

DYNAMICS OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE LOCAL LEVEL PLANNING IN KERALA

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abstract

In this age of Participatory strategies as well as gendering of development, this study has been conducted to share the experience of the ever biggest participatory exercise as well as gendering of development, with a view to understand the dynamics of peoples participation in development, particularly that of women's participation. The study has been conducted in the background of the Campaign for People's Planning started in Kerala in 1996.

Participatory exercises in development programmes have widespread and there are evidences of this strategy being put in to practice in different countries. The literature on this is replete with theoretical cob webs, critical evaluation and experience sharing. These series of attempts coined as "Empowered Deliberative Democracies" envision the true participation of people with the sublime motive of contributing towards development exercises. The efforts in this direction as well as the experiences have raised certain crucial questions. Participatory approach to development centers around the very basic questions like who participate, how they participate and why they do so. Apart from this, it needs to look in to the questions of what ultimately determines participation, i.e., what drives the participants to the development programmes and what ultimately pulls back the non-participants from participating in the development programmes. This study has addressed these questions with empirical support from the experience in a sample of two Grama Panchayaths of Thrissur, District of Kerala. The study has drawn information from secondary data, primary data collected from the house hold survey, participant observations and focus group discussions.

The introductory chapter has elaborated on the background of the study, the concept and significance, the sample, the scope of the study, the methodology and the limitations . The second chapter has examined the evolution of alternative development strategies and sketched the emergence of participatory approaches as well as gendering of development. The socio-economic profile of the sample is given in detail in the third Chapter. The fourth chapter, is devoted for the analysis of dynamics of people's participation, particularly women's participation in development, the trends in participation, the spatial variation, the dynamics and the rural-urban dichotomy.

The analysis of general trend in participation has revealed the fact that there has been increase in the participation of different groups like women, men and backward classes in the rural areas, while the urban centered municipalities have exhibited a different trend. It can be seen that the participation of female as well as the backward classes have exhibited uniform trends of a constant increase, inspite of a decline in total participation, during the period of study.

The motives behind participation and the extent of true participation as well as the perception of the non-participants were examined. The sample survey among

household informants showed that along with the motive for personal benefits, equally strong is the motive for solving local problems. The concern for solving local problems are equally shared by the male participants, though the personal benefits have been a strong motivation among the female participants. The beneficiary status of the participants supports the above argument. Among the participants around 45 per cent are not availing any benefits. Unlike what is often talked about that there is forced participation of party men and their hardcore cronies, the study has revealed that only a meager percentage of the sample has participated obeying party dictates from either side.

Along with the macro settings like political, economic and social conditions supporting participation, there are certain micro level determinants that play an important role in enhancing participation. It was found that the age of the participant, the family income, type of house owned, occupation, land holding, political association and exposure to the media are the factors examined to identify whether there are any relationship between these factors and participation. It was found that the youngsters of male and the combined group of male and female keep away or rarely participate in the campaign while the elderly groups actively participate in the campaign. There is a clear absence of younger male and presence of elderly male in the campaign. While the male participants clusters around the age group of 55 and above, the female participants with age between 36-45 dominate the participants. This is interpreted that the younger males are withdrawn being they are bread winners, while workplace and household obligations might have withdrawn the younger females. Generally, the family income of the participant is negatively correlated with participation. The tendency to participate declines at higher levels of income, and participation is something looked down and regarded as the affairs of poor and backward classes, by the elite groups.

Similar is the case of housing pattern. The poor pattern of housing has always been a strong reason for participation and most of the households with 'tiled' and 'thatched' houses are participants. Those with better housing conditions preferred to keep away from the programme. Exposure to either print or visual media seems to have less influence on participation. While the former has really fostered participation to a very small extent, the latter has a deterring effect by keeping the household to sit in front of the mini screen.

Occupational distribution of participants as well as non-participants show that unemployed formed the major contributor to both the groups of participants and non-participants. The groups that have contributed much towards participants are farmers and service persons. Association with Political parties is a strong determinant of participation. While most of those revealed their association, regardless of their ideologies, are participants and most of those preferred to be treated as indifferent kept away from the programme.

The size of land holding, as it is clear from the sample survey, plays comparatively insignificant role in pushing the household to the Grama Sabhas. Still it needs to be stated that the group with land holding of the size between 0.5 acres and 1.00 acres has contributed much towards participation. Perhaps the benefits like various agricultural provisions through the local level planning might have been a strong motivation for this.

As far as the question of quality of participation is concerned, it was found that more than 90 per cent of them are 'passive participants'. The percentage of active participants as well as decisive participants are very low. An important pre-condition for the good quality deliberations at the Grama Sabha is the awareness about the local problems and successful presentation of them. The general impression one gets from the survey results is that the male participants excel the female counterparts in this aspect. Similar is the case of vigilance in participation. In their response to violations of priority of any kind, it is the male participants who performed better inspite of the fact

that none of the female informants felt that they do not have any freedom or they are suppressed. As far as the barriers to participation is concerned, it is the attitudinal factors that contributed negatively in fostering participation. More than half of the participants, mostly females, felt that they do not have sufficient time to spare for this important programme. This stems from their ignorance about the programme and points out to the need for educating them. Most of the resource persons and officials who engage in the programme have reflected that it is the lack of awareness among the non-participants that blocks effective participation at the ward levels.

The most important questions perplexing the planners and engineers when Participatory approach is introduced is to enhance the strength of participation, ensuring effective participation and sustaining the tempo created in the beginning and managing the gender sensitivity of the programme. This session attempts to draw some suggestions in this regard from the results of the analysis as well as our group discussions with the officials, members of grama panchayath, women leaders and office bearers of the self-help groups etc..

1. An important precondition for the successful execution of this kind of programmes is the awareness on the part of those who are to participate in the programme. It can be seen that in Kaiparamb Grama Panchayath, where there is the strong network of Self help groups and background for popular participation even before the campaign has been on the move, there is better participation. Therefore, it can be inferred that creation of awareness is much important for both enhancing the strength of participation as well as for sustaining the tempo.
2. An important barrier to participation is the lack of interest in the programmes, as expressed by the non-participants, particularly female participants. This clearly shows that the campaign has failed to capture the minds of some people who kept away from the programme since the beginning. Efforts need to be taken to generate genuine interest among them by sensitizing them.
3. Participation can be sustained only when there is a strong motivation to attend the programmes. In other words, the Grama Sabha proceedings are not in such a way that generates confidence among the participants. Therefore, along with the attempts to create awareness, it is necessary that the Grama Sabha proceedings like selection of beneficiaries must be conducted in such a way that it creates confidence among the participants and make them feel that their voice is heard and attended.
4. As far as the question of gender issues in participation are concerned, the most commonly talked about issues like enforcing opinions of males among the female participants, harassing at the meetings and public places, discriminating on the basis of sex etc. were not reported from the sample survey or observation sessions.. Most of the female non-participants felt that they are permitted to attend the Grama Sabhas and they keep away from the programme for the reasons other than gender issues. None of the women leaders who attended our group discussion sessions has a feeling of sense of inequality.

5. But one cannot over look the gender gap in the performance of people in this programmes. In certain aspects like the awareness of local problems, motives for presenting local problems, successful presentation of local problems often male exceeds the females. This calls for the special care on the part of the women leaders in sensitising the women in general and generating confidence among them regarding the programme. As per the observations of the women activists in these sample area, it can be inferred that there are no attempts in this direction taken by the panchayath.
6. One important factor that crucially determines the participation of women is the presence of a charismatic leader of both sexes. Those who are able to carve respect, confidence, reputation and enter in to the hearts of the people, regardless of their sex and status, often pulls crowds. The pattern of participation of women in the women headed wards also supports this argument.
7. Though it is a fact that, a true leader is born, not made, attempts can be geared in this direction to caste devoted, efficient, sincere and able leaders at the village level, through leadership development schemes.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This is the age of Participation and Participatory Development. This is also an age of Gendering Development. Participatory exercises in development programmes have widespread and it has been sarcastically remarked that now a days one cannot find a development effort without an element of participation (Stirrat, 1997). There are evidences of this approach being put into practice from various countries like South Korea, Singapore, China, Cuba, Costa Rica, Srilanka and India. The literature on this aspect is replete with theorisation, critical assessments as well as experience sharing.¹ Perhaps, Bergston (1993) has been looking forward to this strategy when he observed that Nobel prizes are awaiting for those who are able to reconcile the centrifugal forces of politics with the centripetal ones of economics. The best outcome, according to him, is expected to, simultaneously, stimulate economic growth, sustain equitable distribution of income and maximise democratic representation and local level autonomy. Since 70s the attempts to redefine development in terms of women and here productive role has gained much footing (Marilee Karl 1995, Hahner 1985). It can be visualised as a move from “integrating women in to development” to “gender the development process”. (Caroline 1993: Maxyine Molyneaux 1985). The Women in Development perspective, which gained much popularity in 70s, distinguished the Practical Gender needs and Strategic gender needs, but when policies are designed and implemented, they ignored the latter. Eighties witnessed the emergence of a different perspective labeled ‘Mainstreaming Women’ which called for bringing women to the mainstream of development efforts. During the 80s there has been a shift in focus from Women to Gender. This has identified role of women and men as contextual to time, place and culture. The empowerment approach, which evolved in the 90s, has interpreted it in terms of participation in policy making and planning process. The most popular version of empowerment provides ample room for participation in decision making and implementation of development plans by women. Women’s participation at grass root level is increasingly recognized as crucial to

a better life for them. Hence the major thrust as well as focus of development theory and practice during the last couple of decades has been on Women's Participation.

Among the attempts in tune with the above line of thought, a very serious one, that too in such a mammoth scale, is the ongoing experiments of Kerala State Planning Board to decentralize the planning process to the grass root levels by making people participating from the conception to the implementation of the plans. Fung and Wright (2000) have the right terminological choice for this real world experiments as "Empowered Deliberative Democracies" ². These series of attempts in Kerala, coined as **Campaign for People's Planning**, have replaced the traditional type of planning in which people were silent spectators of their fate being designed by external experts and has created the environment for effective participation of people. The World Bank mission recently visited India has assessed this programme, in which three million people or roughly 10 per cent of the population of the State taking part directly in the planning process, probably as the largest of its kind in the world.(George Mathew 1999). Kerala's People's Campaign has offered infinite opportunities for local people to participate in various levels and roles in the process of planning from conception to the implementation of the plans. Exactly it has tamed planning to make it roam around people and has tailored it to meet the requirements of people at grass root level. Nearly 3.5 lakhs people participated in the initial phase of Grama Sabhas and this works out to be one person from each household on the average.

Campaign for People's Planning offers several opportunities in which one can participate in a variety of activities at different levels and roles. The participants vary in profile, motivations and perspectives. One strong motivation, as the social engineers of the campaign often puts, is the present and potential social as well as personal benefits in the form of projects and schemes. From simply attending the Neighborhood groups, Grama Sabhas, Task forces, various committees, voluntary labor mobilization schemes, participation can be passive, active, or even decisive when he or she exercises his 'voice' and exert the

'influence' on the outcome of decision making process. Participation in decision making can be understood as a process involving 'voice' and 'influence' (Andreas Wilkes 2000) Voice refers to the ability to share knowledge or opinion relevant to certain decision while influence refers to the ability to effectively and positively contribute towards the outcome of decision making process.

Scope and Significance of the Study

Participatory Approach to Development, the most widely accepted strategy for political intervention for economic development, is being put to severe tests of fitness by practitioners. The most important question often asked in relation to it is how far it has succeeded in fulfilling the real objectives with which the paradigm shift has evolved and the strategy has been designed. It is a matter of great concern that whether the strategy has enabled the development efforts to be geared from bottom and how far people, the real beneficiaries of the development efforts were participating in the process. Stories narrated and experience shared leave ample room for doubts for the role that the people play in the process of development. Most of the experts in this strategy of planning as well as the development practitioners duly emphasise on the authentic or spontaneous participation of people from the conception to implementation as well as maintenance of projects. Hence the success of participatory approach depends on the fact that like who participate, how and what drives them to do so. Apart from this, there is also the question of why a lot of people, particularly women and the backward classes, keep away from this programme. This study addresses these basic questions.

The study has been conducted in the backdrop of a historical experiment, which has offered immense of opportunities for the Women, and backward classes of Kerala to participate in the process taking very crucial decisions and implementing them. People's Campaign for Local Level Planning, commenced in 1996, has set the legitimate environment for wider and grass root level participation of People, particularly women and the marginalised groups, in the local level planning of Kerala. This is, distinctly, a genuine attempt to make the

people participate in the planning process of identifying the local problems, analysing the various options before them and mobilising resources to solve them. According to Franke and Chasin (1997), it is one of the largest of its kind in the world which aims at substantial relaxations of central control and community participation. Local development issues are to be discussed in the Ayalkootam, Grama Sabhas and Ward Conventions. Ayalkootams and Grama Sabhas are planned to meet at local public places like schools or churches during holidays at the most convenient times. It is reported that 27 million people participated in the first Grama Sabha meetings. However 27 percent of the participants are women, the target was left untouched. There is wide variations in the Participation, particularly in the case of women, across the Panchayaths of Kerala. (Isaac, 2000, Muraleedharan 2000). Franke and Chasin (1997) have observed that in the process of preparation of IX plan proposals by Grama Panchayaths, it is reported that as the campaign progressed, there has been dropouts of women from leadership positions due to household and child care obligations which their spouses denied to pick up. In this context, the observation of State Planning Board (1997) is noteworthy. It says that the average participation in the Grama Sabha was only 180 as against the adult ward membership of 1500. Although, it is much higher than the legal minimum of 50, the fact remains that majority of the people did not attend Grama Sabhas. It continues that the participation of women was less than 25 per cent of the participants and the representation of SC and ST population was rather poor.

The experience of People's Campaign for Local Level Planning arises several pertinent questions. Why do people participate in this process? What are their ultimate motives behind participation? Are they motivated by the schemes and projects granted and the benefits expected from them? Whether they are driven by the sublime values of democracy and participate for the sake of it alone? What are the determinants of participation? How far the factors like effective dissemination of information, functioning of information net work, the working of grass root level organisations, and other efforts to mobilise people to participate in the process influence the extend of participation? What are the

role of education, income, convenience of meeting places, timing of meeting places and on the strength of participation? A large number of people are not participating in the campaign. Why do not they participate? Are they not genuinely interested in participating? What are the factors preventing from actively participating in the process? What is the quality of Participation? Is majority of Women simple observers? How actively and how decisively they participate? Are there any external pressures intervening for excluding and marginalising some group of people from participating in the process? . This study is an attempt to address these questions.

Objectives of the Study

The Study is taken up with the following objectives.

1. To examine the qualitative aspects of Participation of People such as level of Participation, Quantitative aspects like strength and rate of participation and trend in Participation of People, particularly Women, in the local level planning of Kerala
2. To analyse the motives behind various levels of Participation of People, particularly Women and other weaker sections in the process of local level planning in Kerala.
3. To identify the determinants of Participation of People, particularly Women, and to analyse the role played by grass root level organisations and information net works in mobilising people to participate in the local level planning of Kerala.
4. To identify the barriers to effective participation by Women in the local level planning of Kerala..

Methodology and Database

This study is mainly based on primary data collected from household survey conducted in the Wards of Grama panchayaths using a Questionnaire. Personal interview was the method of data collection adopted. From each house

available adult members are interviewed using different set of questionnaires. As a supplementary source of information, the Leaders and Officials actively engaged in local level planning were interviewed with another set of questionnaire.

Scope of the study is limited to selected samples. The basic unit of the study is the households in the Grama Panchayats. Sample households are identified using a multi- stage sampling. There are 14 districts in Kerala State. Thrissur District has contributed the largest number of Women Panchayath Members and Women Presidents during the last term of local bodies. There are 38 Women Panchayath Presidents and 199 Women Panchayath Members in Thrissur District. Hence Thrissur District is selected as the Sample District.

There are 98 Grama Panchayaths and 7 Municipalities in Thrissur District. Selection of Grama Panchayaths is made on the basis of Quantity of Participation. Two Grama Panchayaths are selected: one with largest participation and the other with lowest participation. **Kaiparamb Grama Panchayath of Puzhakkal Development Block** with largest participation and **Porkalam Grama Panchayath of Chovannur Development Block** with lowest participation are selected at the second stage.

Grama Panchayath wards are selected on the basis of Quantitative Aspects of Participation. Two Grama Panchayath Wards, one with largest participation and the other with lowest participation, each from these Grama Panchayaths are selected for an intensive study at the house hold level. In Kaiparamb Grama Panchayath the study was conducted at Ward No. 2, the ward with better participation and Ward No 8, ward with poor participation. Similarly, in Porkalm Grama Panchayath, Ward No. 8 with better participation and Ward 2, with poor participation, were selected for the study..

Sample households were selected using Systematic Random Sampling Method. There are 500- 600 households in the selected wards. From each ward,

a sample of 100 houses are to be selected randomly. In order to avoid clustering of sample units in same area, systematic random sampling is adopted and every 6th house was selected, skipping the houses in between them. This will help to get the sample units spread throughout the population area in the wards and the responses obtained will be more representative. In this manner sample of around 125 households from each wards of two Grama Panchayaths were identified and from each house available elders were interviewed using a pre designed questionnaire. As a whole there are nearly 500 households informants in the sample.

Scheme of the Report

The report is presented in five Chapters and the chapterisation is as follows.

The first chapter introduces the problems and elaborate on the significance of the study, the sample selection, the methodology and the source of data.

The second chapter which serves the purpose of review of literature examines the emergence of Alternative Development Strategies, the emphasise on Decentralisation, the evolution of the Participatory approaches and the integration and mainstreaming of women in development.

The Third Chapter provides a socio- economic profile of the sample area and the sample and Chapter Four presents the results of the analysis of data and looks in to the core of the study. The fifth Chapter is a concluding chapter with summary and suggestions.

Limitations of the Study

As far as the limitations of the study are concerned, the usual disclaimer holds. The data required to analyse the dynamics and process of participation was rarely available and even at the Grama Panchayath level and it has given us immense of problems. The two elections, one to the Grama Panchayath and the other to the Kerala Legislative Assembly posed tuff challenges to us in the form of change in the socio-political mood of the interviewers.

Notes and References

1. For more details on the conceptual cobb-webs see Chambers 1994; Browman 1996; Escobar 1995; Burkey 1993 David Mosse 1999; Vettivel 1999, critical assessments see Stirrat 1997; Bastin 1997; Ralf Starkloff 1997 and experience sharing across the globe see Thomas Isaac 1997,1999, 2000 ; Isaac and Tharakan 1995; Isaac and Harilal 1997, John Kurian 1999,: Abdul Aziz Andrea Cornwall, Henry Lucas and Kath Pasteur: Mungai Lenneye; Andrea Wilkes : John .T. Milimo : Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright ; Francois Pierre- Louis; John Harris Patrik Heller; Getardo Pigeon : Gianpaolo Baiocchi : Doug Hindson and Bongani Ngqulunga : Zesuliwe Mkhize 2000: Muraleedharan 2000.

2. Fung and Wright have sighted five of such illustrative ones. They are 1. Functionally Specific Neighbourhood Councils of Chicago, U.S.A 2.Wiscosin Regional Training Partnership 3. Stake holders Eco System Governance under the U.S Endangered Species Act 1973. 4. Participatory City Budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil and 5. The Village Governance in West Bengal and Kerala's People's Campaign for Local Level Planning. See Fung and Wright (2000)' *Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance.*' Paper presented at the International Conference on Democratic Decentralisation, May 2000, State Planning Board, Kerala

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CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES: POPULAR PARTICIPATION AND GENDERING DEVELOPMENT

The concept of human development is as old as Philosophy.¹ The question of what makes a good life had been haunting much of the ancient Philosophy. *Eudaimonie*, i.e. the state of having an objectively desirable life has been the deep concern of ancient Greek tradition including Aristotle. (Honderich 1995). Unfortunately, the ancient Greek Philosophy and subsequent moral theories have relatively less influenced modern political economy and development economics that evolved during the 50's as well. The concept of *Eudaimonie* and the idea of human flourishing have made economists largely uncomfortable and they preferred to divorce their science from the realm of politics and moral philosophy. Human beings remained outside the scope of development and consequently little attention was devoted to the development of human being as an end itself. But now a day, as a result of the attempts of economists like Sen, Huq, Hicks and Streeten, development efforts have made to roam around people. The development has been redefined and redesigned with man at the centre.

