nepalese counterpart. This killed their initiative and whole hearted participation[64].

C. Period 1960 onwards: The promulgation of the partyless Panchayat system as the political system of the country, leads to the indigenisation of rural development process[65]. The objective of this change was that, ultimately the village Panchayat and District Panchayat (the lowest level of the Panchayat system) would establish themselves as viable institutions for administration and development at the local level on a self-reliant basis. And emerge as strong local government[66]. Hence the village and District Panchayat became the responsible agents for rural development. Now the whole process of planning and resource allocation required the approval of the National Assembly at the centre, and District Assembly and Village Assembly at the District and Village level for local plans. The bureaucratic administration support was to be provided by P.D.O. instead of B.D.O.

For the attainment of the two objectives of the panchayat system, namely decentralisation and democratisation, continuous efforts were made to strengthen the sectoral capacity of the government. Some impressive change was brought about by District Administration Plan 1974 and the Integrated Panchayat Development Design 1978. The former brought forward the planning process of the district development at the village. And an integrated District Development Plan was to be prepared annually, which was to constitute the basis for allocation of resources for each district at the national level. Several subject matter committees were formed under the District plan in which both popular representative and government officials were members who functioned to prepare sectoral district plans. The latter the IPDD (1978) was somewhat an advancement of the former in the sense that it provided for a "coordination mechanism at the level of the Council of Ministers and the permanent Secretaries of the government[67].

The implementation lacuna of the two reforms and complexity of the problems faced in co-ordination between inter ministerial and between the centre and local level brought forward the need for establishing a separate ministry of Panchayat and Local Development. At the District level the post of the P.D.O. was upgraded and replaced by Local Development Officer (L.D.O). He was assigned the role of the co-ordinator of programmes at the district level. At the Village level the Multipurpose Development worker was the Secretary of the Village Panchayat and the lowest bureaucratic representative. For the multipurpose support to the village panchayats services centres continued to exist.

3.3 An examination of the organisational structure

With the inception of the Integrated Rural Development design for rural development and to initiate more effective local participation; Sajha (Co-operatives), Small Farmers Development Programme and users committee came to be the main stay of IRDP organisational structure.

However with various attempts for effective organisational structure and for viable local institutions, a wide gap still exists between plans and action and between policies and practices. It is hoped that with recent implementation of the Decentralisation Act 1984 the gravest problems of co-ordinations and diffusion of authority will somewhat be solved.

Now on the basis of the foregoing discussions, and specific evaluation reports of Integrated Rural Development Programmes and supported by our study of the two Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDP; the hypothesis, that there is positive correlation between management, organisational growth and development activities in the rural sector, holds true. The broad objectives of all IRDPs is to eradicate poverty. This recognises the necessity of multifarious activities encompassing the whole life of the rural people. Still the essential point to be noted in laying down goals as of Amitai Etzoni view is that goals should be specific. And much depends on the nature and setting of goals for organisation to be successful. But what we find in IRDP goals of our study, similar to other IRDP is that, there are numerous programmes having wide varieties of goals. Consequently putting constrains on scarce capital, and technical and

administrative manpower. Further it has left ample scope for the line agencies to interpret the objectives or programmes in different ways thus leading to interdepartmental conflicts. Incomprehensible nature of the project goals also has led the beneficiaries to assume the programme as only government duty and responsibility and not their own[68]. The Rasuwa/Nuwakot programme despite five years implementation is still referred to by local people as that NRs 130 million project[69]. The most critical view was given by Bharat Bd. Pradhan. He remarks, "even after about 10 years of operation and with eight IRDPs on going, enough effort has not gone into developing a meaningful framework for formulating an Integrated Rural Development Project. Each project is conceived and formulated in an ad hoc way"[70]. He points out that the wide coverage, the formidable physical constraints, the areas limited infrastructure for development or the de-emphasis on infrastructure seems to counter to the achievement of the objectives of self-sustained development[71]. All these has resulted in not only ineffective implementation but also it has self-defeated the main objectives of IRDP[72].

This then shows that theoretical analysis put forward, and referred by us in our early discussions of planning does not come upto the essential requirements for effective planning. Our observation of the village panchayats discovered that there was not even preliminary record of essential datas that were to be the basis for planning rural development. Among the ten panchayats surveyed only three had records of income source and expenditure allotment. No other records were collected by them. Similar view was put forward by DRC report of Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project. Further the planning officials

of the concerning district panchayats were affirmative of the sursory planning of these projects. They pointed out that the plan formulation was dominated by foreign experts, who had very little or no knowledge of the local socio-economic conditions of the village panchayats, covered by IRDPs. However, our enquiries with the co-ordinators of these projects revealed that the basis of these plans were also the village and District Panchayat plans. But here again we find that these plans were only amalgamation of priorities of village and district plans. That is we cannot count these as scientific plans. The "annual district plans which were to be the mainstay of planning and resource allocation for the project (R/N) were never undertaken in the real sense[73].

The need of sufficient technical and administrative cadres, is the other pre-requisite of good planning. Albert Waterson concurs, noting that implementation of IRDP pre-supposes the availability of adequate number of skilled and semi-skilled technical overseers, Sub-overseers, Junior technical (JT) and Junior Technical Assistant in agriculture. But one of the problem that has hampered the implementation of IRDP is the absence of the requirement of trained man power especially in the technical field[74]. Our findings in the two projects were similar. Though the field personnels educational degree was satisfactory, their experiences and training were poor. This we concluded from our observation (of constructed works of water sources, roads, buildings irrigation source) as well as the remarks of concerned Pradhan panchas and the local beneficiaries.

Further the projects were organised on the basis of existing administrative structure. No additional staff were provided except

for a project co-ordinator and some clerical staff. This naturally strained the existing administrative personnels. "Another weakness in the current investment approach is that without taking into consideration the capacity of the sectoral agencies to deliver the required services, most of the IRDP have assumed that with the provision of funds they would be available..."[75]

According to the proponders, good planning requires sufficient material and financial resources.Now this is also lacking in the concerned IRDPs. However, this shortage of resources is not the cause of unavailability, but is more brought about by remittance and reimbursement problems. The district Panchayat office of the two projects, namely Siraha, Saptari, Udaipur, Rasuwa and Nuwakot, all voiced the same problem. The delay of fund was a severe constrain for these projects. The planning officials have narrated that many times funds were provided at the end of the financial year. This had been one of the causes of incomplete work and the disappearance of contractors of concerned works[76]. Related to this resource obstacle, we find that the evaluation studies especially of Bharat Bd. Pradhan, observe the inappropriate investment approach of these projects. he argues and corroborates the Interim Report of Rasuwa/ Nuwakot project that "the investment in IRDPs has been overly biased towards the infrastructure. Even in the productive sectors like agriculture and cottage industry, a major share of investment is in construction of physical facilities, mainly buildings, comparatively little investment has gone to directly productive activities[77]. Our observation of the market complex, funded by the IRDP, in our selected village panchayats as Katari and Chaugadha, showed that they were not

utilised at all. The fallacy of building a market shed, where there was non-existence of even a weekly hat bazar points the wrong approach of investment in Chaugadha. While Katari market shed is an example of choosing the wrong site. Further Bharat Bd. Pradhan aptly propounded that, the emphasis on creating facilities, instead of utilizing the existing one is "another fundamental weakness in investment approach as the new panchayat building of Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP[78]. Again quoting the Interim Report, there is hardly any scope for the use of high level expertise. For designing a pedestrain suspension bridge, aligning a mule track or constructing a 50 hectare irrigation rpoject, engaging an expert costing US $ 70,000 a year is simply ridiculous. The unnecessary infusion of high level technology will discourage indigenous technology[79]. Our findings also support this view. As for example the Gadkhar irrigation project of Chaugadha and Ramche irrigation does not provide sufficient irrigation facility to the lands, that come under its capacity. The beneficiaries, complained that the responsible persons did not heed their advice while constructing the projects.

It is recognised, as mentioned earlier that planning of IRDP involves the participation of host of line agencies as well as peoples representatives (political and social) and beneficiaries. Then it is essential that they work in unision and in coordination with one another. But the lack of coordination is the most severe obstacle, for the limited impact of these projects. No doubt there are institutions established for coordination mechanism in the centre, zonal and district level. But the problem still persists. To quote Rasuwa/Nuwakot Final Report "Different coordination mechanisms were tried ...

Inspite of these attempts the entire project period was characterised by lack of coordination in policies, planning and implementation which had adverse consequence on the pace of the project"[80]. The coordination problem is so severe that Nepalese Economist Govind Ram Agrawal has lebelled the IRDP as Non-Integrated structure[81]. One of the causes is too many changes in organisation structure. While Bharat Bd. Pradhan observes this problem as a result of "Inappropriate Institutional Arrangements leading to contradiction in the institution. He remarks that IRD programmes are regarded as "extra burden" on the existing technical and administrative personnels. "It should not therefore be a surprise that IRD projects constitute the lowest priority activities within the sectoral programmes, though they are stated to be high up in the scale of national priorities"[82]. The coordination committees formed at the centre, zonal and district level hardly meet[83]. Our enquiries in the five districts of R/N and Sagarmatha projects leads us to similar conclusion. In Nuwakot district the committee had met only thrice in 5 years. In Siraha district it met only once. While in other district the concerned officials had no idea of the meetings of such committees.

We now come to the last but not the least important aspect required for good planning. That is participation. In our introductory chapter we have quoted the arguments and remarks put forward by different writers, in relation to the importance of participation. Their observation establishes that unless maximum public backing or/and substantial participation is generated in rural development plans,

success would not be achieved. Therefore in both Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha projects, top priority had been awarded to involve the rural mass in their own development. We also recognise this importance. Hence a separate chapter has been allotted for this aspect.

The conceptual idea put forward by different writers for organisation shows that Rasuwa/Nuwakot. Sagarmatha IRDPs organisation structure embraces all the aspect. That is in these structures, peoples representative of the lowest level and different line agencies bureaucrats and technocrats all are associated. But only sound structure of organisation will not suffice. What is more important is the effective role it plays in achieving the goals. Here the goal is the eradication of poverty. This in turn can be possible when such programmes or organisation can motivate meaningful participation. Our analysis presents that multifarious goals hinder the functioning of organisation. Since IRDP is a multifarious attack on rural poverty it is natural for the programme to have multifarious goals. The question arises as to what is to be done? The best that can be done is to set goals on the priority basis in harmony with the local needs. After setting goals a sound planning for effective organisation is required. Our discussion clearly shows that there has been top-down planning instead of bottom up olanning although it is advocated by IRDP. The most essential requisite for planning is feasibility study or preliminary data of socio-economic conditions of the village panchayat. This is the lacuna, as our study has proved. The last aspect of a good organisation is how far it has been able to implement the plans and thus achieve the goals. It is observed that there has

been continuous efforts to reorganise or to improve the implementing machinery proving that the main drawback of IRDP of Nepal is that what is planned is not implemented. This is due to the existence of a several obstacles. Such as defective planning lack and inefficiency of technocrats and administrative staff, delay of funds, personal interest of political leaders etc. This sum up our view on requisite for IRDP organisation.

Next we have tried to see the evolution of IRDP in Nepal. Going through these discussion, we find that from the very beginning (in medieval period) local institution existed for local development. At that time these institutions were given wide power and worked most independently. While the powers of state officials in the centre were curtailed. Gradually in the modern era changes came which brought a setback to these institutions. That is though the responsibility of the local development was given to the Panchayat, their power were curtailed. In other words, instead of power decentralisation, centralisation was the rule. With the overthrough of Rana rulers, democracy dawned which necessitated Nepal to establish diplomatic relations. This brought forth bilateral development aid as the Tribhuvan gram vikash yojana. Correspondingly for the development works bureaucratic hierarchy grew. Gradually local development works became the responsibility of bureaucrats, and local institutions had little say. They became more and more dependent and lost their self-reliant capacity. With the initiation of the partyless panchayat system attempts were revived to strengthen these local institutions. Village development or local development was to be the responsibility

of the lowest level of panchayat system the village panchayat. So IRDP also embraced these institutions. Visualising the various obstacles in shedding off power to the lower level, different reforms came forward. So as to make the administration more efficient and people oriented.

Coming to our study of the two IRDP we have enlightened that there is contradiction between policy and implementation. The programme's several goals has put burden on the scarce capital and technical and administrative personnel. Further since goals are not defined scientifically there has been ample scope of defining it differently by the implementing line agencies. Similarly without taking in consideration the economic-socio situations of the village Panchayats in IRDPs Planning seems to have made the local beneficiaries more reliant on outside resources. Thus negating the principle of the local peoples participation in such programmes. One wonders at what is actually targeted by these programmes. From our study and the evaluation of eminent Nepalese economist it has been seen that instead of uplifting the rural mass from poverty more funds have been invested on infrastructural development. The study of these two projects provides an example of showing that scarcity of funds is not the only problem. It is also questionable whether high level technicians with high pay ($ 70,000 yearly) is worthwhile for small low level village development works.

Finally we can add that the structure of IRD organisation can be successful only when there is perfect harmony in the working

of the various line agencies and the implementing agencies i.e. there should be co-ordination and frequent rapport between them. This is what is lacking and is the main cause of the existing gap between planning and implementation.

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CHAPTER - IV

ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Section 4.1 Bureaucracy

In our preceding chapter we have shown that there is much to be done in Integrated Rural Development Programmes, (IRDP) in order to have wider impact, on the rural economy. For this peoples participation is sought and advocated.

People participation has been catchword for politician, economists and social reformers. It is corollary to popular participation democratic decentralisation and rural development. But the major problems underlying participation is in fact, that it is nearly impossible to determine what participation entails. It means differen things to different investigator and the issue originates in different value system. "It is grounded in physiological, Sociological, economic, political and legal paradigm; it transcends, micro and macro issue regarding individuals, organisation, whole societies from individual motivation and ability consideration through leadership and group dynamic issue to variety of less intensive and more restricted participation schemes, which includes various form of indirect or representative participation"[1]. Whereas Van Heck remarks that rural organisations are effective ... only if set-up in suitable forms based on the principle of self help and above all, run by the members themselves. He concurs the basic requirements of popular participation as that the members through their rural organisation should be able to:

(a) participate in the decision-making concerning their development.

(b) contribute effectively to development efforts.

(c) and to share equally in the benefit of development[2].

Mr. A.Z.M. Obaiduallah points out that the present crisis in rural development, the deepening poverty, is not merely and unfortunate episode but an inevitable consequence of past intentions to exclude the rural majority from development planning and processes, to avoid institutional and structural feforms including agrarian reforms, and to concentrate normally on increasing production. He concludes that it is the policy makers, the bureaucrats, the technocrats who along with donors decide what is good for the rural people[3]. So it is essential that IRDP as other rural programmes should be able to abandon the above thinking and actions and operationalize the programme on the basis of maximum participation.

No doubt, Nepal a country pledged to a policy of maximising people's participation in the administration and development has taken up a tough task to apply this ideal. The constitution of Nepal cites : "Participation of the people in the process of economic development of the country" one of the economic objectives of the present political system[4]. Hence the Panchayat partyless system was the instituion, from the national to the village level which incorporates peoples participation in planning, implementation and evaluation of all development activities. The eminent Nepalese economist Dr. Badriprasad Shrestha remarks that development is essentially a political process. He is confident that this Institution can be made more responsive to the people. "Probably this is the development model

which is most appropriate and which after years of experience will really be workable"[5]. Hence the Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP and Sagarmatha IRDP of our study, have also embraced this principle of participation; so we shall here, try to prove the hypothesis that (a) there is a relationship between rural participation and successful implementation of rural development. And (b) whether mass participation for development purpose is dependent on mobilisation capacity of the Panchas or such kind of leadership has got to be tested.

For this study we have taken up the interview of the Project Co-ordinator of Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP and Sagarmatha IRDPs. And the line agencies at the local level of our study area. Especially the role of Local Development Officer (LDO) and the Multipurpose Development worker (MPDW) at the District and Village Panchayat (VP) level, respectively have been studied. The role of the elected representative of the VP, Sajhas (Co-operatives) and User's Committee have been assessed. Finally the study entails participation of the respondents in the IRDPs.

The evaluation reports of Rasuwa/Nuwakot (R/N) project comments that, though the project co-ordinator (PC) was regarded as the kingpin of the project, he was mostly unsuccessful in performing his functions. The co-ordinator had not been able to"co-ordinate the activities of the participating ministries in a meaningful way"[6]. "While his duties required him to essentially orchestrate the inputs and policies of different line ministries, his image as an employee of a Ministry i.e. Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development did not give him necessary authority to make his suggestions and interventions acceptable to them. Consequently, the office was more or less

ignored by the rest of the ministries, which had decidely negative effect on the pace and integrated nature of the project"[7].

Our interview with the two Project Co-ordinators also voiced similar views. While enquiring to the role of this office, the PCs pointed out, existence of number of problems as the cause. To them the reimbursement problem and no direct authority to catch the default contractors, the interference of local and political leaders were greatest headache. It may be observed that within the project's initial period and our survey period (1985) three P.C. in R/N and four P.C. in Sagarmatha IRDPs were changed. The inference that we can draw from this is that such frequent transfers, the insecurity of the project staff, the non-training facility (as reported by the PC) and the tight situation of the P.C. all culminated in less or negative participation in the two IRDPs.

The participating role of the Local Development Officer (LDO) in the district is similarly constrained as that of the P.C. at the project level. He is the responsible body for local development and is a link between the district and village panchayats and between the centre and the district. His upgraded post from the panchayat Development Officer (PDO) makes him equivalent to the post of the Chief District Officer but it is doubted that he can be as effective as the Chief District Officer (CDO equal to Magistrate). This is because works of development move faster on the command of those who have power, to arrest and punish, than those, who have only resources, as that of the LDO. This holds true especially in a country like Nepal. Again since he is the Chief of the district Panchayat secretariat he has also the responsibility to co-ordinate the different

line agencies at the district level. But the problem is that though all the district line agencies come under the administrative control of the LDO, "in practice they follow instructions from their own line agencies". These line ministries take the IRDP as "outside activities. Some departments have centralized administration as such in agriculture centrally controlled decisions have little relevance to field situations"[8]. So, it is natural that conflict will arise between the LDO and the local-level officers of the line agencies[9].

Further his position as a Secretary to the district panchayat has somewhat clipped his wings for effective role in implementation of programmes. It seems he has to appease two masters - the panchayat officials and his higher level officials. His dual role has sometimes put him in a difficult position while making important decisions. Therefore the LDO in the context of IRDP is, according to Bharat Bhadur Pradhan "as little effective"[10].

The evaluation reports, and our impression from field study, shows many shortcomings for effective Integrated Rural development Programmes. The responsible line agencies as agriculture, extension services, health extension services, overseers etc. and supportive agencies, as banks, co-operatives etc. face many problems such as, limited delegation of authority, heavy work, frequent turnover of heads and technical staff. As for example, the agriculture extension workers of Chaugadha Panchayat was transferred, but no replacement was sent since four months. Likewise the post of veterinary assistant was vacant from its initial days in Chaugadha. The district planning officials especially of Saptari district were so much vexed with the local political interference that they did not want to stay at

the district. Not unoften, as a result, the post was vacant. All these short comings of the bureaucratic institution, hampered their participation in IRDP. This in turn hindered rural participation.

The Multipurpose village Development Worker is the lowest bureaucratic administrative representative of the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development. He is the link between the villagers and works, as the subject matter specialist at the village level. The MPWDW acts also as the Secretary of the village panchayat. Thus he is responsible for hleping the V.P. in formulation and implementation of development projects at the village level. There is no doubt that he can play an important and effective role in operationalizing agent for IRDP. But the MPDW has not been able to play this role satisfactorily. What can we expect from a simply matriculate person with just two weeks training. He is supposed to collect information and keep records of the Village Panchayat. But we found that there exists wide discrepancy between MPDW expected role/action and the actual role/action. This may be explained by low level moral favouritism, nepotism, red tapism, absentism etc. , all common ~~days~~ functionalities of administrative bureaucracy. Low pay no/or little facilities and insufficient training may also be added to the above.

We learnt from our interrogation that in the ten village panchayats, the MPDWs are quite popular figure among the rural mass. In our survey period we found that six MPDWs were present in their respective panchayats. And out of them three had maintained records of the panchayat income source and expenditure outlets. It has been found that where the village pradhan panchs were comparatively better educated (to the village standard) they dominated in the decisions for local development and vice-versa was the cases, where the pradhan

was less educated. That is, it seemed that the servant (MPDW) was the master of the village affairs and the master (Pradhan) the servant, of those panchayats where the pradhans were docile and less qualified. There were covert complains that some MPDW were in collusion with the pradhans in the misappropriation of development funds. And some pradhans complained about the MPDW regular absence from their stationed villages. All in all we can conclude that MPDW can be a powerful agent to initiate change at the village level. Hence it may be suggested that the post should be made more attractive; regular surveillance and evaluation of MPDW's work is essential. If it is so done it would be possible to bring about effective participation in local development work.

4.2 Co-operatives and Users Committee

So far we have delineated the participation of the administrative agents. Now we shall analyse the respondents participation in the form of institutions as the co-operative (named as Sajha) Users Committee and the village panchayat. And in the form of direct participation of the respondents, of our concerned ten villages panchayats.

The Ex Finance Minister Bharat Bahadur Pradhan stated at the Local Aid Group Meeting held in January 18 (1990) that "Nepal is fully committed to decentralization as an important strategy of development and H.M.G. (His Majesty's Government) believes that administrative decentralisation, user's Group participation and the involvement of local representative institutions would foster cost effective and self-sustaining people oriented rural development"[11]. Hence we find that an important local representative institution as Sajhas were established at the local level. These Sajhas have been regarded as

an integral part of the economic philosophy of the Panchayat political System by the constitution of Nepal[12]. The main objectives of these co-operatives has been to bring about social and economic upliftment of the poor by pooling land labour and capital. The management of such societies are supervised by the Agriculture Development Bank/ Nepal. And they are governed by the Sajha Executive Board, with the Pradhan Pancha and up-pradhan pancha as its Chairman and Vice Chairman respectively. For the formation of a Sajha at least 25 members should be associated but they need not belong from the same village panchayat. The functions of these societies are to supply agricultural inputs as credit, fertilizers, insecticides, HYV seeds etc. and consumer goods such as Kerosene, Salt, Sugar etc. They are also to provide credit and raw materials for cottage industries. Further they function as agents for their members in marketing and developing their activities.

There are 711 Sajha Societies with 10,700 members, covering 67 districts (out of 75 district) of the country[13]. The CIRDAP paper states that Sajha are the vehicle for implementation of IRDP at the village level. These societies are used for effective implementation of programmes as IRDP[14]. The two IRDPs Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha project of our study area has altogether 76 Sajha societies (until 1985).[15] All these societies provided credit and input facilities. While only Sajhas of Saptari and Rasuwa district provided consumer goods also[16]. In our study area we came across 5 Sajha societies. We found that these societies though constrained by financial problems and shortage of administrative staff, were quite resourceful to villagers.

Table 4.2

District-wise Sajha Societies (Year 1985)

District	No.	Total member
Siraha	23	39999
Saptari	23	56613
Udaipur	11	19155
Nuwakot	13	8795
Rasuwa	6	4321
Total	76	130883

According to the above table the highest number of membership in Sajha is reported in Saptari. In fact respondents of Kalyanpur of Saptari districts noted that greater amount of benefits were received in the form of loans, seeds and fertilizers from Sajha.

About 90 percent of our respondents buy input from these institutions. Our interrogation with societies officials, found that the middle and small farmers benefitted more than big farmers. Only in Kalyanpur panchayat, the benefit was enjoyed by big farmers. Among the 5 Sajha it was the Sree Sajha Sansthan Sukhipur, the Sree Sajha Sansthan Katari and Jan Kalyan Sajha Sansthan Chaugadha were running successfully. Therefore the membership of these societies have also increased. The Sukhipur Sajha covering four other V.P. had the highest membership amounting to 6892. These societies had not only successfully supplied credit, ferlizers and insecticides but

were also increasing the sale of their member's production. Further the Sajha of Katari, Chaugadha and Kalyanpur also sold consumer goods as sugar, kerosene oil, salt and soap. The managers of these societies were of the view, that for more effective and profitable running of Sajhas, the scope of selling agricultural and consumer goods should be increased. More trained staff and more financial support should also be provided. The Katari and Kalyanpur Sajha staff complained, that they were very lowly paid (less than the government scale) and had no job guarantee. If such state continues, it is likely to kill the incentive of the staff, who have come from towns (place of comfort)to live and work at the village level.

As a whole we can conclude that Sajha societies participation has been quite successful. Traditional money lenders are the major source for providing loans to the respondents. But some change has ushered in, for the respondents are realising the benefit of Sajhas. As for example the Rais (Tribal caste) of Chaugadha now feel that the trend to sell their lands to pay off debt has stopped with the availability of official (Sajha and Banks) credit source[17].

4.3. Village Panchayats

The village panchayat is the lowest tier of the panchayat pyramidical structure of Nepal. From time memorial the tradition to mobilize local resources for village development existed in Nepal. The panchas formed by the local people were leaders and the responsible body of the V.P. It was because of this, that the staunch followers of the panchayat government, rhetorically boast, that it was best suited for the country. And no other system can work better in Nepal's soil. With the dawn of the system in 1960. V.P. were formed throughout

the country. A Village Panchayat has an executive body known as the panchayat and a legislative body known as the village Assembly. It was composed of all adult members of the village. There are about 4100 village panchayat in Nepal[18]. Ignoring the drawbacks of the system, "it had at least given some identifiable forum in the village where the villagers can voice their opinions and ask for redress for the conditions of the villagers"[19].

