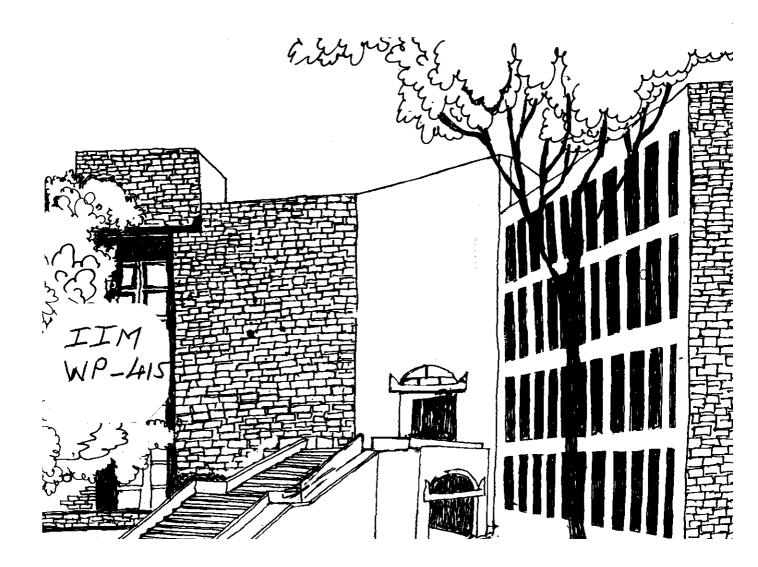
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Working Paper



RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IN INDIA: ANALYTICAL REVIEW AT THE DISTRICE LEVEL

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Binod C Agrawal U K Srivastava

W P No:415 March: 1982



The main objective of the working paper series of the IIMA is to help faculty members to test out their research findings at the pre-publication stage.

Space Applications Centre - ISRO Ahmedabad 380 053 and

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN INDIA : ANALYTICAL REVIEW AT THE DISTRICT LEVEL

BACKGROUND

The growing economic inequality between the rich and the poor has brought about an urgency to develop programmes for improving the quality of life of the rural poor. But initiative for change has been dampened by the presence of a social hierarchy and political groups which have a vested interest in continuing the status que. Thus, in the last 30 years, initiative has been extraneous, emanating from government agencies and industrial and voluntary organizations to improve the economic status of the rural poor (Gaikwad 1971, Inayatullah 1976, prasad 1978, Singh 1973, Reports 2,3,4,8,9, 10,15 and 16). To acquire a clear perspective as regards the magnitude and direction of the developmental efforts, it is imperative to examine the total developmental efforts in micro setting using small spatial units like a block or district. The investigations of the inter-linkages and coordination between various governmental agencies would bring out the duplications and redundencies that have crept into the developmental efforts. It would also help to map out (a) the actual coverage area of developmental programmes, (b) the actual beneficiaries, and (c) the impact on the overall rural development. In addition, such an analysis would help in testing the hypothesis whether developmental efforts have helped those who were better off than those who were not. While doing so, attempts will be made to analyse the planning process

and implementation, and their impact on the target group.

II METHODOLOGY AND DATA

In the broadest sense, most rural development programmes (a) aim at providing full employment in rural areas, (b) help the weaker sections of rural population like small and marginal farmers and landless labourers, and (c) develop tribal, hill and drought prone areas for better agricultural production and incomes. To achieve these goals, the central government created a Ministry of Rural Reconstruction in August 1979 with the sole responsibility of implementing various developmental programmes. We have chosen seven special rural development programmes for our study.

Since the Integrated Rural Development programme (IRDP) is meant to intensify development efforts in those areas where special programmes like the Small Farmer's Development Agency, the Drought prone Areas programme, and the Command Area Development Programme are in operation, it was felt to omit the integrated programme. Also 300 new blocks were added to the IRDP during 1979-80, hence, we have analysed the original programmes (see Table 1). However, in the overview the IRDP is included.

The seven special development programmes (list provided later)
were launched after 1970 and then these are not more than 10 years old.
These programmes more or less coincided with the massive mandate given to the new slogan of <u>Garibi Hatao</u> (remove poverty). These special

development programmes followed a target oriented approach in which area and class apecific programmes were spelled out. The philosophical shi was from general development to development with justice for weaker sections of the community. Such a change was necessiated because of the realization that fruits of development were mostly cornered by the few rich in the past (frankel 1971, Muthiah 1971, Minhas 1974, Krishna 1980)

A block as an administrative and spatial unit was used for the analysis. The data available in the Ministry of Rural Reconstruction Statistics 1979—80 were used (Report 5) along with the directory.

These reports provide block—wise data on the various special programmes that were in operation as of 1979—80. From these reports, it was possible to calculate the spatial coverage in a given district. For each programme a ratio was calculated by dividing the total number of blocks in which the programme was running with the total number of blocks in a district. If the programme is in operation in all blocks of the district the ratio would be one; if not, the ratio would be zero. Using this technique, the programme coverage ratio has been calculated for all districts of India. These district—wise ratio were then plotted on the map of India for each programme separately. Wherever the ratio was less than one, proportionate areas of the district were shaded on the map. In this way seven maps were prepared for the following programmes:

1. Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA)

There are some differences between Report 5 and the directory. We have used directory data (an earlier version of the Report 5) while plotting on maps.

Statewise Distribution of Blocks covered under the Table 1: Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) upto March 31, 1979

Total IRD Blocks CAD DPAD SFDA Total State/Union blocks under area IRD Blocks Blocks Territories number planning for of Blocks Full Employment Blocks 174 6 45 43 80 324 Andhra Pradesh 1. 54 4 15 35 134 2. Assam 310 6 128 34 587 142 Bihar 3. 100 19 52 25 218 Gujarat 9 48 7 13 19 87 Haryana 5. 29 18 Himachal Pradesh 69 11 6. 40 2 7 3 75 28 Jammu & Kashmir 7. 91 6 25 20 40 175 8. Karnataka 58 13 10 35 144 9. Kerala 184 25 22 58 79 458 10. Madhya Pradesh 127 25 11 20 296 71 Maharashtra 11. 11 6 1 4 26 Manipur 12. 10 3 7 24 Maghalaya 13. 13 13 21 14. Nagaland 127 13 30 69 15 314 15. Orissa 56 10 46 117 punjab 16. 112 9 10 47 46 232 Rajasthan 17. 2 2 4 Sikkim 18. 161 31 30 100 377 19. Tamil Nadu 7 7 17 Tripura 20. 384 53 193 23 115 876 Uttar Pradesh 21. 169 6 62 21 80a 335 West Bengal 22. UNION TERRITORIES 2* 2* 5 A & N Islands 23. 10 10 Arunachal Pradesh 48 24. 1 1 1 25. Chandigarh 1* 1+ 1 D&N Haveli 3 26. 5 Delhi 🕾 7 27. 12 2* 28. G.D. & Diu 2* 5 Lakshadweep - 5 29. 5 20 2 Mizoram 30. 2** 4 pondicherry 31. 2300 300 585 322 1093 5011 Total

Some Special programmes of Rural Development Statistics 1978-79. Source: New Delhi: Ministry of Rural Reconstruction.