It may be interesting and useful to sketch the evolution of Participatory Approach as well as Gendering of Development in its historical perspective for a better understanding of the current paradigm shift and its significance. Hence, this session serves to explore the evolution of development strategy over the last couple of decades and sketch the attempts for decentralisation, participation and empowerment at grassroots level and integrating women in to development.

Evolution of Alternative Development Strategies

The literature on development is replete with attempts to explain the unfolding of development theory and practice. Evolution of development theory and practice, during the last couple of decades, has been visualised often as a movement from holistic theorisation towards more empirically informed and

inductive approaches. (Mohan and Stokke 2000). It has been viewed as development studies rather than development theory also (Leys 1999). Some authors perceive this evolution through its historically specific context and socio-political implications deep beneath the terminological choices.(Kunhaman 2000). Besides this, development strategy has moved away from its dependence on single discipline, and has derived support from various other disciplines like History, Sociology, Anthropology etc. Unlike the mainstream development strategy, a sense of enthusiasm and optimism has been imbued the early post war era of development studies. (Chakravarthy 1990 : Hirshman 1982 : Sutton 1989). The recent shift in paradigm has been also interpreted as a reaction to the failures of main stream strategies. According to Brohman (1996) the development studies have entered a period of crisis as the mainstream frameworks of dominant post-war development find it difficult to meet the South's most compelling challenges. While a crisis of uncertainty and inertia grips the field of development studies, third world countries are desperately seeking solution to their mounting development problems. The dramatic changes that have come over in the main stream strategies and theories of development have been an offshoot of these profound economic crises that has upset the South. The last two decades have witnessed the displacement of Keynesian orthodoxy and movement of neo-liberalism to the center of development studies. The prominent characteristic of the post-war development strategy has been the strong concern for global inequalities.

The central focus of mainstream strategies has been economic growth and top down diffusion of development impulses. Growth is treated as the function of investment, and the benefits of development is expected to trickle down to the neediest sectors of society. Popular participation is confined to the ratification meetings in which outside experts used to brief the local people. By the end of 1960s, it was identified that growth was not necessarily correlated with other development objectives such as rapid employment creation, reduction of poverty and inequality and provision of basic human needs. Severe maldevelopment problems were found to be appearing in some countries like

Brazil, Iran, Kenya, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan and South Africa. It was found that mere economic growth failed in eradicating poverty or providing jobs or reducing inequalities as it was expected. There has been accumulating evidences for growing unemployment (Turnham 1971) increasing inequalities (Adelman and Morris 1973) and it has been argued that growth is followed by increased inequalities (Griffin 1989).

The experience of 50s and 60s have taught that mere growth was quite insufficient to induce broad based development and more than a decade of rapid development in underdeveloped countries has been of little or no benefit to perhaps a third of their population (Chenery et, al 1974). Economic growth had simply failed to filter down the argument that top down development as well as trickle down strategies will alleviate widespread impoverishment. A growing number of theorists and experts began to argue that the focus of macro economic growth had been misplaced, as the focus has been on the inanimate instead of animate. (Black, 1991). Even the measurement of development has to be redefined in terms of people oriented criteria. It was the wide consensus on the fact that new development approaches should be oriented towards the satisfaction of basic human needs and desires particularly at the local community level that made Huq to observe that development should be built around people rather than make people roam around development (Mahbub.Ul Huq 1976).²

As Stohr and Tailor (Eds) (1981) put it, it was expected that growth and development would proceed in a dispersed manner from below, by targeting at the poor and adopting programs suitable for local needs and requirements rather than following the conventional top down strategies. Rapid and more appropriate development forms can be evolved by encouraging participatory decision making and releasing the latent energies and creativity of the poor. Though a few isolated, but halted attempts to introduce the alternative development strategies can be traced even before 50s, the movement gathered momentum only after 70s when the international aid giving agencies began to intervene. , (Bernstein and Campbell 1985: Moser 1987).

Dissatisfaction with the mainstream development models led to the search for alternative people oriented approaches and consequently efforts were made to uncouple the direct exclusive relationship between growth and development, to consider the question of distributional equity, poverty, basic needs provision and adoption of appropriate technologies . A rather broad, eclectic, loosely defined new populist ideology gained much currency among the experts. (Kitching, 1982). The effect was to redefine the aim of development towards fostering fairer distribution of income and resources, encouraging local participation and promoting socially and environmentally appropriate technologies. A range of alternative development frame works has emerged during the recent years under the influence of both Neo liberalism and other mainstream development strategies. Emphasis was shifted to projects which directly targeted at the poor, particularly the rural poor. Despite the theoretical rhetoric placed on community participation, a top down social engineering approach continued to characterise the development projects. Sincere and concrete attempts to empower popular organisations to take a more active role in political and economic decision making were largely avoided. (Hettne 1990).

The major thrust of alternative development approach was basic needs. There has been different interpretations and varying concepts for basic needs, which got later transformed in to political claim for entitlements regarding the poor as people actively engaged in the struggle to define their own lives and means of livelihood. This approach no longer regards poor as passive victims of outside aid and has identified the role they play in alleviating poverty. Demanding greater popular participation, this approach on the one hand requires a drastic change in the organisations of institutions and agencies involved in development programmes, and on the other, the attainment of poor to become more organised and self - reliant. It is at these levels, the basic needs approach tend to become highly politicised, tied to issues of representation, participation and empowerment.

It is at the context of relationship between growth and inequality that alternative strategy has major deviation from the mainstream strategy. The mainstream development strategy has identified inequality and the resultant higher investment potential as the precondition for growth. But the alternative development strategies that emerged in the seventies assumed that there need not be any conflict between growth and redistribution measures, and hence asserted for redistribution before growth. Redistribution measures proposed in alternative development strategies has three distinct approaches, as Griffin (1989) and Emmerie (1987) observed. First, there were strategies that stressed on employment intensive measures for the working poor. Second, there were measures which linked growth with redistribution by advocating measures that would transfer an increasing part of increments to total income that would arise from accelerated growth to the poor. Thirdly, there were strategies that focused on the elaboration of basic needs approach, placing greater stress on helping the poor to acquire more economic and political power.

The drive for alternative frameworks of development has been triggered off by the Cocoyock Declaration of (1974) while the urge for it has been sustained by two other international efforts. viz., First the documents published by Swedish Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in 1975 , which had outlined a more humanistic approach to development and Second, the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) by promoting an alternative bottom up approach to development coined as the Third System project in 1976 ³ . The Third System project was an attempt to explore new methods of raising consciousness and increasing participation by grass roots movements in development decision making. The approach has clearly made distinction between the first System, the State, the second System, the transnational capital and the third System of People's Power, which constituted people acting individually and collectively through voluntary institutions as well as social movements.

At least in theory and to a certain extent in practice, there has been some emphasis on local participation. Emphasis was particularly given to fostering local institutions to enhance people's participation in the selection, design and management of development projects at the community level. Participation was viewed as an important end in itself, also it was linked to a number of other instrumental values as Griffin (1989) puts it. First, participation in community based organisations could help to identify local priorities so that development projects might better reflect grass root needs and wishes. Participation in popular organisations and groups, co. operatives, land reform committees, irrigation societies, women organisations might assist in mobilising local support for development projects and programmes. Thirdly, increased local participation might reduce the cost of many public services and development projects by shifting more responsibility to grassroots organisations.

Mohan and Stokke (2000) have clearly sketched the evolution of development strategy during the last couple of decades, critically examining the links between development theory and political action and the ways in which new political spaces are being created. Development research, as they argue, has been a movement from holistic theorisation towards more empirically informed and inductive approaches. Simultaneously, movement towards participation and empowerment has led to the emergence of the 'local' as the site of empowerment, knowledge generation and development intervention. The two major intellectual streams which have contributed towards this development thinking and intervention, according to them, are the Neo liberalism and Post - Marxism.

Development Economics has traditionally assigned a key role to the interventionist state in correcting market failures and ensuring economic efficiency, growth, stability as well as social development . A dramatic shift in this paradigm was brought by the neo-liberal counter revolution in development theory and the state came to be viewed as a barrier than a driving force in the development process.(Toye.J 1987). The 80's witnessed strong critical observations about the role of the State and promoted market liberalism as the

most efficient mechanisms for delivering economic and social development. Recently the singular emphasise on markets has been shifted to additional emphasise on institutional reforms. (WB, 1997). Civil Society has emerged as the arena in which development objectives are to be achieved. According to Hyden (1997), Civil societies, as the neo liberalists perception goes, can exert organised pressure on autocratic state and unresponsive governments to ensure democratic stability and good governance. Civil society institutions has been identified as the vehicles for participation of people and empowerment of them. This has offered tuff challenges to the top down diffusion of State Planning.

Parallel trends can be viewed in more radical development studies. Post Marxian groups have viewed empowerment as a strategy for fighting the disempowering activities of both the State and the markets through collective mobilisations of the marginalised groups. Still there are critical differences between the conceptualisation of development between Neo liberals and Post Marxians.(Stokke, 1998). The Neo-liberals conceptualise participation and empowerment as a harmony model of power in which efforts are taken by the State agencies to collaborate the Non- governmental institutions to make the efforts of State more efficient and to include identified target groups in the process of development. This implies that the empowerment of powerless can be achieved within the existing social order hardly affecting the power of the powerful negatively.(Mayo and Craig 1995)

In contrast to this view of revisionist neo-liberalists, the Post Marxian radical notion of empowerment focus on bottom up social mobilisation in a society as a challenge to hegemonic interests within the State and Market. The key elements in this process are conscientisation and collective identity formation around common experience within economic and political marginalisation. (Paulo Fraire 1996). Power is conceptualised as both in relational and conflictual terms. According to Laclan and Mouffee (1996) empowerment of the marginalised requires transformation of economic and political relationship towards radically democratized society. Mayo and Craig (1995) opine that both these strands of

development thoughts share the common perception that State and Markets cannot and should not be solely held responsible for ensuring equality and social justice with fair rates of growth. Second, local knowledge, actors and interventions are the key factors in both these strands of thought. Mohan and Stokke(2000) also identify different versions of populist development thoughts, in between this two most prominent strands. For e.g. that of Chambers argue that for reversing the previous centralism, all development efforts have to promote grassroots development. But in all these cases, the basic focus is on localised, non-capitalist practices. (Gibson - Graham 1995)

Attempts for Decentralisation

Another major thread of the development frame work during the post war period was the thrust for decentralisation. Along with the acceptance of alternative development strategies, there has been a tendency in third world countries to decentralise their planning as the aftermath of wide dissatisfaction with the Keynesian development planning during the Sixties and Seventies. As Browman(1996) observes, though the concept of decentralised planning suffered a set back during the eighties, the ideas of decentralisation and local level participation are in favor recently both in theory and practice.

The emergence of new wave of enthusiasm in democratic decentralisation can be traced to the late 80's, when many of the developing countries, either on their own or under the influence of international donors, started the experiments with the idea of democratisation of local governance. During the early 1990s a large number of programmes for strengthening democratic local governance were launched in various countries.

Louis (2000) has observed that, decentralisation, as a concept to hold government more accountable to population has gained popularity in developing countries, primarily in those that are experiencing democratic transition. Many governments perceive it as means through which power can be shared among factions and through which resource can be allocated differently to a various

groups in society. Cohen and Peterson (1999) identified the root of this tendency to go for decentralised governance on the initiative of international aid agencies to insist on progressively introducing decentralisation, devolution of powers to local bodies and popular participation on the aid receiving countries. Campbell (1997) describes decentralisation as quite revolution in Latin America. He observes that, the changes in government associated with decentralisation are thought to hold the potential to deepen democracy, make for more accountable and efficient institution, increase citizens input and foster co. operation, across the public and private divide.

It is a fact that there has been different definitions given to the decentralisation with multiple meanings such as deconcentration, devolution, delegation etc. each having different programmes and objectives. (Samof, 1990) Some of the analysts have taken it as administrative decentralisation and some others have taken it radically as political decentralisation a means to empower previously underrepresented or marginal groups. The administrative decentralisation while concentrates on wider distribution of infrastructure and services, political decentralisation aims at actual transfer of decision making authority to local representatives of the popular majority, it focus on empowerment and participation of people at large. This is what we encounter in certain experiments in third world countries ⁴

Slater (1989) has observed that the term decentralisation can be articulated in to a monetarist discourse, but alternatively it can be linked to a discussion that combines ideas of collective empowerment, and participation in a managerial state. He adds that decentralisation holds up the promise of a reordering of political space and revitalisation of "local " in terms of democracy and socialism. Mohan (1996) argues that decentralisation has become an underlying principle in this move towards more technocratic accountability and choice. Really it constitutes a fluid, a flexible discourse that can be utilised by different ideological interests. Particularly, World Bank (1990) have promoted decentralisation as a means of breaking the power of central ministries,

increasing revenue generation, shifting the burden of service delivery on to local stake holders. But this approach to decentralisation promoted by World Bank, is entirely different compared to liberal as well as radical approaches that see devolution of power to local governments as a means of promoting a new communitarian spirit and forming the seedbed of democratic process. According to Mohan (2000) the underpinnings of this vision of decentralisation is "Rational Choice Theory" (RCT) which permits a more political readings of decentralisation to be transferred to a narrative of capital and efficiency.

Cheema and Rondinelli (1983) defined decentralisation as the transfer of planning decision or administrative authority from the central governments to its field organisations, local administrative units, semi autonomous and local governments and NGOs.

Kochen and Deutsch (1980) were more concerned with efficiency in policy formulation and more specifically in the output of organisational service system. According to them the core of decentralisation in a service system is its responsiveness, the shortness of its communication time and the directness of its channels between servers and clients.

Randinelli et .al (1989) attempts to develop a "new" political economy frame work for analysing decentralisation programmes. In his frame work, the State is viewed in terms of either "constraining" or "enabling" and society is reduced to the characteristics of people as consumers. The organisational arrangements for decentralisation includes privatisation, deregulation, delegation and devolution of powers. It is criticised that this model ignores the other dimension of decentralisation namely, the notion of participation and empowerment.

Chandrasekher (2000) has observed that planning would appear a contradiction in terms of the adherent of classical role and nature of planning in Economic System. At the core of the orthodox literature on planning, one can

find a process of centralised investment decision making, which had its corollary central access to and allocation of the surplus available in the system. Decentralisation, if it is to be meaningful, it requires the devolution of resources as well as power.

Baiocchi (2000) argues that decentralisation can have many different meanings, but in the context of policy advocacy, it means at its broadest, the shifting of government functions and responsibilities away from central agencies to local ones. The author adds that, the net result of decentralisation in developing world is not clear, the literature is replete with success stories involving specific instances of local reform that not only improve the delivery of services and revitalising local civic involvement. Decentralisation will, by itself, hardly ensure this benefits, but it is clear that decentralisation of government has been accompanied by a hollowing out of State. Baiocchi also adds that in most of the South, decentralisation has been introduced in most inauspicious circumstances, as a mandate to comply with measures of IMF. Fiscal austerity measures have been the single exclusive determinant as well as motivator for decentralisation attempts.

According to Turner and Hulme (1997) decentralisation through devolution is the approach in which the citizen participation is emerged. This form of decentralisation is hailed as the ideal form of decentralisation as it combines the promise of local democracy and technical efficiency.

Examining the efforts of Political decentralisation in Africa, William Tordoff (1994) argues that, Political decentralisation in Africa denote the devolution of powers or representative local councils, each with its separate legal existence and its own budget and with the authority to allocate resources to carry multiple functions. Decentralisation thorough devolution, in essence, transfer powers from the central authority to the local level through institutional structures that can guarantee effective citizen participation.

Jenni Littrack and Seddon Jessica (1999) have noted that in a decentralised devolved system all local bodies have clear and legally recognised geographical boundaries over which they exercise and within they perform public functions.

Jha (1997) has opined that there has been consistent suggestions for division and dispersal of power, which the ubiquitous phenomena of concentration of power in institution as well as individuals was explained. Democracy and democratisation have given renewed emphasise on decentralisation.⁴

Smith (1985) has argued that advocacy for decentralisation has been a part of liberal political tradition. It is clear that decentralisation is beneficial for the functioning of democratic system at the national as well as local level.

As far as the forces that compelled the introduction of decentralisation are concerned, Crook and Mannuel have (1998) observed that along with the size and complexity of the territory, religion, language, economic development and cultural enclave have played their role. In other words, decentralisation is thus effected by pressures both from above and below.

It is interesting to examine why decentralisation was argued for. Decentralisation has been favored due to the following reasons. Decentralisation helps to diminish regional inequalities, reduce inefficiency and waste, promote more appropriate development of human as well as natural resources, alleviate poverty by redistributive measures and facilitate more effective implementation of plans and improve local responsiveness and participation. Conyers (1986) has opined, decentralisation has been viewed as a means to transform political and administrative systems to make them more efficient, more appropriate to local conditions and more responsive to changing needs of socio-economic and spatial development. Agreeing with this Maro (1990) asserts that decentralisation is regarded as a vital technique to facilitate local participation in development

projects, increase flexibility and efficiency, create consensual support for development initiatives needed to promote national unity and political stability.

Isaac and Franke (2000) have examined in what ways democratic decentralisation can contribute towards economic growth and welfare of the people. According to them the traditional economic theory has focused on the advantages of local decision making due to several reasons as highlighted by Oates (1972), Musgrave (1959) and Marschak (1959). Since economic development is regarded as the duty of the local bodies, local level planning becomes essential not only to respond to the preferences of the local people, but also for the efficient utilisation of resources of all kinds. This will do away with the evils of concentration like duplication, lack of complementarity and narrow departmentalism.

Democratic decentralisation also ensures efficiency in implementation as well as transparency and participation. It provides a check on misuse of resources and better monitoring as there is participation by the people directly in the implementation process. The dormant resources so far left unused will be mobilised and put to their most efficient use through democratic decentralisation.

Isaac and Franke links the democratic decentralisation experiments in Kerala with the concept of Social Capital. Quoting Ellikson(1991) and Evans (1997) the authors conclude that democratic decentralization has the potential for nurturing useful state-civil society synergies.

There is a wide apprehension among a few neo-liberalist theorists that decentralisation will definitely downsize the State, as Baiocchi (2000) feels that it will hollow the State. But Fung Archon and Erik Olin Wright (1999) have, as quoted by Isaac and Franke (2000) observes that democratic decentralisation really makes the State more effective and " decentralisation of the State apparatus is essential for transforming the existing state institutions into

empowered deliberative bodies.” As far as the authors are concerned, decentralisation is viewed as the instrument to widen and deepen democracy.

Patnaik (2000) has observed that decentralisation and strengthening of local administration bodies through devolution of decision making and resources is not a part of rolling back of the state, but a means of enforcing greater accountability on the part of the state, by entrusting a whole range of decision which directly effect the lives of people, to these layers of the State where the people can organise effective supervision over it. Arun Ghosh (2000) feels that decentralisation in decision making has become a political or economic pattern of governance and there is no retreat from steps taken in this regard. He is optimistic that decentralisation efforts enacted any where will harbinger a new pattern of economic thinking. Slater(1989) has observed that decentralisation can be articulated in to a monetarist discourse, but alternatively it can be linked in to a discourse of ideas of collective empowerment, democracy and socialism.

However, as the studies on recent development initiatives suggest that attempts on decentralisation has failed to bring out the desired results. In many cases, the rhetoric has been much ahead of actual practice. (Khan 1987: Vengroff and Johnson 1989: Baiocchi, 2000). In spite of the trumpeting on democratic decentralisation, people’s power and local autonomy, very few genuine attempts have been made to implement them. (Simon and Rakodi, 1990) Political commitment towards decentralisation has been marginal. In the case where political decentralisation has occurred, the power has been concentrated with the local elites. More over most of the decentralised planning has been given inadequate human and material resources to fulfill their functions (Browman, 1996)

The attempts of decentralisation in India can be traced back to the early 40s, by the pioneer of Indian planning, Sir Visheshwaraya. (Isaac and Franke, 2000). The planning commission took the first step to decentralisation in 1969 as the guidelines for the Formulation of District Plans. The attempts of

decentralisation in Kerala dates back to late 50s when the administrative reforms committee recommended various measures towards devolution of powers. (Isaac and Tharakan, 1995). Unfortunately, the recommendations were not implemented as the government was dismissed. A significant step in this direction was taken in 1987-91, when the district councils were created. The recent experiments of People's Campaign for Planning is undoubtedly a great leap towards decentralisation and empowerment of people at grass root level. The World Bank Mission recently visited India has assessed this programme, as a unique experiment, in which three million or roughly 10 per cent of the population of the State has participated directly in the planning process. (George Mathew 1999).