Similar to the line agencies representative of the central administrative set up, the District Panchayat and Village Panchayat of elected representative worked as responsible bodies for local development. Our study covers specifically the village panchayat; for its viability is the root cause of any successful local programmes as IRDP. In our discussion of the planning process of IRDP we have cited the role of the village panchayat Institution. Here we shall therefore analyse the role of village panchayat members i.e. their participation. And how they have been successful leaders to initiate participation of the mass, for self betterment.

It has been realised that the administrative machinery by itself cannot fulfil the tasks of local development since it lacks popular support. Hence democratic decentralization had to be introduced so as to provide leadership at various levels with a matching support of administrative, technical and financial resources from above. Without support guidance and supervision from above it would lead to debility. So decentralization is not abdication of responsibility[20]. As such the leadership at various level operate as a linkage between the centre and the village level, between the administration and the general mass. These linkage connects the political

structure with the economic and social goals set, before the nation.

"It was the realisation of the importance of local participation and local leadership, that had initiated the establishment of community development programme and panchayati raj in Indian states. The panchayati raj has as its aim, the association of democratically elected representatives to a greater degree than the traditional leaders in societies journey from traditionality to modernity"[21]. Thus the success of development programmes as IRDP largely depends on the role of leaders whether they be formal or informal. Because they are the engines of society which can mobilize the mass in development activities. Emergence of mass initiative cannot be spontaneous in societies where there has been systematic exploitation of the masses and a sort of dependence on the elite group has stayed over the years. Hence a strong leader is a requisite to break their non-cummunicative and passive shell and make them participate in programmes of rural regeneration. It also requires that the leadership systematically educates the masses and through their critical examination and continuous dialogue get educated in return, so that the ideas of the masses form an organic part of the thought process of leadership itself[22].

It is well established that personal quality, educational status, caste, race and wealth status of leaders play important roles, in motivating participation. It is these traits that strongly influence the masses to follow the leader. In a village society a man's status is measured by his property (land) and by his caste. A village that is more enclosed from outward influence, will have a greater impact of such thinking. Hence it is seen that the traditional

leaders of such villages were those men who were economically or socially at the top.

The village panchayat leaders that represented the ten panchayats showed that among the twenty two panchas, seven were Khatriyas, Five Tharus and Three Brahmins. The table 4.3 shows that caste composition of the interviewed panchas. It was noted that cast majority overshadows caste superiority. In other words it means that which ever cast predominates, it will be chosen as the panchayat leader. Thus caste feeling was pronounced in the Nepalese villages. However we must not overlook stray examples where the pradhan Panchas or ward panchas came from the minority caste as in Govindpur and Katari panchayats.

Another similarity between the traditional leader and our village leaders was that comparatively all were economically well off. The disclosed annual income table 4.4 of points out that 7 of them had income above NRs 50,000 only 3 persons had income below NRs 10,000. The word 'disclosed' annual income is mentioned here because the observer found majority of the leaders had suppressed their real income.

Besides caste and income age and education factors were also taken up for our observation. It is generally understood that caste and income superiority may have a negative effect on the attitude of a person, while education and age may have a positive effect. Further age and education are more propelling forces of participation of the village community. As for example caste and income may increase selfishness of the leader. Possibility is more that blinded by it, he

Table 4.3

Caste Composition of the leaders

V.P / Caste	Sukhiapur	Govindpur	Kalyanpur	Khojpur	Katari	Risku	Dhaibung	Ramche	Chaughadha	Ganesthan	Total
Brahmin	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3
Kshetrya	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	7
Tharu	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Teli	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kulwar	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Magar	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Danuwar	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3
Tamang	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	1	-	-	1
	3	5	4	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	22

Table 4.4

Annual Income of the Leaders

Income Group	Below 10,000	10,000-20,000	20,000-30,000	30,000- 40,000	40,000-50,000	50,000 above	Total
Govindpur	3	-	-	-	-	2	5
Sukhipur	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Kalyanpur	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
Khojpur	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Katari	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
Risku	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dhaibung	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Ramche	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Chaughada	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Ganesthan	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	3	3	4	3	2	7	22

may not be capable for performing his duties expected from him. Whereas person coming from younger age, and educated group are likely to be more susceptible to change (change for the better). They may not be prejudiced to development.

Table 4.5

Age composition of Leaders (Panchas)

Age (years)	Number
Below 25	Nil
25-35	3
35-45	7
45-55	9
55 to above	3
Total	22

The above table depicts the age composition of the 22 panchas. It shows that among the 22 panchas 9 came from the middle age group. While the younger and older generation represent equally. Our study reveals that there was no positive correlation between age and susceptibility to change. Since some panchas who came from older age group were more development oriented than the younger age group, as of Kalyanpur pancha. But there existed a direct correlation between motivating participation and age factor. In Govindpur and Katari both pradhan panchas, came from the younger group, and were better educated

than the older or middle age groups, they were, however, less successful to motivate participation of the villagers. Nevertheless education played a vital role in the thinking and actions of the leaders. Let us review the table below showing the educational status according to panchayat distribution.

Table 4.6

Educational status of leaders

Village panchayat	Illiterate	Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary	Higher	Total
Dhaibung	-	1	-	-	-	1
Ramche	-	1	-	-	-	1
Chaugadha	-	2	-	-	-	2
Ganesthan	-	1	-	-	-	1
Sukhipur	-	2	1	-	-	3
Govindpur	-	2	-	1	2	5
Katari	-	1	-	-	1	2
Risku	-	2	-	-	-	2
Kalyanpur	-	3	-	-	-	3
Kojpur	-	1	-	1	-	2
Total	-	16	1	2	3	22

The table presents that none of the leaders were illiterate, even though majority were educated at primary standard. It is followed by leaders who come from the higher educated group. These educated

come from the young age group of our sample. Thus pointing out the positive trend that may take place in the villages in the future. Our iterrogation of these leaders showed that the more educated were comparatively enthusiastic. They were more acquainted with the problems of their locality. The more educated panchas dominated the line agencies in decision making and implementation of IRDP. Comparatively programmes implementation was less delayed in these villages than in those villages where the leaders were less educated.

While comparing the nature of the new emerging leadership with the traditional leadership there exists very slight difference. It was revealed that the panchayat membership was the monopoly of persons who were economically better-off, advanced in age and come from higher castes and ethnic majority despite changes in the polity and government policy. Similar conclusions were drawn by Vijaya Shrestha (1980:98), Chandra Gurung (1987:20), A.L. Pradhan and P.B. Chhetry (1981:39). Again case studies of local leadership in Nepal conducted by Centre for Economic Development and Administration, Tribhuvan University (CEDA) of four panchayats showed a high correlation between socio-economic status and political power. The poorer section of the society, the landless labourers and low castes are still outside the political circle. Another case study of CEDA, conducted by Prof. B.C. Malla of Suayambhu Area (Kathmandu) in 1986 gives the following findings: First, the local panchas (ward chairmans) did not care about the development and public welfare. Secondly, there was misappropriation of development budgets. Thirdly, "most of the local panchas were more post and business oriented". Fourthly, there was evidence of groupism with their antegonistic feeling among the

panchas. He concludes that this nature of leadership was causing ineffectiveness in the development plan and programmes in the area[23]. The panchas (leaders) of our study area were similar. It is perhaps these unhealthy traits of leadership, that is the root cause of failure of development programmes, and also the failure to mobilize the mass for effective participation. The related studies of new leaders in India presented totally a mixed picture. In Rajasthan the leaders who dominated the panchayats were farmers relativity well off compared to the needy majority. But to-day they are enthusiastic man willing to devote time and energy to rural development. In Maharastra V.M. Sirsikar observed that local political system remained under the leadership of richer peasantry. In Sikkim, Sita Ram Shah points that panchayat has failed to become agents of growth (1987: 198). Whereas in West Bengal Arun Ghosh points out that a new type of leadership has come to dominate in the system of political devolution. Poor peasants and agriculture labourers, and scheduled castes and tribes have come to the forefront (1988). However as Dr. D. Bhowmick remarks that the "new leadership is not prone to accept modernization requirements; it has not yet been able to understand its vital role as agents of social change"[24].

In Nepal we can say that change in the nature and composition of the panchayat leaders has emerged. Our findings though small prove this. We found as a whole, that except in Khojpur, Risku and Ganesthan panchayats, the leaders were somewhat successful in motivating the participation of the villagers, in development works. Interestingly, it was almost impossible to get any information from the respondents, unless these leaders gave their consent. Even the backward caste as

the Tamangs were stirred up by the village panchayat institution to participate in local development. The case studies by writers on Nepal as Mark Cobat (1971), Martin Edward D (1986), Himal (1988), Vijaya Shrestha (1988) are in agreement, that these leaders are interested in local development and are also somewhat actively participating in it.

In regarding the leaders view point, specifically, of our concern (IRDP) we found that in greater number the leaders voiced, that for effective participation, IRDP should invest more on irrigation, transport and market. The second priority was on health, animal husbandry and flood control. And lastly for technical knowhow, loan, cottage industry and horticulture. The related other recommendations that the local leaders suggested were as such : (1) Plans for rural development as IRDP should be a continuous process. (2) Evaluation and supervision of the programmes should be regular. The officials responsible for such programmes should not visit places of convenience only. (3) Quick punishment should be given to the defaulters of funds for village development. (4) Local resources should be utilized for IRDP, but payment should not be delayed. (5) The leaders of Ganesthan panchayat specifically denounced the policy of IRDP's direct payment to the contractors of rural works. He adds, this policy has lessened the participation of the local people since the outsiders do the work, they do not care. This results to wastage of investment, because the observer also saw the constructed works were of very low standard. The leaders conclude that what is the point of investing in our areas, when it will collapse before the project ends, or if when it requires high amount of maintenance payment. (6) Lastly they complain that the

development materials supplied are of low quality. They remark that by the same money one could get a better material, perhaps cheaper from Indian markets.

Programmes like IRDP requires the cordial relation between the peoples representatives (local leaders) and the government representative (line agencies) working in the district and village panchayats. Our interrogation with both these agents of change, gave us the view that there exists wide gap between the two. Each blaming the other for the failure of development works. As for example, the answer to the question of effectiveness of the role of panchayat Ministry for IRDP was vehemently criticised by the panchas. The panchas remarked that the ministry had not been able to play its co-ordinating role effectively, but the line agencies claimed its role effective. Similarly to the problem faced by IRDP beneficiaries, the leaders unanimously replied that there was a lack of co-ordination at all levels. In other words, the line agencies were of the view that the panchas and the local people lacked the knowledge of the programme. However, some of the officials were affirmative that there was a lack of co-ordination between them. Likewise some of the leaders as of the pradhan of Katari panchayat numbly agreed that they were unable to grasp the exact detail of benefits that their panchayats were to receive and hence faulty sites for market complex were choosen. For the delay and failure of programme implementation, these parties agreed, the delay in release of fund was responsible.

The undercurrent enomity between these two responsible agents is an obstacle for mobilizing participation of the villagers. One

interesting episode was noted here. In a district Assembly meeting (Village Panchas are its member) the minister (Representative in the district) advised that there should be good co-ordination between panchas and administration, which is so essential for the implementation of the rural development. But in every panchayat there had been presence of cold war between the two. In Rasuwa district, while interviewing a line official, a ward chairman was grumbling, accusing the government in delaying the supply of raw materials. He had come from a distant village several times for the material. The officer cooly answered him "It is your purse", the pancha fired back angrily "but its your hand that opens it". So it is found that leaders (national or local) by the use of their political rhetoric amply proved that they acted inconsistent with the purposes of the rural development programmes.

Finally let us analyse the viewpoint of the respondents in assessing the role played by the leadership in their respective places. Interestingly, their observations are important though they are illiterate largely. The table below shows this.

Table 4.7

Respondents' view on Panchas of development works

Panchayats	Active	Responsible	Efficient
Khojpur	28	14	1
Kalyanpur	26	8	2
Govindpur	29	1	-
Sukhipur	31	11	5
Risku	3	6	3
Katari	19	27	-
Ganesthan	2	6	-
Chougadha	34	10	4
Ramchel	11	1	-
Dhaibung	28	-	-
Total	211 (45.86%)	84 (18.26%)	13 (3.91%) 100

The respondents were inquired about their respective village Panchas role, in the development of the villages. Three pssible traits of the leaders - namely activeness, responsible and efficient towards development were put forward, in order to assess the respondents views. By active we mean that the Pancha-realises the problem and takes action to solve it . And he is responsible person when he supervises development works and sees it is completed. While efficiency means that he has knowledge about the development works and can give advice on it. In contrast to high response for the active role of the leaders, low responses were given by the respondents

for the responsible and efficiency of the leaders. This clearly demonstrates that some of these panchas were not responsible and efficient agents for development, they were less successful to initiate greater participation. While questioning some of the respondents complained that there were also leaders who misappropriated the development funds.

It is seen that highest percentage of respondents i.e. 45.86 percent were of the view that the leaders were active. We found however, that many of them said it because they did not want to antagonise the leaders. They wanted to be in their (leader) good books. Further it was found that the post of pancha was not only source of power but also a good source of gaining benefits economically and socially. Hence the post of the pancha in the elections has been observed to be a tough war between the better off persons.

4.4. An Emperical Study

Again and again, it is repeatedly voiced in the national and international forums to ensure maximum participation of the local people in all round development programmes under integrated Rural Development. But even after three decades of planning where do we stand? Our planners and politicians are still searching for the panecea of mass poverty. The rural people are still in slumber, and generally no policies have been significant so as to arouse them to create a viable self-sustaining society. What is the mistake? Is it because, what is planned or preached is not practised? Or is it because we have forgotten that self-sufficient village community existed, and exists even to-day. Such types of questions can go on

continuously, misled. What we want to drive through at the outset of our analysis, is that participation in whichever form, should be practically applicable and organic in nature. What is lacking in the programmes as IRDP is well conveyed by Bharat Prasad Pradhan. In his words, "Another fundamental problem is the confusion about people's participation while there is some consensus about its meaning - participation in plan formulation implementation, evaluation and benefit, sharings there is lack of clear thinking in its practical application ..."[25]. Again "The introduction of the local rural institutions as experienced has shown, does not necessarily imply capacity of these institutions to plan and implement development activities[26]. Without developing necessary capacity for the different phases of participation at the local (district as well as village) level "peoples participation will remain a rhetoric"[27].

Our contention is that, somehow from somewhere the link has been disrupted. Participation generally has been conceived or centred round 'Saramdan' meaning voluntary labour participation in development works. And otherways of participation, such as resource collection, planning, implementation and maintenance of different economic and social activities have been relegated to the background. Identical views have been expressed by A.L. Pradhan and P.B. Chhetry "Despite plans for self-reliance, the rural people have developed dependency in all, including developing leadership for rural development programmes"[28]. There is also another side of the pictures: "Backward and neglected though they are the rural people of Nepal have through centuries been surviving through self help and community effort. Difficult mountain trails elaborate irrigation schemes

drinking water systems etc have been built and maintained by them without any government support"[29]. Even in the present days there are examples where participation in planning implementation and evaluations of developing activities have been fruitful such as the Gajuri Mini Hydel plant[30], Banglung suspension bridge and the Illam Charali road (75 km)[31].

Now coming to our study areas we must firstly mention the existence of Users Committees. These committees are formed in different IRDPs operating in Nepal. But their functioning pattern are not uniform. As for example the Canadian supported Karnali-Bheri IRDP, the U.S.A. supprted Rapti IRDP and U.K. supported Koshi hill IRDP and the Tuki (lamp) program introduced by Switz Assistance have the participation programme of the local people. In these projects the beneficiaries identify their needs, plan them and implement them. They also operate and maintain the projects. While in Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDP Users Committee are formed to operate and maintain the projects. The thinking behind the Users Committee, is to create and develop viable local institutional for ensuring maximum participation of the village populace. Consequently, hoping that such IRDP will be most successful in the amelioration of economic condition of the rural mass. The success stories of these User's Committee are mixed. Nepalsese economists, such as Bharat Bhadur Pradhan has remarked that the object of IRDPs to develop local institution as User's Committee have not come in the forefront, due to practical and operational weakness. While project analysis of Rasuwa/Nuwakot have showed them (Godkhar User's Committee) as "rare attempts by a department (His Magesty's Government) to establish

a responsible service recipient group"[32].

These Users' Committees were not present in Sagarmatha project; hence we have not taken up this type of participation of our respondents. Nevertheless, to support the hypothesis on participation an overview based on secondary data of User's Committee working in R/N will be worthwhile. One such committee is the Gadkhar Water Users Committee (WUC), and the other is Labdu-Dhikure-Sera WUC.

The Gadkhar (GWUC) is in Chaugadha Panchayat, which is also the panchayat of our project area. This committee is formed for Gadkhar Irrigation scheme under R/N project. This irrigation is a gravity scheme, designed to irrigate 100 hectares crop of monsoon paddy. It is located at the confluence of the Tadi and Likhu rivers[33]. This scheme is regarded "as the most successful of the three schemes undertaken by the department of irrigation"[34]. The GWUC is in harmony with the New Decentralization Act 1982. This act emphasises maximum participation of the local people, in scarce resource mobilization on equity basis ensuring that it would institutionalize a pattern of self-reliance in the rural development process. The composition of WUC membership potrayed below shows that the big and medium land owners and rais (caste) who are actually in majority in the panchayat are dominant in membership.

Table 4.8

Distribution of WUC Members

Political Affiliation		Landownership	
Pancha	14	Big (over 20 ropanis)	9
Non-pancha	12	Medium (10-20 ropanis)	8
		Small (4-10 ropanis)*	7
Caste:			
Rais	13	Tenant	1
Brahmins	5	Landless	1
Chhetries	3	Location of Holding:	
		Head	13
Newars	2	Middle/Tail	13
Others	3		

* No WUC members were marginal landholders (less than 4 ropanis)

20 ropanis = 1 hectare.

Source: Chaughada Agriculture Sub-Center (reproduced here from Upendra Gautam's Natural Resource Management Paper Series 1981).

The other remarkable thing is that, though with a slight margin, it is the panchas who are in greater numbers. The inference from our perception of Chaugadha panchayat shows that perhaps this ethnicity is somewhat to blame for the causes of the irrigation projects' mounting problems, that were being faced in the later stages. The rais are noted for their simplicity, weakness and backwardness, in the Nepalese society. "Rais who still maintain deference patterns characteristic of feudal serfs"[35]. Hence it is possible that

their views, against the responsible officials, at the very initial stage of the irrigation plan was not heeded or scoffed at. The recorded complains in 1982, 84, 85, 86 about the illegal diversions of water, the committee's helplessness, and the unwillingness of the irrigation department is an evident for our inference[36]. Upendra Gautam explains that the sub-divisional Assistant Engineer remarked that the project was in the "poorest shape"[37]. N.S. Peabody corroborates that "officials assistance has been irregular, uncoordinated and arbitrary, sometimes impeding the efforts of farmers, rather than supporting them"[38]. However the conclusion and suggestion put forward by these two studies reveal that participation is possible and is fruitful. This supprts our hypothesis that effectiveness of IRDP hinges on meaningful participation. To quote N.S. Peabody, "Farmers in Gadkhar have benefitted despite poor leadership, poor coordination and the arbitrary exercise of vested interests, bureaucratic and personal. They have learnt much about collective irrigation management and about the promises and limitation of the Gadkhar system"[39]. Similarly with little addition Upendra Gautam concludes "the committee actively participated in system maintenance at all levels through massive labour mobilisation and their belief that, irrespective of what is written in the Decentralisation Act, they can manage the system only when the users and the DIHM (Department of Irrigation, Hydrology and Meteorology) co-operate to evolve a meaningful framework on which to build a capable institution"[40].

Now let us overview the other project namely Labdu-Dhikure - Sera irrigation project. The project is not located in our study area

but comes very near to our control area, the Ganesthan panchayat of R/N project. It gives us a good example of less participation of the populace hence the projects ineffectiveness (failure). The project analysis done by N.S. Peabody says that "The exceedingly high concentration of ownership (4% of the ownership units control over 60% of the land) undoubtedly why it was impossible to obtain "voluntary labour contribution for construction of the project". Again he argues "Right from the outset, the committee has been seen as the "Irrigation Engineer's Committee" a structure imposed from above, important yet threatening. Instead of serving as a communication link between HMG officials and local farmers as the Design Report predicted, the committee has been a glaring manifestation of poor communication and purveyor of misinformation"[41]. By studying these analysis we can therefore add, that before working out these projects it is always prudent to study deeply the socio-economic conditions as well as the local traditional institutions and compare them to the present conditions. Only under such circumstances the programmes as IRDP can be properly evaluated.

Let us proceed with the analysis of our study. At the outset we must mention that our study entails participation of the respondents in tune with the components of IRD programmes. That is, the respondent of the concerning village panchayats were inquired, in which way they directly participated in these programmes. Further, visualizing the remoteness of the villages created by physical and psychological barriers as caste, race and education we have tried also to assess their indirect participation in the form of their awareness of the project, their problems and suggestions and what

should be the priorities of such IRDP. What could be the possibilities of their failure?

A study conducted by CEDA on the impact of Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP on meeting Basic Human Needs showed the local participation in selection of the project. The table is reproduced here.

Table 4.9

Participation in the Selection of Projects

	Rasuwa district			Nuwakot district		
Category of farmers	Participated	Not participated	Total	Participated	Not participated	Total
Landless	-	7 (100)	7 (100)	9 (100)	- (100)	9
Marginal	3 (10)	27 (90)	30 (100)	3 (6.12)	46 (9.88)	49 (100)
Small	6 (11.76)	45 (88.24)	51 (100)	7 (10.14)	62 (89.86)	69 (100)
Medium	3 (7.32)	38 (92.68)	41 (100)	5 (9.26)	49 (90.7)	54 (100)
Large	2 (16.67)	10 (83.33)	12 (100)	13 (13.40)	84 (86.60)	97 (100)
	14 (9.93)	127 (90.07)	141 (100)	28 (10.07)	250 (89.93)	272 (100)

Source: Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA) page 157.

Looking at the table we find that majority of the respondents in both Rasuwa/Nuwakot had not participated in the selection of the projects. The main reason was ignorance. Our study, shows that the sampled respondents of these districts were not ignorant of the project. They had quite a good knowledge of these programmes. While comparing the two projects Sagarmatha and R/N it has been found that the respondents of R/N were more aware than that of Sagarmatha project. Upendra Gautam's findings of water Users Committee was also similar to ours.

The three tables below pictures the awareness of the respondents in respect of IRD components. Each table shows different sides of the same picture.

Table 4.10

Respondents Awareness of IRD Components

(In Percentage of Responses of multiple answers)

	Command Area	Control Area
Agriculture	63.20	48.65
Irrigation	30.30	29.63
Forest	8.23	17.57
Water Conservation	-	-
Health	61.04	32.88
Transport	23.81	4.95
Drinking water	33.77	30.18
Co-operatives	77.92	92.79
Cottage Industry	6.43	9.46
Education	0.87	-

The first table shows the comparison of the command with that of control area. Command area means where IRD investment is centred and control areas where investment is negligible or absent). It is seen that in the field of co-operatives, forest and cottage industries the respondents of control area are more aware than that of command area. The highest percentage 77.92 in the command and 92.79 in the control area demonstrates the remarkable work done by co-operatives. In other words, the respondents have received direct benefit from the co-operatives. Next we find that in both areas the respondents have no idea of water-conservation. This may be because these have not benefitted them, directly. Again the lowest percentage 6.43 in cottage industry and 0.87 in education in the command area, while its conspicuous absence of education component and 4.95 percent of transport in control area, speaks out much. Works actually in these fields have been very much neglected by the I.R.D. programme.

The second table represents awareness caste-wise (Table 4.11). Looking at the table we find that the activities of Co-operatives has drawn the highest number of attention of all the castes. The second highest in number is on Agriculture. Here I.R.D.'s contribution is in the provision of market facilities, loans, irrigation and extension services. Further, the caste-wise table shows that it is the higher Madhyse and lower Madhyse who are most aware of the co-operatives. This may be because of two reasons. First they represent the caste with highest owner-land ownership, is thus requiring more agriculture inputs supplied by these co-operatives. Secondly, because in the Sagarmatha I.R.D.P. the two districts Siraha and Saptari covered by the project is more inhabited by

Table 4.11

Respondents knowledge of I.R.D. by Castes

Castes	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	Total
Tagadhari	37	54	7	-	32	4	59	69	4	1	267
Tibeto Burman	37	35	2	-	30	13	47	44	18	-	226
Other Choko (hill groups)	12	12	-	-	19	10	10	30	-	-	93
Occupation-al caste	23	3	6	-	21	6	3	27	-	-	89
Higher caste Madhyse	84	8	27	-	34	18	3	92	-	-	287
Lower caste Madhyse	65	14	16	-	34	14	6	90	-	-	279
Others	4	12	-	-	5	1	18	32	-	-	62

a- Agriculture. b. - Irrigation c. Forest d. Water conservation e. Health f. Transportation g. Drinking water h. Co-operative i. Cottage Industry j. Education.

(Caste distribution based on the study of New Era Research Project Centre in 1982).

these castes and other castes are negligible. But Rasuwa/Nuwakot project is a mixture of inhabitants of different castes. Another striking point featured by the table is that in the field of irrigation, drinking water and education the awareness of Tagadhari respondents is highest. Thus supporting the general perception that they had been benefited more or being the elite class they were more knowledgeable.

Table - 4.12

Percentage Distribution of Respondents knowledge of IRDP by Income Group.