^{*} Programme not taken up during 1978-79

[@] Names of only 78 blocks have been received

^{**} programme in one of the blocks not taken up during 1978-79

- 2. Drought prone Areas (DPA)
- 3. Command Area Development (CAD)
- Tribal Area Development (TAD)
- 5. Hill Area Programme/Hill Area Development Programme (HAP/HADP)
- 6. Desert Development (DD)
- Whole Village Development (WVD)

An analysis of the total development effort in each district was also made. Appendix 1 provides district—wise composite ratio of the seven programmes. Before calculating the composite ratio, value judgements were made in defining the number of possible development programmes that could be launched in a given district, the highest being and lowest being the total number of blocks where the programmes were in operation were added for the district. This figure was divided by the total number of blocks where the programmes should have been in operation. For example, there are 24 blocks in Srikakulam district. Four programmes could be in operation in the district. The total number of blocks covered by the four programmes is 44. Hence

Composite Ratio =
$$\frac{44}{24\times4}$$
 = $\frac{44}{96}$ = .46

This ratio has been calculated for each district. By using the same technique the programme coverage ratio has also been calculated for each state as well. Based on the programme coverage, and effort was made to estimate the actual beneficiaries covered under each programme.

In order to analyse the planning process and implementation, and impact of the various programmes on the target groups, we have examined

the overall objectives of each programme and its coverage and analysed the understanding of the objectives by district and state officials. Broadly we have also studied the formulation and implementation process of programmes at the district level. To test the hypothesis whether developmental efforts have helped these who were better off than these who were not, we have analysed the overall impact of the programme. While analysing these aspects, we have drawn from the available evaluation

studies conducted for various programmes in a number of districts.

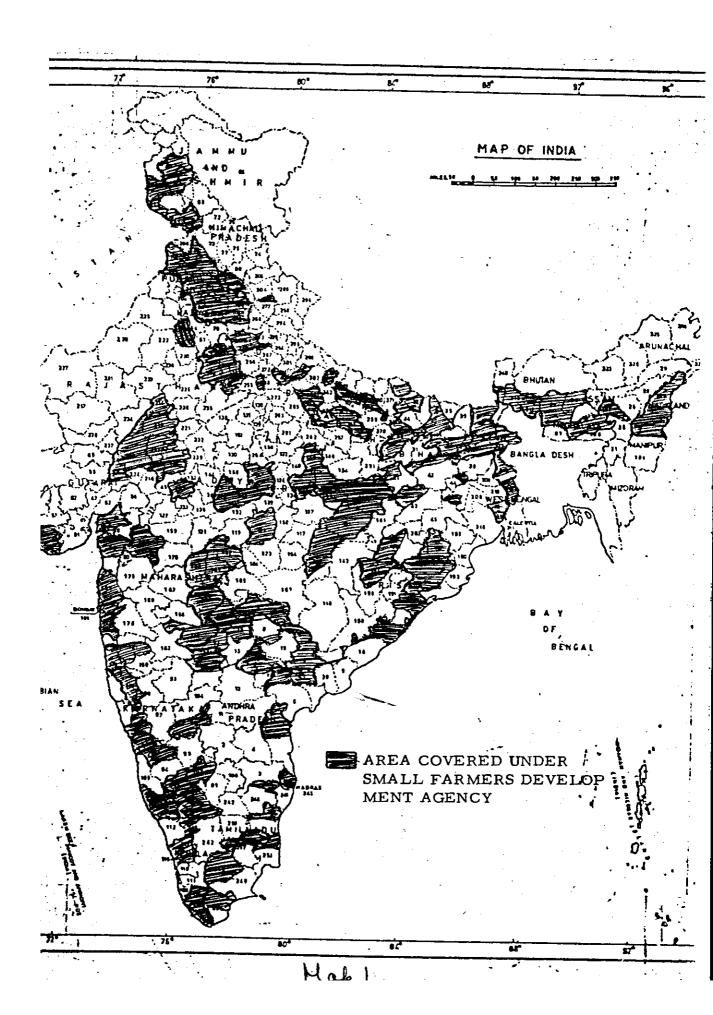
III DBJECTIVES AND COVERAGE OF THE PROGRAMMES AT BLOCK LEVEL

In this section, we shall analyse the objectives of the seven special development programmes. An attempt will be made to map out the spatial coverage of each programmer.

Small farmer's Development Agency (SFDA)

Since 1970-71 the SFDA has been functioning with the specific objective of ameliorating the economic conditions of small farmers and agricultural labourers. The emphasis on improving agriculture by means of crop husbandry, minor subsidiary occupations and rural works programmes. The SFDA sets to (a) identify the eligible small farmers (b) investigate

Details have been drawn from Arora (1979) Desai and Verma (1978);
Desai (1979), Gupta (1974), Krishna (1979), Misra (1980), Pandey (1974),
Pachauri (1978), Tyagi (1973, 1975), Pandey and Kaushal (1980), Pandey
and Khanna (1980). Rajapurohit (1975), Reports 1, 14, 17 and 19.



and identify the problems of small farmers, (c) formulate programmes incorporating suitable measures to deal with the problems, and (d) devise ways and means for implementing the programmes.

Each Small Farmer Development Agency was to cover 50,000 small farmers during the project period and a specific project area covering a district or even a larger spatial area. The selection of an area was based on (a) small farmers in a compact area, (b) existence of infrastructure, like cooperatives or possibility of their development, and (c) irrigation potential. Project implementation agencies were given the discretion to select the small farmers. Generally, a farmer having irrigated or irrigable land between 2.5 and 5 acres was considered potentially viable for the SFDA. In the case of dry land, the limit was fixed at 7.5 acres. As of 1979, 168 Small farmers Development Agencies were operating and the geographical coverage ranged from 2844 square kilometers in Badaun district of Uttar Pradesh to 12677 square kilometers in Madurai district of Tamil Nadu.

Based on the definition of the small farmer, it is safe to assume that no rural area of the country would be devoid of them. In other words, the programme could be implemented in all the 399 districts of India.

Map 1 provides the total coverage of the SFDA as of 1978-79. One of the main factors for less than one-third coverage shortage of finance. When the coverage of SFDA is examined in relation to the numerical size of the small farmers, it appears that about 16.323 million small farmers were identified who comprise a little over a quarter of the total small farmer

nearing 7.380 millions or about one-eight of the number of small farmers. While accepting this figure for the coverage of actual beneficiaries, one has to assume that every beneficiary registered as a member obtained credit and that there is no double counting of beneficiaries under different programmes. The spatial distribution of the programme is shown in Map 1.

A Company of the second

Total funds released for SFDA since its inception to March 1979 was Rs.198.48 crore and the amount utilized was Rs.197.64 crore.