Participation in Development

As we have seen, the efforts to sketch out an alternative development strategy has culminated in the efforts for decentralisation as well as participation. In other words, the decade long search for development strategy has hooked the development debate in to two orthodoxies viz. Structural Adjustment Policy and Participatory Development. While the former addresses the question of economic growth, the latter addresses the issues of poverty and distribution in the context of capitalist development. The present scenario of development debate is dominated by these two orthodoxies. Perhaps, this might have evoked critical remarks that one can hardly find a development model without an element of Participation. Stirrat (1997) was not extravagant when he observed that such is the popularity of the concept that it is now difficult to find a rural based development project which does not claim to adopt a participatory approach involving bottom up planning, acknowledging the importance of indigenous knowledge and local people.

It is quite an undisputed fact that Participation, basically which connotes taking part or sharing has wide implications in the development context as it goes further to the question of who shares, with whom and in which context. Samaranayake (1996) has observed that Participation has a long history as

various governmental as well as non governmental organisations both at the national and international level have been focusing on since the last two decades.

There are different schools of thought that hold strikingly different, and some of them often conflicting, views about the emergence and evolution of Participatory Approach to Development. One of the prominent argument, most often quoted and popularised by staunch critics of Participatory Approach like Stirrat runs like this. Along with the discourse in Economics, the disillusionment with the radical leftist policies also contributed towards the emergence and popularisation of Participation in Development as an alternative strategy. Generally, two factors were held responsible for this. First, failure of leftist political parties in bringing about the required transformation of society and second, the limitations of the state centered policies pursued so far by the traditional political parties. All these resulted in a wild search for a better mode of intervening in politics. Consequently, People's movement was put forward as an entirely different strategy in Politics.

The evolution of this strategy according to Mallika Smarnayake (1997) has been an outcome of the existed gap between the planners and beneficiaries. The development intervention of 70s identified two type of actors. On the one side, were those who engaged in the task of identifying development needs, planning development activities, mobilising resources for development and implementing programmes. On the other hand were the beneficiaries of development who marginally involved in the development drama. They represented who do the things and for whom the things are being done. This relationship between these two groups has been characterised by mistrust, antagonism and this led to a gap between them which remained unbridged so far. The process of development activities undertaken makes the marginal involvement of the beneficiaries clear and talks about the grave negligence of the genuine needs of the people for whom the programmes are conceived and implemented. The availability of funds and other considerations ruled the whole

process. Consequently, the rural development projects were thrown incomplete at midway due to hostile attitude of the beneficiaries (Cohen and Uphoft 1971). Participatory methodologies evolved to bridge the gap between the two sectors, beneficiaries and planners.

John Kurian (1997) puts the evolution and emergence of Participatory approach differently. According to him, Participatory development, its emergence and evolution has been a movement of development debate from its focus on goods and services to highlight the prime role that public participation plays in the process. Participation has been added as a fresh ingredient of development. Phrases such as planning from below, involving the people, incorporating people's knowledge are part of the emerging common orthodoxy of development. A sharp sense of distrust and skepticism about the all top down process of development, particularly that by the State has been the common thread with this new approach to development. It also hardly spares the bureaucracy, which is being viewed with strong suspicion, and western knowledge and technology. Truly it is a strategy working through Non-government organisations or micro level interventions to empower people, which is expected to effect a macro change in the economy. Sen (1989) in this context has rightly observed that public action and popular participation has pressured the State and the interest which dominated it to provide facilities which contributed to a reasonable level of well being for the people and the opportunities for advancement.

Rafl Starkoff (1997) agrees with the contention that Participation in development is an offshoot of radical politics. Both in the affluent economies as well as in the third world economies, democratisation of development activities has been one of the long standing demands raised by the radicals. The major objective of this was to prevent the adverse impact of normal, bureaucratic and elite dominated development efforts on the disempowered and to generate receptiveness to the interests of the 'people'. The grass root movements precipitated by the waves of social movements in the second half of twentieth

century throughout North America and Europe placed 'Participation in policy making and planning' as their first and foremost agenda. These grassroots actions were able to draw instantaneous and unstinted support from the intelligentsia of that times in the form of innovative ideas, tools and concepts like 'Pedagogy of the oppressed' ⁵ , Participatory Action Research, ⁶ Local Knowledge etc. There has been strong criticisms about the development process which failed or exploited its supposed beneficiaries by imposing projects from above. The strategies of research and development sought to involve the local people in the process of knowledge production and to combine research and community mobilization as the tools of social change. 'This has turned Participation to a tool of social engineering, corollary to the engineering of the material world'.

Participatory and process driven social interventions have history dates back to before 1945 as observed by Cook (1998). Vettivel (1999) argues that Participation is not a new concept, as far as rural development in India is concerned, and it has been talked about and written about during 50s or even before. The earlier forms of participation in development was Shramdhan, (Voluntary Labour), Bhoodan (Donation of Land) and Gramadhan (Donation of Village). He clearly makes out the difference between Participation in Development and Participatory Development. The former according to him is a method to get the projects implemented by the people as ' they' participate in ' our' projects. Participatory development takes place when people are mobilized, organized over a long period of time to identify their local development problems, estimate the resources at their disposal, analyse various options, set their goals and implement their projects. But it is possible that both Participation in Development and Participatory Approach can be made a continuum. In other words, a project in which participation is envisaged can be made participatory later.

Early in the 50s participation of people in development was confined to public cooperation in the form of cash contribution, land donations and voluntary

labour contributions in the top - down development projects assigned to those who are willing. Panchayaths and Co operatives were the important grassroots level organizations. The inherent structural impediments of these institutions and the social circumstances then existed posed heavy blocks in the ways of fostering participation. The caste-class hierarchical power relations which remained unchallenged and unquestionable were the most important hindrances stood in the way of mass participation. Consequently, participation was confined to election and voting alone. The entry of State as the monopolized custodian of resources put an end to the participation by contribution and then began the era of development planning in which State played a pivotal role as designer, mobiliser and controller of development programmes. The decadal long state initiative for development has left dilapidated public buildings, broken hand pumps, washed out bridges, silted ponds and channels of water supply, pot holed roads etc. In this context, the remarks of Cohen and Uphoff (1977) that an evaluation of the over 50 development projects which reveals that participation of beneficiaries is a crucial element in the successful implementation of them are noteworthy. Samaranayake adds that due to lack of participation, a large number of development projects has resulted only in a short lived progress.

The mode of delivery of development fruits warranted the active involvement of the community and the efforts in this direction have to be geared in such a way that it makes people aware, recognizing the local wisdom in planning process and forming their organizations to implement the programme. Thus participation in development gradually got transformed in to participatory development in which people and their resources were used for implementing projects. The steps included creating awareness and required capacity to maintain the public utilities created and essentially it was an exercise to make the local people to fit to the projects.

The entry of the Social activist NGOs in the 70s in to the field of development added a fresh dimension to the concept of participatory approach. The socialist and Marxist ideologies, Paulo Frair's concept of Non directional

Education, Social Mobilisation – Pedagogy of the oppressed – were the catalytic elements which framed the concept of Participatory development. These groups, like Kerala Sasthra Sahithya Parishad in Kerala, were the first people to talk about people's power and they had a strong mass base and were with non political background. It is these groups first sow the seeds of participatory approach.

The emergence and evolution of Participatory approach is really a confluence of ideas and efforts at intellectual as well as practical level by expert in different disciplines. This has given it a multidisciplinary plane. It may be interesting to examine what theory holds about participation and what the experience says about Participation. In this session the theoretical underpinnings as well as conceptual cobweb webs of participation and the experience sharing across the globe are examined.

Themes and Concepts

As far as the discussion of the core concept of participation is concerned, it may be helpful to begin with some critical remarks. As Bastian (1997) has observed, Participation is an illusive concept, both in the literature and field. Some times it is promoted as a totally new approach different from those that have dominated in developing countries. At some other times participation is used as a method to implement projects.(Wignaraja 1991; Bhatnagar 1992). Bastian (1997) sketches four different thematic variations in the concept of participation in his attempts ' to identify the principal characteristics, ideological frameworks and politics of what goes on as participation '.

First, Participation is employed as a simple means to getting unpaid labour from the people. The strong argument behind this variant of participation is that it serves the purpose of creating sense of belonging among the public about the public utilities created. From the corners of policy makers and planners with strong bias towards reducing the burden of welfare expenditures,

this practice has drawn strong support. In other words , it is a simple technique to get the free labour of the poor for the development projects.

Second, Participation is often interpreted as an attempt to promote self-reliance. Those who support this variant of participation mostly shares some common ideological strands like the poor in the third world apparently lack any initiative for their betterment and the poverty they are suffering are the direct outcome of this character, rather than that of the concrete socio economic structures they are trapped in. They also share the belief that the poor countries in the third world depend on the developed world to a large extent and ' this structural explanations of dependency at the macro level is being transformed to the situations in the micro level '.

Third, Participatory approach is often resorted as a technique to create ideal villages. This approach has the vision of a harmonious village of the past, where everybody lived peacefully and solved problems together. This is the most popular version of participation and also the most criticized one.

Finally, Participation is also resorted as a method of Project Management. It believed that by adopting participatory methods project can be successfully managed and completed. Bastian's sarcastic remarks conclude that this type of participatory approach is the 'growth sector of participatory industry' as variety of methods are being evolved and many organizations have emerged to develop and market these methodologies.

Chambers (1995) feels that Participation, as a concept, has experienced a renaissance in the 70s and identifies three main ways in which participation is used in the context of development. First, it is used as a cosmetic label to make whatever is proposed appear as good. Second, it is used as a method for co-opting local labour to reduce the cost of maintenance of projects. Thirdly, it is way of empowering people by enabling them to take decisions on the problems they encounter and the possible ways of getting out of them.

Mallika Samaranayake (1997), while elaborating her field experiences, agrees with Chambers Cosmetic Label Theory. Several experts and development workers have cited such kind of stories in which participation is made a cosmetic label to make everything done appear good and appreciating. In some cases the participation is confined to simply attending the Grama Sabhas and signing the attendance sheets for ratifying the decisions taken by the outside experts. The claims are made that discussions are made with the local people and it is portrayed as true participation. It is true that, in this context, there is no genuine participation and what actually happens is simple ratification of the proceedings. Hence these may be called ratification meetings and not Participation. Some of the informants at the household survey recalled that there are several people, due to some external pressures for nominal participation, merely comes to the halls and leaves after signing the registers. But, for the reasons unknown, we rarely have such experiences during our exposures to Grama Sabha meetings in Kerala, particularly in the sample area. Midgley (1986) calls this kind of participation as 'Pseudo participation' and the other one as 'Authentic Participation' in which local people directly controls the resources and exert their voice in decision making.

Participation is in its highest form when there is self organization, self responsibility and self actualization, says Burkey (1993). He opines that participation is an essential part of human growth, development of self confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility and co operation. In this approach, people learn to take charge of their own lives and find solution to their own problems and the essence of development being built by such kind of participation will be sustainable also.

Distinguishing between Coerced Participation, Induced Participation and Spontaneous Participation, United Nations (1981) condemns Coerced Participation, regards Induced Participation as the second best and as far as Spontaneous Participation (or Bottom up Participation) is concerned it believes that Spontaneous Participation (or Bottom up Participation) comes closer to the

ideal mode of Participation as it reflects voluntary and autonomous action on the part of the people to organise and deal with their problems

Participation can be identified on the basis of the aims of it according to Conyers (1985) . It can be either for improving project results or for participation itself. In agreement with the first line of argument, he defines participation as a means to improve the quality and relevance of projects by facilitating their implementation, including the contribution and acceptance of local resources. UNCHS (1984) also assent with this, when it states that People's participation is the execution of projects by contributing their ingenuity, skills and other untapped resources. More people can benefit if implementation is facilitated and outcome responds better to the needs and priorities of the beneficiaries. The second line of argument goes on defining Participation as an end itself, as an essential component of a democratic society to ensure the well being of individuals and communities. (Conyers, 1985). Moser (1989) is of the opinion that Participation, at the outset, in decision making is a precondition of the objective of empowerment. Where Participation is a means to achieve a development objective, it is usually included only at the implementation and maintenance level.

Participation is viewed, by Paul (1993) as an active process by which beneficiaries influence the directions and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well being in terms of income, personal growth, self reliance or other values as they cherish. Fenster (1993) views participation in its diametrical forms like Spontaneous Participation or Bottom up Participation, and Induced Participation or Top down Participation or Coerced Participation.

When Oakely and Marsdon (1984) observe that these common interpretations of participation may be represented as a continuum, they are really reiterating what Bastian has stated. Participation, at one extreme end, may assume the nature of voluntary contribution towards the implementation of the development projects with particularly no influence over its shape. At the

other end, it may assume the form of active and decisive participation to increase local or community's control

People's Participation evolve around three pivotal points such as 1) Effective networking in the village for dissemination of information. 2) Equal opportunity for all people in the village for expressing their opinion and 3) There should be institutional support for implementation of projects, according to UNIDS (1977). Another aspect of Participation highlighted by UNIDS is that it is closely related to the level of economic development attained by the society. There is a positive correlation between these variables. At low level of development participation will be confined to the elites of the community, which in turn will lead to manipulation of participation, the majority being literally too poor to participate. In other words, when there is much poverty and misery in the local economy, there may not be much incentive to participate. Therefore, the first attempt should be to increase the divisible surplus of the community, so that the worse section will get the due share in the surplus and this will act as a motive for participation. Participation, thus, follow closely the pace of economic development

Participation is meaningless unless active, observes Lalitha Nataraj (1986). Popular Participation, as a process, can be defined as active and meaningful involvement of the mass of people at different level. First, in the decision making process for the determination of social goals and allocation of resources to achieve them, and second, in the voluntary execution of resulting projects and programmes.

Popular participation, according to World Employment Programme of the ILO, (ILO, 1978) can contribute to basic needs strategy by playing a part in the definition of basic needs, by enhancing the generation of resources to meet basic needs, by improving the distribution of goods and services and by satisfying the psychological desire to participate in decision making which affect their lives. But this approach misses the pivot of the problem, as it stress on the institutional

aspect of power and leaves out the need for structural change and shift in power relations.

Participation according to United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (1979) is a means of particularly those currently without power, to redistribute both the control of resources and power, in favor of those live by their own productive labour. In other words, participation is a collective effort to increase and exercise control over resources and institutions on the part of groups and movements of those hither to excluded from control.(Westergaard, 1986)

Participation or empowerment is both a goal and method of change. As a goal it refers to a society where hardly there is monopoly of the means of political power, economic, cultural and social power in the hands of particular class, sex, social stratum or bureaucratic elite. As a means and method of change, participation is a means to develop the views and organisational capacity of those presently excluded, it is also a means for the majority of population to identify and express their needs and to contribute directly to the solving of social problems. (Kaufman and Alfonso, 1994)

Inspite of the disagreement on various aspects of participation, like meaning and definition, most of the analysts emphasise on the decision making role of community as an essential and ingredient of Participation. (Fleming, 1991). As Cornie (Cornie, et al, 1987) observed, such participation, where there is a voice in crucial decisions, helps to influence the design of policies, so that they correspond to the needs and conditions of the people. Participation is also defined as sharing of the benefit of projects, as development economist view it, and also as communities contribution to decision making as Social planners view it (Fenster, 1993).

Experience Sharing

It may also be useful and interesting to look, in the case of Participatory Approach to Development, what the theory misses, how the critics have interpreted it, as well as, how far what one sees in the fields is distant from what the theory predicts. The literature is flooded with such attempts and experience sharing. It seems quite logical to classify the work so far done as falling in to two broad categories critical assessment and experience sharing, than resorting to a spatial or chronological classification of any type as followed in most of the research papers. This session attempts to sketch some of the serious critical comments on it and share some experiences of experts and practitioners of this approach across the globe.

Perhaps the most serious and contributive criticism of Participatory Approach came from R.L.Stirrat(1997). He attacks the basic scaffoldings and supporting pillars of this approach. Participatory approach to development has become an orthodoxy in development strategy and all most all of the projects and programmes essentially bears a participatory component in it now a days, says Stirrat.(1997). Unfortunately, 'hardly there is a single definition of this orthodoxy and what exists is a set of loosely connected ideas and approaches, developed in response to what its proponents see as an older misguided orthodoxy of development'. Consequently, we have a rather eclectic as well as theoretically confused approach to development. Though what ever has been written about this approach attained canonical status, the interpretations about them are confusing. Interpretations have added more confusion than clarity to the theme, the approach, and the practical aspects.

What lies at the root of the new orthodoxy is the strong skepticism about the role the State, the bureaucracy, and the western technical forms of knowledge in the development industry. Paradoxically, while it is all set to criticise the forms of western technical forms of knowledge, it seeks its legitimation in forms of populist rhetoric, says Stirrat.

One of the striking and most prominent features of the new orthodoxy is the sharing of common vocabulary like 'village', 'community', 'the poor', 'participation' and 'empowerment'. All this collectively picturises a rural society, which existed outside time and history. This picturisation of rural society has been derived ' from the Victorian ideas about the European past, and an imperial idea that "Oriental present represented European past". To put it differently, at the basic scaffolding of this approach lies the imaginary non-existing form of rural life. The term ' Organic Communities ' frequently appears in the literature of this approach again lands one in the land of imagination and fantasy. The community portrayed in this literature is harmonious and ideal in which the villagers co-operate with each other, and Stirrat calls it as the " nostalgic views of the English rural past imposed on the South Asian rural present". The problem lies in the fact that ' villages cannot be treated as single entity, at least from sociological point of view, happy co-operation is rarely existent, villagers hardly act as a single unit'. Apart from this, the imaginary village concept, the local people or rural people who are supposed to inhabit in this villages, in reality, are far distant from what is conceived in theory. The people are represented as sharing common interests, against what we experienced in our visits to Grama Sabhas and Ayalkootams, where they stand for varied, conflicting interests according to their age, gender, kinship, class, caste, and of course political association. Against the real picture of conflicting interests often in continuous clash with each other, the villages and the complexity of the rural life is being disguised denying any room of historical change.

In his attempt to provide a theoretical critique to the 'coalition of conflicting interests in the Politics of decentralization', Rajan Gurukkal (2000) has picturised the present reality in Kerala in the context of efforts for introducing participatory approach and decentralization. Kerala is a microcosm of India, with few distinctive features like high literacy, extensive health care facilities, better communication and transport infrastructure and the socio-economic situation of Kerala is characterised by the competitive co-existence of diverse groups, mainly

of the middle class with a relatively low percentages of higher income groups placed above and huge number of tribes, scheduled castes and other backward classes placed below. These groups, according to Gurukkal, are increasingly resorting to the politics of caste, religion and ethnic identities cutting across the class difference for gaining power and resource control.

Ralf Starkloff (1997) is of the opinion that Participatory discourses in general fail to problematise the fact that 'the people' always participate in development in one form or the another, either as beneficiaries of projects or those employed to implement the projects. All these constitute participation though they do hardly involve in decision making, or are not mobilised by the 'community mobiliser' as perceived in the participatory programmes. The orthodoxy of participation, as it employ a highly selective and often narrow meaning of participation, fails to recognize participation as an open network of power relations. The fact is that participation is more complex than most of the participatory development projects can cope with.

An important ingredient of participatory planning is the access to local knowledge and its use in development exercises. In his attempt to examine some of the conceptual and practical issues associated with this new focus on 'people's knowledge' and 'local knowledge' into planning systems, David Mosse (1997) argues that 'people's knowledge' is widely misconceived as a discrete and autonomous category within externally controlled planning systems. As conceived in the assumptions, the contention that local knowledge and its access can hardly transform bureaucratic planning, is baseless as it fails to look at local knowledge as a product of social relations, and views it as a fixed commodity. What is reflected as local knowledge or people's knowledge is itself constructed in the context of planning and reflects social relationships. The fact is that the new forms of local knowledge are subordinated to established forms of planning which often weakens the chances of participatory techniques effecting shifts towards decentralization or participation in rural development administration.