Income Group (in Nepali Rs)	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
0-3000	1	1	-	-	3	1	2	2	-
3000-6000	39	30	19	-	23	11	35	66	4
6000-9000	51	35	12	-	40	8	41	75	8
9000-12000	47	27	15	-	36	12	38	61	3
12000-15000	31	16	13	-	22	8	16	43	5
15000 +	92	29	42	-	74	26	21	127	2
Total	261	138	101	-	198	76	153	374	22

Note: 1. The percentage is calculated on the basis of multiple response

2. Abbreviation similar to the other tables.

The above table shows that all respondents irrespective of their income level are aware of co-operatives (Sajha) in their respected areas. However we find that the highest percentage is represented by the highest income group. Our perception is that this income group has benefited more because they are the ones whose ownership of land is also large. Similar is the case in the areas of forest, health and transportation. While in the field of irrigation, drinking water and education, it is the second and third income group who are more aware of the IRD programmes. The conclusion drawn is that in the field of agriculture health, and co-operatives

there is perfect correlation with income. That is higher the income, higher the awareness and vice-versa. In other areas the correlation is imperfect.

It is generally conceived that one major cause of the failure of programme is the distance maintained by the bureaucrats and technocrats from the village people. Consequently, the people have also looked at them as person, with whom distance should be maintained. This is just contrary to the idea of taking such personnels as the guide, supervisor and helpers to the villagers attempt for better life.

The pivotal role for village development is played by the Local Development Officer (L.D.O). He represents the bureaucrat administration of the government in the District Panchayat. Hence the L.D.O's way of thinking and his efficiency etc. is very important for the effectiveness of I.R.D.Ps. There is no doubt that between the panchayat leaders (Chairman of the district and the Chairman of the village) and the L.DO. there will be frequent contact acquaintancy because both represent the agents of local development. But this would not suffice. Since effectiveness depends, not only on the knowledge and action of the leaders but also of the mass. Therefore our respondents knowledge of L.DO. and how they rate him as a development worker was taken up for our study. The following tables give us the respondents view of L.D.O. in their respective districts.

Table - 4.13

Rating of L.D.O. Assistance

	Yes	No	Total
Attentive	10 (3.31)	292 (96.69)	302 (100)
Co-operative	1 (4.55)	21 (95.45)	22 (100)
Efficient	6 (4.65)	123 (95.35)	129 (100)
	17 (3.75)	436 (96.25)	453 (100)

The respondents were questioned about L.D.O. assistance to their problems, the table-9 shows that only 3.75 percent gave their positive view and of which only 4.55 percent said that he was co-operative and 3.31 percent said that he was attentive. The second table shows the comparative picture of the two projects. Here we find that the whole positive view of the L.DO. was the L.DO. of Rasuwa/Nuwakot project. The Sagarmatha Project households totally gave the negative answer.

Table-4.14

LD.O. Assistance Projectwise

	Rasuwa/Nuwakot			Sagarmatha		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Attentive	10 (58.82)	-	10 (6.25)	-	292 (99.66)	292 (99.66)
Co-operative	1 (5.08)	20 (13.99)	21 (13.13)	-	1 (1.34)	1 (1.34)
Efficient	6 (35.29)	123 (86.01)	129 (80.63)	-	-	-
Total	17 (100)	143 (100)	160 (100)	-	293 (100)	293 (100)

The respondents were also enquired about the L.D.Os' visits to their villages. One of the main functions of the L.D.O. is to supervise the development works conducted in the villages. This role has double effect. One is he can be more aware of the actual condition prevailing for development works (which he can relay to the higher level or, the centre). Secondly it will have the impression on the mass that he is vigilant so they may not shy away from him.

Table - 4.15

Rating of L.D.Os visit

	Number Total	Rasuwa/Nuwakot	Sagarmatha
Once a month	12 (2.65)	12 (7.50)	-
Twice in a month	-	-	-
Thrice in a month	-	-	-
Don't know	441 (47.35)	148 (92.50)	293 (100)
Total	453	160 (100)	293 (100)

The above table portrays a poor picture of L.D.O. The respondents of the Sagarmatha project were ignorant of the L.D.O. visits. While only 7.50 percent of Rasuwa/Nuwakot I.R.D. responded that his visits were once a month.

The assessment of the views of our respondents relating to the L.D.O. is that the responsible L.D.Os of our study area have not been able to bridge the distance (between the officials and the public). Secondly, the respondents themselves have not been vigilant of the development activities.

Now let us come to the second important man, the Multipurpose Development Worker (MPDW). He is the lowest bureaucratic representative of the village level. His role is to assist the village panchayat in the formulation, implementation, and the evaluation of the annual plans. Hence there is no question as to his importance, in I.R.D. projects. Therefore the respondents of our surveyed panchayat were asked about the knowledge of MPDWs of their panchayats and his visits to the villages.

Table - 4.16

Distribution of Respondents aware of Multipurpose Development Worker Projectwise

	Rasuwa/Nuwakot			Sagarmatha		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Knowledge of MDW	95 (59.38)	65 (40.62)	160 (100)	220 (75.09)	73 (24.91)	293 (100)
Visit of MDW	91 (56.88)	69 (43.13)	160 (100)	153 (52.22)	140 (47.78)	293 (100)

The respective tables shows the comparative picture of the two projects; as well as the comparative picture of the command area and the control area. Looking at the first table we see that 59.38 percent of the respondents were aware of MPDWs in Rasuwa/Nuwakot while it was higher i.e. 75.09 in Sagarmatha. Considering the visits of MPDWs we find that the MPDWs of R/N were more frequent visitors than that of Sagarmatha.

Table - 4.17

Distribution of Respondents aware of Multipurpose Development Worker Projectwise

	Command Area			Control Area		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Knowledge of M.D.W.	119 (51.52)	112 (48.48)	231 (100)	101 (45.50)	121 (54.50)	222 (100)
Visit of MDW	85 (36.80)	146 (63.20)	231 (100)	68 (30.63)	154 (68.37)	222 (100)

The tables of command area and control area show that knowledge of the respondent for MPDW was 51.52 percent of command area and 45.50 percent of control area. But in the control area larger number of respondents were ignorant of M.P.D.Ws visits to their respective villages. The 63.80 percent of command and 69.37 percent of control area respondents had no idea of their visits. However the table shows that the percentage knowledge of MPDW and his visits is higher in command area than that of control area. The inference that can be drawn from these findings is that on the

whole the awareness of the MPDWs was not so poor. But about the visit it seems the respondents were not satisfied. This is important for we must not forget that he represents the Govt. and the general villagers will depend on his role to initiate them to participate in development works.

Our foregoing analysis give us the perceptions of the sampled respondents towards I.R.D. programmes and their assessment of administrative agents. Now we will proceed to analyse the form and extent of our respondents participation in the different development areas. Though there is participation in many areas, we have taken up only four areas such as transport, (road, trail, bridges), water, canal (irrigation) and public health. Since these are I.R.D. programmes highest investment, areas, and also because participation of the respondents were negligible in other areas. Respondents were asked in which field they were engaged or where they contributed most in I.R.D. programmes.

Table - 4.18

Distribution of Respondents engaged to different development district-wise (percentage)

Districts	Transport	Drinking Water	Canal	Public Health	Total No. (%)
Siraha	51.57	30.00	3.14	14.47	159(100)
Saptari	46.48	30.23	9.86	13.38	142(100)
Udaipur	41.46	26.83	2.44	29.27	205(100)
Nuwakot	40.88	25.10	27.04	6.92	159(100)
Rasuwa	31.06	35.11	28.21	4.58	131(100)

The above table shows the districtwise engagement. It is seen that in all the districts except for Rasuwa the number of households contribution is highest in the field of transport. Second, is in the field of drinking water and the lowest is in the canal area. The highest number of respondents participating is in Udaipur.

Table - 4.19

Distribution of the Sample Respondents Contributing

Sagarmatha Project	a	b	c	d	Total
Hill Area	85 (41.46%)	55 (26.83)	5 (2.44)	60 (29.27)	205 (100)
Terai Area	148 (19.17)	92 (30.56)	19 (6.31)	42 (13.95)	301 (100)
Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project					
Hill area	107 (36.90)	86 (29.65)	80 (27.52)	17 (5.86)	290 (100)

Note: a. Road & Trail Construction. b. Drinking water. c. Canal. d. Health Centre.

The second related table points out that development works through successful participation of the rural mass, is directly linked with the declaration of basic needs. It shows that in both project areas people participation was substantially higher for the construction of road and trail. The percentage of respondents participated in the hill area of Sagarmatha project is 41.46% and in Terai areas 49.17%, while in the Rasuwa Nuwakot project it is 36.90%. The relative low percentage in the field of canal in Sagarmatha

project speaks out the low investment on such areas. Thus alienating the main objective of I.R.D. to increase agricultural output.

The majority participation of our sample on transportation has been in conformity with other similar studies. As can be seen from the table projected by the base line studies of Sagarmatha and Rasuwa/Nuwakot projects.

Table - 4.20

Percentage Distribution of Households contribution of Different Development Activities by District.

Districts	School	Trail	Roads	Panchayats Buildings	Irri-gation	Health	Soil conser-vation
Siraha	24.7	0.5	8.4	0.5	0.5	-	-
Saptari	57.0	2.3	4.0	-	-	-	-
Udaipur	53.2	78.7	10.2	15.7	2.8	3.9	0.8
Project Area	43.8	13.7	6.7	2.7	0.7	0.6	0.1

Source : Household Base Line Study (Sagarmatha)

Table 4.21

Distribution of Farmers contribution to Local Development Projects.

Types of project	Percentage of total contribution
1. School	58.1
2. Tracks and trails	28.6
3. Bridges	7.4
4. Irrigation	3.6
5. Drinking water	1.0
6. Others	1.2
	100.00

Source : Household Base Line Survey, Rasuwa Nuwakot Development project.

These two tables reproduced here is only slight departure from ours. That is the participation of households were highest in the field of school developments. But we can see that the second highest participation was in the development of roads and trails.

The table showing participation analyses on the basis of different income group, gives the results as follows:

Table 4.22

Distribution of Respondents Contributing to Different Development Activities by Income.

Income	Transport	Drinking water	Canal	Public Health	Total
0-3000	4	3	1	1	9
3000-6000	44	28	12	14	98
6000-9000	62	52	30	24	168
9000-12000	53	39	19	18	129
12000-15000	39	30	11	13	93
15000+	103	59	21	45	228
Total	305	211	94	115	725
Chi square	102.51*	63.84*	30.56*	57.21*	

Chi square value from table for 5 df 15.09
Significant at 1 percent level of significance.

Highest participation of all income group is in the field of Transport at 305 and secondly Drinking water at 291. In the field of transport the participation is highest by the last income group, in the field of drinking water it is again the same group. While in the field of canal it is the third group. In public health it is again the highest income group. Chi square test is conduced to ascertain association between various activities by income group. The association was found to be highly associative as indicated by high value of chi square. Hence, it is conduced that as income increases involvement also increases in all activities.

The respondents of our sample were also enquired if they had contributed in I.R.D. programmes in cash or in labour days.

Table 4.23

Respondents Contribution in Public Works

Income group	In Cash	In Labour
0-3000	-	2
3000-6000	-	80
6000-9000	-	86
9000-12000	-	73
12000-15000	-	43
15000+	14	116
Total	14	400

The contribution in I.R.D. works is seen from the above table. It shows that contribution in cash, is done by only 14 respondents and all of them fall in the highest income group. It is again the same income group who have contributed in development works by highest labour participation which is followed by the third income group. The respondents were asked to rate their priority in which way their participation could be enhanced in I.R.D.P. components. The following table explains the results.

Table 4.24

Priority Set by Respondents for R/N and Sagarmatha Project

I.R.D. Components	Command Area				Control Area			
	I	II	III	Total (%)	I	II	III	Total (%)
Transport	38	68	48	154 (23.26)	49	57	45	151 (26.58)
Drinking water	28	59	17	104 (15.71)	19	56	19	94 (16.55)
Canal	125	62	14	201 (30.36)	58	49	41	148 (26.06)
Public Health	6	27	45	78 (11.78)	13	46	50	109 (19.19)
Education	3	12	22	37 (5.59)	1	8	12	21 (3.70)
Forestry	-	3	3	6 (.91)	-	-	-	-
Cottage Industry	3	2	-	5 (.76)	-	-	7	7 (1.23)
Co-operative	-	4	3	7 (1.06)	-	2	2	4 (.70)
Panchayats	14	20	33	67 (10.12)	5	2	16	23 (4.05)
Water Conservation	3	-	-	3 (.45)	-	1	10	11 (1.94)
Total	220	257	185	662 (100)	145	221	202	568 (100)

In both the command and control areas the top priority was given for canal constructions, percentage being 30.36 and 26.06 for command and control area respectively. The order of priority in the command area was canal, transport and drinking water. While for control area it was canal transport and public health. Thus except for the third priority, there is no difference in the priority set by the respondents. This clearly shows that IRDP has not been able to meet the fully the demands of the rural people.

The projectwise comparison of the respondents view can be seen from the table below:

Table 4.25

Respondents Priority in Sagarmatha project

Project Area	Highest I	Priority II	Set III
Transport	-	33(32.67)	35(36.84)
Drinking water	42(25.30)	41(40.59)	14(14.74)
Canal	124(74.70)	-	-
Public Health	-	27(26.74)	34(35.79)
Panchayat Development	-	-	12(12.63)
Total	166(100)	101(100)	95(100)

Table 4.26

Respondents priority in Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project

Project Area	Highest I	Priority II	Set III
Transport	14(13.59)	15(34.88)	6(14.63)
Drinking water	44(42.72)	-	-
Canal	45(43.69)	16(37.21)	8(19.52)
Public Health	-	12(27.91)	27(65.85)
Total	103(100)	43(100)	41(100)

These tables depict that larger number of Sagarmatha IRDP, respondents set their first priority for canal and drinking water. For canal the percentage is higher. Drinking water was rated the second priority followed by transport. And the third priority was for transport, followed by public health, while the respondents of Rasuwa/Nuwakot project set their first priority for canal and drinking water. The percentage difference between these two is very little, compared to that of Sagarmatha. The same pattern of difference in priority was for the second position i.e. between canal and drinking water. The third position was given for public health. All these tables of priority (basis) for participation, point out that the factors as canal, transport, drinking water and public health are in fact those areas, where greater number of respondents can receive benefits. Thus they would participate more on these areas when they are called for.

In the setting of preferences, our study has differed from that of CEDA's. Their sample households of both Rasuwa/Nuwakot recorded their highest preference for cottage industries. The preference for irrigation and drinking water was given less priority[42]. We can conclude from this discussion that our respondents were more aware of their pressing needs. Naturally a country where agriculture is the life blood of the people its development should have top priority, which has been well assessed by our sampled respondents. These analysis also suggest that the investment pattern of IRDPs of both projects should be more channeled towards the development of irrigation facilities.

The establishment of IRD organisation to uproot the deep seated rural poverty can be possible by motivating rural participation. Hence our above analysis proves the hypothesis that there is relation between rural participation and successful implementation of rural development programme. We have shown that since there is limited participation of the implementing agencies as well as the local people in the two projects, there has been limited success of the IRDPs, our evaluation brought forward the fact that the responsible agents created by IRDP as the project co-ordinator, has been given duties not in keeping with power and authority. The L.DO. was made responsible but was saddled with the extra burden of IRDP works. It seemed that these activities are not their responsibility. Further the frequent turnover, limited facility and incentive of these cadres hindered their participation in IRDP[43]. The MPDW is the administrative link between the district and the respective village panchayat. He works as Secretary to the

village Panchayat. Hence in all village development works he is also made responsible agent. Our study found that these personnel had little influence where the village Pradhan, was educated and bold[44]. Vice-versa was the case where village panchayat were docile and less educated. Records of village panchayat income and expenditure was kept by few M.P.D.W. No preliminary data of the village panchayat was recorded. Complaint of the M.P.D.W. was that, he was regularly absent and instance was also found of his seeking personal benefit by malpractices.

To create self reliant villages, Sajhas have been vehicles for IRDP as a local institution to motivate participation. Our findings prove that there societies have been somewhat successful in initiating participation. But our observation showed that only few Sajhas were running successfully; hence membership was not healthy. This was because of lack of financial resources and limited selling of consumer goods.

To break the inertia of the rural mass from their slumber of ignorance, much depends on the capacity of the local leader. Here the village Panchayat members are the local leaders. The panchayat system had made them the developing agents of their respective villages. Hence to initiate participation in development works, depends largely on these institutes representing the local people. Our foregoing discussion, support the hypothesis that participation depends on the mobilising capacity of the leaders. The mobilising capacity of the leaders in turn depend on factors such as age, castes, ownership, sincerity, honesty and education. The findings show that all leaders were well off person.

But their mobilizing capability depended on the above mentioned numerous factors. The study of the village Panchayat showed that these leaders were capable to mobilise participation, but the limited participation of villagers in IRDP was more of such programme not requiring the local participation. However, the lackings and inactiviness of these leaders were also the causes of less participation. Another important factor hindering mass participation was the bitter relation between bureaucrat and peoples representatives - the leaders. The bureaucrats consider these leaders as ignorant persons who unnecessarily meddle in the running of development works. Sometimes vexing the bureaucrats so much that they were compelled to ask for transfer. While leaders regard the bureaucrats as unpractical persons, and they in turn are vexed with red-tapism policy of these officials.

Summing up we can say that there exists very little co-ordination and understanding between these two responsible agents of IRDP.

Finally we come to the participation of the respondent in IRDP. The study enlightens the condition of local participation in the village panchayat. Though planners and national leaders voice that maximum participation should be sought in planning implementation and evaluation of rural programme; there is no clear and pragmatic thinking in which way this should be operationalised. Hence in Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDP the peoples participation has been analogous to labour participation only. Our evaluation found that there is positive correlation between benefit and participation. The respondents were aware of IRDP Programmes

such as co-operatives, irrigation, health, drinking water and roads (Trails and Bridges) and they could visualise the benefits they received from these. But programmes as forestry and forest conservation, education, panchayat development were not acquainted to them. Similarly their willingness for labour participation was specifically in irrigation, drinking water, roads and health areas. As to the inquiry in which way they participated in the programme our study revealed that except for the few, majority contributed their physical labour. The investment of irrigation sector by IRDP cite one good example where in one hand the sector is granted the top priority, but on the other hand a poor performance was recorded. Because the majority of respondents and all the leaders voiced unanimously the lack of irrigation facility. The highest priority in all village Panchayats by the respondents was given to the IRDP components as irrigation followed by road, health and drinking water for mobilizing maximum participation.

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CHAPTER - V

Impact of Rural Development

The socio-economic impact of the Sagarmatha and Rasuwa/ Nuwakot Integrated Development Projects (IRDP) have been analysed in two perspectives namely, the socio-economic characteristics, and the benefit received by the sample respondents.

Section 5.1. Existing socio-economic Profile

This depicts the degree, and direction of benefits flowing from such development projects. The respondents, socio-economic status have profound influence in the thinking, behaviour and receptivity, to benefits or change (or betterment) brought about by IRDPs.

The demographic picture of the 453 respondents taken together shows the total population as 3038 (Table 5.27). Risku village panchayat (VP) had the highest population making Udaipur district of Sagarmatha IRDP the largest populated area of the sample. The ratio of female to male in the total population was 1:0.94 and hence male population was 51.55% and female 48.45%. The average household size was 6.71, a little higher than the national figure 6.11[1] which is higher than 5.8 national average (1981 census). Kalyanpur V.P. of Saptari district had the highest average size of household and Nuwakot district had the lowest being 5.42.

The age distribution shows that under 14 years of age the percentage was 43.95, between 15 to 64 years of age it was 53.98%

and 2.07% was of 65 and above. By districtwise, our study finds Udaipur topping the age group under 14 years. Siraha between 15 to 64 and Rasuwa and Udaipur was on equal footing in the age group of 65 and over (Table 5.28).

When looking at the projectwise age distribution, there was very slight difference between the two IRDPs (Table 5.29) . And between command area (where IRDP investment is centred) and control area (where there was negligible investment of IRDP) the difference was also minor compared with the total households (Table 5.30). All these tables picture the high percentage of children. The percentage being 43.45 of the total population, which comes very close to the national figure 41.35 percent (1981 census). In the Sagarmatha IRDP it was 44.29 percentage and in R/N IRDP it was 43.19%. While the child percentage was higher in control area 51.8 than that of the command area which was 48.15%. It was just the reverse in the case of the age group 65 and above. That is in the command area it was 64.52% and in control area it was 35.48%. The child dependency ration 81.4 percentage explains that for every 100 persons of the age group of 15 to 64, there was 81 child dependents, which speaks much. It requires high investment for generation of productivity in the future. Assuming from the child age group and old age group (65 +) comparison between the command and control, we can somewhat say that perhaps tentatively there is a tendency towards low birth and low death/or longibity is higher in command area than in control. A glimpse of some positive impact of IRDPs may be in order here.

The castewise distribution of the respondents as a whole shows that lower caste Madhesy (all low caste person of terai inhabitants) as 21.63 percent. The higher caste (Tagdhari) and higher caste Madhesy represented the same percentage as 20.31. The Tibeto Burman were in the third position 17.66%. While 7.06% was represented by other Chokho (who are not untouchables) hill groups, 6.62 by occupational caste and 6.41 by other groups (Table 5.31). Looking at the same table we find that similar position is held, when we classify the caste population wise. It is the Lower Madhesy and higher Madhesy who dominate. But though the Tagadhari caste and higher Madhesy's household number were same, the population of the former was less significant.

The comparative picture of the two IRDPs, shows that in the Sagarmatha project the highest in number were, the Lower and Higher Madhesy thus clearly picturing the distinction of the Mathalies speaking domination of the two terai district, Siraha and Saptari. In the Rasuwa/Nuwakot project the sample shows the conspicuous absence of these caste whereas the higher caste (Tagadhari)Tibeto-Burman, other chokho hill groups and occupational groups were present in greater as well as fewer numbers (Table 5.32).

Although in Rasuwa/Nuwakot project, there was the dominance of the Tibeto Burman, particularly of the Tamang Caste as shown by the Rasuwa Nuwakot Base line Study, our sample finds the Tagadhari in greater number. This discrepancy may be because, we have taken fewer respondents in the Rasuwa district compared to Nuwakot. But strangely, we found that in Ramche village Panchayat of Rasuwa, our

whole sample household represented the Tamang caste thus leading us to conclude that the Tamang Caste/or Tibeto-Burman dominate in the Rasuwa/Nuwakot project.

The comparative picture of the command and control area gives the same picture (Table 5.33) showing the dominance of the Mathali group, the difference was only, that, in the command area it was the higher Madhesy 26.4% which was dominant, and in control area it was lower Madhesy 33.3% which dominates. The second and third positions were held by Tagadhari (22.5%) and Tibeto Burman (15.2%) in command area. But in the control the second position was held by Tibeto-Burman (20.3%) and third by Tagadhari (18.0%). Numerically insignificant position of the occupational class namely 8.7 percent in command and 4.5% in control speaks much. Our observation reveals that they were in the worst position both economically and socially.

The occupational distribution shows that in all the five districts of both projects, agriculture provided the highest employment followed by labour, than trade, and lastly by service. The districtwise percentage for agriculture was 57% in Siraha, 72% in Saptari, 61.1% in Udaipur, 65% in Nuwakot and 61% in Rasuwa. Labour employment was highest in Nuwakot while trade employment topped in Siraha (Table 5.34). Service holders of the sample, come from teaching profession, and clerical staff of line agencies such as banks, co-operatives and V.P. private business and farm management. While in other occupation groups we included cottage industries and traditional occupation groups (blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker etc.). When we considered the full time engagement, we found

that only 3 percent were full time employed in cottage industries and only about 15 percent were partially employed in traditional occupation, as blacksmith, tailoring, housing, carpentry,basket and rope making etc.

The command and control area depicts similar picture, as of the district. The first position in both was held by agriculture occupation (70.13%) in command and (67.57%) control area. Next to it in trade by 13.85% followed by labour 10.39% in command, while in control area 20.7% was in labour followed by trade 6.31%. In the control area dependency in agriculture is not a positive sign, in other words, it does not demonstrate the development of non-farm sector rather it shows a negative sign. That is more number of households have come under labour occupation, as the primary source of income (Table 5.35). The sampled respondents, support the base line studies, of the two IRDP, as well as the national figure of occupation distribution, of 94% of population dependent on agriculture. Reflecting the fact that a poor level of non-farm based concern-cum economic activities exists, exerting greater pressure on agriculture/or farm occupation.

Words are not enough to describe the importance of education. In the modern urban life if it is regarded as a necessity in the rural life, it is looked up with awe. While in the national and international level, educational attainment is considered as one of the social indicators of development.

Hence education status of our respondents and their family members have been assessed broadly. Since our survey represents

a village level study, we have considered here litterate, all those who can read and write. Then accordingly, as a whole we find that the literacy rate was 39.1 percent which is close to the national figure 33% (Table 5.36). This discrepancy can be because, we have taken literacy in a wider definition. The same table shows the sex wise distribution, where the male literacy was 57.2% and that of the female was only 19.1%. The age group distribution in literacy displays the decline of participation in education with the increase in age. This represents Nepals national literacy tendency as well. The relevant table shows that education participation was highest (49.7%) in the age group 5-15, which gradually declined to 37.8% in 15-35 age group and 29.2% in age group 35-65.

The districtwise and projectwise comparison (Table 5.37) reveals that the percentage of literacy was higher (41.4%) in Sagarmatha than that of Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP. And the rate of male and female literacy were both higher in Sagarmatha, compared to that in Rasuwa/Nuwakot. Between the districts it was Udaipur that had the highest rate of literacy. This is in line with the Sagarmatha Base Line Study (1982). Taking the three districts this study shows the total literacy as 35.6% of which male literacy was 56.9% and female 13.0%[2] while our study shows the rate higher as total literacy 41.4%, male 59.3% and female 21.6%. While our findings of Rasuwa/Nuwakot comes very close to this base line, with total literacy 34.3% of which male comprise 52.6% and female 13.7%.

The command and control area demonstrates that the literacy rate was nearly 10 times higher in all age groups (Table 5.38). The total literacy was 42.6%, male 60.1% and female 22.7% in command area.