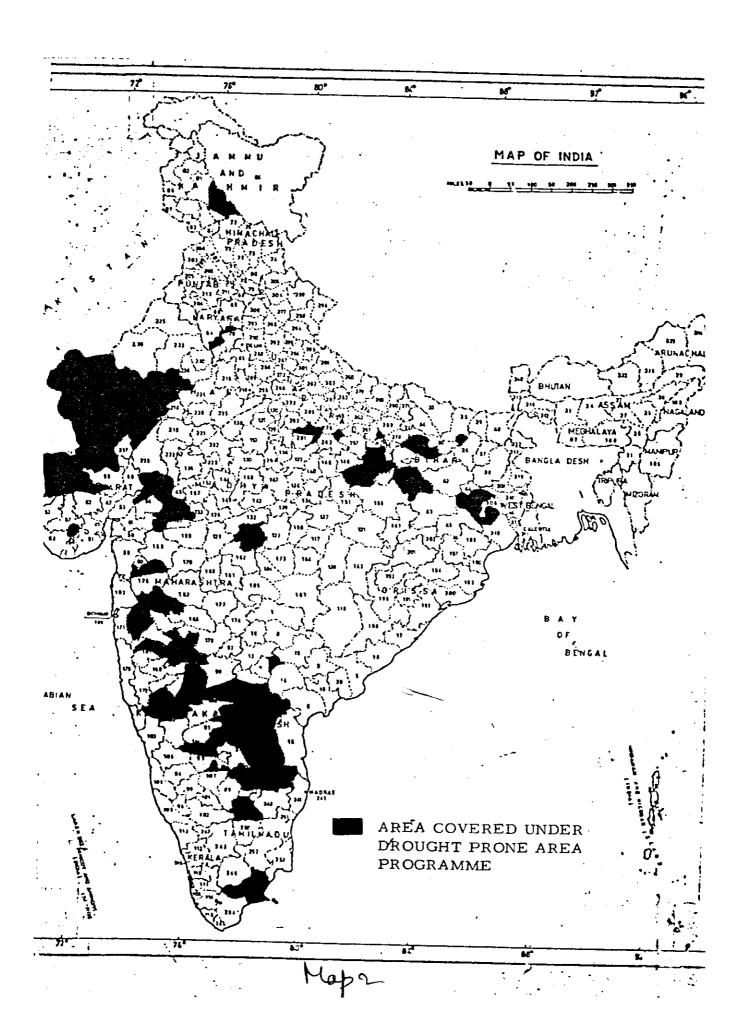
Budgetary support, however, is not the main indicator of the magnitude of the programme. The more important indicator is the additional credit which the agencies were able to secure for small farmers. The smount released averages little over Rs.200 per beneficiary.

Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP)2

To help the weaker sections of rural population in drought prones areas a scheme was launched by the government known as the Rural works Programme. After modifying this, the DPAP was conceived as "an integrated area development programme in the agricultural sector and aims at optimum utilization of land, water and live stock resources, stabilization of incomes of weaker sections of the society and minimisation of impact of drought on agricultural production and income of rural people" (Report 5, 61a). The basic objectives of the DPAP are; (1) reducing the severity of the impact of drought; (2) stabilizing the income of the people, particularly weaker sections (3) restoration of ecological balance:

The programme covers 74 districts in 13 states (Map 2).

The studies of Jacob (1980); Rebelle <u>et.al</u> (1975), Savak (1974) Ratnam and Das (1976), Savak and Purchit (1977), Srivastava (1978), and Reports 18. 20. and 21. form the basis for discussions.



The areas of assistance include development and management of water resources, soil and moisture conservation measures, afforestation, development of pasture lands and range management in conjunction with development of sheep husbandary, livestock development and dairy development, restructing of cropping pattern and changes in agroeconomic practices, and development of subsidiary occupations. In many ways, the DPAP duplicates the efforts made by the Small farmers Development Agencies in drought prone areas. It covers just 557 blocks or little overten per cent of blocks in the country. The small and marginal farmers in 74 districts are provided with assistance under this programme.

As of March 1979, an outlay of Rs.418.05 crore was earmarked. About 86 per cent of the allocated money was spent by the state governments. It is estimated that 25.51 lakh of small/marginal farmers/agricultural labourers received benefits under the programme during the period beginning April 1974 to March 1979. The budget for the year 1978-79 was Rs.106.19 crores.(excluding outlay for medium irrigation schemes).

ommand used penetrobueus (CMD)

Since the beginning of the First Five Year Plan, emphasis has been given to creating irrigation potential for increasing agricultural production. Later realization that it is one thing to have the potential led and quite another to utilize and manage it/to the Command Area Development Programme in the seventies. The CAD programme aims at utilization of created potential in the selected irrigation commands through development of the main drainage system, field channels, land shaping, exploitation

This section is based on Pant (1980) and Report 5.

of ground water, cropping schedule, and inputs and services. It is hoped that such an effort would help obtain optimum production per unit of water, time, and area. Map 3 gives the area covered by this programme.

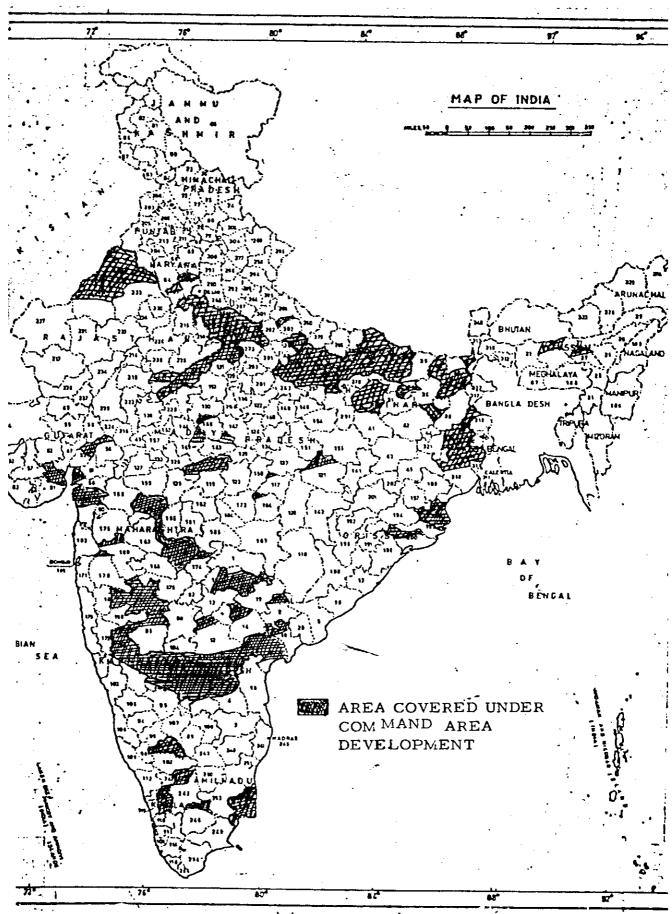
The CAD is expected to level 2.4 lakhs hectare of land and provide complete on-farm development, Field channels for 5.5 lakhs hectares will be constructed. These two efforts will provide employment to the order of 432 and 275 lakh mandays respectively.