He suggests that participatory programmes need to focus critical attention on the social construction of participatory planning. This is as important as acquiring a set of participatory planning and also a pre-requisite for their effective use. According to him, the issue facing participation is not only the capacity of public systems to adopt these approaches, argues Mosse. One important issue is concerned with the generation of local knowledge which will be limited by the programme policies. Even in case of projects which are supposed to be implemented by using participatory techniques, administrative control will be asserted in the production of local knowledge. Secondly, but more serious, is the danger of curtailing of knowledge within projects, because of the mutually reinforcing interactions between programme policy and 'local knowledge'.

Recently, partly in response to the emerging crisis in health care provisions in many countries, there has been a major shift in attitude to community interaction. Approaches which viewed communities as passive recipients of health care have given way to those which seek to make more of the potential of active participation for enhanced accountability and improved responsiveness of services. Several attempts in this regard can be traced across the globe. The success ratings and failures reports raise several questions of theoretical and empirical importance. Andrea Cornwell, Henry Lucas and Kith Pastener (2000) make such an attempt to examine the above aspects. As they feel any analysis of participatory framework for development has to go beyond "assumptions about an homogeneous community to consider the contested dynamics of intra-community relations, especially in terms of gender". In focusing on the interface between communities and providers, issue of differences between communities cannot be overlooked. As the authors assert, any participatory framework has to address the questions about issues of equity at the local level and mechanisms that might promote more equitable engagement with community based initiatives. Explicit attention to the issues of difference is needed as the increasing community control over priority setting

and resource management can all too easily entrench the exclusion of marginal groups and their particular health needs.

Rone Loewenson (2000), while sharing the varied experience of Zimbabwe in public participation in health care systems, argues that participation is an end in itself, building networks of solidarity in social groups, building institutional capacity and empowering people to understand and influence the decisions that affect their lives. Despite the widely accepted fact that participation can play a vital role in enhancing the quality of health services delivery, it is hardly implemented and evaluated while planning is made in the health sector. According to the authors, the barriers of effective public participation in health sector are 1) The inertia of conventional planning and top down process of expert identification of problems and solutions merely haunt the process of participation. 2) The lack of cohesion, organizational structures and capacities for effective participation stand in the way. 3) Community inputs may be discouraged by the paternalistic attitude of health workers and mystified the nature of health information. Finally 4) the bureaucratisation of health care often distance people and communities from it.

The author also examines the circumstances which pressed for more participation in health services, and provide a profile of the process of participatory interventions by the community in health activities. The paradigm shift from redistributive and more equity oriented health policies towards and market oriented reforms have reduced real per capita budget allocation and increased pressure on household finance to meet health needs. The policy review within health sector has worked a strong motivating factor for different groups to seek greater influence on decision making in health. The decentralization policies, increased community contributions, demand for increased role of communities in decision making and resource utilisation have enhanced participation of different groups in this health activities. Formerly, public participation in health was confined to the governance of health activities and was not extended to the choice and negotiations made in this sector. Health

issue began to take up jointly than individually and the people began to prefer for more collective mechanisms, which in turn prepared the structure for effective participation.

The study concludes that, in Zimbabwe, great concern has been shown across all communities for participation as well as accountability. This has called for strengthened joint mechanisms involving civic and elected leaders and health providers, with clear terms of reference, roles and authorities and adequate training and resource for their functioning. There is strong evidence for the positive contribution of public participation in health and the need for it be supported and enhanced.

Mungai Lenneiye (2000) attempts to examine the evolution of development structures responsible for nutrition and water supply and how community participation operates within these structures at different phases and the lessons learned from these in Zimbabwe. Community involvement is feasible where the external agencies primarily drive development initiatives and invite communities to become involved. The term participation is appropriate when the external agents seeks a partnership with communities, but retains control by the community. By community empowerment, it is understood that resources are controlled by communities through their elected structures, and it is these structures that define the terms under which external agencies can become involved. As far as the benefits of participation is concerned, the author is highly optimistic. There has been a steady taking back of power over resources by local bodies in Zimbabwe. In spite of all these difficulties, the community groups involved in Child Supplementary Feeding Programme (CSFP) and Integrated Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme (IRWSSP) were able to gain useful organizational skills that have been extended to other areas also.

Andreas Wilkies (2000) has provided a an analysis of issues concerning participation at micro level, and examines the influences that different interests

have, the different channels for voicing interests and unequal power relations place on the outcomes of decision making process. As author feels Participation is said to be of a high degree when communities identify their potential and mobilize to carry out their own plans against the lesser degree of participation such as consultation, delegation or passive participation.' (CPGUKAN 1991: Pretty et. al 1994) Citing the experience of Laba village, China the study arrives at the conclusion that, it is possible for the village to be making all the decisions regarding the health scheme and the transition cost can be significantly reduced by initiating and implementing the scheme through dominant power structures. Evaluation of the schemes found that accountability cannot be enforced due to the peculiar structures and processes, and there has not been a marginal group with unmet needs. The voice of the marginal groups can be heard and made influential on the outcome of the decision making process, if the external actors have a profound effect on the marginal groups.

The study attempts to trace out what goes on inside the process of participation and decision making. Participation in decision making can be understood as a process involving both "voice 'and 'influence'. Voice, as the author observes, is the ability to share knowledge or opinion relevant to a certain decision. Voice can improve certain technical quality of some decisions and potentially improve the fairness of interest related decisions. Influence is viewed as a capacity to contribute effectively to the outcome of a decision making process in order to secure ones interests. In this background, the study concludes that having voice is hardly a sufficient condition for influencing decision making due to the fact that the outcome of the decision making process is influenced more by the relative power and interests. What this suggests that it needs to deconstruct the popular assumption of homogeneity of the community and more attention be paid to power relations between groups within the community. This suggestion is highly contributive towards the efforts of sustaining participation.

Fang Jing (2000) attempts to examine what participation means, how it can happen, what advantages it can bring and what constraints it faces, and finally its future in China in the present development context.

Crook and Mannuel (1998) have attempted to investigate three specific questions related to Participation such as; how had patterns of political participation has changed as a result of decentralised planning, how had the performance of government institutions changed, and finally, were changes in participation and changes in institutional performance interrelated. The study has taken in to account the experiences four countries viz. , India, Ghana, Bangladesh and Cote d, Ivoire. But the participation, in this paper, is approached from a very narrow point of view and confined to political participation alone.

Participatory approach to development and decentralization attempts can be viewed from the perspective of Social Capital formation also (Isaac 2000 ; Ellikson 1997; Evans 1991). Ever since Robert Putnam (1993) has analysed the impact of social capital on the functioning of local level institutions in Italy, the concept has attracted the attention of scholars world wide. (Sudha Pai 2001). Bhomkvist and Swain (2001) observe that social capital refers to the trust, network and norms shared by a group of actors that enable them to act up on together more efficiently to pursue their goals and shared objectives. Though the concept has been with us even as early as 1916, it has taken more than four decades to understand and establish the fact that citizens experience and knowledge have an impact on the economic development.. The credit for shifting the debate about the pre requisites of development and democracy from ideology and institutions to cultural factors such as value and virtue goes to Robert Putnam .

A few recent attempts to examine various aspects of Social Capital in the context of democratic decentralization and grass roots democracy can be traced. (Sudha Pai ; Blomkvist and Swain ; Niraja Gopal and Jayal ; Mahapatra ;

Bhattacharya ; Mayer ; Renata Serra 2001) According to Blomkvist and Swain, the theoretical significance of the study of Social Capital will focus attention on non material resources at the micro level and their possible impact at the macro level. The essential questions need to be asked are how far these resources are structured on the basis of class, caste, religious group or spatial belonging. The study of Blomkvist and Swain located in Orissa examines the protest mobilizations in India. Orissa, in the post independence period, has been poles apart in political and economic movements and the coastal regions has more powerful movements compared to inland. Apart from this the environmental movements in inland Orissa have been weaker compared to the coastal counterparts. This has been due to failure to gather momentum because the different groups fall short to come together. It is inferred, by the author, that some times strong communal bonding social capital becomes a hindrance to coming together for a common cause.

Sudha Pai has attempted to analyse the impact of social capital on the democratic functioning of the two districts of Uttar Pradesh. The study has clearly shown that segmentation arising out of caste class divisions of the society emerges as an important significant contextual variable that tends to determine the development of trust and social capital between different groups and the functioning of democratic institutions. Since independence there has been increased differentiation and not homogenisation. Social capital is not confined to upper and dominant class but has sharpened between sections of the poor and marginalized. The study has identified the formation of social capital within and segments in rural society. It is individual identities rather than group identities that create social capital reservoirs within segments, and this hinder the creation of constructive social capital which can contribute towards effective functioning of democratic governments. Rarely there is trust among the individuals as the members of Panchayath or community sharing common interest except in the case of common crisis or a programme that benefits all like roads and bridges. Sudha Pai observes that the incapacity of the Social Capital to cut across the boundaries has hindered collective action among all castes and groups especially

the rural poor, greater participation and democratic functioning of the Panchayaths. Unlike in Western countries, where the emphasis is on the equal citizen's participation in public life for the common good, in these panchayaths unequal relations of power, competition and conflict occupy the center place. This observation of Sudha Pai clearly see eye to eye with what we have experienced in our participation sessions in the Kaiparamab and Porkalam Grama Panchayaths. Most of the key resource persons, leaders as well as other engineers of the programme were highly apprehensive about the inter group and intra group conflicts that often fetter participation in the process of planning. Sudha pai, still shares a bright and optimistic feeling that a broad based social capital capable of bringing together different caste, class groups may evolve over a period of time and an interplay of both conflict and consensus, negotiation and bargaining, leading to more democratic functioning of Panchayaths.

Niraja Gopal Jayal (2001) hardly shares the apprehensions raised by Sudha Pai and in a study of the link between democracy and social capital in the context of rural hill society in the Central Himalayas, the author observes that social homogeneity does not necessarily or invariably issue in powerful reserves of social capital.

Women in Development

Before 70s, Development theory as well as practice have been gender neutral and the role of women in development was all but invisible and women and gender relations have been virtually ignored with in this frames. In other words, they hardly distinguished between men and women assuming that development policies and programmes benefit all automatically, While special programmes were designed to benefit women as mother and child bearer as well as targets of worst ravages of poverty and malnutrition. Unfortunately women's role in agriculture and other productive sectors was left unperceived in the frame work. As Parpart (1993) observes women were systematically excluded from various aspects of development, to the extend that they were regarded as

impediments to development. Development theory and practice during the post war period ignored women presuming that productive work was performed by men alone. Till recently, as Ahmed (1987) puts, rural development strategies have neglected the role of women. Elson(1991) concludes that a strong male bias has been operating in development theories and programmes.

Seventies witnessed growing interest in making the frame work of development theory gender sensitive. As Marilee Karl (1995) observed, it all began with the pioneering efforts of Ester Bosurup (Women's Role in Economic Development, 1970) with the efforts for making women active participants in production, household activities and other sectors of the society. It was understood that women have been often victims of development programmes, rather than beneficiaries. Most of the development programmes that were assumed to benefit everybody really benefited men only and often had negative effects on the women as well as on the whole community. This high rate of the failures of these programmes attributed to the neglect or lack of knowledge of women's productive as well as reproductive work.

Much of the impetus for rising interest in the role of women in development came from the U.N Decade for Women (1975-85) and the events accompanied it. It has considerably promoted and legitimised the women's movements at national level as well as international level. (Hahner, 1985). As Geisler (1993) has observed, it has forced a rethinking of development policies which began to conceptualise women as agents of productive process and identified women's marginalisation as the chief cause of their deteriorating status. The three women conferences organised during the last decades have delineated four major goals. Of them, three are related to various aspects of women and development. The documents came out of these conferences laid stress on linkages between Socio Economic and Political conditions and called for the need of full participation and employment. The rise of Women in Development approach has been the outcome of the conference which link, unlike the previous approaches, advancement of women with improved access to employment and educational structures. It argued that in order to overcome

their historical marginalisation, women must be integrated with the development process.

The women in development policy (WID) which gained a footing during the later half of 70s has three distinct approaches according to Caroline Moser.(1993). The Equity approach, the Anti poverty approach and the Efficiency approach are the three different ones. Maxine Molyneaux (1985) has examined how this approach has attempted to meet women's needs by distinguishing practical gender needs and strategic gender needs. The practical gender needs refers to what actually women needs to fulfill their role as tasks like training and child care obligations. But strategic gender needs are those that women require in order to overcome their subordination.

The equity approach, which Moser calls the original approach is deeply concerned with the unequal relations between men and women in the society. It places emphasise on the economic independence as synonymous with equity. In other words, the equity approach attempts to meet the women's practical gender needs for income and strategic gender needs for equality with men through top down legislative interventions by government and development agencies. But unfortunately, when implemented the equity approach left out the strategic gender needs and concentrated on practical gender needs on the ground that equity programmes necessitated unacceptable interference with country's tradition.

The second WID approach, the anti poverty approach, links the economic inequality of women with poverty and does not take into account the aspects of female subordination.

The efficiency approach, which emerged in the 80s assumes that development can be made more efficient and effective by participating women which is treated as equity.

Eighties witnessed a serious focus on women's unintended marginalisation in developmental programmes and forced to have a rethinking on WID approaches. There has been arguments for mainstreaming women to the center of development efforts from the margins of it. Also there has been concerns about the consequences of mainstreaming women like that she will lose the special focus and attention and will be thrown in to a male dominated world. Still there has been arguments for increasing women's participation in development process and ensuring that women's perspectives and needs constitute the basis of the redefinition of development itself. As a result of shift from 'integration of women in to development' to 'mainstreaming women' by mid 80's has been accompanied by a shift in focus from 'women' to 'gender'. The new approach Gender and Development approach identifies the role of women and men contextual to time, place and culture. The role of women and men are, to a certain extent, depending on the time, place and cultural aspects. Thus the focus on gender has examined the roles and needs of men and women and how they are interrelated there by reducing the risk of marginalising women. The GAD approach is said to have the potential to bring in women's vision of development as observed by the Canadian Council for International Cooperation. The Council states that Gender and Development is emerging as a progressive approach to development from Women's perspective and experiences. It is a part of the larger work of creating an alternative development model, for a world view which moves beyond an economists analysis to include environmental, sustainable and qualitative aspects in its definition of development. It needs to be noted that the GAD approach, unlike the WID approach, essentially differs in the sense that it does not question the prevailing development paradigm and examines the potential of interpreting it and applying it according to the perceptions of women, observes Mairilee Karl (1995).

The empowerment approaches gained popularity during the later half of 90s. Apart from the concept of empowerment as the emphasis of individualistic

values like capacity and entrepreneurial skill, there has been interpretations of it in terms of participation in the policy making and planning process.

Generally two approaches commonly used by development agencies needs to be outlined in the context of empowerment, as a detailed discussion is pending in the forthcoming sessions quite out of the scope. Firstly, it is interpreted as empowerment through economic interventions to increase employment, income generation and access to credit and: Second empowerment through integrated rural development programmes, in which a comprehensive plan for the overall development of women is envisioned, in which income generation is a single component. This view of empowerment usually discards any role for women in defining her life and future. The popular version of empowerment, often shared one by the NGOs and action groups seems to be more radical and highly political in spirit as it envisions awareness building, capacity creation, organising women that leads to transformation of unequal relationships, increased decision making power in the home and community, and greater participation in politics.(Batliwala,1993). Some of this ideas have reflected in the policy and programmes of development agencies across the world. The evolution in policy on women and development has impacted on what is happening at the grass root level. Many of the development agencies are gearing their programmes and projects towards empowerment of women through capacity building and ensuring women's participation at grass root level. Women's participation in grass root organisations is increasingly recognised as crucial to their empowerment and as a way for them to help shape development policies.

The works reviewed so far has not approached the problem of participation of women from the perspective with questions such as why and how they participate, what really fosters participation as well as what stand in the way of their effective participation. Hence the relevance of a fresh study.

Notes and References

- 1 For a detailed discussion on Ethics of the Concept of Development see. David Alexander Clark, *Development Ethics: A Research Agenda*, Working Paper Series No.110, Department of Economics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, May 200
2. Sen.'s contribution towards the emergence of an alternative approach to development is catalytic. By the 90s the capability approach had emerged as the leading alternative to traditional concept of welfare. Sen's conceptual framework and friendship with the late Mahbub UI Huq encouraged the UNDP to compile an annual series of Human Development Report, of which the first was drafted by Sen himself.
3. In addition to the World Bank and ILO, a number of United Nations organisations figured prominently in the creation of an alternative development agenda in 1970s, including the UNEP, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNRISD, UNICEF, WHO and FAO. Among the attempts of these organisations dedicated to design a fresh development agenda, a landmark conference was held at Cocoyoc, Mexico in 1974. Bringing together the experts from various parts of the world, the conference looked in to the 'Patterns of resource use, Environment and Development Strategies' and issued a manifesto called 'Cocoyoc Declaration' which stated that development efforts of the last decades have proved impossible to meet the inner limits of satisfying fundamental human needs while the number of human beings who are hungry and homeless are on the increase. Development efforts should address the fresh challenges like degradation of environment as well as the traditional one's like human needs and other considerations such as freedom of expression and self realisation. Hence Hettne (1990: 152) has rightly remarked that the Cocoyoc Declaration has marked the birth of an "alternative" trend in development theory.
4. For a detailed discussion of decentralisation in the context of democratisation see: Wright 2000 : Fishkin 1995 : Fung and Wright 2000:
5. See Paulo Freir (1996) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin, London
6. Literature on Research Methodology is replete with works on Participatory Action Research ever since it has been conceived

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CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

The major source of data for the study is the primary data collected from a sample of households selected. The picture of the sample will be clear from a socio-economic profile of the sample. This session attempts to provide a detailed picture of the sample as well as the sample districts and sample Grama Panchayaths. Perhaps this may contribute towards a better understanding of the problem under study. Section one looks in to the socio-economic profile of the sample of Grama Panchayaths and Section two looks in to the same of sample households of the study.

Section I

Profile of the Sample Grama Panchayaths

The Sample of the study includes two Grama Panchayaths of Thrissur District viz. **Kaiparamab Grama Panchayath** of Puzhakkal Development Block and **Porkalam Grama Panchayath** of Chowannur Development Block.

Kaipramba Grama Panchayath, constituted by Kaiparamaba, Anjoor and Peramanagalam revenue villages has an area of 20.48 square kilometers, a population of 24630 and a density of population of 1133. The Panchayath has a female population of 11924 and a female literacy of 92.64 while the male population is 11286 and male literacy is 90.23 against the total literacy of 95.46. The sex ratio is 1056 and the panchayath has a work participation rate of 35.46 as a whole, 52.41 for males and 19.31 for the females.

Situated on the sides of Guruvayoor - Kozhikode state highway, Porkalam Grama Panchayath has three revenue districts viz. Akathiyoor, Porkalam and Mangad under its jurisdiction. With an area of 14.49 square kilometers, the Panchayath houses 14, 244 people of which 7384 are females and 6840 are males. The density of population is 982 and sex ratio is 1080. The Panchayath as a whole has an effective literacy rate of 91.90 in general and 95.03 for males

and 89.06 for females. The work participation rate is 33.60 for the general population and 50.86 for male population and 17.61 for females. Table 3. 1 below provides a clear comparative picture of these basic details.

Table 3. 1
Socio Economic Profile of the Sample Grama Panchayaths

Attributes	Kaiparamb	Porkalam
Area in Sq.Kms	20.48	14.49
No of Wards	10	8
No of Houses	4439	2580
Males	11286	6840
Females	11924	7384
Total	23210	14224
Density of Population per Sq.Kms	1133	982
Sex Ratio per 1000 males	1056	1080
Effective Literacy Rate: General	95.46	91.90
Male	90.03	95.03
Female	92.64	89.06
SC Population	2278	2386
Male	1094	1168
Female	1184	1218
Work Participation Rate: General	35.46	33.60
Male	52.51	50.86
Female	19.31	17.60

Source: 1. Development Reports and Office records of Grama Panchayaths
2. Panchayath Level Statistics 1995, Department of Economics and Statistics.

The table 3.1 makes it clear that Kaiparamb is a much bigger Grama Panchayath in terms of area, wards, population, number of house holds and density of population. It has much better work participation rate as well as literacy rate.