While it was 35.07% total literacy in which male consist 54.8% female 15.6% in control area. We may then conclude that perhaps there has been some positive impact of IRDP. Out of the total literacy percentage (39.1) only about 10% had attended primary, lower secondary and higher secondary, and 2% had attended the higher education level. A unique case was represented by Ramshey V.P. of Rasuwa, where all the respondents were illiterate.

Besides Caste, and literacy, the other important indicator of eco-scoio status is the amount of income one has. Though the source of income is a subjective factor it is an independent factor in determining prestige.

Income analysis is based on the calculation of annual income minus agricultural and/or business cost. That is except consumption expenditure all the other costs are deleted. On this basis six broad income groups have been classified. Starting from Nepalese Rupees (NR) 3000 to 15,000 and above. Our findings show that greater number of our respondents fell under the latter group, the percentage being 31.57. The second highest in the 6000-9000 group (20.53%) and third 3000-6000 group (18.10%). It should be noted that the largest number of respondents coming under the highest income group, were those who represent the largest average family size of 10.6 (Table 5.39).

When we consider the projectwise and districtwise difference (Table 5.40) we find that Sagarmatha respondents were better off than R/N's. In Sagarmatha 39.6% fell under the highest income group. While in Rasuwa/Nuwakot the highest number represented 27.5% in

the 6000-9000 income group. Followed by second position of 23.11 in the 3000-6000 group. While in Sagarmatha the second position was taken by 16.7% households in the 6000-9000 income group.

Then viewing the command and control area the comparative difference was not very much (Table 5.41). However we find that there were no respondent in the command area, falling under the income group of Rs. 3000, but in control 2% came under this income group. In both areas the highest percentage was held by the last income group, the percentage being 32% in command and 31% in control followed by 22% in the third group of command and 21.2% the second income group of the control area. But when we take note of the per capita income status the difference is significant. The highest per capita income was that of Kalyanpur V.P. NRs 3765 of command area of the Sagarmatha IRDP. And the lowest is of Ramshey V.P. NRs 1196 of control area in the Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP (Table 5.42).

The basis of income measurement in the related studies of the two projects are different from our definition of income. Hence a direct comparison could not be made. However they show that the source of income is mainly from agriculture and its allied sectors. Our study comes in line with this view. The Rasuwa district coming numerically in the highest number of low income group, made by the study of DRCG, was similar.

Land is the most important production factor, which grants high socio-economic status to its owner, especially in a village society, it is the big land owners who dominate and deeply influence the rural people in every aspect. Hence the distribution of land ownership determines the disparities in income, and the productivity

of land is the main determinant of the level of income. It was found that for the majority of our respondents, main source of income also come from land. Therefore it is vital to have the knowledge of the land ownership status of the respondents.

Since, uniform and more realistic criteria was lacking, our study had followed the National Planning Commission's household classification (1972) of (1) landless, (2) marginal* (1.5 bigha) (3) small (1.5-3.5 bigha) (4) medium (3.5-7.5 bigha) (5) large (7.5 +). The Base line of Sagarmatha has similarly followed this criteria. Our findings revealed that the total respondents average land holdings was 2.12 bigha. The landless represented 6.18%, marginal farmers 55.85% small farmers 25.39%, medium 9.27% and large 3.53% (Table 5.43). The ownership of land was thus more or less equal and skewed. This table further shows domination of the marginal farmers. And when taken together with the landless, marginal and small farmers, it shots upto 87.4%. It was higher than the total of 63.38 percent of Sagarmatha base line study.

The land ownership distribution, which was based on the same income group, explaining the income status is reproduced here (Table 5.43). This table projects that the highest number of marginal farmers (70) came under the income group of Rs. 6000-9000 followed by the income level Rs. 3000-6000. In the largest income group of 15,000 and above, it was the small farmers, who represented the majority (53) followed by marginal farmers (40). All except 8

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*Nepalese Bigha 1.47 = 1 hectare.

respondents having medium and large size of farm fall under the Rs. 15,000 + group (34) medium farmers' and (12) large farmers.

Looking at the project and districtwise picture of land ownership, we find it was the household of Saptari district, that had the highest owned and operated land i.e. 314.98 bigha (Table 5.44). The average household land holding was 3.04 bighas and the man-land ratio was 0.46 in Saptari district. Second in line came Siraha and Third come Udaipur. Our findings support the Sagarmatha base line study. There was only one percentage difference in the average holding[3]. The lowest owned and operated land was represented by the Nuwakot district, 96.99 bighas, where the average land holding was 0.97 bigha and man-land ratio was only 0.18 bigha.

Lastly we come to the comparative picture of command and control area. It was found that there was very small difference in the landowenrship pattern between the two (Table 5.45). The table represents a mixed picture showing landless higher in command area (9.5%) than in control area (3.21). While marginal and small farmers were greater in control 56.1% and 27.1% than 55.6% and 23.3% respectively in command area. And the larger farmers represented more by 4.5% in control than by 2.1% in command area. On the whole, we can add that it was the marginal and small farmers who represented the most, which was in conformity with the studies as Rasuwa/Nuwakot Base Line[4] and the Rasuwa/Nuwakot Bank Credit Survey (1976-77).

Besides house and land ownership, our study took up the respondents' ownership of livestock also because animal husbandry

constitutes an important component as a source of income. In a mixed farming and unmechanised agriculture, livestock's importance can be appraised in the totality of the farming system. The role of domestic farm animals is so important in a village life, that the Nepalese farmers regard the drafting bullock and buffalo as equal to their sons, and cows equal to their mother. We can remark that agriculture can rarely flourish, without the help of livestock. In the farm operation from the sowing to the threshing, and finally transportation, these draft animals are used. Another importance of this resource is the dung. This provides the principal source of manure an organic matter especially when we consider the high cost of fertilizers in one hand, and the low income of the farmers on the other hand. This organic manure is most essential to replenish soil fertility, depleted by continuous cropping and erosion. It also improves soil structure and texture, affected by continuous application of chemical fertilizers[5].

Now let us see what our findings show. We have grouped the domestic animals in two broad groups. One is livestock and the other goats. Though pigs and sheep were also reared by respondents there were only few respondents who owned them. So we have brought them under the goats stock. The study underlines that the average livestock of the households were 4.5 and that of goats were 2.2. Altogether only 8 respondents were without livestock and 38 respondents did not have any goats (Table 5.46). The same table depicting the two projects and district, give interesting projection. That is Rasuwa provided the highest livestock ownership (5.8) as well as goats stock ownership (4.2). The lowest figure was represented by Siraha

in both livestock (3.2) and goats (1.3). The IRDP comparison shows slight difference, that is in Sagarmatha the average stock of the respondents were 4.4 and of goats were 1.7, while that of Rasuwa/ Nuwakot was 4.5 and 2.2 of livestock and goats respectively.

Similar studies done by Sagarmatha Base Line and Rasuwa/ Nuwakot Base Line reflect the same livestock holdings. In the district of Sagarmatha the average number of livestock in Siraha was 4.9, Saptari 4.8 and Udaipur 7.0. And of Nuwakot it was 3.9 and in Rasuwa 5.8[6].

Coming to the command and control area comparison, the households of both area have livestock and goats ownership in somewhat equal number. However as a whole it was the control area which had larger stock. That is 5.2 of livestock and 2.9 of goats. And command area had 3.8 of livestock and 1.5 of goats (Table 5.47). There was one similarity between the two areas. That is, the highest average stock holders fell within the top income group (15,000+). The percentage of livestock in command area was 49.5 and average per household stock of this income group was 6.1. While in control area the livestock percentage was 46.6 and average per household stock of the same income group was 7.7. This pattern leads us to the view that with land ownership, stock ownership also is one of the factors responsible for high income.

Table 5.27

Population Distribution Sexwise by Districts

District/Project	Male	Female	Total
Sagarmatha			
Siraha	342	340	682
Saptari	347	342	689
Udaipur	358	355	713
Total	1047	1037	2084
Rasuwa Nuwakot Project			
Nuwakot	225	187	412
Rasuwa	294	248	542
Total	519	435	954
Grand Total	1566	1472	3038

Table 5.28

Distribution of Population by Broad Age Groups and Dependency Ratio by Districts.

Districts	Age Group			Total Population
	0 - 14	15 - 64	65 and above	
Siraha	285	384	13	682
Saptari	297	382	10	689
Udaipur	341	358	14	713
Rasuwa	169	229	14	412
Nuwakot	243	287	12	542
Total	1335 (43.95)	1640 (53.98)	63 (2.07)	3038

Table 5.29

Percentage Distribution by Broad Age Groups Projectwise

Age Group	Sagarmatha Project		Rasuwa /Nuwakot Project	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
0-14	923	44.29	412	43.19
15-65	1124	53.93	516	54.09
65+	37	1.78	26	2.72
Total	2084	100	954	100

Table 5.30

Percentage Distribution of Population by Broad Age Groups

Area	0-14	15-65	65 and above
Command Area	48.15	49.36	64.52
Control Area	51.85	50.64	35.48
Total	100	100	100

Table - 5.31

Respondents Household Distribution by Sex and Caste

Caste	Population			No. of household	Percentage of total respondents
	Male	Female	Total		
Higher Caste (Tagadhari)	306	268	574(18.81)	92	20.31
Tibeto-Burman	257	228	485(15.96	80	17.66
Other Chokho hill group	119	122	241(7.93)	32	7.06
Occupational	89	96	185(6.09)	30	6.62
Higher Madhesy	339	304	643(21.16)	92	20.31
Lower Madhesy	351	366	717(23.60)	98	21.63
Others	105	88	193(6.35)	29	6.41
	1566	1472	3038(100)	453	100.00

Table - 5.32

Respondents Household Distribution of Caste Projectwise

Caste	Sagarmatha Project		Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project	
	Total No. of Household	Household percentage	Total No. of Household	Household percentage
Higher Caste (Tagadhari)	25	8.5	67	41.9
Tibeto Burman	23	7.8	57	35.6
Other Chokho hill group	21	7.2	11	6.9
Higher Madhesy	92	31.5	--	--
Lower Madhesy	98	33.4	--	--
Others	7	2.4	22	13.7
Occupational	27	9.2	3	1.9
	293	100	160	100

Table - 5.33

Distribution of Caste by Command and Control Area

Caste	Command Area		Control Area	
	No.	%	No	%
Higher Caste (Tagadhari)	52	22.5	40	18.0
Tibeto Burman	35	15.2	45	20.3
Other Chokho Hill group	28	12.1	4	1.8
Occupational	20	8.7	10	4.5
Higher Madhesy	61	26.4	31	14.0
Lower Madhesy	24	10.3	74	33.3
Others	11	4.8	18	8.1
Total	231	100	222	100

Table - 5.34

Respondents Distribution by Occupation (Percentage of the Sample District)

IRDP/Districts	Agriculture	Trade	Labour	Services	Others	Percentage
Sagarmatha Project						
Siraha	57.0	18.0	14.0	5.0	6.0	100
Saptari	72.0	4.0	16.0	7.0	1.0	100
Udaipur	61.0	12.0	18.0	4.0	5.0	100
Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project						
Nuwakot	65	3.3	30.0	1.0	0.7	100
Rasuwa	61.0	6.0	28.0	2.0	3.0	100

Table - 5.35

Distribution by Occupation in Command and Control Area (in percentage)

Area	Agriculture	Trade	Labour	Service	Others	%
Command	70.13	13.85	10.39	3.63	2.00	100
Control	67.57	6.30	20.72	2.41	3.00	100

Table - 5.36

Respondents Household Literacy by Age and Sex

Age Group	Male			Female			Percentage from Total		
	Literate	Illi-terate	Total	Lite-rate	Illi-terate	Total	Lite-rate	Illi-terate	Total
5-15	257	140	397	122	243	365	379 (49.7)	383 (50.3)	762 (100)
15-35	311	207	518	81	437	518	392 (37.8)	644 (62.2)	1036 (100)
35-65	158	189	347	19	239	258	177 (29.2)	428 (70.8)	605 (100)
Above 65	15	19	34	1	28	29	16 (25.4)	47 (74.6)	63 (100)
	741 (57.2)	555 (42.8)	1296 (100)	223 (19.1)	947 (80.9)	1170 (100)	964 (39.1)	1502 (60.9)	2466 (100)

Table - 5.37

Respondents Household Literacy Sexwise on the Basis of District

IRDP/District	Male			Female			Total Literate	Total Illiterate	Grand Total
	Literate	Illiterate	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Total			
Sagarmatha Project									
Siraha	164	130	294	51	214	265	215	342	557
Saptari	193	101	294	44	206	250	237	307	544
Udaipur	164	126	290	77	205	282	241	333	574
	521 (59.3)	357 (40.7)	878 (100)	172 (21.6)	625 (78.4)	797 (100)	693 (41.4)	982 (58.6)	1675 (100
Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project									
Rasuwa	68	110	178	12	152	164	80	262	342
Nuwakot	152	88	240	39	170	209	191	258	449
	220 (52.6)	198 (47.4)	418 (100)	51 (13.7)	322 (86.3)	373 (100)	271 (34.3)	520 (65.7)	791 (100)

Table -5.38

Respondents Household Literacy by Sex and Age Group in Command and Control Area

ge	Command Area									Control Area								
	Male			Female			Total			Male			Female			Total		
	Literate	Illi-terate	Total	Literate	Illi-terate	Total	Literate	Illi-terate	Total	Literate	Illi-terate	Total	Literate	Illi-terate	Total	Literate	Illi-terate	Total
-15	139	60	199	71	103	174	210	163	373	118	80	198	51	140	191	169	220	389
5-35	163	96	259	48	200	248	211	296	507	148	111	259	33	237	270	181	348	529
5-65	79	90	169	11	123	134	90	213	303	79	99	178	8	116	124	87	215	302
5+	10	14	24	-	16	16	10	30	40	5	5	10	1	12	13	6	17	23
	391	260	651	130	442	572	521	702	1223	350	295	645	93	505	598	443	800	1243
	(60.1)	(39.9)	(100)	(22.73)	77.27)	(100%)	(42.6)	(57.4)	(100%)	(54.26)	(45.74)	(100%)	(15.6)	(84.4)	(100%)	(35.67)	(64.33)	(100%)

Table - 5.39

Distribution of Respondents by Income Group

Income (NRs)	Respondent	Percentage	Average family size
0-3000	4	0.88	3.25
3000-6000	82	18.10	3.26
6000-9000	93	20.53	4.34
9000-12000	78	17.22	5.63
12000-15000	53	11.70	6.96
15000+	143	31.57	10.66
Total	453	100.00	

Table - 5.40

Respondents Distribution by Income Group Projectwise

Income	Sagarmatha Projects No. of Household in percentage	Rasuwa-Nuwakot Projects No. of household in percentage
0-3000	1.0	1.9
3000-6000	15.0	23.1
6000-9000	16.6	27.5
9000-12000	16.0	19.4
12000-15000	11.8	11.2
15000+	39.6	16.9
	100	100

Table - 5.41

Distribution of Respondents by Income Group in Command and Control Area

Income	COMMAND AREA		CONTROL AREA	
	Household No.	Percentage	Household No.	Percentage
0-3000	-	-	4	1.8
3000-6000	35	15.2	47	21.2
6000-9000	51	22.1	42	18.9
9000-12000	49	21.2	29	13.1
12000-15000	22	9.5	31	13.9
15000+	74	32.0	69	31.1
	231	100.00	222	100

Table -5.42

Average Per Capita Income of the Respondents Panchayatwise (in Nepalese Rs)

Command/ Panchayats	Income	Control Panchayats	Income
Kalyanpur	3,765	Khojpur	2580
Sukhipur	3,396	Govindpur	2487
Katari	3,071	Risku	1581
Chaugadha	2,626	Ganesthan	1896
Dhaibung	1,758	Ramche	1196

Table - 5.43

Respondents Farmsize by Different Income Group

Income	Landless	Marginal upto 1.5 bigha	Small 1.5-3.5 bigha	Medium 3.5-7.5 bigha	Large 7.5 bigha	Total
0-3000	6	2	1	-	-	9
3000-6000	9	59	7	4	-	79
6000-9000	8	70	12	4	-	94
9000-12000	3	51	21	-	-	75
12000-15000	2	31	20	-	4	57
15000+	-	40	53	34	12	139
Total	28 (6.18)	253 (55.85)	114 (25.17)	42 (9.27)	16 (3.53)	453 (100)

Table - 5.44

Landowned and Operated Per Respondent and Man/Land Ratio by Districts and Projectwise

IRD Projects	DISTRICT	No. of household	Land owned (Bigha)	Average land owned (bigha)	Total operational holding (in bigha)	Man/Land Ratio on operational holding (in bigha)
Sagarmatha Project	Siraha	80	226.40	2.83	219.65	.32
	Saptari	97	294.59	3.04	314.98	.46
	Udaipur	91	185.32	2.04	170.68	.24
Rasuwa Nuwakot Project	Rasuwa	72	100.70	1.62	103.53	.25
	Nuwakot	85	92.09	0.97	96.99	.18
		425	899.10	2.12	905.83	.30

Table - 5.45

Respondents Percentage Distribution of Ownership of Land Incomewise

Income	COMMAND AREA					CONTROL AREA				
	Land-less	Marginal upto 1.5 bigha	Small 1.5-3.5 bigha	Medium 3.5-7.5 bigha	Large 7.5 bigha	Land-less	Marginal upto 1.5 bigha	Small 1.5-3.5 bigha	Medium 3.5-7.5 bigha	Large 7.5 bigha
0-3000	13.6	0.77	-	-	-	42.9	0.9	1.7	-	-
3000-6000	31.8	17.83	1.8	9.1	-	42.9	29.0	10.0	10.0	-
6000-9000	31.8	29.5	14.8	-	-	14.2	25.8	6.7	20.0	-
9000-12000	13.6	20.9	27.8	-	-	-	19.3	10.0	-	-
12000-15000	9.0	10.8	11.1	-	80.0	-	13.7	23.3	-	-
15000+	-	20.2	44.4	90.9	20.0	-	11.3	48.3	70.0	100
Percentage of Total	9.5	55.6	23.3	9.5	2.1(100)	3.2	56.1	27.2	9.0	4.5(100)

Table - 5.46

Percentage Distribution of Livestock and Goats owned by Respondents Districtwise

Districts	Livestock			Goats		
	No.	%	Average stock of Household	No.	%	Average stock of household
Siraha	316	25.1	3.2	92	21.1	1.3
Saptari	457	36.3	4.8	158	36.1	1.8
Udaipur	486	38.6	5.2	187	42.8	2.0
Total	1259	100	4.4	437	100	1.7
Nuwakot	394	53.2	4.0	209	45.7	2.1
Rasuwa	347	46.8	5.8	248	54.3	4.2
Total R/N	741	100	4.7	457	100	2.7
Grand total Respondents stock	2000	-	4.5	894	-	2.2

Table - 5.47

Percentage Distribution of Livestock and Goats owned by Respondents by Command and Control Area

Income	COMMAND AREA						CONTROL AREA					
	LIVESTOCK			GOATS			LIVESTOCK			Goats		
	No.	%	Average stock household	No.	%	Average stock household	No.	%	Average stock household	No.	%	Average stock household
0-3000	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.2	2.0	-	-	-
3000-6000	63	7.3	1.8	32	10.2	1.0	111	9.8	2.5	61	10.5	2.0
6000-9000	123	14.2	2 .4	45	14.3	1.1	154	13.5	3.7	124	21.4	3.0
9000-12000	146	16.9	3.0	56	17.8	1.2	161	14.2	5.6	82	14.1	2.8
12000-15000	105	12.1	5.0	25	8.0	1.2	178	15.7	5.7	101	17.4	3.3
15000+	428	49.5	6.1	156	49.7	2.2	529	46.6	7.7	212	36.6	3.1
	865	100	3.8	314	100	1.5	1135	100	5.2	580	100	2.9

5.2 Impact of the rural development programmes

At the outset it would be proper to mention again, the limitation of our study before analysing the impact of IRDP on our respondents. The limitation is that, the whole of this analysis is based on the sampled respondents perceptions. So the authenticity and reliability of the data, depends on the respondents; their honesty and understanding capacity to the queries put forward by this study. The view articulated by Bharat Bahadur Pradhan on IRDPs evaluations, assert our position. He remarks "the household studies are not uniform. Except in few cases, most of the findings and recommendations are based on general observations and not empirical fact. Of course, in projects of this nature with social and political dimentions, quantitative assessment is difficult"[7].

In order to assess the benefits received, we have taken the eco-socio parameters as (a) Employment (b) consumption (c) production (d) irrigation (e) loans (f) education (g) health (h) drinking water (i) problems faced by the respondents.

Unlike the household characteristics, previously analysed, the analysis here will totally be a comparative one showing only the difference between command and control area.

Employment : Both IRDPs tried to solve the problem of unemployment and underemployment. Studies as ARTEP (1976), Planning Commission Report (1978) and the recent Multiple Household budget survey (1988) have shown that in rural areas, the underemployment is 46.4% of all annual working days. These studies clearly show the magnitude of this problem. It is necessary therefore that rural

development projects should try to provide more employment.

Further the findings of the Sagarmatha and Rasuwa/Nuwakot (R/N) supports the existence of unemployment in these areas. They remark that the main cause of migrating to and (from the hills and mountains) from the project area is due to unemployment and under employment[8,9,10].

The problem of unemployment and underemployment lead to another severe problem that is environmental threat[11]. The non-availability of adequate land for cultivation in the hills puts pressure on less fertile or whatever land is available thus enhancing erosion problem.

The study of "R/N IRDP on meeting Basic Human Needs" (1982) showed that only 19.70 percent of the sampled households in Rasuwa and 8.86% in Nuwakot were employed in the project works; the percentage declined to 0.76% in Rasuwa and 1.90% in Nuwakot, during their survey period. The unemployment rate was 79.54 and 89.24 in Rasuwa and Nuwakot respectively. The study concludes "that very little was done to solve the problem of unemployment after the implementation of R/N project"[12]. The study established that employment had positive correlation with land, i.e. the more the size of land holding the more rate of employment was found in both districts[13].

Our study is somewhat different from the above study. We have tried to find out the area, where our respondents received employment from IRDPs. The table below projects this (Table - 5.48).

Table - 5.48

Employment Provided by IRDP

Areas	Command		Control	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	41	20.3	6	3.9
Industry	..	..	..	..
Commerce	13	6.4	4	2.6
Construction	145	71.8	142	91.6
Service	3	1.5	3	1.9
Total	202	100	155	(100)

It is seen that in both command and control area, the largest number of respondents stated that they had received employment in the field of construction (71.8% in command and 91.6% in control). Next to it was agriculture. In other areas, the employment provided was small. A cursory glance at the table showed more employment in control area. But as a whole it is the command area which enjoyed higher employment benefit as stated by 87.4% and 69.8% of the respondents in the command area and control area respectively.

Taking another view from the same table, we find that respondents had more employment in construction works (i.e. roads and house building) which are no doubt temporary; others are

somewhat permanent. Now if we deduct the employment received in construction works, we find that only 24.7% in command and 5.9% in control have received employment benefits from the Sagarmatha and R/N IRDPs in their respective areas. Thus our findings come very close to the studies previously discussed.

Consumption: At the inception of the analysis of consumption, we mention that in the methodology, we inserted the dietary survey of the respondents. But in village panchayats surveyed we found contradictory facts that could not be comprehended. So we had to forgo this type of survey. As for example, in Ramche Village Panchayat of Rasuwa district, which is totally inhabited by Tamang ethnic group, we found that their dietary habit consisted high protein consumption. This is not because of high living standard (rather it is low) but because they ate a lot of carcas sold at NRs 2/- per kilogram; such meat is available due to high death rate of domestic animals in the village.

Therefore we confined our study only on limited items of non-consumable goods. That could in someway show some better change, brought about by the two IRDPs. These items were toilet, cloth and shoes. It is generally understood that after satisfying bare necessities of life such as food and shelter, a person seeks to satisfy the wants of comforts. Consumption of comfort goods, no doubt is a subjective matter and such goods may include innumerable list but one can definitely say that the most essential goods of comfort include toilet (for hygienic purpose) cloth and shoes (for better quality of life). So a country that provides such goods to the majority of its citizens can then be said that its

development efforts for better life is somewhat achieved. Hence assuming that IRDP has increased the income of respondents, we take the consumption of these three comfortable goods. Visualising now, the five/six years time duration and the substantial portion of unspent funds, especially in the Sagarmatha IRDP, we find that our expectation was too much. However these findings visualizes important aspects of our study.

Studies related to consumption though differently computed, point out two facts, which are similar to ours. First, major portion of income was spent on consumption of food (cereals) and similar items. It was closely followed by the expenditure on cloth. If we consider the expenditure items, then it was the cloth requirement which topped the list. This is clearly seen by Sagarmatha Base Line Study. It shows that expenditure on cloth and shoes was highest i.e. 24.2 percent and on food it was 11.8%. The DRCG report also shows that the domestic commodities account in R/N districts was 70% of total consumption and the third position was held by the expenditure on cloth, preceeded by that on health. The finding concludes that this may be due to the larger share of Tamang household in both districts "who are served by fairly costly faith healers"[14]. Acharya findings point out that it was the cereal consumption which remains in top position in the daily food consumption pattern for all farms[15].

The Household Multipurpose Budget Report (1988) findings, representing the country as whole revealed that out of the total monthly consumption expenditure of NRs 1092, a sum of Rs. 679 or 62.2% was spent on food, beverage and tobacco[16].

Our observation found that while about 95.2% of the expenditure was spent on consumption items and only 4.8% on non-consumption items such as marriages, recreation, education, death and other rituals. And under total consumption expenditure the major part was spent on cereals alone, it was about 48%. Among the non-food item it was cloth. Very few respondents spent on education.