The CAD programme would provide subsidy for land levelling and land shaping, field chamnels/drains as well as ground water development to small and marginal farmers. It would also help those disadvantaged farmers whose land has become waterlogged because of unavailability of proper drainage. The CAD annual plan outlay for 1978-79 was Rs.44 cross

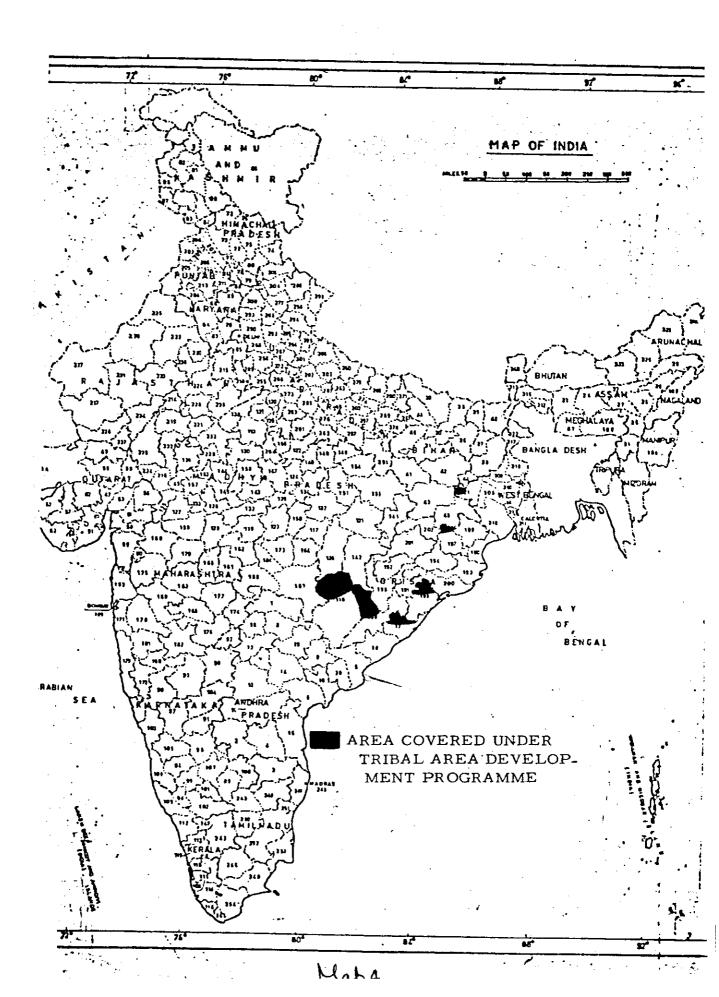
Tribal Area Development Programmes 4

Since 1971-72 the Tribal Area Development (TAD) programme has been in operation to solve tribal problems relating to (a) law and order, communications, policy, and administrative matters; (b) economic upliftment the core of the project (c) social services like drinking water, health and education. The tribal development agencies are set up to implement the programme. Map 4 shows the extent of its coverage in the country.

Writings of Chowdhary and Bhattacharya 1976, Rao and Rao (1974), Gupta (1977), Yadav and Mishra (1980), Reports 9, 11, 12, 13, 22 and 23 have been used while writing this section.



Map 3



In each project area, it was initially envisaged that in each of the first six tribal area development programmes about 10,000 tribal households or 50,000 tribal participants would be covered in a period of five years. Because of the extended period of their operation, the target of the coverage of tribal households was raised to 70,000 each in the case of Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh), Ganjam and Koraput (Orissa) districts and 65,000 in the case of Singhbhum district.

The beneficieries in respect of the two new districts sanctioned in 1973-74 was fixed at 50,000 tribals each. As against the total targeted level of 4.75 lakh tribal participants, 335,533 participants have alread been covered by the end of March 1978. By the end of September 1978 3.94 lakh tribal participants had been identified of which 3.53 lakh persons had been covered under the various development programmes. The target figures form less than 2 per cent of the total.

Less than a million acres of land has been bought under improved agricultural practices and about 8.67 lakh saplings, seedlings, and grafts of fruits were distributed to tribes. By September 1978, the eight tribal development agencies had completed 5924 dugwells, and another 2838 wells were under construction. Minor irrigation works numbering had already been completed and another 57 were in different stages of construction. The programme also envisaged construction of link roads and arterial roads.

The budgeted outlay was initially fixed at Rs.14.40 crore which was subsequently revised to Rs.16.4 crore for the entire project period.

The grant-in-aid to all TAD agencies since inception to December 1979

has amounted to Rs.15.87 crore. Out of this, Rs.15.16 crore has

already been spent by various TADs till September 1978. The budgeted provision for 1978-79 was fixed at 2.53 crore (including Rs.3 lakh for headquarter expenses).

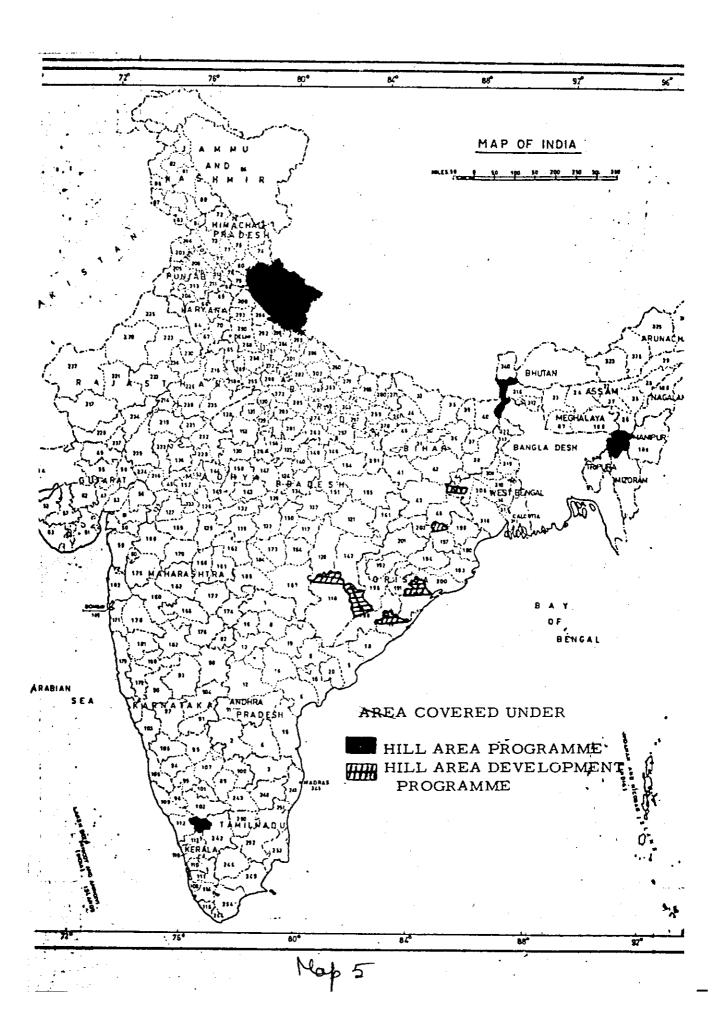
The TAD programme has been discontinued from March 31, 1979 with merging of the eight TAD agencies with the Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP). Appendix 1 shows the total blocks covered under TAD and ITD programmes. Map 4 provides the total coverage under ITDP which is more extensive than TAD.