Kaiparamb Panchayath is divided in to 10 wards of which 4 are represented by women and one by backward class member. Similarly Porkalam Grama Panchayath has 8 wards with 3 women members and one with a member from backward classes. Both these Panchayaths have agriculture as the main productive sectors as well as the main source of income to the people. Paddy, Coconut, Arecanut, Pepper, Pineapple, Rubber and banana are the major crops in Kaiparamb while Paddy, Coconut, Areca nut, Pepper, Banana, Tapioca and Vegetables are in plenty in Porkalam. As observed by the Development Report of

the Panchayath 1996, one fourth of the agricultural land has only irrigation facility in Kaiparamb and most of the areas suffer from the shortage of agricultural laborers particularly during peak seasons. The higher wage rate in non agricultural occupations have attracted farm laborers. Increase in the cost of cultivation, lack of proper irrigation facilities, as well as fragmentation of land have made agriculture a least attractive option resulting in leaving around 125 hectares of land uncultivated. As far as the Porkalam Panchayath is concerned, as reported by the documents, along with the problems most common in a agricultural villages of Kerala, it faces the problems like low productivity and the farmers are sticking on to conventional methods of cultivation.

Both these Panchayaths are industrially backward. While Kaiparamb Panchayath has a few Diamond Cutting industries for its credit, Porkalam has some small scale industries like plastic, iron fabrication, biscuit, Ayurveda etc. In Kaiparamba, nearly 45 units of the Diamond cutting industry provides employment to 2500 employees which has relieved the unemployment problem of the youth. It is in a deteriorating condition due to the problems like power crisis, shortage of diamonds and several others and all this have led to the closure of some of them. Around 2500 are unemployed in this Grama Panchayath of which more than 50 percent are women. Among the agricultural laborers 25 per cent are partially unemployed.

Both of the Panchayaths faces the acute problems of housing, drinking water and transportation. In Kaiparamb, more than 60 per cent of the population has their own facility for drinking water while 10 percentage depends on the wells of neighbors. But more than 25 of the people depends on public water supply schemes in Kaiparamb Grama Panchayath. Hence most of the area in this Grama Panchyath faces acute shortage of water during the summer season. The situation in Porkalam Grama Panchayath is not different from this.

Section II Profile of the Sample of Households

The sample selected through the process explained earlier sections consists of 511 informants at the house hold level of which 55 per cent are females and 45 per cent are males. This is the natural outcome of the survey due to the fact that most of the men at our villages are out of the homes they being the main bread winners and this pattern has been deliberately left undisturbed as the study has a special emphasise on women and their perspective on participation. Majority of the sample are Non-participants forming 58.50 per cent of the total sample. But among the group of male informants the share of participants are, as usual, higher than that of the non-participants. The single largest group is the non-participating females constituting 37.76 per cent as given in the Table 3. 2.

Table 3. 2
Sex and Category- wise Distribution of Sample Households

Category	Participant	Non-participant	Total
Male	24.08	20.74	44.82
Female	17.42	37.76	55.18
Total	41.50	58.50	100.00

Source: Sample Survey

The Table 3. 2 makes it clear that participants dominates the sample in the case of males, while the non-participants dominates in the case of females. This is more or less a general picture when any aspect of participation in local level planning is considered. It may be interesting and useful to examine the ward wise break up of the sample. Exactly half of the sample is from the each Grama Panchayath, though such an equal distribution was not insisted while the distribution between wards is considered. The wards 2 and 8 of the Kaiparamb Grama Panchayath have shared 25.64 per cent and 24.64 per cent each, the wards 2 and 8 of Porkkalam has shared 25.05 per cent and 24.85 per cent respectively. Table 3. 3 gives the ward wise details of the sample.

Table 3. 3
Panchayath-wise and Ward-wise break up of the Sample

Panchayath and Ward	PARTICIPANTS			NON-PARTICIPANTS			Grand Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Kaiparamb							
Ward 2(BP)	5.68	2.74	8.42	3.33	13.89	17.22	25.64
Ward 8 (PP)	11.55	7.44	18.98	2.35	3.13	5.48	24.46
Total	17.22	10.18	27.40	5.68	17.03	22.70	50.10
Porkalam							
Ward 2(PP)	3.13	5.09	8.22	6.65	10.18	16.83	25.05
Ward 8(BP)	3.72	2.15	5.87	10.37	8.61	18.98	24.85
Total	6.85	7.24	14.09	17.03	18.79	37.77	49.90
Grand Total	24.07	17.42	41.49	22.70	35.81	58.51	100.00

BP: Better Participation PP: Poor Participation

Note: In Kaiparamb Panchayath Ward No 2 is the ward with better participation and ward No.8 is the poor participation ward. But in Porkalam it is the vice versa

Source : Sample Survey

Occupational Pattern of the Sample

As usual in any sample survey of the rural Kerala, the occupational pattern of the sample is dominated by the unemployed group forming 62.23 per cent. The dominance is present in all the groups except that of male participants in which farmers have the majority. Table 3. 4 illustrates this.

Table 3. 4
Occupational Distributions of the Sample

Category	SAMPLE					PARTICIPANT		NON PARTICIPANT	
	P	NP	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unemployed	18.00	44.23	62.23	16.06	46.17	5.48	12.52	10.57	33.66
Agl. Lab	5.87	2.57	8.44	4.12	4.32	3.32	2.54	0.78	1.70
Farmers	8.02	2.54	10.56	9.39	1.17	6.84	1.17	2.54	00
Business/Self Employed	6.84	8.22	15.06	11.54	3.52	5.67	1.17	5.87	2.35
Service	2.73	0.98	3.71	3.71	0	2.73	00	0.98	00
	41.46	58.54	100.00	44.82	55.18	24.04	17.4	20.74	37.71

Note: P= Participant N=Non Participant

Source : Sample Survey

Age Profile of the Sample:-

The average age of the male taken as a group is higher than that of females and sample as whole. Similarly, participating male, Participating Male and Participating Female have higher average age compared to their counterparts. The age profile is given in Table 3. 5 clearly shows that participants generally have a higher age among all groups.

**Table 3. 5
Distribution of the Sample according to Age**

Category	Average Age
Sample	44.07
Male	48.21
Female	44.07
Participants	47.62
Non-participants	41.55
Male Participants	50.41
Female Participants	43.75
Male Non-participants	45.64
Female Non-participants	39.30

Source : Sample Survey

The distribution of sample according to age groups will make the picture more clear. The sample is dominated by the age group of 26-35 in general, among the females , Non participants, Male Non-participants. But among the other groups the age group of 36-45 dominates in the female participants and age group 56 and above dominates among Male Participants as seen from Table 3.6.

**Table 3. 6
Age group –wise distriiption of the Sample- Different Age Groups**

Age Groups	SAMPLE					PARTICIPANTS		NON PARTICIPANTS	
	Sample	Male	Female	P	NP	Male	Female	Male	Female
Below 25	4.7	1.75	7.09	1.89	6.69	1.63	2.25	1.89	9.33
22 – 35	30.72	22.27	37.59	20.28	38.13	16.26	25.84	29.25	43.11
36 – 45	20.94	19.21	22.34	25.00	18.06	20.33	31.46	17.92	18.13
46- 55	19.57	23.14	16.67	21.23	18.39	22.76	19.10	23.58	15.53
Above 55	24.07	33.62	16.31	31.60	18.73	39.02	21.35	27.36	13.99
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: P=Participant N=Non Participant
Source: Sample Survey

Educational Profile of the Sample

The educational profile of the sample given in the Table 3. 7 shows that most of the categories is dominated by literates. Another point highlighted by table is that the higher the qualification and educational levels are followed by a tendency to keep away from the local level planning. Except among the illiterates, among all the other groups, domination is by the non participating group.

Table 3.7
Distribution of Sample according to Education

Category	P	NP	Total	P	NP	Total	P	NP	Total
Illiterate	3.33	2.15	5.48	0.98	0.20	1.18	2.35	1.96	4.31
Literate	24.07	31.31	55.38	13.50	11.35	24.85	10.57	19.96	30.53
Metric	11.00	16.40	27.40	6.65	6.07	12.72	4.11	10.57	14.68
Degree	2.54	7.24	9.78	2.15	2.35	4.50	0.30	4.89	5.28
P.G	0.59	0.78	1.39	0.59	0.59	1.17	0	0.20	0.20
Others	0.20	0.39	0.59	0.20	0.20	0.40	0	0.20	0.20
	41.73	58.27	100	24.07	20.76	44.80	17.33	37.78	55.20

Note: P= Participant N=Non Participant
Source: Sample Survey

Religion and Caste-wise break-up of the Sample

The religion and Caste wise break-up of the sample shows that it is dominated by Hindus followed by Christians and Muslims. While 47.27 per cent of Hindus and 59.68 per cent of the backward castes are participants, Christians and Muslims contributed only around one third of their population as participants.

Table 3. 8
Religion and Caste wise distribution of the sample

Category	Participants	Non-participants	Total
Hindus	30.53 (47.21)	34.05 (52.73)	64.58
Christians	8.02 (32.27)	16.83 (67.72)	24.85
Muslims	2.94 (27.81)	7.63 (72.19)	10.57
Backward Castes	15.07 (59.68)	10.18 (40.32)	25.25

Note: Percentages of each components are given below in brackets
Source: Sample Survey

Profile of the Family income of the Sample

The average of the family income of the males in the sample is higher than that of both the females and the sample as a whole. Generally the participating group have a lower average income compared to the non participating groups. The non-participant groups as a whole has the largest share of 63 per cent of income out of the sample and the participating male has the lowest share of it. i.e. 11.82 per cent as seen from the Table 3. 9

Table 3. 9
Profile of Family Income of the Sample

Category	Average of Family Income in Rs.	Percentage Share of Total Income of the Sample
Sample	1429.08	
Male	1557.38	48.83
Female	1324.89	51.16
Participants	1267.08	36.78
Non-participants	1543.95	63.21
Male Participants	1481.71	24.95
Female Participants	970.45	23.88
Male Non-participants	1645.19	11.82
Female Non-participants	1488.34	39.33

Source: Sample Survey

Marital Status of the Sample

Among the sample of informants 87 per cent are married and the married participants constitutes 36 per cent. The non participant group has 51 per cent of the total as married and 5 percent unmarried. Table 3. 10 gives the details of this aspect of the sample.

Table 3. 10
Marital Status of the Sample

Category	Married	Unmarried	Widows
Male	36	4	
Female	51	5	4
Total	87	9	4
Male Participants	22	2	0
Female Participants	14	2	2
Participants	36	4	2
Male Non-participants	19	2	
Female Non-participants	32	3	2
Non-participants	47	5	2

Conclusion

The profile given above has drawn a very clear picture of the sample area as well as the sample of households. It can be seen that both these Grama Panchayaths have most of the typical characteristics of any of the present villages of Kerala like dependence on awfully deteriorating agricultural occupations, unemployment, poor housing and drinking water facility, unmatched provisions for education and cultural activities in the village etc. The sample is dominated by non-participants in general, but in some rare cases the domination of participants is seen as in the case of males. When the sample as a whole is taken it can be seen that it is a true representative of the Kerala state in the case of Participation in local level planning, as the majority of them are non- participants. But when the males a group is taken it can be seen that participants dominate the scene. Ward wise picture of the sample bring out a very clear picture of participation. In the better participation ward, while the female non participant group dominates, male participants dominate the poor participation ward. But in the case of poor participation panchayath, in both wards it is the non participant groups dominate that the sample .

The distribution of occupational pattern reveals the fact that unemployed group dominates the whole sample and the non-participants. Most of the agricultural laborers and farmers as well as service sector people are participants while most of the unemployed kept away from the programme. The participants and male participants have a higher average age compared to that of the sample as well as non-participants. Female participants, Female non-participants and male non-participants have a lower average age.

Age group wise break up of the sample has substantiated this conclusion. The sample as a whole and female has around one third of informants belonging to the age group of 26-35, while the male group has one third of their total belonging to the age group of 56 and above. Among the Participants as a whole and male participants majority belong to the age group of 56 and above while a major chunk of non-participants and female participants belong to the

age group of 26-35. At the same time the both the female and male non-participants have a majority belonging to the age group of 26-35. As the educational profile of the sample reveals, more than 50 per cent of them are mere literate and it is this group which contributes the largest share to participation. Religion and Caste wise break up of the sample shows that the sample has a majority of Hindus followed by Christian and Muslims. A sizable contribution of participants has come from the backward classes.

The non-participants have a higher average family income while the participants have lower average family income compared to the average family income of the sample. It can be seen that this trend is common in the case of all groups of participants and non-participants. The sample has more than three fourth of it married and among them more than half are non-participants.

Chapter Four
**DYNAMICS OF PEOPLE'S
PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS**

One of the important questions related to participatory development is how to enhance and sustain effective participation. One has to address the basic questions like who, why and how participate in development. Along with this, the perspective of the non participating group also has to be analysed to understand why they keep away from this programmes. From the first set of questions, we will get the answers to the questions about the motivations to participation and from the second set of questions we get some idea about the barriers to participation. This section will address these issues with special emphasise on women's perspective prefacing with a of profile of trends in participation in the selected sample area.

Concept of Participation

The concept of participation, as far as the campaign for people's planning is concerned, is a comprehensive one. An individual, male or female, can participate in a variety of activities ranging from attending and participating in Grama Sabha meetings, Ayalkootam meetings, Development seminars, Task Forces, Expert Committees, Labour mobilisation schemes etc. But unfortunately, most of the grama panchayaths are not in the hobbit for keeping comparable accounts on these types of participation in their panchayaths. Therefore, as far as this study is concerned, participation is defined as attending the Grama Sabha meetings at their respective panchayaths

Trends in Participation

It may be interesting and useful to examine the general trend in participation of people in Grama Sabhas during the three years since 1996. Most of the studies conducted recently (Isaac, Muraleedharan: 2000) have identified positive trends in the strength of participation of the three categories namely Male, Female and Backward classes. Since Women's Participation cannot be

treated in an isolated manner, it is analysed in the general frame work of People's Participation. The general scenario of participation, particularly that of Women, emerging out of the secondary as well as primary data can be summarised in the following heads.

- 1.The General Picture
- 2.The Spatial Variation
- 3.The Dynamics
4. The Rural -Urban Dichotomy

1. The General Picture

It was in the later half of 1996 that the first Grama Sabhas and Ward Conventions were organised. To capture the general picture, the data related to the first Grama Sabhas at the grama panchayaths and Ward Conventions at the Municipalities are used. This will help one to assess the efficacy of the campaign and can be useful to work out the dynamics in participation over time during the last three years. The general picture of participation of people in Grama Sabhas and Ward Conventions is rather promising, but one cannot overlook the distressing elements inherent in it. The participation of Women, i.e. 28.37 per cent, in the first Grama Sabha and Ward Conventions were encouraging, though it hardly hit the scheduled target of one third. (See Table 1 and Fig 4.1) The participation of the other groups, the Weaker sections was not much bright, as the figures speak. This indicates that the campaign failed in the initial stages to capture the minds of the target group, particularly, the weaker sections, though it has reached at women a certain extent. But, as far as the Municipalities of Thrissur are concerned, the emerging picture seems to be bright as well as promising. Women's participation has been around 45.76 per cent against the 33.33 per cent target. In the case of weaker sections also, the Municipalities presents a brilliant picture with double the participation of Grama Panchayaths.

This picture of participation has some message for the planners and policy makers. It is a fact that the Grama Panchayaths are mostly in the rural areas and the urban areas have Municipalities instead. In the urban areas the participation of women has exceeded the targets while the rural areas fell short

of it by a meager percentage of 1.67. But the difference between urban and rural participation of women is roughly 17.39 percent. No doubt, this is a sizable variation sufficient to evoke our concern. Assuming that other things remain the same and the information related to the campaign has been effectively and uniformly communicated in both the urban and rural areas, one can safely infer that the urban settings have some micro level factors that positively influence participation. In other words, urban women in Kerala are in a better position to actively participate in the development activities compared to their rural counterparts. A further probe at the household level will reveal the grass root level realities of this dichotomy in rural and urban participation in the case of women, which is quite out of the picture of this study..

Table 4.1
People's Participation in Grama Sabhas
and Ward Conventions in Thrissur District in 1996 (Percentages)

Category	Women	Men	Backward Class
Grama Panchayaths	28.37	71.63	1.04
Municipalities	45.76	54.01	1.61

Source: Estimated from the Office records of Grama Panchayaths and Municipalities in Thrissur District

People's Participation in Grama Sabhas and Ward Conventions of Thrissur District of Kerala -1996 (%)

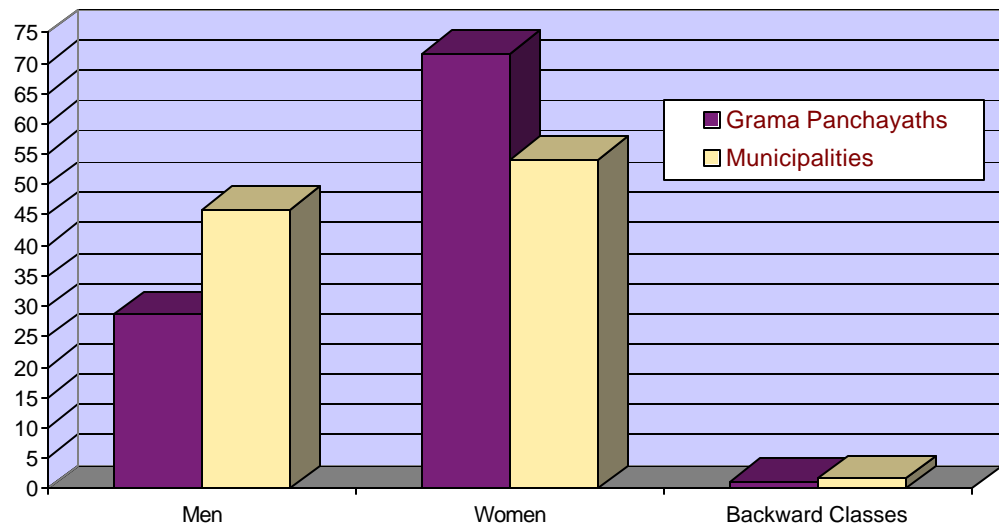


Fig 4.1

The general picture of Participation of People in Grama Panchayaths of Thrissur district and that of sample grama panchayaths, exhibit different trends when compared. In the case of female participation, the Thrissur District as well as sample panchayaths exhibit same trend. In all these cases there has been a continuous increase in female participation. But in the case of the participation of Backward classes, there is uniform trends in Thrissur District and Kaiparamb Panchayath, while a different pattern can be found in the case of Porkalam Grama Panchayath.(See Table 4.2)

Table 4.2
Trends in the Strength of Participation
in Grama Panchayaths of Thrissur District and Sample Grama Panchayats
(Percentages)

Category	1 st Grama Sabha	2 nd Grama Sabha	3 rd Grama Sabha	4 th Grama Sabha	5 th Grama Sabha
KAIPARAMB GRAMA PANCHAYATH					
Male	83.76	63.85	64.41	61.32	64.70
Female	16.24	36.15	35.53	38.68	35.30
SC/ST	17.72	16.64	27.39	18.86	26.74
PORKALAM GRAMA PANCHAYATH					
Male	71.07	62.82	64.69	51.72	49.78
Female	28.92	37.17	35.30	48.27	50.22
SC/ST	23.64	13.13	14.34	9.14	2.98
THRISSUR DISTRICT					
Male	76.54	72.36	61.57	59.65	59.73
Female	23.40	27.48	38.41	41.28	40.27
SC/ST	6.94	10.55	14.84	16.08	18.67

Source: Office records of Grama Panchayaths of Thrissur District

2. Spatial Variation

Another trend one can observe in the case of Total Participation, particularly in the case of Women, is the extreme spatial variation in the strength of participation. It is true that there will not be uniform participation in different Grama Panchayaths as they differ in many aspects from the Total Population to Socio, Economic, Political and other factors like Education, Occupational Structure, Income and, of course, Political association. It was found that there is extreme spatial variation in participation of Women and other groups across

these Grama Panchayaths and across the Wards internal to the Grama Panchayaths. In order to get a more clearer idea about spatial variation in participation over time, the Co-efficient of variation of strength of participation is worked out for two points of time, i.e. 1996 and 1999 as given in Table 4.2. It can be seen that variation is highest in the case of Weaker sections followed by that of Women in 1996. In the case of Women's Participation, it was 59.05 in 1996 and declined to 53.00 in 1999. Coefficient of variation is a ratio of Standard Deviation and Mean multiplied by 100. It is one of the measures of variation in the observations and is positively related to variation. This indicates that spatial variation in the case of strength of women's participation has come down overtime. But it is in the case of Male Participation that it has reduced roughly by half from 45.60 to 28.00, which shows that male participation has become more uniform. One can hardly overlook the significant reduction in the variation of participation of weaker sections as it has strong message to the policy makers. The variation in the case of weaker sections has been reduced by one fourth indicating a more uniform participation on their part throughout the sample area. This strongly communicates the fact that the program has been a tremendous success in generating hope and creating a feeling of relief among the weaker sections who were once kept away from the mainstream of development activities. As Thomas Isaac (1997) has rightly observed these variations cannot be explained in terms of some Socio - Economic and Political factors present in the wards or Panchayaths. But still there are some grass root realities unique to each ward or even Panchayaths for that matter that crucially determine the strength of participation of Women. Some of them are quantifiable, but some escape the attempts of quantification as they are purely qualitative in nature. To give an example, it may be the need for a well or a road or some other basic facilities that come under the Grama Panchayath provisions that induces the participation of Women and weaker sections in one ward or some times a Panchayath. In some other cases it may be the presence of a charismatic woman leader that motivates them to attend the Grama Sabhas. In the course of this study, several women participants were frank to pinpoint the presence of a women leader who inspired them to come over to Grama Sabhas.