Another important fact was that these studies and supported by our studies, establish a positive correlation between income and expenditure. As income increased expenditure increased. Further with the increase of income, the pattern of consumption also changed. The percentage of food purchase declined with farm size (main income source) and the percentage for education increased[17]. In other words higher the income or farm size better dietary intake and vice-versa[18].

Thus assuming this type of changes based on the simple economic theory, which states that as income increases (other things remaining the same) the propensity to consume increases for non-edibles and vice-versa. We assume that the IRDP has increased the income of the respondents. Hence there should be some change in the consumption pattern. The table below reveals the change in the three items, namely, toilet, cloth and shoes.

Table - 5.49

Percentage Distribution of Households Consumption by Income

Income	Pre Project period			Post Project period		
	Toilet	Cloth	Shoes	Toilet	Cloth	Shoes
0-3000	1.53	.93	.70	.88	.93	.87
3000-6000	20.31	17.52	12.89	18.10	17.02	15.28
6000-9000	29.89	21.03	11.15	20.53	21.68	18.78
9000-12000	16.09	15.19	15.33	17.22	15.15	17.03
12000-15000	9.20	10.92	11.50	11.70	11.89	11.57
15000+	22.98	32.41	36.43	31.57	33.33	48.46

Since there was similar trend in both command and control areas, we have lumped them together on the basis of income distribution. In the toilet items we have listed soap, hair oil and tooth paste which are of daily use. We had differentiated in cloth between cotton and synthetic and in shoes between rubber and leather. But for the purpose of calculation we have put them under these groups only.

Evidently under the table, the fourth, fifth and sixth income group have increased the consumption of these items, after the project was introduced but in case of the first, second and third group it was just the reverse. This confers that though the projects might have benefited the low income group; it had not led to the improvement regarding the consumption of these items, rather the condition has deteriorated. This may be due to the disparity between income and prices of these goods. If we take a

closer look at the table, we find that there was no significant change. Especially, in the case of cloth, and it is only in the highest income group that change in toilets and shoes had increased about 10 percent. In our causal enquiry with the respondents (especially the lower income ones) we observed that, new clothes would be purchased only when the worn clothes would become rags. Ordinarily moderate income earner purchases twice a year and that too on special ceremonial occasions. In the use of toilets the lower income group, hardly used soap, one cake of soap would be used for two or three months in a family of four. Clothes were cleaned with soda or ashes. In the hills slippery type of mud was also used for bathing and for cleaning clothes in poor families. The use of hair oil was also very rare, in these families. Majority of the respondents used mustard oil as hair oil. We strangely found that in Ramche Village Panchayat, mainly ghee was used as hair oil. Majority of the people did not wear shoe and were bare footed. But some of these respondents had a pair of rubber slippers which were owned and worn only on occasions. In the terai districts, except the very poor section majority of the people were rubber slippers . Some of them even had leather or cotton shoes to wear on occasions.

Production: It is conceived that farmers generally have a tendency to under report production and over report the cost of production. This is because of the fear of being taxed and a general reluctance to show off wealth before other town people, let alone enumerators and supervisors. This tendency is further exaggerated by the general desire to obtain more facilities from projects like the IRDPs[19].

We faced analogous situation, with more under statement of income and over statement of expenditure. To overcome this difficulty and make it realistic we inquired the production of principal crops e.g. wheat, corn and paddy.

Though our procedure is not quantifiable as other related studies (as to the actual increase in the rate of return or the quantum of production) it brings forth similar conclusion of positive impact of IRDP. Murari Mani Aryal comments that, there was substantial differences in production report of DRCG (1976) and the Base Line Report (1978) of R/N districts, though both were positive. He remarks that DRCG report gave lower increase rate, and could not explain the huge amount of rice exported in 1981. "The records available from police checkposts in Kakani and Nagarjung and the tax collecting post of Chaugadha (Our Village Panchayat area) revealed that despite the fact the sale of food grains by Nepal Food Corporation in the project area, has increased almost threefold during the period under considerations, the net increase in paddy production and exports from the project area is not only positive but also very high"[20]. For the production of wheat and maize there was also an increasing tendency. The impact on wheat is most noteworthy, our observation supported by the findings of socio economic unit of crop survey in wheat, shows that in Chaugadha Village Panchayat wheat production was initiated in lands which was previously fallow. due to the advent of irrigation facility provided by R/N IRDP.

Archarya findings reveal that after the implementation of R/N project the production of wheat increased by 30.6% in Rasuwa, paddy by 12.44% and maize by 5.16%. While in Nuwakot it was 36.68% for wheat 21.91% for maize and paddy by 12.24%[21].

For the Sagarmatha project no such type of related studies was undertaken. Even the Base Line Survey of 1982, undertaken after the introduction of the IRDP, had incorporated no such comparisons. However, we assume that this project, intensified High Yield seeds, fertilizers, irrigation etc in the project area. Then it will naturally, have a significant impact. As for example the Sagarmatha Base Line showed that the yield rate was higher from improved seed compared to local seeds. As the table below reproduced in short, shows this.

Table - 5.50

Production and Yield of Major Crops (Land in Hectare, Production in Metric Ton, Yield in Kg/ha.)

Project Area	Paddy		Wheat		Maize	
	Improved	Local	Improved	Local	Improved	Local
Land	5849	217968	15010	8222	6346	11927
Production	12764	354044	19342	10271	10706	17869
Yield rates	2182	1624	1289	1249	1687	1498

Source: Household Base Line Study Sagarmatha SRDP. Table 3.1.5 p. 28.

Coming to our findings we find that putting both projects together as a whole there had been a positive increase of paddy wheat and maize. The number of high responses in both command and control area, as shown in Table 5.51 was for the maize crop.

Table - 5.51

Responses on Major Crop Yields Pattern

Crops	Command Area		Control Area	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Paddy	77	155	49	173
Maize	102	118	93	138
Wheat	74	159	62	158
Total	253	432	204	469

It can be seen that in both areas, the negative responses was more to the questions of increase in production for all the three crops. Showing that the impact was not large enough. However based on this table the X^2 test shows that the yield of these crops had increased in command compared to control area.

Impact on Crop Yields

	Rice			Expected values		
	Yes	No		Yes	No	X^2
Command Area	77	155	232	116	116	26.22
Control Area	49	173	222	111	111	69.26
	126	328	454	Calculated		95.48

Table X^2 for 1 df = 6.63

As the table value is lower than calculated X^2 value, it suggests that the yield has increased in command area compared to control area.

Wheat	Yes	No		Expected values		X^2
Command Area	74	159	233	116.5	110.5	31.00
Control Area	62	158	220	110	110	41.89
	136	317	453			72.89

As the calculated X^2 value is higher the yield in command area has positive impact.

Maize	Yes	No		Expected value		X^2
Command	102	118	220	110	110	1.16
Control	93	138	231	115.5	115.5	8.76
	105	256	451			9.92

As the calculated value is lower, it shows that the yield in command area has increased compared to the control area.

Besides the respondents, the line agencies and the panchayat leaders, were also, requested to give their view on the possible persentage increase of paddy, wheat, corn, millet. These results are produced in the table below.

Table- 5.52

Increase in Crop Productivity Based on Key Peron's Responses by District.

District	Average increase in crop production (% increase)			
	Paddy	Wheat	Corn	Millet
Siraha	27.9	20.4	8.6	6.8
Saptari	25.5	23.5	7.5	5.0
Udaipur	23.2	11.4	15.4	13.6
Nuwakot	45.0	48.8	40.0	27.5
Rasuwa	30.0	35.0	10.0	5.0
Total	28.0	23.1	13.0	7.2

The table projects, the increase in all crop production was highest in Nuwakot district. The percentage being 45.0 paddy 48.8 wheat, 40.0 for corn and 27.5 for millet. This could be right, for it was actually the irrigation of Chaugadha Village Panchayat that we observed was fruitful. The lowest rate of increase was 23.2% for paddy and 11.4% for wheat in Udaipur district while for corn the lowest recorded increase was in Saptari. The responses for increase of millet crop was lowest in all districts. Further the table depicts that R/N project comparatively had responses higher than Sagarmatha IRDP, represented by Saptari, Siraha and Udaipur districts.

Irrigation: "Productivity of farm labour is largely influenced by (1) the application of work methods that emphasize labour efficiency (2) the quality and capabilities of the agriculture worker (3) the increased use of particular agricultural inputs and (4) the adoption of new production processing and distribution technologies".[22]

To quote Stefan de Vylder's in the context of Bangladesh "there is one crucial natural factor limiting both the extension and effectiveness of the improved seed-fertilizer techology popularly known as the 'Green Revolution' cropping intensity and possible increase in yields per acre are related to the use and misuse of available water resources"[23].

Robert D. Yoder pictures expressively the Nepalese farmers situation, in a study, describing the techology, skills, knowledge and labour used in the construction operation and maintenances of farmers - managed irrigation systems in the hills of Nepal. In his lines "The sculptured rice fields in the river valleys are evidence

of the tremendous effort made by farmers in Nepal, to use all of their limited land resources. Less visible is an even larger effort that requires collective and continuing activity, careful organisation, skilled engineering and often bravery to divert the water from small streams and convey it along mountain slopes to irrigate the fields"[24].

To analyse the irrigation variable, we have produced the three writers, different views on irrigation. In the first place, dependency of the farm labour is on agricultural inputs such as irrigation. The second shows that increased agricultural output is related to the use and misuse of water resources. And lastly, however, backward a Nepalese farmer may be, he has the will, capacity (in terms of labour) and skill to utilize the water resources for his subsistence farming.

A country with huge water resource on one hand and on the other a farming system totally dependent on the vagaries of monsoons, sums up the importance of irrigation. The importance of which is well recognised by the R/N and Sagarmatha IRDPs. For both have placed irrigation separately, from agriculture, in the allocation of resources. R/N had allotted 13 percent and Sagarmatha 35 percent from its total investment[25].

Coming to this study area, the two Base line studies shows the irrigation facilities available in the areas. The findings of R/N shows that out of all sampled land some 70% was bariland (hill land) and 29% was Keth land (valley land); 63% of Keth land was irrigated, but only 1 percent of the bariland had irrigation[26].

And in the Sagarmatha project area, only 4.40% owned and 4.50% operated, had perennially irrigated land, of the entire project. Approximately 62.3% rely on rainfall and canal irrigation. The Sagarmatha coordination office report remarks "Irrigation facilities are very poor. One irrigation system Chandra Canal irrigates about 2500 hectares in the target area"[27].

Analogous is the conditions of our surveyed village Panchayats. In the chapter on leadership, we had already discussed the view represented by the respondents and the respective Village Panchas, about the acute necessity of irrigation. We will analyse here the amount of land of our respondents, which are covered by IRDP irrigations. The table below shows this.

The benefit of irrigation, as underlined by the relevant table points out that only the R/N project provided this facility. None of the sampled respondents of Sagarmatha reported of receiving this benefit. The table reveals that, in both areas the project provided the irrigation benefits. But in relation to household and land covered, it was the command area, which had been benefitted more. In Nuwakot more than double have been benefited, and in Rasuwa two respondents enjoyed more benefits in command area. Among the 49 respondents of Chaugadha Village Panchayat 26 respondents lands were covered by IRDP irrigation facility, while out of 50 respondents of Ganesthan only 10 respondents had this benefit. And in Dhaibung out of 33 respondents 18 received its benefit and out of 23 of Ramche 16 respondents had irrigation benefit. Though the number of beneficiaries were high comparatively in Ramche, it

Table - 5.53

Land Covered by IRDPs Irrigation

Panchayats/ District	Household	Command Area			Panchayats/ Districts	Household	Control Area		
		Katha	Bigha	Total			Katha	Bigha	Total
Nuwakot					Nuwakot				
Chaugadha	26	5	19	19.5	Ganesthan	10	15	5	5.15
Rasuwa					Rasuwa				
Dhaibung	18	4	8	8.4	Ramche	16	8	5	5.8

it was the Dhaibung respondent's land that received more benefit compared to Ramche. It was observed in Chaugadha Village Panchayat that the Gadkhar Irrigation scheme, marked a high rise in production. And as quoted and cited by us earlier, it was this facility which made the possibility of introduction of wheat in lands which were earlier fallow.

Loans: To a farmer, next to irrigation the important input is the availability of credit, especially to the Nepalese farmer, majority of whom are marginal and small farmers in greater numbers who constitute about 60% of the total farmers in the country. Loans can be a boon to uplift them from the poverty line. Besides these farmers, who are landless or resourceless (whose number is also increasing) can be, benefitted by the facility of credits. But it should be remembered that loan facility may militate, if supportive services are not provided.

The agriculture Development Bank, Nepal (ADB/N) Sajha, Agriculture Input Corporation, Nepal (AIC/N) are the institutions, through which the village panchayats receive the benefits of IRDPs, in cash and material, in the agriculture sector. Besides these the different commercial banks also provide the institutional credit. While the traditional or non-institutional credit suppliers are local money lenders, (Landlords, traders, family members and friends).

Pertaining to this aspect we have tried to assess the source of credit, as well as the purpose of the credit flow to the respondents. The related studies, come in line with this findings. As for the source of loan the evaluation of the credit report of

R/N by Joan Voigtgr, showed that "almost half of the credit group farmers reported taking loans from private money lenders, 34% in Rasuwa and 50% in Nuwakot. The weighted average annual interest rate paid to money lenders was 36.9 percent"[28]. Base line survey of Sagarmatha, shows similar dependency on the local money lender. Its evaluation, on the basis of farm size showed that 25.5% of households involved in Institutional borrowing, while 32.2% were in Non-Institutional borrowing in the project area[29].

Taking all the village panchayats 58.74 percent of respondents took loan from local money lenders, and 29.78 from ABN and 11.48% from commercial banks. On the comparison of command and control area, the Chi-square test, taken on the basis of Table 5.54, shows that there was quite difference between source of loan. In the command area, the responses were higher for the institutional credit, but it was higher in non-institutional credit for the control area.

Table - 5.54

Number of Respondents Taking Loans from Different Sources

Source	Command Area	Control Area
Agricultural Development Bank	51	52
Commercial Bank	27	25
Local money lender	106	109
Total	184	186

For the source of loan the X^2 test conducted on the basis of above table gives the result as

	Loan Source		
	Institutional	Traditional	
Command Area	78	106	184
Control Area	77	109	186
	155	215	370

Chi Square = 0.038

Chi Square value from table for 1 df = 6.63

Ho : There is difference in loan sources between command and control area.

Since, the calculated value is less than tabular value, the Ho can not be rejected.

The role of the co-operative, known as Sajha, is becoming popular in the Village Panchayat which we have already discussed in our participation chapter. These local institutions provide loan, fertilizers, and insecticides in the Village Panchayats. Among the respondents 34% benefited by this institutions. To see which income group actually benefited, we analysed the benefit reported by the respondents, on income basis.

Table - 5.55

Number of Respondents Benefited by Sajha (Co-operatives)

Per capita Income Group	Command Area	Control Area
Upto 1200	16	17
1200-1400	11	6
1400-1600	7	3
1600-1800	10	5
1800-2000	7	9
2000+	36	27
Total	87	67

The table shows that comparatively the command area derived more benefit compared to the control area; and it was the highest per capita income group that had been benefited in both areas. This was natural because it was the large landowners who had the means to buy the inputs. But the second highest number who took these benefits were the small income group. In our household analysis, we found, that marginal and small farmers were the highest group of land owners. So this local institution has also served them.

From a brief study of the loan requirements it has been found that in both command and control areas, highest loan amount was used for the purpose of consumption alone. Table 5.56 reveals this:

Table - 5.56

Respondents Requirement for Loan in Percentage

Loan Requirements for	Command Area	Controlled Area
Daily consumption	23.81	29.28
Crop production	19.91	23.87
Animal Husbandry	12.99	10.81
Poultry	.87	.45
Industry	19.48	10.81
Festival or other rituals	7.79	8.11
Loan not required	15.15	16.67
	100	100

The Base line study of Rasuwa/Nuwakot project reports "no less than 80 percent or more of the loans (amount outstanding) in poor villages were taken to meet consumption expenditure". The Sagarmatha Base Line Study points out a similar trend. In the project area "37.1 percent households incur consumption loans while only 8 percent and 6.3 percent of total households borrow for agricultural and livestock purposes"[30].

Looking back to the above table, we find that in the control area, the loan requirement for daily consumption and crop production was more; but it was more for industry and crop production in the command area. Although the institutional credit facilities do not charge high interest rate, still these have not been able to break the dominance of the local money

lenders. Our inquiry found that in some Village Panchayat such as Katari, even rate of interest to the extent of 100% was charged by these local lenders. It would be an interesting study, if more detail survey was conducted to explore the cause of this dominance. Our limited observation found that the institutional credit was more in the form of kind, and the long traditional relations between the lender and the debtor was perhaps the cause of the persisting dominant role of the local lenders.

Socio-Impact: On this aspect we have taken up drinking water, health and education. In these fields the two IRDPs have provided aid in the form of functionaries and medicines, cash and technicians. In the ten village panchayats there were 4 health centres located in four panchayats under our study. The other Village Panchayats were covered by the neighbouring health centres located in other Village Panchayat not in the perview of our study.

The health of a person directly effects the will and capacity to work. Hence the provision of health facilities is a necessity. The primary health problems here are similar to those found in the rural Nepal. Children are prone to stomach parasites; dysentery and diarrhoea are common in the rainy season for all age. Adults seem most affected by gastic and respiratory infections. There are two aspects of medical are, curative and preventive. IRDP has made the maximum emphasis on preventive aspect and investments have been made for the provision of drinking water facilities, etc.

A majority of the population obtain their domestic water from unprotected wells, streams and ponds. "The universally inadequate sanitary arrangements in rural areas cause unprotected water source to be very liable to pollutions. Evidence of this may be seen in the high incidence of water borne diseases"[31]. We thus investigated as to the fruitfulness of IRDP investment, in providing drinking water. We enquired about different source of drinking water, and the time consumed in fetching drinking water.

The related studies in this aspect, show the existence of the scarcity of tap water which is similar to our findings. Archarya remarked that in the R/N project of his study, households using spring water was more 33.81% compared to them there using tap water 29.73%[32]. Likewise in Sagarmatha the lowest percentage was from taps and the highest was from wells.

Comparing the two projects, it was the households of Sagarmatha who enjoyed higher benefit from good water source, than the R/N households. And when viewing, the command and control area, it was the command area which had more access to tap water than control area. This is projected by the table 5.57. It presents little difference regarding to the water source from wells and ponds in both areas excepting in the tap water source. Further in the command area the second position of water source is the tap water which is an improved water source whereas in control area, the second position is the river source. Based on this table 5.58 the Chi square test, shown below indicates a significant difference in the source of water.

Table - 5.57

Reporting on Source of Drinking Water

	Command Area	Controlled Area
Tap	34.63	4.50
Hand Pump	13.85	7.66
River	10.82	36.94
Well & Ponds	40.69	46.40

For the above table showing the source of drinking water the Chi Square test shows the following:

Source of water:

	Tap	Hand pump	Well & pond	River
Command	35	14	41	11
Control	5	8	49	39

Null Hypothesis Ho : There is no significant difference between Control and command Area in regard to source of water

$x^2 = 45.53$

Tabular value of X^2 for 3 d.f. at 1% level of significance = 11.34

As the calculated value X^2 is greater, Ho is rejected.

Studies relating to the time taken for carrying water have presented an interesting picture. The Base Line Study of R/N project showed that it took on an average, each household, 8 (eight) labour days a month on water collection[33]. Base line study of

Sagarmatha which enquired "more time now then five years ago", indicated that the percentage was affirmatively 11.88% and negatively for 88.32 percent[34]. This somewhat indicates that there is positive trend in the time consumed for collecting drinking water. Our findings also support this view. The table below and Chi square test on this basis enumerates the difference in command and control area.

Table - 5.58

Travel time Taken for Collecting Water

Time	Project Area	Controlled Area
Upto ½ hr.	99.13	86.49
½ to 1 hr.	.87	6.76
1 to 2 hrs	-	5.86
2 + more	-	.90

From table above showing the time for the collection of water the X^2 result shows

Time to fetch water

Command Area	99	1	0	0	100
Control Area	86	7	6	1	100
	185	8	6	1	200
	92.5	4	3	.5	
	92.5	4	3	.5	

Chi Square = 9.41

Chi Square value from table for 3 d.f. at 5 percent confidence level = 7.81.

Ho : There is no difference in time taken to fetch water between command and control area.

Since, the calculated Chi square value is higher the Ho is rejected.

Concerning the time taken to reach the source of drinking water it is seen from the table that in both areas the highest responses was half-an-hour (99.13% in project area and 86.49% in control area). It is remarkable that only about 1 percent of households said that time taken to collect water took more than an hour. However there exists significant difference in command and controlled area.

The most successful work of IRD in survey area was the provision of drinking water. Therefore, the investment in the area has made the respondents aware of benefits that could be received from I.R.D.P. developments. The table 5.57 shows that better source of drinking water was available in the command area, i.e. 34.63% compared to 4.50% in control area. The difference is statistically significant.

Potable drinking water facility, for our respondents is in line with average standard of the country which is 10.9% and 5.2% for urban and rural community respectively[35]. But the most pitiable condition exists in health care facilities. The World Bank Report 1988, enunciated the population served per physician and per nursing person for 1981 in Nepal, was 28,780 and 33,390 respectively. Generally, poor health facility is interrelated with poverty and high birth and high mortality rate. Hence respondents were asked to enumerate the mortality rate of their

families in seven year period. For treatment they were enquired as to where or to whom they went. Did they go to the Health Clinics or traditional treatment? And what time duration it took to reach the Health Centre?

The Sagarmatha Base Line reported that 83% go to health post but 29.8% also go for traditional practice[36]. Our findings show that in both command and control areas large number of responses were for Health Centres. But as the table below shows, on the basis of which Chi square test is made, there was little change in the attitude of the respondents.

Table - 5.59

Respondents visiting different types of treatment (In Numbers)

Districts	Command Area		Control Area	
	Health Centre	Traditional Practice	Health Centre	Traditional Practice
Siraha	36	14	46	2
Saptari	40	3	39	4
Udaipur	37	8	40	10
Rasuwa	20	7	5	21
Nuwakot	30	15	20	24
Total	163	47	150	61

From the table 5.59 showing the visits of household for the Health Centre and traditional practice the X^2 shows the following.

Visits for treatment by types

	Health Centre	Traditional Practice	
Command Area	163	47	210
Control Area	150	61	211
	313	108	
Chi square = 2.35	156.13	53.87	
	156.87	54.13	

Chi square from table for 1 d.f. at 10 percent confidence = 2.71

Hence there has been no significant change in the attitude of the population towards treatment in the command and control area.

To the time taken, far reaching the health centres, the readings show that the command respondents in area were in better position.

Table - 5.60

Respondents Reporting of time taken to Reach Health Centres (Numbers)

Time taken to reach	Command	Control
Upto ½ hr.	121	74
½ to 1 hr.	53	70
More than 1 hr	57	78

From the above table X^2 test conducted gives the results as

	½ hr	1 hr	More than 1 hr	
Command Area	121	53	57	231
Control Area	74	70	78	222
	195	123	135	453
	99.44	62.72	68.84	
	95.56	60.23	66.16	

Chi square = 16.624

Chi square value from table for d.f. at 1 percent confidence level = 9.21.

Hence, the calculated value is highly significant. It suggests that the time taken to reach the Health Centre in the command and control area differs. From the table it is observed that a higher segment of population reach to health centres in command area only in half an hour compared to the longer time taken in the control area.

It is strange that though the health centres were situated nearer to the people in the command area yet the number of deaths reported was high, roughly double the deaths reported in the control area. The table below points this out.

Table - 5.61

Household reported death within seven years

Age Group	Command		Control	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-5	26	16	21	8
6-14	9	8	5	5
15-34	1	4	2	1
35-65	12	6	4	9
66+	15	11	6	7
Total	63	45	38	30

The table points out that in both command and control areas the infant mortality was high; but the number was higher in command area. Then there was a decline in the two age groups (6 to 14 and 15 to 34) and again a rise in the later age groups. The mortality rate is higher for male compared to female. These conditions were found present in both the areas. Now the question arises, as to the cause of high death in command area. There can be two possibilities. In the first place, respondents of command area reported high male death number, because of their thinking that survey personnels (representing the political authority) may perhaps bring them more health facilities (which are distributed free or for nominal cost). In the control area respondents were not aware of such facilities and they being ignorant they could not remember the death number. Secondly it may be perhaps, that the concentration

of investment of IRDPs, has led to concentration of people also. But since the provision of santitation facilities was absent, it may have lead to contiguous diseases. We found that in these areas business flourished; there was more commuting in and out from the area. But the roads in the market place and the market complex constructed by IRDPs lacked cleanliness. Such case was especially seen in Sukhipur Village Panchayat and Katari Village Panchayat. In fact, the respondents of Sukhipur reported the highest deaths. During our stay in this panchayat, we heard some death incidents due to diarrhoea, dysentery and vomiting. So we perceive that the reported death rate may be correct.

Education: Development does not begin with goods, it starts with people and their education, organisation and discipline. Without these three all resources remains latent, untapped potentials[37].

Though there is still much to achieve in the education field, we cannot deny that in this regard Nepal has made some break through[38]. The percentage of literacy has increased from 10%[39] to 20%[40] and thence to about 30%[41]. Since primary education is free for all from 1976, the enrolment in primary, lower secondary and secondary sections have increased.

But in the rural schools student participation is very poor. And schools in general are run with limited physical facilities. These schools in the survey area, vary in types and size ranging from an improvised one room structure to a concrete building with wall partitioned class rooms. There was one example of a good standard secondary school in Sukhipur with Library,

science equipments, sports materials and a hostel.