Hill Area Development Programme (HADP)⁵

The Hill Area Development Programme was initiated towards the end of the Fourth Plan (1973-74) and continued in the Fifth Plan. The Mandi Experiment 6 demonstrated that with proper attention, adequate investment and adoption of a right strategy, the economy of a backward hill region can be transformed. Encouraged by the experiment, two more hill area development projects, one in Pauri Garhival (Uttar Pradesh) and another in West Manipur, were launched. A third project at Tehri Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh started in 1975-76 with partial assistance from the Governme of India. The programme is intented to benefit the backward hill farmers : specially small and marginal farmers living in a watershed area. The hillarea development programme includes: (a) demonstration of new agricultural technology, (b) development of horticulture, (c) land development, (d) harnessing of small streams and rivulets, installing pumpsets, and construction of dams, (a) introduction of upgraded dairy animals, poultry,

⁵ Report 11 has been used while preparing this section.

The Mandi Experiment was the result of the Indo-German collaboration



and birds, (f) construction of link roads, and (g) identification of growth centres. Map 5 illustrates areas covered by both programmes. Further analysis indicated that within the three project areas not more than half of the total blocks has been covered and the beneficiaries are even fewer (total 21,900). Appendix 1 provides data on the total coverage in various states under the state hill sub-plans as of 1979. Even then there is not much expansion of the programme.

After few years of delays the HAD programme became operational in 1973-74 with a budget of Rs.15 lakh, and Rs.2.69 crore was released in respect of three HAD projects. The HAD programme was discontinued on March 31, 1979, and merged with the state hill sub-plans of the respective states.

Desert Development Programme 7

The Desert Development Programme was initiated at the end of 1977-78, but the implementation picked up momentum only during 1978-79. The main objective of the programme is integrated development of the desert areas by increasing productivity, income level, and employment opportunities. It is expected to be achieved through optimal utilization of physical, human, livestock, and other biological resources; afforestation: ground-water development; construction of water harvesting structures such as Khadins and bunds; rural electrification; and development of agriculture/hcr. ticulture/animal husbandry. Map 6 gives the areas covered by the programme.

The programme covers both het arid and cold arid regions. The hot arid region covers 11 districts of Rajasthan, four districts of Haryana,

⁷The data for this section are drawn from Roport 5

and two districts of Gujarat. The cold arid region covers Ladhakh district and Spit sub-division of Lahul and Spit district.

Like the Small Farmers Development Agencies this programme assists small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers who get subsidies upto 25 per cent and 33 per cent respectively for digging wells and erecting tubewells and for buying cattle and sheep. Subsidies are also given for fodder and pasture development, agricultural implements, and distribution of fertilizers. Furthermore, the National Commission on Agriculture has recommended constructing water harvesting structures (called Khadins in Rajasthan) on a large scale to conserve moisture.

The programme is being administered through the DPAP/SFDA.

Wherever such agencies do not exist, new agencies registered under the societies Act are being set up. This programme has an employment potential of 200 lakh mandays. The programme would, in a large way, help Rajasthan's economy.

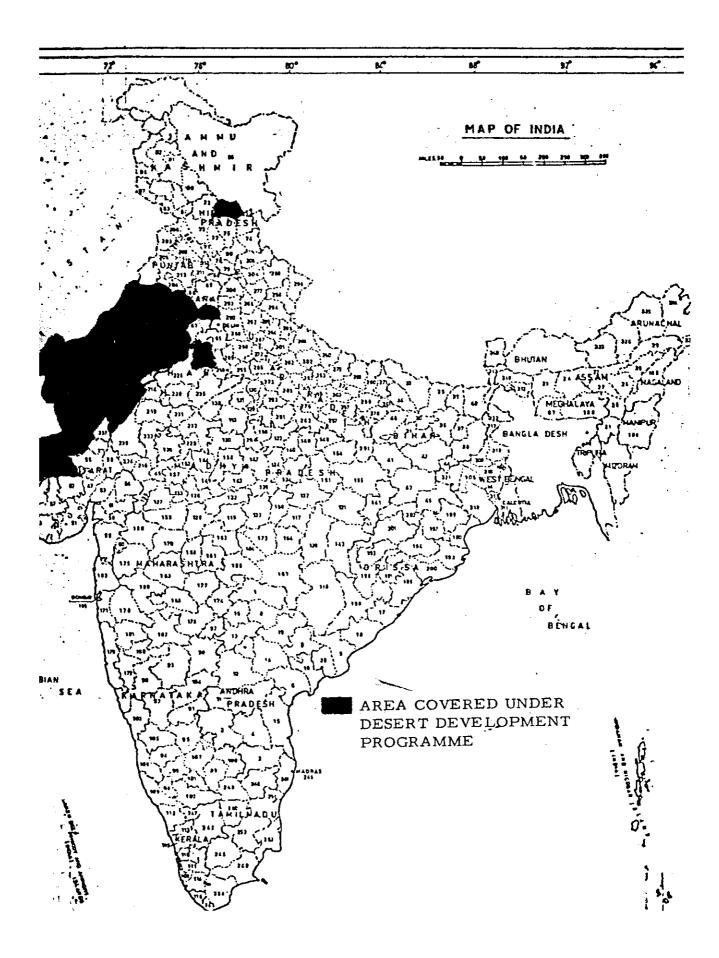
Ouring 1977-78 a budgetary provision of Rs.6.10 crore was made for this programme. For 1978-79 an outlay of Rs.20.0 crore was indicated which was revised to Rs.16.0 crore. The actual expenditure incurred during 1978-79 was Rs.10.19 crore.

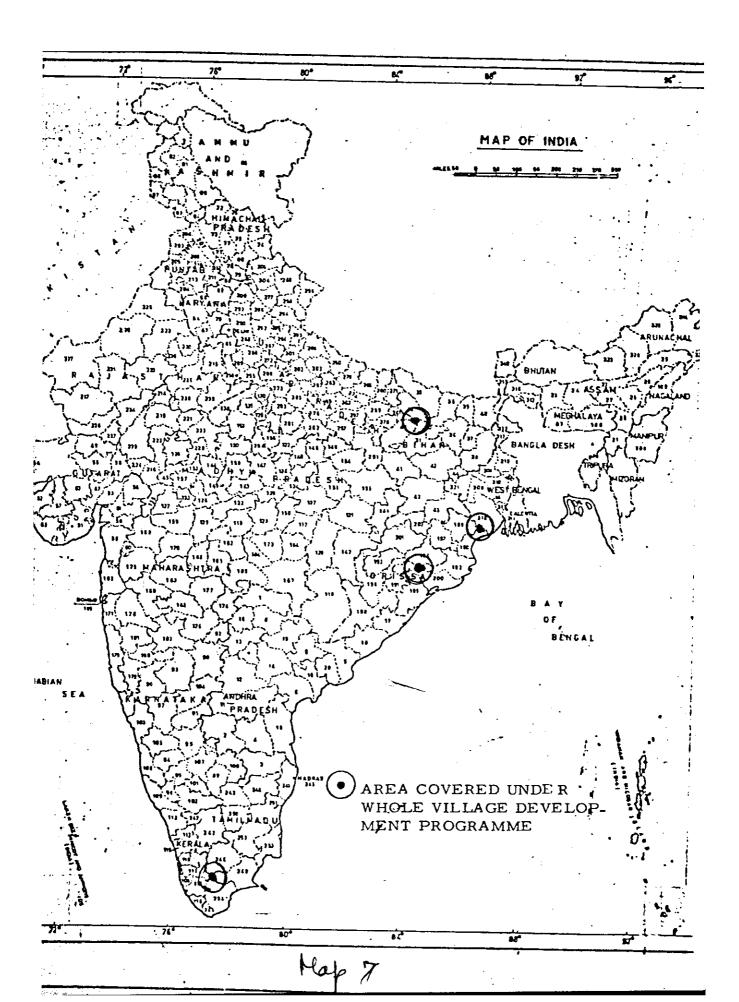
Whole Village Development Programme

The Whole Village Development Programmo was initiated on the recommendations of the National Commission on Agriculture in late the seventies.