In some other cases there can be an attitudinal factor or the question of awareness on the part of the participants that play a crucial role.

Table 4.3
Coefficient of Variation of Strength
of Participation in Grama Sabhas of Thrissur District in 1996 and 1999

Year	Women	Men	Backward Class	Total
September 1996	59.05	45.60	244	44
May 1999	53.00	28.00	68	35

Source: Estimated from the Office records of Grama Panchayaths and Municipalities in Thrissur District

3. The Dynamics

While the analysis of spatial variation looks for the determinants of Women's Participation, the analysis of dynamics will help to capture the temporal variation of Women's Participation. In other words, it examines the change in strength of participation over time and try to sort out the impact of governmental attempts to enhance it during the period of last three years over 5 Grama Sabhas from September 1996 to May 1999. Data related to 10 randomly selected Grama Panchayaths are used for this analysis. A glance at the figures relating to variations in Women's Participation clearly indicates that there has been a definite upward trend till the fourth Grama Sabha. In the fourth Grama Sabha, Total Participation has decreased by 22.70 per cent and over the previous one and a major contribution to this decline came from decline in male participation. Actually there has been only slight decrease in the fourth Grama Sabha in the case of women's participation. Except in this, the up ward trend continues till the fifth one and reaches the peak in the fifth Grama Sabha. Similar is the trend in the participation of Weaker sections . The fig.4.2 given below depicts the temporal trend in the Participation of different groups.

Table 4.4
Temporal Variation in Total Participation in
Grama Sabhas from 1996 to 1999 in Thrissur district
 (percentage)

Grama Sabhas	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th
Category					
Male	0	1.90	-4.24	-17.97	13.80
Female	0	26.21	57.73	-16.91	21.35
Backward	0	63.83	58.30	-16.24	32.12
Total Participation	0	17.65	9.52	-22.70	12.13

Source: Estimated from the Office records of Grama Panchayaths and Municipalities in Thrissur District.

Temporal Variation in Participation of Different Groups in Grama Sabhas in Thrissur 1996-1999

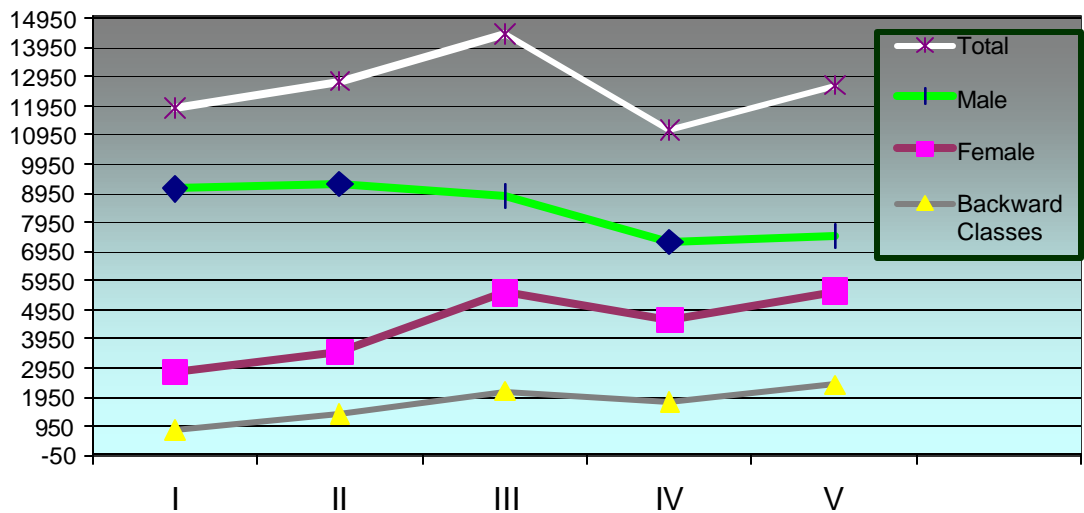


Fig 4.2

As it is seen from the fig 4.2 there is an upward trend in participation of all groups, till the third Grama Sabha and then the down ward trend begins. As far as the Women's participation is concerned the upward trend continues in the subsequent Grama Sabhas after a slight decline in the fourth Grama Sabha unlike the Total Participation which declines from the zenith it has reached in the third one. Similar is the trend in the participation of backward classes as it goes up to a higher level after a fall in the fourth one.

A more clear picture can be obtained when the percentage shares of each group is taken and compared. The percentage share of Women's participation increases steeply from 23.40 to 44.02 while that of males decreases to 59.13 from a high of 76.54 during the last three years. (See Table 4.5). But the share

of backward classes has been on the upswing from a mere 6.94 per cent to 18.67 registering a more than three fold increase. The fig 4.2 given below graphically illustrates this trend.

Table 4.5
Percentage share of Participation of different groups in the Grama Sabhas of Thirssur District 1996 - 1999

Grama Sabhas Category	Ist	2 nd	3rd	4th	5th
Male	76.54	72.36	61.57	79.65	59.13
Female	23.40	27.48	38.41	41.28	44.02
Backward	6.94	10.55	14.84	16.08	18.67

Source: Estimated from the Office records of Grama Panchayaths and Municipalities in Thrissur

Trend in Percentage share of Participation of Different Groups in Grama Sabhas of Thrissur District 1996 - 1999

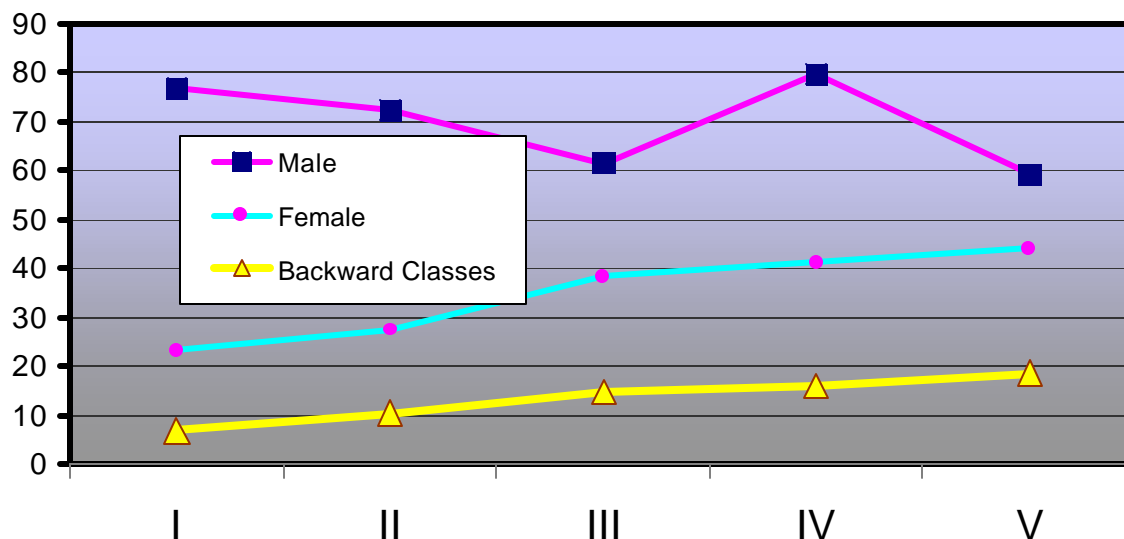


Fig 4.3

It is much useful and relevant to examine the trend of participation at the panchayath level as well as ward level. In the subsequent Grama Sabha meetings after the first one held in the middle of 1996, Total participation, Male Participation and Female Participation have increased in both the panchayaths. Female participation has continued the trend till the 5th Grama Sabha in Kaiparamb, where as it has shown a different trend in the Porkalam Grama

Panchayath. As the leaders and officials put from their observation that the major determinants of participation in Grama Sabha is the agenda to be discussed in it. In these meetings in which the beneficiary selection is involved, there is much participation. This might have been one of the reasons for increase in participation in certain Grama Sabhas in both grama panchayaths.

The Primary data collected during the survey at the household level gives a different picture about participation. The informants were asked to record the number of gramasbha meetings and the Ayalkootam meetings they have participated and the table 4.6 given below summarises the details. The table shows that more than 60 per cent have participated in more than 5 Grama Sabhas in the case of sample as a whole and male and female as well. When the data for the Kaiparamba Panchayath is taken separately, it can be seen that more than 70 per cent of the participants have attended 5 Grama Sabhas. But for the Porkalam Grama Panchayath, the panchayath with poor participation, the corresponding figures is less than 45 per cent. The inconsistency between the results of primary and secondary data is due to the fact that primary data is collected from participants alone and they continue to attend the meetings once they become part of the programme. More over there are fresh entrants to this programme when subsequent Grama Sabhas are convened and hence the tempo is sustained.

Table 4.6

Trends of Participation in Grama Sabhas based on sample survey data

No of Grama Sabhas	Total	Male	Female
SAMPLE			
1 st	2.36	3.25	1.12
2 nd	5.66	3.25	8.99
3 rd	10.38	11.38	8.99
4 th	11.79	8.94	15.73
5 th	69.81	73.17	65.16
Kaiparamb			
1 st	3.33	4.11	2.13
2 nd	4.17	2.74	6.38
3 rd	9.17	9.59	8.51
4 th	10.83	9.59	12.77
5 th	72.50	73.97	70.21
Porkalam			
1 st	3.23	3.45	3.03
2 nd	11.29	6.90	15.15
3 rd	17.74	24.14	12.12
4 th	19.35	13.79	24.24
5 th	48.39	51.73	45.45

Source: Sample Survey

4. Rural Urban Dichotomy

One can hardly overlook the striking rural urban disparity in the participation of Women, as it has some very serious inferences for the policy makers. This sharp dichotomy in participation extends to other groups also. For the purpose of analysing this, data related to points of time i.e. September 1996 and May 1999 are collected from 98 Grama Panchayaths and 7 Municipalities. Women's Participation has been 28.37 per cent in rural area (Grama Panchayaths) and 45.76 per cent in urban area (Municipalities) in 1996. It is clear that the share of male participation is less in urban area and high in rural area. Participation of backward classes remained almost the same, though with marginal variations, in both areas in the initial stages of the program. It is when the temporal change in participation of various groups is taken in to account, the picture gets more clearer with the undercurrents getting revealed. As it is seen from Table 5, during the period between 1996 and 1999, in the urban area, Women's participation has decreased by only 13.95 per cent, while it has a sizable increase of 62.62 per cent in rural areas. In the case of Male participation

the trend has been on the reverse. But in the case of Weaker sections in both areas it has been on the upswing, and that too with a very significant margin of 18 times in rural areas. As far as the total participation is concerned, it has increased in both areas, but the variation was lesser in urban areas with an increase of 1.82 per cent against 9.86 per cent in rural areas.

Table 4.7
Rural and Urban Dichotomy in Participation 1996 -1999 (%)

Particulars	Female	Male	Backward Classes	Total
GRAMA PANCHAYATHS				
1996	28.37	71.63	1.04	
1999	41.99	58.01	18.26	
Variation	+62.62	-11.04	18 times	+9.86
MUNICIPALITIES				
1996	45.76	54.01	1.61	
1999	38.68	64.32	8.85	
Variation	-13.95	+15.59	+82.16	+1.82

Source: Estimated from the Office records of Grama Panchayaths and Municipalities in Thrissur District

The analysis of rural urban dichotomy in Women's Participation has some relevant policy implications. There is no doubt that urban settings in Kerala have some positive factors which promotes women's participation in development and it is due to the operation of these factors that the participation of women touched the heights above the scheduled targets. But the decrease in participation of urban Women by roughly 14 per cent is a matter of serious concern. One can very easily infer that it is not the environment unique to women that has contributed towards this decline. Simultaneously, male participation has increased by around 16 per cent in urban areas. The participation of Women, Men and Backward classes have been on the increase and these communicates that the program has generated fresh hopes among them. Governmental efforts to participate more marginalised groups and weaker sections have been a tremendous success in rural areas, whereas it seems that it has suffered a slight set back in the case of urban women, as there has been a retreat of urban women from the arena of development activities. Since this urban perspective falls quite out of the scope of this study due to the usual resource constraints, a detailed attempt is spared.

Motives Behind Participation

It is one of the very important questions to be asked in relation to participatory approach that why people participate. Equally important is why they do not participate. While the answer to the first question is a crucial input for the policy makers to sustain the tempo of participation, the answer to the second question is essential to enhance participation by attracting those who keep away from the programme. In this study answers to this questions were sought from two sources: the sample survey among the households and discussion with the leaders and resource persons of the programme

Generally, the social engineers and architects of the campaign in Kerala have been deeply prejudiced to repeatedly state that personal benefits, potential as well as present, are the major motives behind participation. But the results of the sample survey presents a different picture. It has revealed that along with the personal benefits, equally strong is the thirst for presenting local problems.(See table 4.8) Social concern reflected in the interest in presenting local problems has emerged as a strong motive for participation, as per the results of sample survey. From the discussions in the Grama Sabhas, it is clear that this concern is equally shared by the male participants and female participants as well. However, among those who participated in the sample survey, the number of males who have expressed this as their chief motive exceeds the females. Similarly, females those who feel that participating in the campaign is important exceeds the males. As mentioned earlier, one will be surprised to see the presence of mothers with feeding babies in the Grama Sabha meetings. All these point out to the deep social consciousness among the female population of Kerala. There is a meager percentage of the participants who follow the dictates of the party men. The details about the beneficiary status of the participants supports these arguments. As given in table 4.9 only 40 per cent of the participants are present beneficiaries. Around 45 per cent of the sample are not availing any kind of benefits.

Table 4. 8
Motives behind Participation - Percentages

Motives	Total	Male	Female
To present the Local Problem	47.64	33.49	14.15
To avail personal benefits	44.33	19.34	24.99
To obey party dictation	2.84	1.42	1.42
Participation very is important	5.19	3.77	1.42

Source: Sample Survey

Table 4.9
Beneficiary Status of Participants

Category	Total	Male	Female
Present Beneficiary	40.57	18.86	21.70
Potential Beneficiary	14.15	8.01	6.13
Total	54.72	26.87	27.83

Source: Sample Survey

Determinants of Participation

It is a fact that participation is varied across the district, blocks and even wards and it is a multi-variate function of several determinants. Apart from the macro settings supporting participation like the political, social and economic factors, there are certain important micro level realities that determine participation. Age of the participant, family income, type of house owned, occupation, land holding, political association and exposure to media etc. are found to have a profound influence on participation of the individual. It is also found that wards with women panchayath members have a different pattern of participation compared to those with male panchayath members.

The question of role of women panchayath members in women's participation was examined using the data related to percentage of participation in the last six Grama Sabhas meetings conducted in the sample grama panchayaths. One can identify the difference in the trend in participation of women and men those wards with women members. The figures 4.4 and 4.5 given below portray this difference in trends.

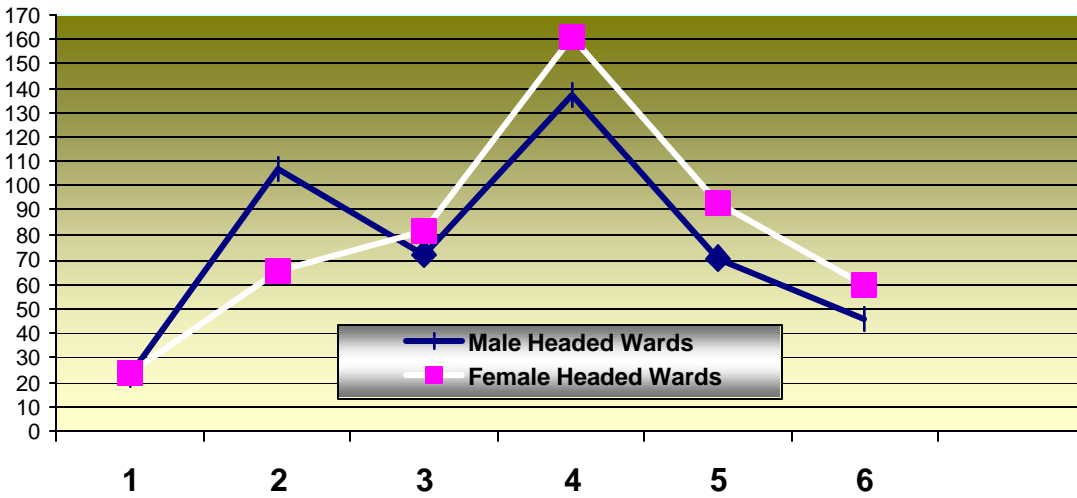


Fig 4.4
Difference in Trends in Average Participation at Wards with Male and Female Members of Kaiparamb Panchayath

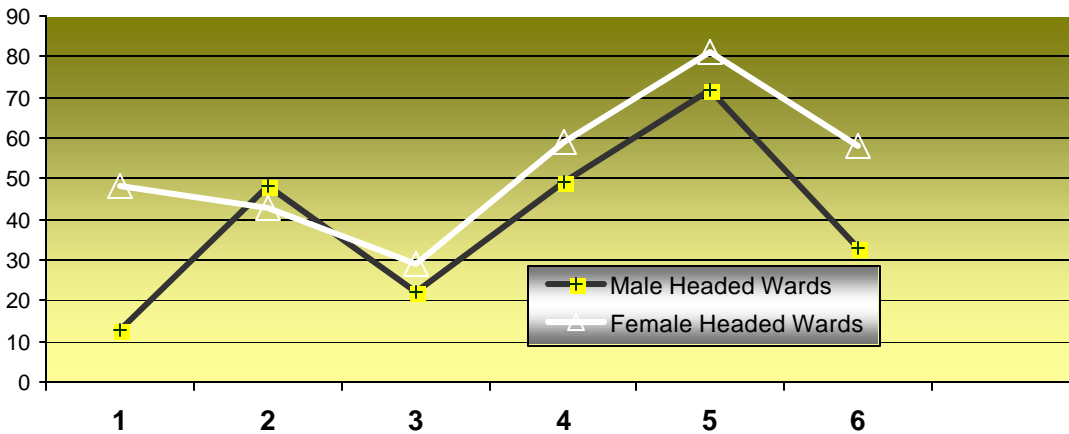


Fig 4.5
Difference in Trends in Average Participation at Wards with Male and Female Members of Porkalam Panchayath

In the female headed wards of Kaiparamb Grama Panchayath, average participation is the same for both the male and female at the beginning. At the subsequent Grama Sabha meetings, average of the female participation has been higher compared to that of the males. In the case of Porkalam Grama Panchayath, also the average participation has been higher in the female headed wards, as it is seen from the Fig. 4.5. Combining this with the statements of

women participants who mentioned about the charismatic women leaders of their locality which often inspired them to participate, though this is not a strict cause and effect relationship, one can conclude that the presence of women leader often augments women's participation.