In confirmation of our view, studies indicate that the importance of education has still not been realised by the rural mass. The survey conducted by Tribhuwan Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development 1984 revealed that out of 4655 sampled children 1863 including boys and girls, were found to be participating in school education. But the boys' participation rate was higher by 33% compared to that of the girls. Furthermore, it showed that a child's chance of participating in formal education is reduced by 33%, if he is engaged in earning his living.

The same study points out another important feature. It reported that approximately 58% of the household with some land of their own had at least one of their children participating in formal education. While 73% of landless households did not have any of their children attending school thus clearly indicating a strong positive correlation between land ownership and education participation[42].

The Base line findings of Sagarmatha shows similar trend. The 80.0% of the population aged six years and above either does not attend the formal education imparted by schools or leaves before completing the primary level. And as the level increases the participation decreases. So we see that 20.0% have completed primary level, 11.3% lower secondary and only 4.1 percent completed school leaving certificate[43]. These have been corroborated by Archarya's findings in Rasuwa/Nuwakot. For example in Rasuwa 51.16% was accounted for Primary level, 12.21% for lower secondary

7.56% for Secondary, and 1.16% for higher education[44].

In our respondents household characteristics we have already analysed the number of literate and illiterate in our sampled households. So here we shall assess what is the participation of our respondent family members in different levels of education. We have given four broad education level. Primary, lower secondary and secondary (in one) higher level and technical level. The first two means upto 10 class, higher level means college level and technical means training of practical skill with or without education level. We inserted this level so as to find out, if any of our respondent members received such training. The two IRDPs did not give top priority to education. Rasuwa/Nuwakot project incorporated this field two years later of its initiation; Sagarmatha Project invested especially on the provision of technical training. The table 5.62 reflects that none of the respondents come under the beneficiaries of the training programme.

Table - 5.62

Formal Educational Participation of Respondents Family

Education Level	Command Area	Control Area
Primary	164	145
Secondary	65	62
Higher	4	10
Technical	..	..
Total	233	217

The table remarkably shows that there is a very insignificant difference between the command and control area. The higher number of participation in the command area was actually due to the students of the primary level. While in the higher level, the participation was more in the control area. Our observation found that there were positive correlation between caste and level of education. So members of high castes were seen to have sent their children to far off places, for higher studies, as such facilities were not available in their places. Further the table supports the other studies showing the decreasing participation level of education, in both command and control areas.

5.3 Hinderances towards social equity & justice

The deplorable conditions of the Nepalese people have been already exposed, in our first chapter. Rural programme as IRDP, cameforth implicitly for the upliftment of the rural mass, from their precarious situations. Since it is generally perceived that economic development tends to reduce the increasing gap between the rich and the poor such development should also be accompanied with the equity and justice.

No doubt, a large majority of the Nepalese have a very low living standard. But it is actually those Nepalese who are below the poverty line (living in sub-human conditions) that have drawn the attention of the leaders and economist of the international world. The Multipurpose Budger Survey estimates that out of 22,572 persons surveyed a total of 9,727 or 43.1 percent were living below poverty line in rural Nepal. According to the Survey,

the poverty line is defined as the average per capita monthly income less of NRs 160.80 (hills/mountains) and less of NRs 125.64 for the Tarai (base year 1983/84) required to meet the minimum basic needs. Therefore we find that the objectives of the Rasuwa/ Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDP were designed to support. His Majesty's Governments (HMG) development strategy that seeks to blend economic growth with equity. The project states that the programmes will help to minimize rik and uncertainties of large number of subsistence farmers, by the adoption of improved farm practices and new technology, which will result in increase in the net income of these farmers, with a farm holding of 0.75 ha, from NRs 1400 to NRs 3000 in the hills and NRs 1600 to NRs 3600 in the tarai district[46]. Similarly it was assumed that the construction works such as roads, irrigation, water conservation, forestry etc will generate large employment opportunities and thus mitigate the problem of unemployment and underemployment of the project areas. Further, the assistance provided in social services by the IRDPs, will eventually assist the large segment of population to reach such services that were priority, at reach only for the few upper class people. It is in these ways the two projects tend to follow the principle of equity.

But pragmatically how far such rural programmes have assisted the poor, is questionable. This is valid in the context of critical finding of different evaluation reports. As to quote the DRCG on Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP — "The condition of poverty observed in the course of this evaluation have left one a little shocked and concerned. After five or ten years FAO and IBRD effort

in the Trisuli valley inequality persists and development efforts being focussed on irrigation and low land crops are likely to increase inequality. The project objectives of equity in income distribution and project assistance being relevant and directed to the disadvantaged sections has not been implemented by any of the project component"[47]. The study projects that the upper income group consists more of Chhetries and Brahmins, while in lower income group include Kamies and Damais (Blacksmith and tailors). The Tamang as caste dominates in both Rasuwa and Nuwakot districts, are predominantly in the lower quartile[48]. The report shows very sharp differences in these two groups in the ownership of irrigated lands, income, food intake, and literacy.

The IRDPs in Nepal are not objected towards target groups as in India. There is thus, as the DRCG report evaluates, less chances to attain the objective of balance growth with income distribution. In India these are different studies, pointing distinctly to the percentage of families that crossed the poverty line. As for example the evaluation of Harikumar S in Kumaleom village of Ernakulam District shows that 20.6 percent of families crossed the poverty line. But 79.4% are still below the poverty line[49]. But here also there are several studies revealing the snags in the Indian IRDPs. They project that this programme benefits more to the better off families than worst off. As IRDP in Andhra Pradesh the writer remarks on irrigation benefit — "the policy has a propensity to respond to the better off conditions, rather than create those condition .... it indicates the failure of the policy, both in terms of its capacity to intervene and also to

transform the existing condition in which the poor people have been trapped for centuries"[50]. While in Jalpaiguri district (West Bengal) a study showed that loans were more utilised by well off sections, with non-farm occupations. Subsistance farmers felt that unless necessary infrastructures were provided, such loans served no purpose in raising income[51]. The IRDP observation of Rajasthan points that the administrative lacuna involved, rendered "Asset transfers so common under the IRDP have generated poverty instead of alleviating poverty"[52].

If we take the case of Bangladesh where the successful Comilla model (1961) for IRDP, was sought to be diffused, throughout the country in 1970-71[53], we find that its glorious success has faded in later years thus making writers to conclude that IRDP, though has increased agricultural production, the gains have not been lasting. The programme has proved to be "... very costly in terms of scarce factors of production (capital for subsidies motivated high calibre personnel), is therefore probably not capable for replication over the entire country, and most important of all, IRDP does little to help meet the basic needs of landless and marginal families"[54].

In this context, let us see what our findings bring forth. Now, when we wholly consider the Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDP, it may be noted that the initial beneficiaries were the lower income families because any economic activity, as of construction works, conservation programmes, transportation of materials etc. require the use of labour power. Hence it is possible that the

projects have generated employment benefit for the poor. Our analysis of the employment benefit received by our respondents also support this. Again if we consider the socio-economic facilities provided by the projects, such as the provision of drinking water, health centres and education facilities, undeniably the poorer section has been benefited.

But when we distinguish the benefit received, by the higher and lower income group we find that larger share is gobbled up by the former, leaving very little benefits for the latter.

The household characteristics of our respondents, and the advantages received by the IRDP, manifest two types of deprived or weaker sections. One are those families, who belong to lower caste and backward ethnic group such as Tamengs, Danwars, Kamis, Damai (Traditional occupation classes) in the hills and Doams, Tatmas, Dusat, Musher and Hazams in the tarai. Second are those who have little or no productive resource ownership except their labour.

Taking into consideration only three factors such as land ownership pattern, income distribution and education participation, there exists an wide agreement with Nepalese and other scholars, who are largely skeptical of equity and justice through IRDP.

Our findings reveal that among the total 160 respondents of Rasuwa/Nuwakot project, only 6 are big landowners (with 3.5 and above gigha of land ownership), while out of 293 respondents of Sagarmatha project, about 59 represent this group. Asserting that

majority of the households are marginal and small farmers (consider the tables at the end of this section No. 5.63 and 5.64 of Rasuwa/ Nuwakot), we find that though Tamang and Danwar ethnic race were the majority occupants, the Brahmins and Chhetries were in a better position in land holdings. The caste ownership pattern was more pronounced in Sagarmatha, Table 5.65 and 5.66 projects, that although the higher and lower Madhesys represented somewhat equally; it was the higher caste who was better off. All medium and big farmers belonged to the upper class. Only 7 such farmers came from the Danwar caste of Risku village panchayat.

Then coming to the income distribution pattern, it was the higher caste who was in a better position. Table 5.67 and 5.68 of Rasuwa/Nuwakot, projects that, in command and control area altogether 25 represent Brahmins and Chhetries in Rs. 2000 and above income group while only 17 Tamangs and Danwars in both areas comprise this group. In Sagarmatha 88 higher caste respondents in both command and control came under this income group while only 13 represent lower caste in this group (Tables 5.69 and 5.70).

Similarly in participation of different education level of school going family members, our study demonstrates that the higher castes were in majority at all levels (Table 5.71). Both high caste (Tagadhari) and higher caste Madhesy in education participation represent somewhat equal percentage at all levels. But the Tibeto Burman (Tamang, Danwars, Magars) and the lower Madhesey in education participation was negligible. And in the higher level (above secondary) their participation was totally nil.

Then viewing the two important components of IRDP, namely irrigation and credit facilities; the results show that comparatively it was again the upper income caste group taking more advantages. As seen (Table 5.72) the higher caste, respondents numbering 67 have availed institutional credit facilities. While only 9 of lower caste enjoyed this facilities. Similarly in the Rasuwa/Nuwakot IRDP, it was the Brahmins and Chhetries availing credit facilities more than the Tamang and Danwar caste (Table 5.73).

A first hand glance of irrigated land distribution pattern depicted by tables 5.74 and 5.75 show that more irrigated land was held by the lower class. But when viewing the land ownership size and the number of respondents owning it, one can clearly mark, the upper hand position of the higher caste. It is therefore doubtful as to the fruitfulness of agriculture input facilities for the purpose of equalising income distribution.

Conclusion:

The foregoing analysis testifies that the two IRDPs efforts towards equity, has made insignificant dent in the study areas. Even after 4 (four) decades of planning endeavours and the continuous flow of bilateral and international aid, the condition of acute poverty persists. This dimension has been sufficiently articulated by the renowned Nepalese scholar Rishikesh Shaha. In his words quoting of CEDA study 1973 "80% of the position of power (govt. post) and profit are still held by these three castes (Brahmins, Chhetries and Newars). This chronic state of inequality,

which has tended to give the widest opportunity for government services and education to only three castes and to one small area of the country (Kathmandu) cannot be said to be consistent with the modernization goals of the country"[55]. This calls for a drastic Land Reform policy and intensive implementation for employment generation programme.

All the foreoging chapters manifest that in Nepal, rural development is the harbinger of development. Our findings substantiates, largely the conditions of rural Nepal. Projecting the pervasiveness of poverty as the obstacle in the country's development.

The majority respondents of the ten Village Panchayats are residing in these villages for two to three generations whereas about 100 household have been residing from five to six generations. These village settlements like Kalyanpur, Govindpur, Sukhipur, Dhaibung and Ramche, Chaugadha, are old settlements. But Katari, Ganesthan, Risku and Khojpur are new settlements. Perhaps, these new settlements are formed on account of migration from hills and mountains and some development works done in the neighbouring Village Panchayats. IRDP activities have thus augmented the growth of the human settlements.

From the preliminary demographic position with high birth and death rate it may be stated that still a large segment of rural population is devoid of basic health facilities. The somewhat equivalent ratio of female to male and the high child dependency ratio and lowest education participation of female specifically suggests that IRDP should not overlook this segment of the

Table - 5.63

Land holding by Caste in Command Area of R/N Project

Farm Size	Brahman	Chhetries	Danuwar	Tamang	Newar	Damai	Magar	Kami
Upto 1.50	21	12	6	16	8	2	1	..
1.50 to 3.50	5	-	2	4	-	-	-	-
3.50 to 7.50	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	27	12	8	20	8	2	1	-

Table - 5.64

Land holding by Caste in Control Area of R/N Project

Farm size	Brahman	Chhetries	Danuwar	Tamang	Newar	Damai	Magar	Kami
Upto 1.50	11	7	11	17	-	-	1	1
1.50 to 3.50	2	7	3	12	1	-	-	-
3.50 to 7.50	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
Total	14	14	14	33	1	-	1	1

Table - 5.65

Landholding by Caste in Command Area of Sagarmatha Project

Farm Size	Higher Caste	Lower Caste	Occupational Caste	Others
Upto 1.50	21	5	14	11
1.50 to 3.50	31	2	9	3
3.50 to 7.50	22	-	-	2
	74	7	23	16

Table - 5.66

Landholding by Caste in Control Area of Sagarmatha project

Farm Size	Higher Caste	Lower Caste	Occupational Caste	Others
Upto 1.50	14	5	16	10
1.50 to 3.50	26	3	2	18
3.50 to 7.50	24	1	2	5
	64	9	20	33

Table - 5.67

Per capita income group by Caste in Command Area of Rasuwa - Nuwakot Project

Per Capita Income group (Rs)	Brahmin	Chhetries	Newar	Magar	Danuwar	Tamang	Damai	Kami	Total
Upto 1200	6	-	2	-	1	6	1	-	16
1200-1400	7	3	-	-	1	1	1	-	13
1400-1600	1	2	2	-	1	2	-	-	8
1600-1800	3	2	2	-	1	6	-	-	14
1800-2000	3	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	6
2000 above	8	4	2	1	5	4	-	-	24
Total	28	12	9	1	9	20	2	-	81

Table - 5.68

Per Capita Income Group by Caste in Control Area of Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project

Per capita Income Group (Rs)	Rahmin	Khastriya	Newar	Magar	Danuwar	Tamang	Damai	Kami	Total
Upto 1200	6	4	-	-	9	15	-	1	35
1200-1400	2	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	6
1400-1600	-	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	5
1600-1800	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	5
1800-2000	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	-	6
2000 above	6	7	1	-	5	3	-	-	22
Total	14	14	1	1	15	33	-	1	79

Table - 5.69

Per capita income group by caste in Command Area of Sagarmatha project

Per Capita Income Group	Higher Caste	Lower Caste	Occupational Caste	Other Caste	Total
Upto 1200	10	2	6	5	23
1200-1400	4	2	1	9	16
1400-1600	5	1	8	2	16
1600-1800	3	2	1	2	8
1800-2000	5	2	2	-	9
2000 + above	53	7	8	10	78
Total	80	16	26	28	150

Table - 5.70

Per Capita Income Group by Caste in Control Area of Sagarmatha project

Per Capita Income Group	Higher Caste	Lower Caste	Occupational Caste	Others	Total
Upto 1200	11	5	9	7	32
1200-1400	-	-	4	7	11
1400-1600	11	4	4	5	24
1600-1800	7	1	4	-	12
1800-2000	3	2	-	3	8
2000 + above	35	6	4	11	56
Total	67	18	25	33	143

Table - 5.71

Percentage Distribution of Respondents Members by Level of Education Attainment by Caste

Caste	Primary level	Lower & Secondary Level	Higher Level (above Secondary)	Technical	Total
High caste (Tagadhari)	27.18	37.93	57.14	-	31.40
Tibeto Burman	1.39	5.75	-	-	26.7
Other hill group	12.89	11.49	7.14	-	12.28
Occupational	4.36	2.30	-	-	3.59
Higher Madhesey	28.75	22.61	28.57	-	26.88
Lower Madhesey	16.03	13.03	-	-	14.60
Others	9.41	6.90	7.14	-	8.57
Total	66.52	30.24	3.24	-	100.00

Table - 5.72

Institutional Credit Received in Sagarmatha Project Castewise

Caste	Sajha	Agriculture Bank	Total
Higher Caste	19	48	67
Lower Caste	3	6	9
Occupational	5	7	12
Others	1	14	15
Total	28	75	103

Table - 5.73

Institutional Credit Received in Rasuwa/ Nuwakot Project Castewise

Caste	Sajha	Agriculture Bank	Total
Brahmin	39	12	51
Chhetri	23	7	30
Newar	6	2	8
Magar	1	1	2
Danuwar	17	4	21
Tamang	40	6	46
Damai	1	1	2
Kami	-	-	-
Total	127	33	160

Table - 5.74

Castewise Irrigated and Non-irrigated Land Distribution in Command Area (Sagarmatha Project)

Caste Group	Respondent No.	Total land (in Bigha)	Irrigated land (%)	Non-irrigated (%)	Total (%)
Higher caste	78	234.83	17.43	82.57	100
Occupational	22	28.99	3.79	96.21	100
Lower Caste	9	10.37	20.25	79.75	100
Others	16	23.78	37.34	62.66	100
		In Control Area			
Higher Caste	76	286.26	18.33	81.67	
Occupational	20	20.48	18.80	81.20	
Lower Caste	12	26.78	24.68	75.32	
Others	35	77.94	28.90	71.10	

Table - 5.75

Castewise Irrigated and Non-irrigated Land Distribution in Command Area (R/N Project)

	House No.	Total Land (in bigha)	Irrigated land (%)	Unirrigated Land (%)	100%
Brahmin	28	31.11	35.68	64.32	100
Khastriya	12	6.80	64.12	35.88	100
Newar	8	6.20	51.45	50.16	100
Danuwar	8	7.04	71.45	28.55	100
Magar	1	0.52	67.31	32.69	100
Tamang	20	21.42	25.25	74.75	100
Damai	2	1.67	17.96	82.04	100
Kami	-	-	-	-	-
			In Control Area		
Brahmin	14	19.54	32.45	67.55	100
Khastriya	15	19.95	34.84	65.16	100
Newar	1	2.50	30.00	70.00	100
Danuwar	14	11.71	45.00	54.73	100
Magar	1	1.50	43.33	56.66	100
Tamang	33	65.04	9.92	90.08	100
Damai	-	-	-	-	-
Kami	1	0.54	-	0.54	100

population. Programme should entail more in training, educating and providing loans facility to the fairer sex.

The caste composition of our sample reveals that in the Sagarmatha IRDP the higher and low caste are somewhat equal numbers. The Maithali speaking people dominate. But they are totally absent in the Rasuwa/Nuwakot project area. While the hill groups especially the higher caste and the elite groups are present in all panchayats. Further the study finds that the lower caste of the Terai inhabitants in the hill group (lower Madhesy) are the ones who have less fertile and poor land, and small domestic animal stock. Being marginal farmers they have low income. Their main source of income is labour in farms, construction sites, poterage and selling fire wood. In the hills, where development activities are initiated and land is comparatively better the higher caste (hill groups) are infiltrating and are eliminating the original inhabitants such as Tamangs and Danuwars. On analysis the natural tendency on the part of better-off and worse off is that of migration to the better areas. This calls for regional framework of development plans. The IRDP no doubt has considered this, but what is more required is that specific programme for the backward class should be the rule.

The land ownership pattern testifies the dominance of the marginal and small farmers. The study also shows that majority of them fall under the highest income group. This seems paradoxical. Observing the occupation pattern except for a few, it may be noted that most of them supplement their farm income by labour in farm and non-farm sectors. Hence, non-farm supportive programmes and

animal husbandry development is more essential.

In regard to the benefits received as a whole in IRDP, we find that the infrastructure facilities such as roads, bridges including trail bridges, market complex, agriculture facilities, animal husbandry, drinking water and health facilities have no doubt benefited our respondents. But when we review individually the benefit received it it is just like a drop of water in the ocean. Observing the village environment, the inhabitants' way of life, their standard of living, it seems development facilities have not soaked to the village level. It is only those households who live near accessible areas from the main East West High way in Sagarmatha IRDP received benefits from the development works. In Rasuwa/Nuwakot the main Trisuli/Kathmandu and Trimuli/Somdang road has very insignificantly affected the households. Except for Chaugadha Village Panchayat of Nuwakot no other Village Panchayat of our sample seems stirred from their backwardness. Our findings support this situation, though it covers a small study areas.

Our analysis shows that employment benefit received is largely temporary. Likewise consumption pattern of the majority has not changed. The acute problem of irrigation is not solved. Credit facilities are not enough. Agriculture extension service has not reached the majority of small farmer. The use of HYV, and fertilizers is limited. Consequently, the IRDP programme to increase agriculture production has also limited result. Similarly, the health facilities provided are constrained with lack of personnels, medicine, financial assistance need for the maintenance of the completed development works, thus limiting the

benefit to the few households only. What could be suggested is that, if the object of IRDP is to develop particular region then infrastructural development should receive the topmost priority. But if it is to erradicate poverty, or to raise the living standards of the rural mass, then the rule of investment must be to generate maximum labour employment in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. If however the aim is to embrace the equity and justice with development then creation of asset and change in land ownership pattern should receive priority.

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CHAPTER - VI

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Section 6.1 Organisation

"The economics of development is not very complicated; the secret of successful planning lies more in sensible politics and good public administration"[1]. While Theodore Schultz challenges: "Most of the people in the world are poor, so if we know the Economics of being poor we would know much of the Economics that really matters"[2]. Gerald M. Meier questions and remarks, "but what really matters for development analysis is unlikely to be simple"[3]. We agree.

Reviewing the economic conditions of rural Nepal, the question arises why this deteriorating state of economy persists, even after four decades of planning. The answer lies not in economics only but in social, political and physical affairs also. This can be traced into ineffective role of the political organisation as well as administrative structure. Similarly, it is again the lack of local people's aspiration, their commitment and their dedication which are no less responsible for not solving the problem of poverty. This constitutes the core problem of our study. How IRDP has been able to mitigate this problem is the subject matter of our interest. Apparently poor performance, coupled with studies on impact of development in Nepal and supported by our findings presents one distinct picture. Deep-rooted fatalistic and feudalistic attitude, physical barriers,

insurmountable economic, political and administrative constraints, all contribute to the obduracy on the path of Nepal's development. Hence the amelioration of the rural mass is really a challgenge. Therefore steps should be taken in a war-like manner.

The study was designed in the form of questionnaire. An investigation was attempted in ten village panchayats, selected from the five districts covered by Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDPs. The impact of the two projects on the sampled respondents, the organization structure of IRDP and its role at the village level were the focus of this research. Efforts were also made to potray the eco-socio scenario, of the concerning districts and village panchayats, in the study period.

The basis of the study was the collections of data through interviews, and detail observation of the Village Panchayats. The secondary data base was : (a) government publication; (b) Census reports; (c) Base line studies of Rasuwa/Nuwakot and Sagarmatha IRDP; (d) publications of the two project co-ordinators' office; (e) district Panchayat and Village Panchayat office. References for data analysis were especially reported from the evaluation study of DRCG, CEDA and APPROC.

The field study was conducted in the ten village panchayats of Siraha, Saptari, Udaipur, Rasuwa and Nuwakot districts. Six Village Panchayat fall under the Sagarmatha Integrated Rural Development Project, while four Village panchayats come under Rasuwa/Nuwakot Integrated Rural Development Project. The four village panchayat of Rasuwa/Nuwakot cover the hills, valleys and

mountains. Sagarmatha/IRDP in turn covers the three southern districts of the Sagarmatha zone.

The underdeveloped socio-economic conditions and the untapped land, water and labour potentials, justify the introduction of IRDPs in these areas. Both projects presuppose the existence of some level of infrastructure in these regions. Hence, the object was to infuse development with the utilisation of Kathmandu/Trisuli road (Rasuwa/Nuwakot Project) and East-West Mahendra Highway (Sagarmatha/IRDP). For the purpose of planning, implementation and evaluation of the programmes the district and village level line agencies, or administrative/technical staff as well as the peoples representative political institution the District and Village Panchayat are involved. Attempts to include all aspects in two IRDP projects have been made as agriculture, roads, drinking water, education, etc. With the avowed goals of developing the regions and ameliorating the standard of living of the rural poor. Like these two IRDPs other IRDPs have also been introduced for meeting the basic needs of the people and for removing regional imbalances which constitute important ingredients of national and rural development policy in Nepal.

A conceptual thinking developed around IRDPs can be summed up as the involvement of all rural people in their socio-economic development. At the outset of our findings we should mention the constraint that stood to dampen the impact and effect of IRDPs. These are:

(1) Time factor: Rasuwa/Nuwakot project commencement year was 1976-77 and the base line study of the area was conducted in 1977-78. While Sagarmatha project commenced from 1978-79, the area base line study was done in 1981-82. It would have been more fruitful if the projects could be introduced only after the base line studies.

(2) Investment factor: Overlooking the causes for low capacity to spend, we found that in both projects the allotted investment was not spent fully. Reports show that till the fiscal year 1980-81, 68 percent of the committed allotment was spent for Rasuwa/Nuwakot project, while for the Sagarmatha project approximately only 10 percent was invested. The latest report showed only 1/3 of the allotted fund was exhausted by the Sagarmatha project. Thus large unspent portion of the fund allocated undermined the results of these programmes. In fact Sagarmatha project's "real work started in 1980-81 only"[4].

(3) Low level of data base: In the absence of scientific detailed micro-level data, allocation of large amount of aid for these projects in different rural sectors does not seem prudent and valied.

(4) Virtual non-existence of viable local institutions: Lack of this made the villagers totally dependent on outside assistance, weakening their capacity of self-development.

(5) Non-existence of stiff opposition in the rural local institutions, land lord, business and contracting class and subsequently bureaucrats and technocrats began to dominate the scene. Apprehension seemed justified that real beneficiaries were

passed over. In other words there was no significant impact of IRDP in Nepal.

The evolution of IRDP in Nepal elaborated in the Chapter III reveals continuous efforts aimed at rural development. The organisation structure for effective implementation of programmes have from time to time undergone changes. Simultaneously attempt had been made to modernize administrative machinery to make them more competent, according to requirements. Likewise endeavours had been made towards setting up of goals and formulating plans to meet the local needs. And special emphasis had been laid on the involvement of the rural mass in their development to make them self-reliant. Hence, the panchayat polity had been the stepping stone of IRDP organisation.