The objective of the programme is to deal with the village problems in their totality through a package of practices so that all the segments

⁸ In writing this section, we have used the information in Report 5.





of developmental activities could be woven into one integrated whole. The programme is based on the assumption that given proper leadership, community agreement, organizational support, supplies and services, it would be possible through common action to increase production and provide benefits of lasting value to the rural economy. The programme is primarily directed towards agricultural development in organizing irrigation, land shaping, and agricultural programmes, followed by animal husbandry. The village industry is promoted in order to find subsidiary occupations and full employment for landless labourers, marginal farmers, and other poor sections of rural society. Provision also exists in the scheme for redemption of old debts and consumption loans for identified beneficiaries.

Four projects in four states were sponsored. In Bihar the Musharian Project covering 23 villages of Muzaffarpur district and the Adhura Project covering 14 villages of Rohtas district were covered. In Orissa, 6 villages of Puri, Balasra, Mayurbhanj districts were covered. Five villages covering Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh and four villages covering Tirunelveli districtin Tamil Nadu are part of the programme.

Map 7 provides the actual coverage area under WVD programme which is very small. The villages selected are most backward. It is hoped that the programme will benefit weaker sections. A two-tier organizational set-up is being tried out. At the village level, a programme implementation committee is organized in each village which is registered under the Societies so that it would have a legal status. At the district level, a registered body known as the Project Implementation Union is organized.

which is the central organization for coordinating activities under project. The PIU is expected to provide leadership forthe programme and guide each village committee. At the national level, a central sanctioning committee oversees implementation and guides and monitor the programme.

This centrally sponsored scheme was to be implemented during the Fifth Five Year Plan. A provision of Rs.1.98 crore was made in the Fifth Five Year Plan. For 1978-79, the budget provides Rs.50.00 lakh.

Owing to certain difficulties, work could not be started during the first two years of the Fifth Plan. The work has picked up momentum. A sum of Rs.56.5 lakh was released till March 1978 as grant-in-aid to state governments (Bihar Rs.27.34 lakh, Orissa Rs.8.807 lakh, Tamil Nadu Rs.14.395 lakh, and Uttar Pradesh Rs.5.96 lakh).

An Overview

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In order to find out the coverage of the seven programmes at the state level, a composite coverage ratio has been calculated for each using the method that was used for getting the district figure. (See Table 2)

The table shows that 18.3 per cent of districts are still not covered by any special development programme. There are only seven districts which can boast of having covered 66 per cent of their area out of 21 districts falling in the category of 0.4 to 0.6 ratio. Otherwise, for more than 75 per cent district; the composite coverage ratio is below 0.40 or 40 per cent. State-wise picture is even more dismal. There is not one state or union territory which can claim to have composite ratio

Table 2: Distribution of Districts According to Composite Coverage Ratio of Seven Development programmes by States and Union Territories

****	State/Union	Total	Total	Con	Composite Ratio by Districts				
	Territories	Number	Number				0.41*	Average	
		of	of	Progra		to	to	Ratio	
		Blocks	Dist.	Runnir	9 0.20	0.40	0.60		
					····				
1 · 2 ·	Andhra Pradesh Assam	324	21	0	6	13	2	0.26	
3.	8ihar	134 587	10	0	4	-5	1	0.22	
4.	Gujarat	218	31 19	0	10	17	4	0.25	
5.	Haryana	87	=	1 5	11	5	2	0.18	
6.	Himachal Pradesh	69	11 12	6	11	3	2	0.18	
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	75	10		5	1	0	0.03	
8.	Karnataka	175	19	1 1	3 7	6	0	0.19	
9.	Kerala	144	11	4	3	11 3		0.20	
10.	Madhya Pradesh	458	45	14	11	19	1 1	0.15 0.14	
11.	Maharashtra	296	26	4	11	11	Ó	0.14	
12.	Manipur	26	6	Ö	2	4	0	0.19	
13.	Meghalaya	24	5	. 1	4	0	0	0.07	
14.	Nagaland	21	7	ò	7	ū	Ö	0.02	
15.	Orissa	314	13	0	7	6	Ö	0.13	
16.	Punjab	117	12	4	Û	8	ō	0.22	
17.	Rajasthan	232	26	4	12	10	ō	0.13	
18.	Sikkim	4	4	4	O	ð	Ō	0.00	
19.	Tamil Nadu	377	15	1	7	i 7	0	0.18	
20.	Tripura	17	3	Q	2	1	0	0.13	
21.	Uttar Pradesh	876	56	10	21	20	5	0.20	
22.	West Bengal	335	16	1	4	8	3	0.28	
UNI	ON TERRITORIES								
23.	A&N Islands	5	2	2	1	0	. 0	0.01	
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	48	5	· 5	Ó	Ö	Ö	6.00	
25.	Chandigarh	1	1	1	Ō	Ö	Ö	0.00	
26.	D&N Haveli	1	1	1	Ö	Ö	ō	0.00	
27.	Delhi	5	i	Ö	0	1	0	0.00	
28.	G D & Diu	12	3	O .	٥	3	ō	0,33	
29.	Lakshadweep	5	1	1	0	0	0	0.00	
30.	Mizoram	20	3	3	0	0	0	0.00	
31.	Pondicherry	4	4	0	0	4	0	0.33	
		F.O	** 00			·			
	Total	5011 (100)	399 (400)	73	139	166	21	•	
		(100)	(100)	(18.30)	(34.84)	(47.0U)	(5.26)		

^{*}For seven districts the composite coverage ratio is 0.66 in this category.

of coverage over 0.33. Among the states, West Bengal tops the list, followed by Andhra Pradesh. As indicated earlier, if the beneficiaries are taken into consideration, these composite coverage ratios would be further reduced. Figure 8 provides the coverage of the Integrated Rural Development Programme which is operational in the largest number of blocks in the country. Including this programme in our analysis in no way, changes the conclusions.