It can be seen that the youngsters of male and the combined group (male and female) keep away or rarely participate in the campaign while the elderly groups actively participate in the campaign. The participant groups have a higher average age when the groups are taken separately as male and female or as a combined group. The age group 25 to 35 forms the largest group with around 31 per cent of the total of the sample and this age group contributed the largest share of the Non-Participants taken as a single group and separately as male and female. But among the participants male and the combined group clusters around the age group of above 55, while in the case of female participants it is the age group of 36-45 contributes the largest share. The explanations obtained from the engineers of the programme and the leaders and resource persons are very interesting and contributive towards a better understanding of the pattern of participation. The absence of younger male and presence of elderly male is due to the fact the in most of the house holds the younger males are mostly the bread winners and they stick on to their work places and depute their parents to the Grama Sabhas. Similarly, the case of female non- participants of the age group of 26-35 dominating the sample, it is interpreted that most of the women of the age group may be held back by their work place and household obligations including child care. But there are a few of them trying to overcome their age old shackles and they are present in many of the Grama Sabhas with their feeding babies at their shoulders.

It can be seen that, from Table 4.10 among the male population, it is the elderly group of age above 55 who dominate the sample and as well as the group of participants and the majority of the non participating males as well as females belong to the age group of 25 to 35. In the female population of the sample, though the sample is dominated by the age group of 25-35, it is the

next higher age group of 36-45 which contributed largest share of 31 per cent towards the group of participants.

Table 4.10
Age Profile of Participants and Non-Participants (%)

Age Groups	TOTAL			PARTICIPANTS			NON-PARTICIPANTS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Below 25	2	7	5	2	2	2	2	9	7
26-35	22	38	31	16	26	20	29	43	38
36-45	19	22	21	31	31	25	18	18	18
46-55	23	17	20	19	19	21	24	16	18
Above 56	34	16	23	22	22	32	27	14	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Sample Survey

The family income of the participant has a profound influence on participation. While analyzing the determinants of pattern of participation, Isaac and Franke (2000) observed that economic factors like the presence of agricultural labourers, work participation rate, occupational structure, employment in the organized sector have significant influence on participation. The role of family income on participation is a missing focus in their analysis. It was found that the average family income of the non-participant group is much higher than that of participants as well as that of the sample as a whole. The non-participants command around the double of the share of total family income of the sample compared to the participants. This makes it clear that higher income of the family tends to hinder participation in local level planning. As the income goes to higher levels, naturally it has a deep impact on various aspects of the family. It influences the command over resources, change the attitude to society and its problems, social relationships, cut the need for public provisions, several essentials and create a feeling that one is self-sufficient. In the families with higher levels of income, the public participation is something looked down and it is regarded as the affairs of poor and backward classes. We recall that several non-participant elite women wondering that as local level planning is a 'matter of distributing goats and hen' for the poor and backward classes, what business they have got to do there. This does not imply that high income elites do keep away from the local level planning, but what we observe from the study is that

they participate in the local level planning when there are strong motivations from deep political association or some other interests dominate their behavior. It is found that generally the participants of both sex are from a family with low income compared to either the Non-Participants or the sample as a whole. The share of Participants out of the total income of the sample is 36.78 per cent against 63.22 per cent shared by the Non-Participants. In the case of the male participants, it is 24.96 and in the case of female participants it is much lower i.e. 11.83 per cent. (See Table 4.11)

Table 4.11
Family income of the Participants and Non-Participants

Category	TOTAL			PARTICIPANTS			NON PARTICIPANTS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Average Family Income	1557	1324	1429	1482	970	1267	1645	1488	1544
Percentage Share of Family Income	51.16	48.84	100	24.56	11.83	36.78	23.88	39.34	63.28

Source: Sample Survey

Occupational distribution of the participants and Non-Participants shows that the unemployed, particularly those at the younger age, formed the major contributing segment to non-participants. The category which has contributed towards the group of participants is farmers and services persons. As far as the political association of the sample is concerned, it was found that more than 58 per cent of them denied to be considered as affiliated to any political groups of parties, but strongly preferred to be considered as indifferent. Among the participants, nearly 56 per cent of them are with association to any of the political parties and among the non-participants majority are indifferent to party politics.

When the relationship with participation and landholding is examined, it can be seen that size of land holding plays comparatively an insignificant role. In our sample, majority of the Non-Participants and participants belong to families with land holding of less than 0.5 acres. Among the participants 85 per cent and among the Non-Participants 87 per cent are with family land holdings below 0.5 acres. Those households with between 0.5 and 1 acre of family land

holdings have a tendency to participate much as they form a higher share (10.8 per cent) among participants and have a lower share (8.70 per cent) among non-participants. The experts and key resource persons explain this tendency of higher participation of this group that the benefits like various agricultural provisions provided through the local level planning has been a strong motivation for this.

It may be also interesting to see that whether the exposure to media like news paper and television has got any impact on participation. It is true that a strict cause and effect relationship cannot be identified in this context. Out of the total sample size of 511, more than 53 per cent has access to television and among them 33 percent of households are participants and 67 per cent are Non-Participants. In the sample, those with access to any news paper constituted 45 per cent and among them only 40 per cent are participants. The emerging picture of more people with access to these popular media keeping away from the programmes implies that the governmental attempts to create a awareness among the people on People's Planning have hardly touched the hearts of the people.

Occupational structure of the sample is dominated, as usual in any house hold survey, by the unemployed constituting nearly 62 per cent followed by the group of business class/self employed people with a share of 15 per cent. Quite ironically, the largest occupational chunk of unemployed have contributed the lowest share of 29 per cent towards the group of participants. The group of agricultural laborers, farmers and self employed are the three major group which have contributed maximum members from their groups.

Political association of the individual, the family and even the Ward and Grama Panchayath has got a strong sway on the pattern of participation. Isaac and Franke (2000) have observed that, People's campaign, launched by Left Democratic Front government has evoked a very cold and lukewarm response from the Panchayaths ruled by the United Democratic Front and their allies. An

analysis of temporal trend of participation by Muraleedharan.K (2000) has shown participation of all groups, viz. male, female and backward classes have increased steadily in the Panchayaths ruled by Left Democratic front. The informants at the household level were asked to reveal political associations and level of associations during the discussions held at the field survey. It was found that majority of them preferred to be in the category of indifferent (58 per cent) and this may be due to that they are afraid of the uneasy and unpleasant consequences of revealing their political identities and winning the wrath of those who are in power. (The experience in a participant observation session where we faced strong protests from the local leaders for asking the participants to reveal their political association needs to be recalled here). Those who were ready to reveal their clear political identity and association formed only 42 per cent of the whole sample. Among the participants around 56 per cent are with clear political party associations either with the ruling or the opposition. But the percentage of those with clear political association among the non-participants is much lower to the tune of 30 per cent, and they are associated with both the fronts. This clearly shows that participation in development, as far as the local level planning is concerned, is a matter of politics and not apolitical in character. The political association of household, either with the ruling or with the opposition, plays a very crucial role in motivating him or her to participate in the development process. Association with political parties, even if it is at the lower level, plays a role in conscientious the masses in a miraculous way unimaginable. This view has been substantiated by our exposures to the Grama Sabhas and other group interaction sessions run as a part of the campaign.

Who participates and who does not ?

Participatory approach envisions to participate the people, the real beneficiaries or the development programme in the process of planning from the stages of the identification of the problem to the implementation of the schemes. Participation is authentic and genuine when the people do it instinctively and actively with no external intervention on the part of any agency in it. Contrary to the assumptions on which the theory is based, the society is characterized by

heterogeneity in all aspects, conflicting interests, unequal power and caste relations, articulation by the political parties for their own interests and several such things which often make the genuine participation a myth in the theory. There is no doubt that reality stands poles apart from the dictums in the theory. It is in such a situation that the question like who participate becomes more relevant. It seems that, as far as the participatory approach is concerned and the Campaign for People's Planning as well, the basic problem faced is who do not participate than who participate, in order to gear the policy towards enhancing participation in the future. There fore, in the present context, it is quite relevant to look in to who does not participate along with who does.

As far as the question of who participate and who keep away from the programme, as mentioned earlier, it can be clearly answered that it is the elderly males and middle aged females participate while the youngsters in the age group of 25-36 in both sex have kept away from the programme. This phenomenon has been interpreted in many ways. The youngsters being the bread winners of the family, they generally prefer to stick to their work places than to sacrifice one days wages and depute their elderly parents to the Grama Sabhas. This definitely has its sway on the participation and it is the elderly male who dominate the participating group with a share of 32 per cent and young females with age between 26-35 constituting the majority of non- participating group with a share of 43 per cent. It is found that generally the more of the participants of both sex are with low family income compared to either the Non-Participants or the sample as a whole. The question of who participate and who does not participate can be looked from the point of type of house also. Those with a better housing conditions preferred to keep away from the planning process, while those who with a comparatively poor housing conditions like thatched and tiled houses showed a tendency to come forward to participate in the programme. Majority of the informants with access to any of the strong medias have kept away from the programme. Occupational distribution of the participants and Non-Participants show that the unemployed, particularly those at the younger age, formed the major contributing segment to non-participants.

The category which has contributed towards much to the group of participants is farmers and services persons. As far as the political association of the sample is concerned, it was found that among the participants, nearly 56 per cent of them are with association to any of the political parties and among the non participants majority are indifferent to party politics.

As observed by most of the resource person and officials of the local bodies where survey was conducted, benefits of either type constitute an important motive for participation. There for it may be useful for looking the participants from this angle to see what are their status in this regard. The present beneficiaries constitute 40.76 per cent, the potential beneficiaries constitute 15 per cent of the total participants. The Non-Participants as a whole have no idea about the benefits they will get out of the various schemes and programmes.

The role and mode of Participation

The second question crucial to the concept of participation is the role and mode of participation. From this perspective, participation can be looked from different angles. First, there can be a classification of Participation as Passive, Active and Decisive. Participation is passive when the individuals simply attend the meetings and leave the hall. It becomes active when they assume some role of responsibility like conveners or committees or neighborhood groups . It is decisive when they are assigned with some decision making power. Ultimately, this is a question of 'Voice' and 'Influence'. Those who are able to raise their 'Voice' becomes active and those who are successful in 'influencing' the outcome of decision making process become decisive participants. Finally, those fails to either and feels disillusioned becomes the 'exit' and it is at this point that the question of sustaining participation becomes relevant. As far as the sample is concerned, more than 90 per cent of the participants are passive participants and the strength of active participants is less than 8 per cent. Decisive participants forms around 1 per cent among the women as well as in the sample

while the male participants even do not have a single decisive participant.(see Table 4.12)

Table 4.12
Quality of Participation(%)

Category	Male	Female	Total
Passive	90	92	92
Active	10	7	7
Decisive	0	1	1
Total	100	100	100

Source : Sample Survey

One of the serious question, often raised in relation to participatory approach by experts and critics, is about the quality of deliberations in the meetings .Therefore, it is necessary to look in to the fact that how far these participants take part in deliberations creatively and vigilantly and contribute towards the preparation and implementation of plans and programmes. Whether they are able to present their local problems and get them solved, check the violation of rules and regulations as well as priorities established by norms, by raising their voice are other important issues in this context.. The basic preconditions for good quality deliberations are the awareness about the development problems in their area and the ability to present them in the right time, in the right manner and get them solved. As far as the awareness about the local development problems the male informants (83%) are much better than the female informants (73%) against the general picture of 79 per cent. It can be seen that in good quality deliberations male participants exceed their female counter parts, excepting in getting an assurance that the problem will be looked in to later, as it is evident from the Table 4.13.

Table4.13
Quality of Deliberations (%)

Category	Total	Male	Female
Awareness of the local development problems	79	83	73
Successful presentation	73	76	70
Successful in getting them solved	4	5	3
Partly solved	23	25	19
Not attended by the Grama Sabhas	20	23	15
Assurance of Considering later	26	22	37

Source: Sample Survey

The core objective of Participatory democracy is to ensure that justice is being done to all while plans are prepared and implemented. Each participant in the Grama Sabha needs to be vigilant and closely observing with deep awareness about the proceedings so that no violation of priority is done and all are given their due share in the programmes. They must essentially raise their voice and exert pressure if injustice, nepotism, favoritism or misappropriation is found in the process of plan implementation. Participation is meaningful, significant and efficient as well as effective in all the sense of the term, if and only if, it satisfies the above conditions. In our study, 25 per cent of the participants were vigilant in participation and conscious about the priorities. Male participants (18%) exceed the female participants (5 %) in this aspect also.(See Table4.14)

Table 4.14
Vigilance in Participation (%)

Category	Total	Male	Female
Feels that priority has been violated	25	18	7
Raised against this : Always	17	12	5
Raised against this : Sometimes	2	2	0
Raised against this : Never	6	4	2

Source: Sample Survey

It is clear that those who participate with a sense of justice and sublime motive of the exact sprit of participation is just one fourth of the total and among them those who are willing to raise the voice are much less.

Barriers to Participation

As a part of devising the strategy for enhancing participation of people, it requires to get an idea about the perception of non-participants on what really drove back them from participating in the programmes. Revealing their deeply rooted indifference towards the programme, the majority of non-participants, identify lack of free time as the important constraint for participation. More than 52.17 per cent of the non-participants (39.74 per cent of males and 60.26 per cent of females) have stated that they have no sufficient free time to attend the programme. One third of the non-participants felt no interest in the programme

and hold that it is not useful to participate, while 5.69 per cent found it inconvenient to participate. (See Table 4.15).

Table 4.15
Barriers to Participation.

Reasons	Sample	Male	Female
No time	52.17	20.74	31.44
No interest	37.79	10.70	27.09
Inconvenient	5.69	3.01	2.68
Not important	2.34	0.33	2.01
No use at all	2.01	0.67	1.34

Source: Sample Survey

Interest in the programme and permission from the family are another factor which played an important role in determining participation. Among the female informants of non-participating group, 83.33 per cent are hopeful to obtain permission from their parents or guardians or husbands whoever it may be, to attend the programme. Same proportion of them, the non-participating informants (of which 32 per cent are females and 20.07 females) have their relatives or other family members as participants of the programme. In spite of the positive family environment that supports participation, perhaps this might have served as a barrier to participation. Since most of the family, social, communal as well as religious engagements are held during Sundays and holidays which also might have a negative impact on participation.

Another crucial factor, which determines the strength of participation is the awareness of the individuals about the local problems. Since the very purpose of the local level planning is to identify the local developmental problem and understand their relevance and significance to the promotion of rural welfare and solving them with local capacity and participation, a minimum level of awareness about the local development issues is the most critical aspect for effective participation. Among the non - participants 53 per cent are not having any idea about the problems at their locality and the possible way of solving it through the local level planning. The lack of awareness about the local problem

is acute among the female non-participants. More than two third of them are unaware of the local problem. This is agrees with what the women leaders and activists reiterated in the group discussion sessions that awareness creation among the village folk should be given top priority. Besides this, the lack of confidence among them about the potential of local level planning to solve these problems also contributed toward their non-participation. Among the non-participants, 76.92 per cent believed that Grama Sabha can hardly help to solve the problem and improve the situation in the villages. Most of them are unaware about the improvements created by the planning at the local level. While 18.73 per cent believed that there are no development in the panchayath initiated through Grama Sabhas, 49.50 per cent were quite indifferent towards local level planning. One cannot unnoticed the fact that the indifference towards local level planning is much wider and deeper among the female non-participants. Apart from this 67.56 per cent of the non-participants do not feel that it is their duty to attend the Grama Sabhas. Nearly 90 per cent of the non - participants have none of the other female members from their house participating in the Grama Sabhas.

The perception of non-participants that emerged from the survey clearly points out to the grim situation of indifference and low awareness among them regarding the process planning from the grass root level. More than the physical barriers, what strongly deter them from intervening in the planning process is the attitudinal barriers like indifference, lack of awareness, social consciousness and a positive approach towards the new paradigm of development. Those who reflected that they have no sufficient time to share were actually have placed the Grama Sabha meetings and planning process at the lowest of their scale of preference. This implies that they have given it the lowest priority among their daily schedule. Awareness and a strong positive attitude plays an important role in this behavior of more than half of the non- participants who have expressed that they have neither time nor interest.

Conclusion

This chapter has been an attempt to address the basic questions of participation like who participates, why they participate and how they participate in the local level planning in the context of Campaign for People's Planning in Kerala. Along with this, the questions like what is the quality of participation, why do the non-participants keep away from the programme, what are the determinants of participation and what are the barriers to participation were analysed. As a preface, the general trends in participation of the people in Thrissur District as a whole has been analysed. It was found that the trends in participation of women and backward classes are common to the sample, district and sample panchayaths. The spatial variation of participation has been analysed and reached at the conclusion that participation of the female and the backward classes have become more uniform during the last three years. The temporal variation of participation has examined the dynamics of participation. The rural and urban variation in participation of different categories has been analysed.

While analysing the question of why people, particularly women, participate and why do not they participate was analysed and found that the most of the participants are with the motive of presenting their local problems. Family income of the participants, housing conditions of the participants have influenced participation, while access to media have failed in creating any impact.. The quality of participation has brought out the fact that most of the participants are passive participants, while small fraction of them are active and decisive. Along with the quality of deliberations, vigilance in participation was also analysed. Most of the non-participants expressed that it is the lack of free time that prevented them from participating in the programmes. Apart from this most common reasons of lack of time and interest, they were quite incapable of pointing any serious hurdles in participating in a very serious effort that will have a wide impact on their life and family. This pinpoints to a very sorry state of awareness of on the part of the people regarding the essentiality of participation in programmes like this. More over, they were not sensitized to absorb the fact

that planning is their affair and not the affair of the officials and leaders. Still they are under the impression that planning and development is an affair exclusively to be dealt by the government and they have no role to play in it. What is required is the creation of awareness among the people about the relevance of taking part in a programme like this.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS

In this age of Participatory strategies as well as gendering of development, this study has been conducted to share the experience of the ever biggest participatory exercise as well as gendering of development, with a view to understand the dynamics of peoples participation in development, particularly that of women's participation. The study has been conducted in the background of the Campaign for People's Planning started in Kerala in 1996.

Participatory exercises in development programmes have widespread and there are evidences of this strategy being put in to practice in different countries. The literature on this is replete with theoretical cob webs, critical evaluation and experience sharing. These series of attempts coined as "Empowered Deliberative Democracies" envision the true participation of people with the sublime motive of contributing towards development exercises. The efforts in this direction as well as the experiences have raised certain crucial questions. Participatory approach to development centers around the very basic questions like who participate, how they participate and why they do so. Apart from this, it needs to look in to the questions of what ultimately determines participation, i.e., what drives the participants to the development programmes and what ultimately drives back the non-participants from participating in the development programmes. This study has attempted to address these questions with empirical support from the experience in Kerala during the last three years. The introductory chapter has elaborated on the background of the study, the concept and significance, the sample, the scope of the study, the methodology and the limitations of the study.

The second chapter has served the purpose of review of literature. It has, in detail, examined the evolution of alternative development strategies and sketched the emergence of participatory approaches as well as gendering of development. Evolution of the development theory and practice during the last

couple of decades has been visualised often as a movement from holistic theorisation towards inductive approaches. The important characteristics of the post war development strategy has been the strong concern for global inequalities as well as its dependence on a multi-disciplinary plane. By the end of 1960s, it was identified that growth was not necessarily correlated with other development objectives and mere growth was quite insufficient to induce broad based development and more than a decade of rapid development in underdeveloped countries has been of little or no benefit to perhaps a third of their population. The dissatisfaction with the mainstream development strategies have led to the drive for alternative development strategies and it has placed the emphasise on popular power. Particular emphasise was given to fostering local institutions to enhance people's participation in the selection, design and management of development projects at community level. The State came to be viewed as a barrier than a driving force in the development process. Civil societies emerged as the arena in which development objectives are to be achieved.

Another major thread of the development framework during the post war period was the thrust for Decentralisation. The emphasise placed by the aid giving agencies on decentralisation has been an impetus to this. Attempts towards decentralisation as well as participation during the post war period has led to the emergence of Participatory Approach as an orthodoxy in development theory and practice. The canonical status it has attained invited several sarcastic remarks from many of the development experts.

Seventies witnessed growing interest in making the frame work of development theory gender sensitive. Much of the impetus for rising interest in the role of women in development came from the UN Decade for Women (1975-85) and the events accompanied it. The Women in development approach gained a footing during the later half of seventies. Eighties witnessed a serious focus on Women's unintended marginalisation in development programmes and forced to have a rethinking on Women in development approach. Nineties

replaced this with the deep concern for mainstreaming women, which envisages a shift in focus from women to gender.