However our findings, corroborating with the foreign and Nepalese critics, manifest "the miserable picture of the Terai people depicted a century ago by Hamilton, is true till to-day, with minor variations"[5]. What could be the cause? The acerbic comment summed up by Michael B. Wallace for forest development programmes answers well - "These forestry programmes are fine as they go they just do not go far enough"[6]. So the crux of the problem is not why, what or where but how; the main headache is the operationalisation of IRDP. The difficulties that had strangled the operation of the organisation lie inherent in its structure and way of working. The study reveals that the multifarious objectives had put strains on the already burdened and scarce personnel. Ambiguity in the objectives had led to several interpretations by line agencies and consequently, to conflict and

disintegration in work. Since there was no distinct control over the line agencies they had not given due priority in their performance of IRDP activities. For them these programmes were extra burden. It seemed that the lack of clear cut objectives, also created duplication of agencies as well.

The plan's formulation, implementation and monetoring revealed short comings. First, the basics for good planning seemed unfulfilled. Planning requires detailed exercise in collection of micro-level data of the village community. This was lacking[7]. The different socio economic conditions prevailing in different regions had been over-looked. Secondly, what was planned was not administered and implemented fully. This led to skepticism in the rural mass. Thirdly the investment pattern seemed bias towards infrastructural sectors, and less towards productive sectors[8]. Fourthly, the delay in the release of funds constrained in the completion of works. Fifthly, involving the rural people in the IRDP had been limited to labour participation only. Subsequently however, the condition of labour participation that had been placed by the IRDP regarding the concerned village panchayats, had been removed.

Paucity of resources was not the acute problem; it was rather the delay in release of funds. All studies, as well as our investigation with the line agencies have attested this problem. In regard to the investment procedure, we no doubt agree with what the Nepalese, economist Bharat Pradhan delineated. But the priority for the development of infrastructure cannot be relegated

to the background. Investment on market sheds, panchayat buildings should have been suspended for the sake of more urgent investment on roads, bridges, tracks, staff buildings, health and drinking water provisions. Further, we found that the concern that was developing these days was to what will happen after the project ends. Where will the funds come from? How are we to manage the maintenance and completion of programmes? This actually is a serious matter. In fact Gadkhar irrigation in Chaugadha V.P. and Drinking water projects in Ramche V.P. were not functioning well due to the paucity of maintenance cost. Hence this calls for rapid mobilisation of local resources. Panchayat's development land tax which is being reintroduced in some areas may to some extent help. Other sources as levy on transportation of goods, use of government owned land, ponds etc. can add to the local fund. Again, the introduction of Users Committee no doubt is the best alternative for the continuation of local projects. But much depends on the users capacity to pay as well as to manage. Hence, outside help can not be avoided. However to avoid the misappropriation of funds there should be regular evaluation and auditing also of local funds. With the introduction of the Decentralisation Act 1984, this pitfall is hoped to be looked after.

We then come to the implementation aspect of IRDP. This is actually the most vital aspect and in fact, the role of an economist (as a planner) ends here, and that of the politician begins. To a large extent successful implementation of plans of IRDP, depends on the will, honesty and dedication of politician or

political leadership of the country. For implementation of programmes the government's administrative machinery, plays a very important role. How this machinery plays its role depends much on capability, efficiency and integrity. Besides without a cordial and communicative relation between economists and politicians, rural programmes remain mere paper work.

Attempt has been made to analyse the implementation aspect, from the angle of participation in so far as to the role of project co-ordinator (PC), Local development Officer (LDO) and Multipurpose development worker (MPDW) who represent bureaucracy. In this effort the role of the supporting agencies e.g. Agriculture banks (ADB) Agriculture Input Corporation (AIC), Co-operatives, Users Committees seems important. No doubt village panchayat leaders and respondents had been interviewed for identifying their nature of participation in the implementation process. While noting all these, efforts had been made to locate the obstacles in the implementation of IRDP.

The functioning of the bureaucrats in IRDP has remained as a hindrance. Insufficient legal backing, frequent turnover, lack of motivation to work in IRDP, inadequate training facilities, low morals and excessive political interference were some of the obstacles in this direction. The PC and LDO without legal support happen to be powerless. Though the line agencies come under the LDO and should work in co-ordination under him, this had not been practised. These agencies ignored and by-passed him in all affairs. His relationship with MPDW seems highly unfortunate.

The MPDW was directly responsible for his actions to the LDO. An illustration will disprove the fact. The LDO of Saptari district took action against the MPDW and he was transferred but he got it cancelled and returned to the original posting within a month thus bringing humiliation to the official concerned. And the project co-ordinator seemed helpless in matters of punishing defaulting contractors. The frequent turnover of the staff poses a serious problem. This had been voiced by the critics and also supported by our findings. If good work is expected of them, much depends on the incentives for the field workers. It may be suggested that more training facilities, extra remuneration and job security (especially for project and Sajha personnels) for motivating the bureaucracy to work efficiently should be provided.

Coming to the role of local leadership it was revealed that very little change had come in its composition as well as its nature and attitude. The leadership consists of middle aged, economically and socially well-off and caste pre-dominant persons of the villages. Hence there had been marked absence of opposition in these panchayats and competition was very little. Among the ten Village Panchayat Pradhans only two were replaced; the other eight pradhans were re-elected, since the inception of the party-less panchayat system. This setting therefore, limited the evolving of dynamic local leadership for generating mass participation in IRDPs. The study exposes the undercurrent antagonism running between the local leaders and the bureaucrats. But cordial relation between the two is a dire need for successful participation in organisational set up of IRDPs[9].

In our historical review of organisation, it was revealed that the panchayat institutions for local development existed from time memoral, and worked quite effectively. Further we explored the existing examples of beneficiary groups working impressively and independently to meet the local needs, However, in the present context of rising aspiration and scarcity of resources they seemed incompetent. But we could mobilize man power and resources with new technology and assistance provided by IRDPs. This study supported also by the views of other evaluators, point outs that local institutions as the Village Panchayat, Sajhas, and Users Committee introduced by the government were not working well. They were limping and sufficient persuasions for motivation had not come forth to make them viable. Hence it would be worthwhile to examine the different village level institutions and rebuild them in tune with the changing needs of to-day.

Finally, coming to the participation role of our respondents, our analysis sums up that participation existed mainly in the form of labour contribution. While formulating the plans, our inquiries showed, even the panchayat local leaders and line agencies were not consulted adequately. Leaders were also ignorant of IRDP's benefits and viability[10]. In formulation of plan, top down, instead of bottom-up approach had been meticulously followed. The donors and top level officials were actually the dominant participants of IRDPs plans. So the rural people's involvement was clearly negatived. What we found was that majority of the respondents were aware of the programmes, they had developed a sense of demanding

explanation and questioning the authorities, in respect of the functioning of the programmes. No doubt the programmes were helpful for their development. But according to them top priority should have been given to irrigation, which constitutes to them a serious problem.

6.2. Socio-Economic benefits of the Villagers and Village Panchayats

Summarizing the impact of IRDP, we found that the employment provided was mainly in the field of construction works. This generated the scope of employment only for a temporary period. Advantages received in agriculture sector, in the form of credit, fertilizers, insecticides HYV, and irrigation were like a few drops of water in the ocean. Hence, the increase of production was not significant. However, there were also examples of the introduction of wheat due to the irrigation facilities provided by IRDP[11]. Persistence of the basic and general problems of shortage of irrigation, credit, fertilizers and extension services, in the sampled areas was clearly noticeable. Compounding scarcity problem was the problem of underdeveloped market structure and high price of fertilizers.

The programmes of animal husbandry and cottage industries were also not sufficient to increase the income of farmers. No doubt, remarkable services were provided by the assistance of IRDPs. But the shortage of staff and medicine could not meet the demands of farmers. Visits to the village panchayat showed that only three or four respondents had high breed milch domestic stocks. Our findings of respondents household characteristics

revealed that majority of them had 3 to 4 average stock. This points to the fact that if only animal husbandry could be developed extensively, it could supplement in a big way the income of the rural people. Our investigation revealed only six respondents received aid from Cottage Industries in the form of training, credit and raw materials for producing cotton and woolen clothes. There was mixed responses to the problems faced by the cottage industries. It was suggested that such industries could be expanded by giving more credit, technical know how, raw materials and ready market. It was strange that in Sagarmatha IRDP area, with the exception of Katari Village panchayat, no efforts were made towards the development of cottage industries. Scope for agro based industries, and light machinery industries in the area is undeniable.

The social infrastructure provided by the IRDP though insufficient had some noticeable impact on Village Panchayats. Especially the health services, and drinking water facilities had benefited the households. In the health sector the problems faced was lack of technical personnesl and insufficient medical supplies. It was pointed out that though the technical posts were created in some villages, they remained vacant. Though some provision of drinking water was made in some places, some of the sources dried up due to poor installation and poor maintenance.

As for education the projects had hardly provided any benefit. Only two schools under this survey area, had received aid for construction and supply of educational materials. Here

problems confronted were lack of teachers and absence of accommodation facilities. The project report showed that training was provided to farmers group by IRDP in respect of agricultural extension services. While in Sagarmatha/IRDP a middle level technical school was also established. But none of the respondents reported any benefit received from such programmes.

IRDP intended not merely for increasing agricultural production, but also for the transformation of the existing rural society steeped in deep and pervasive poverty. The society should be restructured based on equality and justice. The study revealed that, unlike in Indian counterpart, these programmes did not target the poorest of the poor. That is the equity principle seems by-passed. It may be argued, that since small and marginal farmers constitute the majority, any agriculture programme was sure to benefit them. It was assumed that in view of few rich households in rural areas, health services, education facilities etc. were likely to help the weaker section alone. However, limited irrigation facility, and low credit absorption of the small farmers were not solved by the agricultural programmes. Likewise, temporary employment benefit was also of little help. Education benefit was enjoyed by rural elite groups and female enrolment was very insignificant. What could be advised is that in such rural programmes, the bargaining power of the weaker section should be strengthened. A fixed quota for their representation should be given in all IRDP activities. In rural development organisation in the village and district level their representation should also be fixed. However, the rural development

programme should seek to generate employment both temporary and permanent in nature. Like in irrigation, attention should be directed towards forestry and soil conservation. In education incentives to the families for stopping the drop-outs should be given.

So far as the provision of credit facilities, our findings recorded that the local money lender still played the predominant role in the village panchayats. However, some remarkable differences existed as to the main role of credit institutions. Agricultural Development Bank was the main source of credit in Ramche and Chaugadha. In Katari it was the Commercial Bank that provided loan to majority of the respondents. And the major source of loans were the traditional local money lenders for Katari, Kalyanpur, Khojpur, Sukhipur and Dhaibung.

Among the Village Panchayats (V.P) highest employment benefit was received by Katari in the field of construction works. In Chaugadha and Sukhipur employment potentiality was more in agriculture; Kalyanpur however received maximum benefit of the commercial expansion. Production increase due to IRDP was recorded the highest in Chaugadha and Katari village in all major crops and lowest was in Ramche Village Panchayat. Sukhipur and Govindpur panchayats faced the problems in agriculture (irrigation). Ultimately distribution of seeds and fertilizers were the problems experienced by Ganesthan Village Panchayat while high cost of fertilizers was equally the problem of Sukhipur, Katari and Risku.

Tap water benefit was the highest in Chaugadha. Sukhipur got pure water from hand pumps. Paradoxically, the same village panchayat recorded the highest death rate due to outbreak of parasitic diseases in the rainy season. The percentage of literacy at primary and secondary level was the highest in Katari. In the higher level of education it was the Govindpur Village Panchayat which actually was benefited from the schools of Bastipur.

Relating to the work of the three local implementing agencies, very poor impression was reported by the respondents. Except Dhaibung Village Panchayat, all the respondents voiced that they had no idea of the Local Development Officer's visits. According to the highest number of respondents the multipurpose development worker, though active was rated as irresponsible. And Risku and Ganesthan rated their pradhans as irresponsible.

6.3 Contrasting features : Command and Control Area (and Sagarmatha and R/N IRDP).

The comparative picture of the command and control area showed that there were significant differences in employment, production and education. While there was little difference in drinking water and health facilities there was no difference in consumption pattern in the two areas. Between two IRDP projects, as a whole, the employment benefits received by the respondents were little higher in Sagarmatha project; production increase in per bigha was higher in Rasuwa/Nuwakot project even though the average land owned by an individual was more in Sagarmatha. This increase was mainly due to more use of irrigation and fertilizers

provided by the project. A comparison of income and consumption points out that, the respondents of Sagarmatha enjoyed higher income and their level of consumption in agricultural and non-agriculture sectors were also better than these of Rasuwa/Nuwakot project. Similarly, in the socio-economic level the Sagarmatha respondents, were in a better position, than those of its counterpart. In drinking water, health services, and educational facilities they were ahead. However, except Ramche panchayat, the impression one gets is that, the Rasuwa/Nuwakot projects' respondents were more aware of the governments work, and their problems.

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CHAPTER - VII

SUGGESTION ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NEPAL

Section 7.1 Public administration in Nepal : Its new dimensions

Public administration in Nepal has as yet been governed by the traditional ideas and concepts. It has not been able to play a significant role in social and economic transformation. The study that has been undertaken here amply justifies the conclusion. Even though some attempts have been made to weave public participation within the development process, still there is no denial of the fact that no significant result has been achieved so far. All this negate values of classical public administration such as efficiency, economy and coordinated management.

Public administration in Nepal should be embedded in social justice and equity. This is necessary because continued deprivation amid plenty is likely to breed militancy which in turn may follow repression which is most unwarranted. New public administration should try to make satisfactory accommodation of politics and policy making with administration. Administrators' commitment to good management and social justice are things to be achieved. Simply put, such public administration seeks to change those politics and structures that systematically inhibit social equity. A commitment to social equity not only involves the pursuit of change but also an attempt to find organisational and political forms which exhibit a capacity for continued flexibility or

routinized change. It seeks to modify bureaucratic organisational forms through decentralisation, devolution, project approach to management and above all clientel involvement in the implementation process.

From our study it is seen that administering public programmes has not been an easy task. The very nature of Govt. programme, because of their defuse goals, their unmeasurable or even unidentifiable benefits make effective implementation difficult. The most important factor effecting the Nepalese administration perhaps is the scarcity of resources available for the purpose of development. Bilateral and multilateral aids have been arranged for the use of development. But the most disconcerning feature is that large amount of scarce resources have been misutilized. And instead of popular participation the citizens have become increasingly wary of the power of bureaucracy in the field of development. The Sajha and User's Committees, not withstanding their presence in the implementation level of development programmes are, by and large, ineffective. In other words, Nepal's public administration has to be reoriented with the emphasis on social justice and equity coupled with devolution of power and more participatory role of the poorer section of the society.

72. Strategies of rural development

While discussing strategies and models for rural development in order to ensure social equity and justice it seems that a brief discussion on Comilla Model being a successful model for rural development would not be out of place here.

The Comilla model for Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) evolved from a long period of trial and experimentation, by the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (before East Pakistan). This IRDP institutional model was initially launched in Kotwali

Thana of Comilla District in 1960. Its main objective was as increase in agricultural production by intensive and rapid use of irrigation, HYV seeds, fertilizers to environmental suitable areas; to create new rural employment based on labour intensive technique; to provide quick delivery services for all socio-economic group by strengthening rural institution; and to improve rural infrastructures in order to decrease risk of farm products and increase non farm employment.

The programme had four basic instrumental interrelated components: (1) The Two-Tier Cooperative Structure — Krishi Sambaya Samitis (KSSs) or agricultural cooperatives, and the Thana Central Cooperative Associations (TCCAS). (2) Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) (3) Rural Works Programme (RWP) (4) Thana irrigation Programme (TIP).

The KSS is village based society organised for the use of a low-lift pump or deep tubewell. Individual farmers received government inputs as seeds, credit, fertilizers etc from KSS. Its members are encouraged to save, so as to form their own capital. The TCCA is the federation at the Thana level.

TTDC is based at the Thana level. It provides a platform for training of farmers in new technologies; and for coordination between different line agencies. The KSS and TCCA members receive regular training by government officials (e.g. Agricultural Development Corporations, Fisheries Department, Livestock, etc).

RWP is executed by Union and Thana Parishads (Council) with a dual objective of protecting land against flooding and

excavation, and for creating infrastructures as drainage, irrigation canals, roads etc. Consequently the achievement of these works would enhance employment opportunities in slack agricultural seasons.

TIP is organised to combine efforts for utilization of low-lift pumps in dry seasons. These groups received subsidized pump, but no credit and training as that enjoyed by KSS. But eventually these groups were hoped to become full-fledged member of KSS as part of IRDPs[2].

Physical and social disparities between Nepal and Bangladesh do exist. But in the economic conditions and stage of development there is much similarity. Hence the Comilla model can be suggested if necessary with suitable modification for IRDPs in Nepal. Here agriculture is the backbone of the economy, and rural population forms the majority of its labour force. Hence IRDP should direct its focus on increasing agricultural production, as well as lifting rural masses form conditions of deprivation and poverty.

Our study in Nepal finds that in spite of emphasis on irrigation projects, funds were greatly diverted to roads and bridges. Beneficiaries or users committee were formed only for utilisation of surface water. Hence the combine efforts for utilisation of surface water. Hence the combine efforts for utilization of ground water committees could be formed in the light of Comilla Model.

The Sajha (Co-operatives) institution at the village level, were generally functioning only as agricultural input suppliers.

Although Sajha's are based on hierarchical system, there was lack of uniformity in powers and functions. It seemed there was poor link between the centre, district and the village level Sajhas. The village level Sajha in our study area were not functioning uniformly. Some Sajhas were supplying consumer goods in addition to agriculture inputs. While other Sajhas limited their function to agricultural inputs. Besides this in some Sajhas, staff were permanent and in some Sajha staff were temporary even when they were working since twenty years, as was found in Katari Panchayat. Therefore the two tier co-operatives under Comilla model may be suggested here for encouraging self-help and partnership growth.

In Nepal there are various IRD Co-ordination Committees at the Centre, district and village level. These could be utilized as training and development centres similar to TTDC. Under Comilla model, emphasis should be on training the members of Sajhas and Users Committees. For creating rural infrastructure as well as generating employment opportunities, a special Council at the Centre and district level could be formed closely interrelated with the activities of IRDP. The remoulding of IRDP in the Comilla model might go in a far way to establish self-help and viable village institutions.

In development strategies two contradictory process has attracted lots of discussion to planers and implementators. These are to-down (Model A) and bottom-up (Model B) plannings[3]. However, in practice there is no strict adherence to only one model, the philosophy of Model B is often mixed with assumption of Model A. The conception that is developed of Model A is the conformity between Government's objectives and rural development needs. Programmes

achieving these objectives will naturally help in the prosperity of the rural populance. The orientation is technocratics; experts are aware of what is required. Therefore any resistance displayed by the communities is irrational. With education and pursuasion they will come to see that their own self-interest coincides with the national interest.

Model B recognises the deprivation condition in the rural areas, continuing from centuries, brought about by gross inequalities of wealth. This has generated demoralization, apathy, fatalism and submissiveness. As such, the initial work of Model B is to come forward "to restore the self-confidence in the rural mass that will release energy and motivation for self-development". To achieve this objective, the first process is adult education. This will help the rural community to realize, that their deplorable condition is not what is destined, but a consequence of historical process. They will learn to react to government policies and actions unfavourable to them, and became more aware that government facilities is their right and they can even fight to demand it.

As a combination of these two models is the Negotiating Model. The principal task of this Model is to mobilize resources, to formulate negotiate and implement its development programmes. Hence there are three characteristics of this Model. Rural communities should formulate their own plans. Consultancy services and resource mobilization should be assisted by the State. The second element advocates for joint planning and programming. The third involves a contractual relationship negotiated between the Government and the community, for contributing resources for community development.

While summing up we find that the top-down model fills the gap of know-how and financial constraints lacking at the village level. The Bottom-up model provides a sense of security and freedom, which is equally important. But it is again lacking in rural communities. The negotiating model, seems most important, for it requires the involvement of the rural people to plan, implement and manage the work for their own development. But much depends on the negotiating capacity of the two parties. This is absent in Nepal. People have still to come out from their socio-economic and political backwardness.

In the light of the suggestions made in the study on rural development management in Sikkim, for augmenting organizational effectiveness a few words would be in order here in the context of rural development management in Nepal. The author purposed top-down in initial phase of development as appropriate remedy for removing the bottlenecks of development. In the later phase bottom up and negotiating model should follow. So as to encourage the rural leadership and initiative[4].

In view of the fact that Nepal represent backward socio-economic profile with high rate of illiteracy coupled with deep and pervasive poverty it is not possible that bottom up or negotiating model can be introduced here. The study also provides strong support to the almost non-existent rural leadership and initiative in Nepal. Under these circumstances it is not advisable nor desirable to suggest bottom-up and negotiating model as strategies of development. At the initial stage there should be top down model for rural development management. When rural leadership and initiative will gradually develop bottom-up and negotiating

model either exclusively or in happy blending of the two may be introduced.

7.3 I.R.D.P. Model : Control and Coordination

Integrated Rural Development Project came with a purpose to make an integrated effort to attack poverty, persisting in the rural community. The method for undertaking this task is based on decentralization of power and functions in planning, implementing and managing rural development works. The fundamental objective is to deliver goods and services nearer to the rural community.

The evolution of rural development organization of IRDP was explored in Chapter III, reflects the continues efforts of Nepal government, for achieving the decentralization goal. The introduction of the district development plan, the three tier panchayat polity, Shajhas, service Centres, Users Committee etc are the vehicles for diffusing the decentralization concept. But even with these attempt different evaluation of rural programmes supported by this study shows a disheartening results. These studies all press for more implementation of decentalized policy.

To improve the decentralization pattern in order to make IRDP more effective, we suggest for consideration of the thinking put forward by John D. Montgomery. He explosres four questions which are actually the core of decentralization. The questions are

"(1) How much control should an integrated rural development project have over resources and services needed to accomplish its goal? (2) What kind of linkage should a project have with the central agencies and with local organizations? (3) What kinds of goals can be appropriately assigned to managers attempting to coordinate IRD functions at local levels? (4) What organizational arrangements are needed at the national level to provide local managers with appropriate support and guidance?"[5]. In answering these questions he puts forth two models of IRDP namely Control and Coordination Model based on the theories of organization. In the control Model resources are budget-based, linkages or managerial styles are in a form of command, goal or operating responsibility are direct, organization or structure of major relationships are vertical or hierarchical and functions are sectoral. The reverse is the case of Coordination model. These resources are derived through negotiation, linkages are established on bargaining basis, goals are indirect, organizations are horizontal or cooperative and functions are diffused.

IRDPs do not follow purely one model. There is a mixture of these functions. Hence in practice it is the Mixed Model that is applied in IRDPs. In following the mixed model for decentralization such projects should incline towards "(1) assigning resources to the project management or a unit as close to it as possible; (2) specifying as precisely as possible the procedures to be used by central support administrators, basing them carefully on existing linkages but setting up standards of promptness that correspond to the best practise of the responsible agencies, (3) specifying

multisectoral goals that conform to prevailing norms currently followed in the technical agencies in performing similar functions in other rural areas; and (4) placing primary logistical responsibility in a dominant agency that already possesses adequate communications and supply links to the region in which the project is to be located"[6].

7.4 Lessons from Programme evaluation:

There is no denying that the Sagarmatha and Rasuwa/Nuwakot integrated rural development projects has had some positive impact. It has laid the base for further development in these areas. Hence such programmes should be made a continuous process; at least ten to fifteen years should be the perspective time frame of IRDPs.

We can trace examples of viable local institutions in different parts of the country. It is, therefore, wise to reshape the existing socio-economic institutions for meeting the changing demands of the rural community. The limited impact of IRDPs has been the consequence of poor micro-level data of the concerned areas. This fatal error should be avoided. With limited time and resources trial-error should be stopped. In other words before launching such projects a detailed survey of the rural household conditions in concerning villages, its resources and prospects should be undertaken.

Increase of crop production should indeed be the top priority in fund allocations. But unless pressure on land is decreased there is limited chance for breaking the vicious circle of poverty. Vehement criticism of IRDP has come forth, levelling it as area

bias and class bias. Hence simultaneous priority should be given to farm supporting areas (as animal husbandry and poultry farming) and non-farm labour intensive areas (cottage and small scale industries and service based activities). It is an open fact that development plans as IRDP have neglected the women folk. That is funds should be allocated for the development of this labour force. Our observation found that except for some castes in the tarai villages, women labour participation was not much low than its counterpart. Hence it is justifiable that they being the weaker section of the rural community, special programmes for their upliftment is advised.

All IRDPs in Nepal are heavily funded by foreign assistance. Donors are therefore vigilant of the performance of these projects. But their over-bearing attitude and the high cost paid to foreign consultancy and technical know-how has been questionable by Nepalese economists. Hence it is prudent to lower such assistance and quickly develop indigenous expertise. The two projects Coordinator Office should be strengthened. Here a technical pool must be created, and training the personnels of line agencies should be made a regular feature. Such provisions will help in increasing administrative and technical efficiency of the personnels; it would also create administrative capability.

Besides line agencies, the implementation of IRD Programmes can be aided by private sector and the voluntary organizations. IRDPs in India have this provision and are fruitfully utilizing their services. The private sector can be most efficient in mobilization of labour for jobs, and for labour mobility in scarce

labour areas. Physical concessions should be given as incentives to attract this private sector. A continuous flow for supplementing rural development works, can be the mobilization of professors, teachers and students. We suggest some remoulding of the National Development Service (NDS) continuing since 1974 in Tribhuwan University, Nepal. NDS is a compulsory service for Post Graduate students, requiring them to participate in village development works for a period of one year. In its initial stages the programme was introduced with much enthusiasm among leaders, professors and students. No doubt it had very successful impact on the villages. But this euphoria was short lived, when financial constraint and political pressure came up. At present NDS is done only for a month, with no development work but only a collection of cursory village data. We would, therefore, advocate for the extension of this service for at least six months, with resumption of development works, in addition to rural household survey.