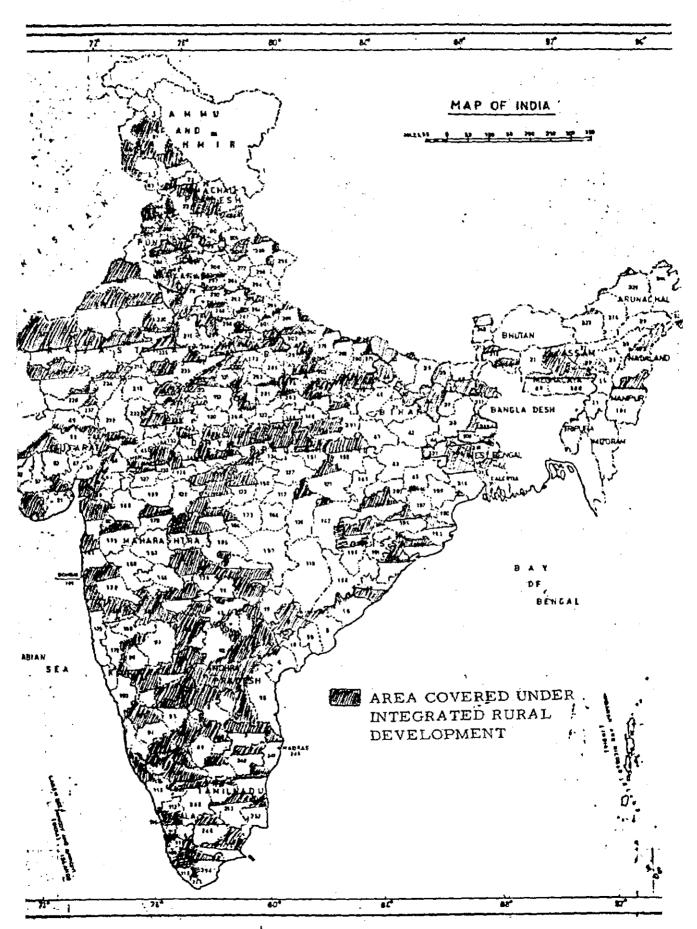
IV PLANNING PROCESS

Understanding Programme Objectives at District Level

Most of the ideas for rural development programmes have originated from international agencies or the Government of India through the reports of various committees and task forces.

The objectives of the programmes were conveyed to the state government which in turn conveyed downwards to the district staff. Since the district staff do not have access to the detailed objectives and rationale of the programme which themselves have undergone frequent changes they cope with each new programme by understanding two basic aspects:

a) additional quantum of funds available and b) modus operandi of getting these funds. Thus, the district authorities regard each programme as additional source of funding and immediately get down to line up the modus operandi so that they have access to the additional funds. For example, when the Drought Prone Areas Programme was evolved, the district officials immediately set up a DPAP agency on the pattern of the SFDA agency with which they were familiar (sevak 1974, Srivastava, 1978). In practice, however, this agency was merely a nominal arrangement and funds were



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allocated by the district collector to the various executing departments.

In the process of understanding the objectives by district officials, the most important casuality is the integration aspect of the programme, spatial and functional. In most programmes, it is the collective impact that helps to attain the overall programme objectives rather than one activity taken in isolation.

Formulation of Projects

Inadequate understanding of programme objectives and lack of clear guideliness with respect to various operational aspects often lead to wide variations in the scope of the projects. For example, there has been wide variations in the adoption and norms of land holdings by different project agencies under the SFDA. This also results in improper identification of beneficiaries (Gaikwad 1975, 1970 and 1969, Gupta 1974 Desai 1979, George and Chiragath 1978, Pandey 1974, Pandey and Khanna 1980, Pandey and Kaushal 1980, Rajapurohit 1975, Tyagi 1973, and 1975/Roport 1). Also pressure from the central and state governments for implementation of programmes without adequate preparation leads to problems in implementation (Gopinath et.al 1976). For example, no definite information is available regarding the actual number of small or marginal farmers or agricultural labourers in different project areas. This creates the problem of implementing the projects planned under programme. For example Report (1) identified the following factors responsible for low percentage of identification of the targeted population.

¹⁾ Lack of understanding of the precise scope and extent of identification work. While some of the Agencies covered all the villages in their areas, a few did the work in a piecemeal manner and identified farmers in only those villages which were to be covered by any of the programmes (Vishakhapatnam and Madurai).

- 2) Some of the projects did not take up regular identification work and included either only those persons in the list of identified persons of villages covered by any programme or those who showed interest in programmes or who approached for some benefits (eg. Nalgonda and Visakhapatnam).
- 3) In some of the project areas, identification work was started in all the villages but it was stopped as and when the Agency felt that sufficient number had been identified for the schemes (eg. Thana-Nasik) (Report 1, p.6).

Inadequate understanding of the programme objectives also gets reflected in the planning process of various schemes and activities under the programme. The project formulation exercise is merely in the nature of selecting from the existing schemes in operation by each department in the district or elsewhere. Each project is planned and given technical and administrative approval based on its own cost and benefits rather than being examined in the perspective of other alternatives with respect to technologies and site. Thus there is no ranking of projects on the basis of costs and benefits (Srivastava 1978).

Another aspect of formulation at the district level worth noting is the uniform implementation of guidelines. The PEO study (Report 1) has found that there is a wide divergence in the geographical area covered by various project/agencies as indicated in Part III. Even from the point of view of density of population of the target groups there is wide variation. This creates problems at the implementation stage.

Vast areas having a large population of the target groups have posed problems not only in listing and verification of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, but have also created difficulties for credit agencies in processing applications for loans received from farmers in far-off areas and in supervising proper utilization of loans and their recovery (Report 1).

There is also no scrutiny with respect to backward and forward linkages. Cattle development is an important activity in the SFDA programme. The guidelines are that cattle should be purchased from the neighbouring district. Banks in each district follow this norm which means cattle is shifted from one district to another without any appreciable increase in the stock of the milch cattle. No provision is made in the programme for stock breeding. Marketing of milk is assumed to be through the traditional channels and no effort is made to organize it on more remunerative lines.

Irrespective of the objectives of the programme and past experience with respect to certain projects, similar projects are formulated year after year. No use is made of the experience with respect to performance of the existing peojects. While planning minor irrigation works under DPAP, calculation of benefits to farmers in the command area was found to be merely an exercise in meeting the standard requirements of the preparation of the project reports. Since the command area development was not an integral part of project the proposed cropping pattern was merely of theoretical importance (Srivastava 1978).

Each executing department formulates projects according to its own norms and judgement. At the time of selection of villages and sites for projects, factors uppermost in the minds of the block and district staff are easy selection and accessibility and availability of infrastructure in the villages. Therefore, selection is often not made on the basis of potential for development. Consequently villages situated in the interior are completely neglected. No integration of the plans of various departments

is usually observed. The most glaring lack of spatial integration was between plans of the irrigation department and the agricultural department with respect to command area development and catchment area maintenance under the DPAP.

Owing to the fear of funds lap eing in some programmes the executing departments formulate and propose a large number of projects unrelated to the average flow of funds. Funds, when available, are used to finance these projects. Consequently the construction schedule is kept vague and flexible (Srivastava 1978).

IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS.