The socio-economic profile of the sample is given in detail in the third Chapter. In the fourth chapter, devoted for the analysis of dynamics of people's participation, particularly women's participation in development, the trends in participation, the spatial variation, the dynamics, the rural-urban dichotomy were examined. The basic question of participation like who participate, why they participate and how they participate, the determinants as well as barriers to participation, the quality of participation etc., were the aspects covered in this unit.

It was found that in the initial stages, the campaign failed to pick up momentum in the rural centered grama panchayaths and consequently the female participation was below the targets. But in the urban centered Municipalities, the campaign picked up momentum among the females and the participation has been ahead of the targets. In the case of the backward classes there has been uniform participation, in both areas. In other words, it can be said that the campaign failed to reach at the weaker sections and the marginalised in the villages and urban areas, except the urban females. Since the urban picture of participation was placed out of the scope of the study, much deeper analysis about the urban phenomenon has not been conducted. To examine the impact of the governmental attempts on participation, the trends in participation of all these categories in the 5 subsequent Grama Sabhas since 1996 have been examined. It was found that there has been uniform trends of constant increase in the participation of females in the sample district as a whole and in the sample panchayaths. The trends in the participation of backward classes in the sample district and Kaiparamb gramapanchayath has been uniform and exhibited a positive trend throughout the 5 Grama Sabhas, while the same in the Porkalam Gramapanchayath has been of a different nature. It was found that participation of backward classes has been declining since the first Grama Sabha. The analysis of spatial variation of participation of different groups have brought out the fact that participation of females were

more uniform in the initial stages and that of backward classes became more uniform in the later stages. This implies that more of the people from backward classes have been attracted by the programme in the later stages. The attempts to capture the temporal trends in the participation has revealed that upward trends in participation continued till the third Grama Sabha and began to exhibit a steep downward trend in all the three categories. But in the 5th Grama Sabha the momentum was picked. The architects of the programme attribute this to the inclusion of the beneficiary selection in the agenda of Grama Sabhas and the consequent flow of people to the Grama Sabhas in search of personal benefits. It can be seen that the participation of female as well as the backward classes have exhibited uniform trends of a constant increase, inspite of a decline in total participation, during the period of study.

As far as the general trends in participation are concerned, the trends at the sample district level as well as the sample grama panchayath level are almost same, with slight variations. In the case of female participation, uniform trends can be seen while there is variation in the case of participation of backward classes. Though it is kept out of the scope of the study, the question of rural urban dichotomy has been examined with the help of secondary data. The pictures of participation in the urban centered Municipalities and rural centered grama panchayaths were different, except that for the participation of backward classes. While the rural centered grama panchayaths failed in achieving the targets in the initial stages, the urban centered Municipalities excelled in this regard. In the later stages during the third year of the programme in 1999, the urban picture narrates the story of continuous dropouts and fall in the participation of females, except the backward classes. The primary data collected from the household survey confirms that there has been hardly any drop outs in the rural centered panchayaths as most of the informants continued to attend the Grama Sabhas till the 5th one.

The motives behind participation and the extent of true participation was examined. Along with this the perception of the non-participants is examined.

The answer was a clear indication of what the social engineers and architects of the people's campaign prejudiced about the motives of the participants. They widely held that participation is often motivated by the personal benefits in the form of projects and loans. But the sample survey among household informants showed that along with the motive for personal benefits, equally strong is the motive for solving local problems. But it was seen that the concern for solving local problems are more shared by the male participants, the personal benefits have been a strong motivation among the female participants. Unlike what is often talked about that there is forced participation of party men and their hardcore cronies, the study has revealed that only a meager percentage of the sample has participated obeying party dictates from either side. The beneficiary status of the participants supports the above argument that along with the motive for getting any personal benefits, there has been a strong concern for solving local problems. Among the participants around 45 per cent are not availing any benefits.

It is also important to look in to the fact that what ultimately determines the participation in Grama Sabhas. Along with the macro settings like political, economic and social conditions supporting participation, there are certain micro level determinants that play an important role in enhancing participation. It was found that the age of the participant, the family income, type of house owned, occupation, land holding, political association and exposure to the media are the factors examined to identify whether there are any relationship between these factors and participation. It was found that the youngsters of male and the combined group of male and female keep away or rarely participate in the campaign while the elderly groups actively participate in the campaign. There is a clear absence of younger male and presence of elderly male in the campaign. While the male participants clusters around the age group of 55 and above, the female participants with age between 36-45 dominate the participants. This is interpreted that the younger males are withdrawn being they are bread winners, while the child caring obligations might have withdrawn the younger females. Generally the family income of the participant is negatively correlated with

participation. The tendency to participate declines at higher levels of income. It is felt from our observations that among the village elite and rich groups, participation is something looked down and regarded as the affairs of poor and backward classes.

Similar is the case of housing pattern. The poor pattern of housing has always been a strong reason for participation and most of the households with tiled and thatched houses are participants. Those with better housing conditions preferred to keep away from the programme.

Exposure to either print or visual media seems to have less influence on participation. While the former has really fostered participation, the later has a deterring effect by forcing the household to sit in front of the mini screen. One has to infer that those with exposure to television keep away from the programmes, perhaps due to their addiction to the serials and special programmes on holidays during which the grama sabhas are conducted.

Occupational distribution of participants as well as non-participants show that unemployed formed the major contributor to both the groups of participants and non-participants. The groups that have contributed much towards participants are farmers and service persons. Association with Political parties is a strong determinant of participation. While most of those revealed their association, regardless of their ideologies, are participants and most of those preferred to be treated as indifferent kept away from the programme.

The size of land holding, as it is clear from the sample survey, plays comparatively insignificant role in pushing the household to the Grama Sabhas. Still it needs to be stated that the group with land holding of the size between 0.5 acres and 1.00 acres has contributed much towards participation. Perhaps the benefits like various agricultural provisions through the local level planning might have been a strong motivation for this.

As far as the question of quality of participation is concerned, it was found that more than 90 per cent of them are passive participants. The percentage of active participants as well as decisive participants are very low. An important pre condition for the good quality deliberations at the Grama Sabha is the awareness about the local problems and successful presentation of them. The general impression one gets from the survey results is that the male participants excel the female counterparts. Similar is the case of vigilance in participation. In their response to violations of priority of any kind, it is the male participants who performed better inspite of the fact that none of the female informants felt that they do not have any freedom or they are suppressed. As far as the barriers to participation is concerned, it is the attitudinal factors that contributed negatively in fostering participation. More than half of the participants, mostly females, felt that they do not have sufficient time to spare for this important programme. This stems from their ignorance about the programme and points out to the need for educating them. Most of the resource persons and officials who engage in the programme have reflected that it is the lack of awareness among the non-participants that blocks effective participation at the ward levels.

The most important questions perplexing the planners and engineers when Participatory approach is introduced is to enhance the strength of participation, ensuring effective participation and sustaining the tempo created in the beginning and managing the gender sensitivity of the programme. This session attempts to draw some suggestions in this regard from the results of the analysis as well as our group discussions with the officials, members of gramapanchayath, women leaders and office bearers of the self-help groups etc..

8. An important precondition for the successful execution of this kind of programmes is the awareness on the part of those who are to participate in the programme. It can be seen that in Kaiparamb Grama Panchayath, where there is the strong network of Self help groups and background for popular participation even before the campaign has been on the

move, there is better participation. Therefore, it can be inferred that creation of awareness is much important for both enhancing the strength of participation as well as for sustaining the tempo.

9. An important barrier to participation is the lack of interest in the programmes, as expressed by the non-participants, particularly female participants. This clearly shows that the campaign has failed to capture the minds of some people who kept away from the programme since the beginning. Efforts need to be taken to generate genuine interest among them by sensitizing them.
10. Participation can be sustained only when there is a strong motivation to attend the programmes. In other words, the Grama Sabha proceedings are not in such a way that generates confidence among the participants. Therefore, along with the attempts to create awareness, it is necessary that the Grama Sabha proceedings like selection of beneficiaries must be conducted in such a way that it creates confidence among the participants and make them feel that their voice is heard and attended.
11. As far as the question of gender issues in participation are concerned, the most commonly talked about issues like enforcing opinions of males among the female participants, harassing at the meetings and public places, discriminating on the basis of sex etc. were not reported from the sample survey or observation sessions.. Most of the female non-participants felt that they are permitted to attend the Grama Sabhas and they keep away from the programme for the reasons other than gender issues. None of the women leaders who attended our group discussion sessions has a feeling of sense of inequality. But one cannot over look the gender gap in the performance of people in this programmes. In certain aspects like the awareness of local problems, motives for presenting local problems, successful presentation of local problems often male exceeds the females. This calls for the special care on the part of

the women leaders in sensitising the women in general and generating confidence among them regarding the programme. As per the observations of the women activists in these sample area, it can be inferred that there are no attempts in this direction taken by the panchayath.

12. One important factor that crucially determines the participation of women is the presence of a charismatic leader of both sexes. Those who are able to carve respect, confidence, reputation and enter in to the hearts of the people, regardless of their sex and status, often pulls crowds. The pattern of participation of women in the women headed wards also supports this argument.

13. Though it is a fact that, a true leader is born, not made, attempts can be geared in this direction to caste devoted, efficient, sincere and able leaders at the village level, through leadership development schemes.

DYNAMICS OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT :

A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE LOCAL LEVEL
PLANNING OF KERALA

(A Research Project supported by Directorate of International Co operation, Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. Of Netherlands through KRPLLD, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala 695 011)

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSE HOLD MEMBERS COMMON TO PARTICIPANTS AND NON PARTICIPANTS

- 1 House No and Ward No
2. Name (SC/ST)
3. Male or Female 1.Male 2. Female
- 4.Age
5. No of Members in the house
6. No of Elders in the House
- 7.Type of house 1.RC 2.Tiled 3.Tatched
8. Status of house 1.Owned 2.Rented
- 9.Household durables in the house 1.T.V 2.Fridge 3.VCP 4.Cable 5. AC. 7.Others
- 10.Education 1.Literate 2.Metric 3.Graduate 4.P.G 5. Others
- 11.News Papers subscribed and read 1Mathrubhoomi 2.Manorama
3.Deshabhimani 4.Kaumudy 5.Ind.Exp. 6. The
Hindu
- 12.Marital Status 1.Never Married 2. Married 3.Widow
- 13.Occupation 1. Unemployed 2.Agl.Lab 3. Agriculturis 4.Business/Self
Empl/Industry 6.Service
- 14.Land ownership 1 0-5 acres 2.0.5-1 acres 3.1-5 acres 4.5 acres and above
- 15.Annual Income of the Family (Rs)
- 16.Political Association 1. CPI(M) 2.BJP 3.CONG 4.LEAGUE 5.Indifferent
- 17.Level of Political Association 1. Sympathiser 2.Member/Activist
3.Local Leader 4.District/State Leader
18. Awareness about People's Campaign 1. Not aware 2.Aware 3.Highly Aware
4.Indifferent
- 19.Are you a part of the programme ? 1 Yes 2.No
20. In how many Ayalkootams and Grama Sabhas you have participated ?
 1. Ayalkootams 1-10,10-20,20 and above
 2. Grama Sabhas 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8

21. If 19=No, Why?

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. Do not know about it/No information | 2. Not interested |
| 3. No time to participate | 4. Not beneficial to me |
| 5. Do not think that is good | 6. Indifferent |

IF '19=YES' Move to Section A below (Participants)
IF '19=No' Move to Section B below (Non-Participants)

Section A

22. Who informs you about Grama Sabhas

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Ward Members orally | 2. Ward Member through bit notices |
| 3. Neighbours and Friends | 4. Other Party men |
| 5. Other organisations at Grassroot level | 6. Panchayath Officials |
| 7. From common gathering places | 8. Announcements at the Ward level |
| 8. Any other, specify | |

23. Do you get the information correctly and timely ? 1. Always 2. Never 3. Sometimes

24. How many meetings you have missed due to wrong information ?

25. How distant is the meeting place from your house

1. 0-0.5 kms. 2. 0.5-1 kms 3. 1-2 kms 4. 2 kms and above

26. Are these days and time convenient to you ? 1. Yes 2. No

27. If 'No' then why do you participate ?

1. It is important 2. There is no other way 3. Adjusting with the inconvenience

28. What are the inconveniences you face on account of this ?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Taking leave from the workplace | 2. Not attending the farm work |
| 3. Avoiding religious functions | 3. Avoiding family functions |
| 4. Avoiding household works | 6. Avoiding child care |

29. In what role do you participate in Grama Sabhas ?

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Ayalkootam Member | 2. Ayalkootam Convenor |
| 3. Grama Sabha Member | 4. Grama Sabha Convenor |
| 5. Committee Member | 6. Committee Convenor |

30. Why do you participate in Ayalkootams ?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. To present the local problems | 2. To discuss the problems of public concern |
| 3. To get loans and projects | 4. To get drinking water |
| 5. As party dictates to me | 6. It is important |

31. What is the most important problem in your ward

1. Drinking Water 2. Roads and Bridges 3. Sanitation 4. Housing 5. Others, specify

32. Where are you able to present the problem in the Ayalkootams and Grama Sabhas ?

1. Yes 2. No 3. To a certain extent

33. Which problem have you presented ?

1. Drinking Water 2. Roads and Bridges 3. Sanitation 4. Housing 5. Others, specify

34. Did you get the problem solved ?

1. Fully Solved 2. Partly Solved 3. Not even attended 4. Will be considered shortly

35. Are you a present beneficiary ? Yes 1. Personal 2. Common

No

36. Are you eligible for it ? 1. Yes 2.No 3.Do not know

37.If 'No' how did you get it -----

38. Do other non eligible persons get benefits 1. Yes 2. Some 3. No 4.Depends on

39. Are you a potential beneficiary ? Yes 1. Personal 2.Common
No

40. If 'No' will you again participate in the campaign Yes, Why
No, Why

41. How many people participate in the Grama Sabhas ?
1.0-250 2.250-500 3.500-1000 4.1000 and above

42.Are the majority women ? 1.Yes 2. No

43.Do officials participate in the Grama Sabhas ? 1. Yes 2. No

44. If 'Yes', How many ? 1. 10-25 2.25 -50

45.How many people from your house simultaneously participate in Grama Sabhas ?
Male 1,2,3,4,5
Female 1,2,3,4,5

46. Do other female members from your house participate in Grama Sabhas ?
1. Sister 2.Mother 3. Wife 4.Others

47. If 'No' why
1. They are not interested 2.There is no need of Woman Participating
3. It will affect household works 4. They don't know anything
5.There is no use at all 6. They should remain in the house

48.Do you find any difficulty in participating in Grama Sabhas ? 1. Yes 2. No

49. If 'YES' What are they ?
1.No permission from husband/father/mother/brother
2.Not time to participate as there are much work in the house
3.Child care obligations
4.There is male domination in Grama Sabhas
5.Women are harassed in the Grama Sabhas
7.There is gender discrimination in Grama Sabhas
8.Women have no freedom
9.Other Difficulties

50. Are you free to express your voice in Grama Sabhas ? 1. Absolutely Free 2. Free 3.
Restricted

51. If NO, what are the barriers to your freedom in Grama Sabhas /
1.Not permitted to express openions
2.Not heard when expressed
3.Threatened when raised the voices
4.Threatened in advance to stop talking in Grama Sabhas
5.Others, specify

52. Have people's campaign helped to improve the status to Women in your area

1. Yes, In what ways
2. No, Why
3. Do not know

53. Have the decision making power of women increased by this programme

1. Yes 2. No, Why 3. Do not know

54. Are the benefits given only to those who participate in Grama Sabhas ?

1. Yes 2. No, Why 3. Do not know

55. Do you feel that Grama Sabha are organised on party lines and there is domination of the ruling party

in the Grama Sabhas ?

1. Yes 2. No 3. To a certain extend 4. Do not know

56. What do you think about the organisation and conduct of Grama Sabha

1. They are poorly organised
2. They are only meant for their party men
3. All people are not given equal status
4. Women are neglected or suppressed
5. One party domination is there
6. There is favouritism and bias
7. They do not solve any local problems
8. The opinion of the people are not heard
9. The party decisions are implemented as decisions of the Grama Sabhas
10. There is wide spread corruption and kickbacks
11. There are all bogus of Party Politics
12. Women are not respected and given their due place
13. They are well organised and defect less

57. Do you ever felt that the decisions at the Grama Sabhas have violated the priority of the local problems discussed there ?

1. Yes Always 2. No Never 3. Sometimes

58. If 'YES'/'SOME TIMES' did you ever have raise your voice against it ?

2. Yes Always 2. No Never 3. Sometimes

59. If 'YES'/'SOME TIMES', what was the result ?

1. The priority was established 2. Was silenced 3. Brought to a compromise with a promise to consider it next time

60. If 'NO/NEVER' why did not you raise your voice against the injustice ?

1. Afraid of Party men 2. Afraid of other mail members 3. No use

61. Will there be a change in things if all people form the wards participate in the Grama Sabhas ?

1. Yes, What change, specify.....

2. No, Why not.....

62. What can be done to make all people participate in the Grama Sabhas ?

.....
.....
.....

63. Do you know anybody who are not given a chance to participate in Grama Sabhas ?

- 1 Yes, how they are prevented
- 2.No

64.Are you happy with the progress in your area and the campaign

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. To a certain extend

65. If No, Why ? Please give reasons

.....

66. Do you have suggestions to improve the working of Grama Sabhas

.....

67.Are there any attempts by the Grama Panchayaths to increase the participation of people in Grama Sabhas ? Please specify ?

.....

68. Are you a member of any self-help group in your ward ?

.....

69. What benefit do you get out of it ?

.

.....

Section B

70. Why don't you participate in People's Campaign and Grama Sabhas ?

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. No time useful | 2. Not interested | 3. Do not think it is useful |
| 4. It is all party politics inconvenient for me | 5. It is a way to corruption | 6. The place is inconvenient for me |
| 7. The time is inconvenient for me | 8. I was not informed | 9. It will never give any benefits |
| 10. There is much favouritism | 11. Any other reasons | |

.....

71. Are you really interested in participating, but cannot do so because of the inconveniences ?

1. YES, Specify the problem
2. No

72. If you wanted to participate, will your husband/father/in-laws will permit you ?

1. Yes
2. No, Why ? specify

73. Do any of your relatives participate in this programme ?

1. Yes ,Who.....
2. No

74. Do your ward member/partymen frequently contact you and ask you to participate in the programme ?

75. IF 'YES' why do you keep away ?

76. Do you know how many Grama Sabhas and Ayalkootams have been conducted

1. Yes , Ayalkootams Grama Sabhas

77. What is the most important problem in your area

78. Don't you want to solve it ?

1. Yes, I will attend the next Grama Sabhas and Ayalkootams
2. No, Others will do it, no time

77. Do you know that Grama Sabhas will help you to better your life by availing schemes ?

1. Yes, Why don't you attend
2. No, I don't know, I will attend the next one.

78. Do you think that Grama Sabhas are organised in party lines and are reserved for those belong to the party in power ?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Do not know

79. What are the improvements that People's Campaign has brought to the Ward during the last years in power ?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Do not know

80. What are the improvements that People's Campaign has brought to the ward during the last years.

1. Specify

81. If there are improvements, then why do you keep away from the programmes

82. Don't you feel that it is your duty to participate in such an important programmes and contribute towards it ?

1. Yes, No time 2.No, I don't think so 3.Do not know

83.Do any female members in your house participate in Grama Sabhas or Ayalkootams

1. Yes 2.No

84.There are a lot of ladies who are actively participating in the Grama Sabhas and contribute towards planning. What do you think about them ?

1.No comments 2.Let them do what they like
3.They are left loose by their family members 4. They are really contributing
5.They are remote controlled by male leaders behind them.

83. Do you think that there are male domination Grama Sabhas and women are fully controlled by them ?

1. Yes 2.No 3.To a certain extent 4. No
comments

84.Do you think that our women should be given more chances to participate in the Grama Sabhas and they may be encouraged to participate in the planning to solve women specific problems.

1.Yes 2.No 3.No Comments

85. Are you satisfied with the present functioning of the Grama Sabhas and the activities in planning and local development ?

1.Yes 2.No 3.Do not bother about

86. IF 'No' What are the suggestions do you have to improve the functioning of the Grama Sabhas ?

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