To continue rural development Work, Development Committees were formed in replacement of village and district level Panchayat institution. This Committee consists of all nominated members. It may be suggested that gradually the elected members should constitute the Committee so as to ensure participation of rural people in rural development management in Nepal.

IRDP is basically for eradication of rural poverty. But strong suspicion is surfacing up as regards its role of poverty eradication. Even the Comilla model is criticised and brunted as "doomed to failure". The only savoiur is the organization of rural poor. Hence the organization for implementing rural projects should

come from the rural poor, consisting of small land holders, tenants, landless and village artisans. West Bengal in India, projects a good example of the landless rural poor organised under the aegis of Farmer's Service Societies who own shallow tube-well, irrigation facilities. They motivate landowners to use irrigation facilities for multi cropping farm. As a result more employment and income is generated, benefitting both land owners and landless. Nepal IRDP can follow this foot step.

For enhancing the participation of these local institutions, a mixed approach of both Blue Print and learning process is suggested[7]. The Blue Print is the text book providing explanation of how development programmes should work. Its focus is on careful pre-planning. Different pilot projects evaluation data and studies, form the basis for planners to select the most cost-effective project design. The implementing agencies are then to follow this blue print sincerely as a contractor would follow construction blue prints.

The learning process approach is based on the pre-requisites of an organization as (1) to embrace error (2) to plan with the people (3) to link knowledge building for action. The first pre-supposes an error in socio-technical system and looks at this error as a vital source of data and adjustment as required. The second suggests planning should consider different local setting and the indigenous technology available. The third element points at the drawback of the blue print approach, which reflects that the pre-paration of programmes design can be generated independently of the organization capacity required for its utilization. In short

the blue print approach recognises different role played by researchers, planners and administrators. But the learning process presupposes some kind of integration between the roles of planners, researchers and administrators. This approach embraces three states (1) learning to be relevant (2) learning to be efficient (3) learning to extend.

The IRDP in Nepal, cannot rely on only one approach. In India where local institutions are well developed and mass consciousness is also quite high, the learning approach may be suitable. Such strong institutions are virtually non-existent in Nepal. Therefore in a democratic set up the learning process can be effective. But it is time consuming. Hence an integration of both blue print and the learning approach should be the selection.

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Annex - 'A'I

Profile of Rasuwa-Nuwakot IRDP

Project Area	: Rasuwa and Nuwakot districts of Bagmati Zone.
Population	: 29,000 familes
Objectives	: a) to increase production b) To provide employment c) To provide physical and social facilities d) To extend basic necessities of life.
Major Components	: Agriculture, Irrigation, Forestry, Soil and Water Conservation, Health, Transportation, Social Services, Cottage Industry and Panchayat Development.
Total Cost	: Rs. 135,985,000
Source of Financing	: Rs. 100,000,000 (IDA) Rs. 29,735,000 (HMG) Rs. 6,250,000 (UNDP)
Expenditure at the end of 1980/81	: Rs. 92,710,000
Project Period	: 1976/77 - 1980/81
Date of Agreement with the Donors	: April 30, 1976.
Commencement Year	: 1976/77
Extension	: 1 year i.e. upto 1981/82.

Annex-AII

Profile of Sagarmatha IRDP

Project Area	: Siraha, Saptari and Udaipur districts of Sagarmatha Zone.
Population	: 847,900
Objectives	: To strengthen the production, employment and income generating base in the rural economy of 3 districts.
Major Components	: Agriculture, Irrigation, Roads, Forestry, Rural Market Conservation, Social Services.
Total Costs	: Rs. 450,120,000
Source of Financing	: Rs. 157,300,000 (IFAD) Rs. 169,400,000 (ADB, Manila) Rs. 78,045,000 (HMG) Rs. 45,375,000 (EEC) Grant
Expenditure at the end of 1980/81	: Rs. 44,221,700
Project Period	: 1978/79 - 1982/83.
Date of Agreement with Donors	: December 26, 1978.
Commencement year	: 1978/79.

Annex 'B'

Impact studies of I.R.D.P and Rural Policies

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Annex 'C'

Organizational set up for Integrated Rural Development, Nepal

All Integrated Rural Development programmes in Nepal come under the same organisational arrangements. At the highest level there is the National Development Council chaired by His Majesty the king. The country's overall development policies are formulated by the Council. Then comes the National Planning Commission who is responsible for the formulation of the Five Year Development Plans the Prime Minister is the Chairman. The Commission acts as the Secretariat of the Council.

The central top level executive body the cabinet, has a co-ordination sub-committee called "Local Development Committee". The Prime Minister is the Chairman and the Chief Secretary to H.M.G. serves as the Secretary of this committee. The committees members constitute all other ministries that are directly related with the activities of the IRD. They are ministers as (1) Panchayat and Local Development (2) Agriculture (3) Commerce and Civil Supplies (4) Home (5) Water Resources (6) Health (7) Forest and Soil Conservation (8) Education and Culture (9) Works and Transport (10) Land Reforms (11) Industry (12) Finance.

The Committee shall met at least two times a year and officials of the various agencies can be invited in the Committee as needed.

The work of the Committee will be to formulate national policies and objectives, to make periodical review of the work as

well as of the effectiveness of organisational set up for rural development. Finally to make arrangements for effecting legal and organisational reform in the economic and social field.

The Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development (MPLD) comes under this Committee. The ministry works as the co-ordination and monitoring ministry for Integrated Rural Development. All ministries that are directly related to the IRD are fully responsible for their respective IRD programmes as well as their development programmes.

The MPLD has a Local Development Central Co-ordination Committee. This is responsible for the co-ordination of IRD project all over the country. The Secretaries of all the ministries concerned are its members. The function of this committee is to review the formulation and implementation and take necessary decision about them. To review the policies of various departments so as to bring uniformity concerning rural development. Finally to establish inter-agency co-ordination at local level for formulation implementation of I.R.D. The Committee is required to meet at least 3 times a year.

For the effective and smooth working of IRD programmes there is "Local Development Central Executive Committee". The Secretary of the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development is the Chairman and its members are (1) Director General (D.G.) Department of Agriculture (2) D.G. Department of Livestock Development and Health (3) D.G. of Cottage and Smal Scale Industries (4) D.G. of Health Services (5) D.G. of Irrigation (6) Chief Engineer of Roads (7) Chief Conservator of Forest Department (8) General Manager of Agricultural Development Bank

(9) General Manager of Agricultural Inputs Co-operation (10) Joint Secretary Planning Division, Ministry of Education and Culture (11) Joint Secretary Local Department Programme, National Planning Commission (12) Registrar Department of Co-operatives (13) Joint Secretary, Training, Research Evaluation Ministry of M.P.L.D. (14) Joint Secretary, Local Development Projects Ministry of M.P.L.D. (15) Joint Secretary, Planning and Co-ordination Ministry of P.L.D. The Committee shall meet at least 3 times a year.

There is an Integrated Rural Development Project Co-ordinator Office. It is headed by Project Co-ordinator of the First Class Gazetted Officer's rank under the director control of the MPLD. Each I.R.D. has its own Project Co-ordinator, and "had its own organisation structure, depending on the requirements laid down by the donor agencies". The main function of it is to co-ordinate the activities of different line agencies, and to act as a monitoring unit. It also directly undertakes some programmes on rural works and construction works as assigned by M.P.L.D.

Where I.R.D. programmes are introduced there is also "Integrated Rural Development Project Committee". The Chairman is the Zonal Commissioner, and the Project Co-ordinator its Vice Chairman. The other members are (1) Chairman of the district panchayat (2) Chief District Officer (3) Local Development Officer (4) and the section chiefs of the project co-ordination office. The planning officer of the co-ordinators office serves as the member secretary. The committee's functions are to help and give directions to line offices to formulate annual plans and I.R.D. plans. Make periodic review of the progress and see its work completed in time. To take actions for effective operations

of I.R.D. Finally to bring attention of the control level for removing obstacles in the project.

At the Zonal level this is the most important Committee for implementation and operations of I.R.D. projects and is therefore also known as the Zonal Level Committee.

Now at the District level operation, the Local Development Officer of each district has been made responsible for I.R.D. programmes. He is a second class Gazetted Officer, and works as the Secretary of the District Panchayat. The District Panchayat has been designated as the Principal institution for the formulation, implementation and evaluation of all district level plans.

The Local Development Officer who serves as the functionary of the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development at the district level acts as a convenor and co-ordinator for all district level development programmes. He is in control of all administrative activities of district level offices of development ministries and departments.

With the introduction of the New Decentralisation Act 1982 the District level will play more important role for planning implementation and evaluation of I.R.D. programmes. There is a "High Level Supervisor Committee" in the district. The Chairman will be the respective districts representative of Rashtriya Panchayat. The other members will be Chairman and Vice Chairman of the District Panchayat, Chief District Officer and Local Development Officer. The Committee works as a supervisor of Development works in all the village panchayats and helps to formulate policies, to develop complementaries among various panchayats and to publicities the achievements of the villages.

To provide technical assistance there is the provision of technical sub-committees at the district level and service centres (as for 3 or 4 village panchayats) at the village level. The lowest level the village panchayat is assisted by a Multipurpose Village Development worker, in each village. He is the last government employee, under M.P.L.D. and comes under the control of local Development Officer*.

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* Local Development Ministry - Objectives, Policies, working area, Organisational set up and Planning Process. Kathmandu Ministry of Local Development, 1980, Dr. Govindban Agrawal.

National Development Council

CABINET
19 Ministries

Local Development Committee

National Planning Commission

Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development

Local Development Central Co-ordination Committee

Secretary to Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development

Local Development Central Execution Committee

Supervisory Committee

Regional Directors (5)

IRD Project Co-ordinators

IRD Project Committee

IRD District's L.D.O

Local Development Office (75)

District Panchayat (75)

Technical Sub-Committee

Service Centre (One for 3-4 Village Panchayats)

Multipurpose Village Develpment Worker

Village Panchayat

(Existing Organisation Arrangement for Integrated Rural Development in Nepal. Decentralisation Arrangement for IRD, Agrawal, G.R., CEDA, p. 13).

Annex 'D'

Questionnaire For Respondents

PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION

DISTRICT VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

WARD A. NAME B. FATHER'S NAME

C. AGE D. SEX E. CASTE

F. RELIGION G. OCCUPATION H. LIVING PERIOD OF THIS AREA I. QUALIFICATION

J. INCOME K. NO. OF FAMILY MEMBERS

L. NO. OF DEPENDENTS

A. ADMINISTRATION

1. Do you know about Integrated rural development works in

	Yes	No
a. Agriculture		
b. Irrigation		
c. Forestry		
d. Water conservation		
e. Health		
f. Transport		
g. Drinking water		
h. Co-operatives		
i. Cottage Industry		
j. Education		

2. Do you find that local development officers' assistance in the I.R.D. programme

	Yes	No
a. Attentive		
b. Co-operative		
c. Efficient		

3. L.D.Os visits in your village is

a. Once in a month b. Twice in a month

c. Thrice in a month d. Weekly

e. Does not know

4. Do you know who is Multipurpose Development worker?

Yes No

has he visited your place? Yes No

5. The Pradhan Panchas and Ward members are in development works

	Yes	No
a. Active		
b. Responsible		
c. Efficient		

B. Economic Impact

6. The daily consumer goods you use before seven years and at present

	Before		At present	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
a. Soap				
b. Tooth paste				
c. Hair oil (edible*)				
d. others*				
e. Cloth (hand made)				
(mill made)				
f. Shoes (Cotton)				
(Rubber				
(Leather)				

7. House owned ( )

Land owned ( ) Rented ( ) None ( )

8. Amount of land

Owned 0 to 1 Bigha ( ) to 2 Bigha ( ) 3 to above

rented 0 to 1 Bigha ( ) to 2 Bigha ( ) 3 to above

9. Pattern of food consumption

Now you take meat, egg, mil, fish more frequently-

Yes ( ) No ( )

You take meat, fish, milk only at festivals-

Yes ( ) No ( )

Your food intake is mainly of rice, corn, millet -

Yes ( ) No ( )

10. Within these years your production of-

Rice increased	Yes	( )	No	( )
Corn increased	Yes	( )	No	( )
Wheat increased	Yes	( )	No	( )
Millet increased	Yes	( )	No	( )

11. I.R.D. help in agriculture production by - Write No in squares (give your first second and third preference)

a. Distribution of high quality seeds ( )
b. Propagating ag. know how ( )
c. Timely distribution of fertilizers ( )
d. Provision of irrigation facility ( )
e. Provision of loan facility ( )
f. None ( )

12. Loans supplied for investment in agriculture, industry by

Sahjahas	25%	35%	75%
Agriculture Development banks	25%	35%	75%
Commercial banks	25%	35%	75%
Local money lenders	25%	35%	75%

13. Your requirement of loan for

a. Daily consumption is more	- ( )	Less - ( )	None- ( )
b. Crop production is more	- ( )	Less- ( )	None- ( )
c. Animal husbandry more	- ( )	Less- ( )	None ( )
d. Poultry more	- ( )	Less ( )	None ( )
e. Industry more	- ( )	Less ( )	None ( )
f. Business more	- ( )	Less ( )	None ( )
g. Festivals more	( )	Less ( )	None ( )

14. Your land under I.R.D. irrigation scheme covers

a. 0 to 1 Bigha ( ) b. 1-2 Bigha ( ) C. 2-3 Bigha ( )
d. above 3 ( ) e. None ( )

15. I.R.D. has given employment in

a. Agriculture ( ) b. Industry ( ) c. Commerce ( )
d. Construction ( ) e. Service ( )

C. Problems

16. Do you feel that the I.R.D. is introduced in accordance to the needs of your village yes ( ) No ( )

17. Agriculture problems-

	Not available	Untimely	High price	Insufficient
Seeds				
Fertilizers				
Loans				
Irrigation				
Technical know how				

18. Cottage Industry problem

	Not available	Untimely	High price	Insufficient	Complex
a. Loan					
b. Raw materials					
c. Skill hand					

19. Marketing problems

	High cost	Difficult	Media insufficient	Limited
a. Transportation.				
b. Storage				

c. Marketing problems for agricultural goods

	Large	Narrow	Organise	Unorganise
Scope of market				

Marketing problems for non agricultural goods

	Large	Narrow	Organise	Unorganise
Scope of Market				

D. Socio impact and its problems

	Yes	No	Number	Age	Sex
a. Any deaths?					

b. Cause of death - accident ( ) diseases ( )

21. Common diseases found in your village:

a. Dysentery b. Stomatitis c. Ring worm d. Respiratory e. Sciatica f. Other.

22. Is there a Health post in your village - Yes ( ) No ( )

a. Timeit takes to reach the place. Hour - ( ) Minute- ( ) Seconds ( )

b. Number of times you have visited the health centre one - ( ) Twice- ( ) Trhice - ( ) Weekly ( ) once in a month ( ) monthly - ( )

c. What kind of service is there? 1. free medicine 2. normal price of medical treatment 3. others -

d. What do you find lacking in health service?

1. Insufficient medicine 2. No medicine at all

3. No health assistance

e. Too whom do you go for treatment ?

1. Health post 2. Ayurvedics 3. Tantrics

23.a. How do you get your drinking water by

1. Tap 2. Hand pump 3. River 4. Stream 5. Well

b. What time it takes to reach the source of water ? Hours

c. Who installed it? Who maintains it ?

d. The cause of not getting sufficient water is

1. Lack of storage of water 2. Tap or hand pum not in good condition

3. Not sufficient pipes 4. Cutting pipes or source

24. Education received by your family members in No.

1. Primary level	1-3	3-5	more than 5	None
2. Secondary level	1-3	3-5	more than 5	None
3. Higher level	1-3	3-5	more than 5	None
4. Technical	1-3	3-5	more than 5	None
5. The three Rs	1-3	3-5	more than 5	None

The problem of education is in

a. Primary	Lack of physical facility	Lack of teachers	Lack of books
b. Secondary	Lack of physical facility	Lack of teachers	Lack of books

25. Have you participated in the public works as

a. Transportation	( )	( )
b. Drinking water	( )	( )
c. Making canals	( )	( )
d. Public Health fields	( )	( )

Your participation was - a. By cash b. By labour

26. Give your first, second and third preference for participation in public works out from the following (write number in)

a. Transportation
b. Drinking water
c. Irrigation
d. Public health
e. Education
f. Water conservation
g. Forestry
h. Cottage industry
i. Cooperatives
j. Panchayat development

Annex-'E'

Interview

For - Line agencies/Panchayat leaders

Personal Identification

District: Village panchayat :

Name : Age: Caste: Religion : Occupation

Post: Education :

Living period of this area : No. of family members:

Income: Specific facilities:

1. How effective has the role of Local Development and Panchayat Ministry been in executing IRDP?
2. Who do you think will be more efficient in executing the IRDP : Chief District Officer or Local Development Officer? Give reasons
3. For effective development works village panchayat/line agencies should be given more power, Yes or No
4. Explain District and Village plan formulation and in decision making process, what is the percentage of participation of panchayat leaders and line agencies.
5. What is your assessment of foreign field workers?
6. Foreign assistance should be more of cash or kind. Why
7. Has IRDP motivated rural participation. If no, what programmes and how do you suggest for it.
8. Rate the percentage of work completed in the IRDP components as (a) Transport (b) Agriculture (c) Forest (d) Public health (e) Drinking water (f) Education (g) Water or Conservation
9. IRDP has helped to increase employment opportunity do you agree? Which is more, temporary or permanent?
10. Has IRDP increased the crops as paddy, wheat, corn, millet? The increase has been by 50% 25% 15% or no effect.
11. The irrigation programmes have been (a) very effective (b) Effective (c) Not effective.

12. Do you have difference o opinion and view points with the officials/panchas on certain issues?

13. The reason for poor relation with officials/panchas are (a) lack of understanding each others problems (b) Excessive interference in each others work (c) Lack of trust (d) Lack of cooperation (e) Apathy towards development

14. Can you explain the problems faced by line agencies in executing IRDP

15. What are the problems faced by village pnachayat in IRDP components

16. Do you want to suggest or remark anything more?

Annex - 'F'

Interview

For - Village and District Panchayat

District:

Village :

Form for Village Panchayat only

1. Total Area:
2. Cultivated Area
3. Forest Area:
4. Rivers:
5. Population - Male : Female : Household:
6. Castes:
7. Occupations:
8. Market channels
9. Industry: Mills : Cottage industries:
10. Crops:
11. Irrigation source:
12. Domestic animals approximate number and kinds:
13. Cooperatives: Users Committee:
14. Line Agencies:
15. Services: Private: Government
16. Schools:
17. Roads and transport services:
18. Inns:
19. Income source: Development works
20. IRDP investments:

Annex 'G1'

Rasuwa/Nuwakot Progress upto 1980/82

Agricultural Development Programmes

1.	Area covered by improved seeds	40553.5 Ha.
2.	Construction of agricultural development office building	2 Nos
3.	Construction of agricultural sub-centre building	8
4.	Construction of potato godown	6
5.	Construction of Regional Training Centres (100 persons)	1
6.	Dormitary Hall (20 persons)	1
7.	Piggery	1
8.	Training Hall-cum-office building	1
9.	Six units staff quarters	1
10.	Office-cum-store	1
11.	Headquarter office	1
12.	Office quarter	1
13.	Training Hall-cum-laboratory	1

Horticulture Development

Horticulture farm only 65 ha. (Nuwakot)

Agricultural Loan

ADB NRs 30,10,000(R) NRs 1,59,17,000(N)

Agriculture Inputs Corporation

1. Chemical fertilizers 129432 MT (R)
   6542570 MT (N)
2. Improved seeds 11881 MT(R) 133749 MT (N)
3. Agricultural tools - NRs 4578 (R) NRs 81,343(N)
4. Insecticides NRs 8,107(R) NRs 122,479(N)
5. Ware Houses - 10 (8 in Nuwakot 2 in Rasuwa) with 50 MT capacity

Cooperative Development

20 Cooperatives established [6 (R) 14 (N)]

Livestock Development

1. Construction of Veterinary dispensary sub-centre - 6 nos.
2. Farm-store cum guest hous - 1 "
3. Pasture development farm - 320 Ha by seeds palnts distributed 212665 No.

Dairy Development

1. Cheese factories - 2 no.

Cottage Industry Development

1. Training for weavers	452 No.
2. Distribution of looms and other materila	166
3. Govt. Emporium building cum office and training hall	1
4. Cottage Industry Sub-Centre	3
5. Cottage Industry Sub-Centre in operation	8 places
6. Cottage Industry mobile Camp	1 "
7. Construction of Nepal paper industry	1

Education Development Programme

Nuwakot	Compiled work in %)
1. Construction of school building	79.3
2. Repairing of school building	54.5
3. Construction of furniture	84.4
3. Distribution of Educational Materials	50.0
4. Distribution of sports materials including stationery	100%

Rasuwa

Educational materials were distributed to 36 schools (1978/79)

School building construction (Dhumche)	1
Hostel building	1

Health Services Programmes

1. Construction of Health post 1 (no.) in Rasuwa
   1 (no.) in Nuwakot

Village Drinking Water supply

1. Drinking Water supply schemes - 15 (N) 24 (R)

Transportation

1. Track development - 10.5 km (N)
2. Trail development - 7 no. (N) 10 no. (R)
3. Construction of District Technical Office building - 2 nos
4. Suspension bridge - 3 (N) and 5 (R)
5. Wooden bridge - 10 (N) and 1 (R)
6. Repairing of S.B. - 4 (N) and 1 (R)

Panchayat Development Programmes

1. Construction of Panchayat building	9 (N)	16 (R)
2. Reparing	4(N)	
3. Construction of P. Sub-Centre	3(N)	1
4. Guest House	1	
5. District Assembly Hall	1	1
6. Construction of Administrative building		1
7. Staff quarter		2
8. Construction of District Panchayat Building		1

Forestry Development

	Target achieved
1. Nursery establishment	100%
2. Afforestation and maintenance	89%

Soil and Water Conservation

1. Control works in 34 gullies (N)
2. Construction 21 check dams (N)

Annex-G2

Progress upto F Y 193/84

Sagarmatha IRDP

Agricultural Development Programmes

1.	Establish Model Production farms	12 Nos.
2.	Establish model farm	7 Nos
3.	Commercial vegetable cultivation	827 hac
4.	Ceterus garden	30 hac.
5.	Potato seed production farm	4 Nos
6.	Potato production farm	1594 hac.
7.	Ag. demonstration farm	5 hac.
8.	Training to farmers	588 persons
9.	Staff quarters	9 unit
10.	Agricultural sub-centres	9 Nos.

Livestock Development

1. Distribution of improved breed stocks - (a) livestock-126 nos. and poultry birds - pigs 327 . goats-83, poultry birds-49345 no.

2.	Livestock exhibition	49 times
3.	Pasture development (1) seeds distribution - 16314 No. (2) Farm - 155 ha.	
4.	Training and discussion	483 persons
	Meetings	6 times
5.	Construction of veterinary dispensary and staff quarters	4 units
6.	Officer quarters	1
7.	Staff quarters	3 units
8.	Veterinary dispensary sub-centres	11 nos.

Village market development programmes

1.	Construction of market complex	9 Nos.

Cottage industry development

1.	Cottage industry motivation training	400 persons
2.	Construction of office building	1 nos.
3.	Construction of staff quaters	7 unit
4.	Administrative building and student hostel	27 Nos.

Irrigation programmes

Construction of

1. shallow tube well	1479 Nos
2. deep tube well	15 nos
3. deep tube well and pump house	5 No.
4. Minor irrigation project	1300 ha.
5. river control	11 km.

Hill irrigation development

1. Survey, estimation and design work done	5 projects

Building construction

1. Office building	1 No.
2. Store building	1 No.
3. Workshop and garage	1 No.
4. F type building	5 "

Road development programme

1. Mahendra Highway	57 km.
2. Building construction	100% (target achieved)

Forest development programme

1. Nursery established	7 Nos.
2. Afforestation	1438 hac.
3. Plant production	3725900 Nos.
4. Sapling distribution	447690 Nos.
5. Reforestation	833 ha.
6. Protection	1407 hac.
7. Building construction	5 Nos.

Soil and water Conservation programme

1. Afforestation	250 ha.
2. Nursery establishment	3 Nos.
3. Control works in gullies	57 Nos.
4. Check dams	100 meters
5. Building construction	3 Nos.

Local development programmes

A. Village drinking water schemes	
1. Wells	32 Nos.
2. River tap water	8 Nos
3. Survey work	4 Nos.
B. Horse tracks	26 km.

Health Services

1. construction of health posts	7 Nos.
2. construction of staff quarters	9 "
3. Ambulance purchase	2 "
4. Cycle purchase	62 "
5. Staff and nurse quarter	2 Nos.
6. X-ray and operation theatre(in hospital)	3
7. Medicine distribution in health posts	NRs 1,80,655
in hospitals	NRs 5,34,740

Agricultural Development Bank Credit distribution

	NRs
1. Potato, vegetable and horticulture	49,000
2. Animal husbandry	10,000
3. Irrigation	1,06,54,000
4. Cottage industry	34,24,000
5. Godown and cold storage construction	3,61,000

Notes: (a) Only complete works of the projects are given
(b) Coordinators office complex of Sagarmatha IRDP. Lohan is not included.
(c) These reports are compiled from the progress report published from the R/N and Sagarmatha IRDP Coordinators Offices.

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