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Delay in implementing various programmes/projects has been a critical factor. In otto case of the SFDA, the PED study observed; "The proportion of target population identified was by and large quite low, In nearly 17% of SFDAs not more than 25% of the target population had been identified and in another 44% of them the percentage of those identified ranged between 26 and 50%. The percentage of SFDAs where more than 50% of the target population had been identified was 39". (Roport 1, p.5)

In the case of the DPAF "one of the main reasons for delay was large number of incomplete projects (relative to average inflow of funds to the department) at hand", "non-availability of carting agencies for carting construction materials" and "delays in getting the supplies of construction materials". "In the case of animal husbandry and forestry schemes, the delays in implementation were caused because of the delays in getting administrative approval to the schemes and uncertainity of financial allowation. There was the problem of the lack of delegation of powers

to implementing officers, particularly in case of animal husbandry schemes. ... "In case of forestry schemes, the delays in implementation occurred because of lack of suitable types of saplings and grass seeds in inadequate quantities." (Srivastava 1978, p.86)

Considerable delay in implementing the projects meant increased costs and delayed accrual of benefits to the target group. In most cases of delay, the executing departments have two options: meet the increased cost from lump sum departmental allocations, and seek fresh administrative approval for increased cost. The first option cuts down into the availability of funds for other incomplete projects which in turn results in further delay. The second option requires time to get fresh administrative approvals which also leads to further delays and escalation of costs.

Lack of coordination among various executing departments and between various functional tasks also contributes to delay. For example, in the case of the DPAP there was problem of coordination between the irrigation department and the agricultural department. The agricultural department did not take any specific measures to realize the proposed cropping pattern in the command areas. This aspect has bearing on the impact of this project on the beneficiaries.

MONITORING AND CONTROL

Very often each programme has a monitoring system which consists of monthly and quarterly reports from implementing levels to the heads of respective departments and onward to the central and state units. But the focus is on the expenditure incurred and targets achieved which may

not have necessarily a direct relation with the impact of the project on the target beneficiaries. For example, in the case of the DPAP irrigation projects, the variables monitored generally include the expenditure incurred in buildings, minor irrigation tanks, and number yielded desired command area or the beneficiaries may not have of tanks completed. The completed tanks may not have taken to high yielding varieties. But these aspects are not looked into by the monitoring system.

As soon as the tanks are completed, these are transferred to the district or taluk panchayats for repairs and maintenance. Owing to weak financial position of these institutions, they are not able to undertake these tasks. Also it has been found that cracks have developed in check dams which were constructed only five years ago, because of the quality of construction work. In the case of cattle development schemes, formation of primary milk cooperative societies were considerably delayed. The monitoring system also confines its monitoring to the number of cattle purchased and distributed.

Information monitored is not usually precise to be of use for feedback and remedial action (Srivastava 1981, Cornea 1979), defeating the very purpose of monitoring. The flow of information was from bottom to top and no feedback was received by lower levels (implementing levels) from higher levels in administration.

Further, usually monitoring of the programme is on sectoral rather than on area basis. In this process, the monitoring system is not capable and of yielding information on integration aspects/the backward and forward linkages between various projects under each programme in a particular areas as indicated while discussing the formulation of the projects.

VII IMPACT ON BENEFICIARIES

The delay in implementation reduces the level of actually created potential and coverage of beneficiaries. Improper implementation and lack of followup reduces further impact on the beneficiaries covered by potential actually created by the projects under each programme.

of In case/the DPAP Srivastava (1978,p. 87-88) observed:

"... actual irrigated area was much smaller than the designed area in most of the irrigation projects.... The gap between the actual and designed area of various irrigation works had not narrowed down over time.... Thus all the checks evolved to keep the cost of irrigation per acre within a prescribed maximum at the planning stage had no impact on the final cost of irrigation per acre. The soil conservation and animal husbandry schemes (goat units distribution) covered all the beneficiaries as planned. In some case of these activities the coverage of beneficiaries did not depend on the performance of potential. In the case of forestry schemes under DPAP there were no identifiable direct beneficiaries except wage labourers "(Srivastava 1978, p.87-88).

In the case of other programmes slow identification of beneficiaries reduces the actual coverage. There were even cases of improper identification. The PEO study (Report 1) made the following observations:

"Cases of improper identification were reported from several other project areas as well. The study shows that in Purnea there was willful concealment of size of holdings by large farmers in order to avail of the benefits of the programmes. Nearly 3% of the sampled beneficiaries in these project areas were found to be holding land above the prescribed limit.

At times some of the big landholders transferred their land to the name of their sons, etc. and got them identified as small farmors. In Quilon discrepancies crept in because after the initial listing and verification, the task of identification was entrusted to comperative societies. These societies included the names of all farmors, who applied for loans, simply on the basis of land holdings without verifying whether they belonged to a family whose head was already included in the identified list (Report 1, p.5).

Whatever potential was created was also not optimally used. Consequently, the envisaged benefit to the target groups did not materialize. Srivastava makes the following observations on the impact of the DPAP Programme on the beneficiaries:

- 1) There was no significant change in cropping pattern of beneficiaries of irrigation and soil conservation projects both in kharif and rabi. The beneficiaries had not taken to higher yielding varieties.
- 2) In rabi, the total area under cultivation had increased in case of beneficiaries of irrigation projects.
- 3) There was no significant change in input use and structure with the availability of water (even in rabi). The purchased inputs of fertilizer and pesticides played negligible role.
- 4) Because of the fact that much higher percentage of cultivated area in rabi was irrigated after the project as compared to that before the project overall income per acre was significantly larger in rabi after the project than before. The absolute level of income per acre was, however, low and full potential of irrigated area was not being exploited. The per acre yields even in rabi were very low as compared to average yields for the state.
- 5) Larger per acre incomes in rabi after the project as compared to those before the project (irrigation projects) and larger area under cultivation in rabi meant higher net income from crops (output per acre minus total inputs per acre) and higher household incomes (output per acre minus only purchased inputs per acre). These higher incomes compensate for otherwise erratic income levels from Khariff crop which depended on rainfall and temperature conditions.

- 6) No significant differences were observed between before and after the project mean values of per acre output, net incomes and household incomes of the beneficiaries of soil conservation projects. The officials indicated that such changes were expected only over long run.
- 7) In case of schemes for distribution of goat units (animal husbandry department), there were large number of mortality cases for reasons beyond the control of district authorities. There was an increase in milk production of goats which were in milk over the local goats owned by the beneficiaries. But most of the beneficiaries had not fed these goats with any purchased feeds and they had sold the young stock at a premium to the merchants in neighbouring district.
- 8) In case of forestry schemes, there was a serious problem of mortality of sapling and grass seeds. There was also the problem of lack of supervisionin interior areas which resulted in cutting of wrong branches instead of malformed ones in case of rehabilitation schemes" (Srivastava 1978 p.88-89).

The PEO study also confirmed this observation:

"Most of the agencies failed to grasp the import of guidelines issued by the Government in regard to programmes of subsidiary occupations. By and large they neither exercised proper care in selecting beneficiaries nor in ensuring extension service or supporting facilities which were crucial for the successful working of the programmes. As a result in nearly 15% of SFDAs and 8% of MFALs dairy dairying instead of augmenting income proved to be a liability for beneficiaries. In those projects which showed positive results the net average income generated from dairying ranged from Rs.140 to Rs.3110 during 1973-74. The figure for all projects was Rs.829. The incremental income constituted nearly 45% of institutional loans advanced for the purpose." (Report 1 p.46). Further "Poultry programme was also one of the most common programmes but with the sole exception of SFDA Surat, it failed in all other projects on account of almost the same reasons as mentioned above (Report 1, p.46).

Leakage of benefits takes place at several stages of the planning, implementation, and control of various programmes at the district level:

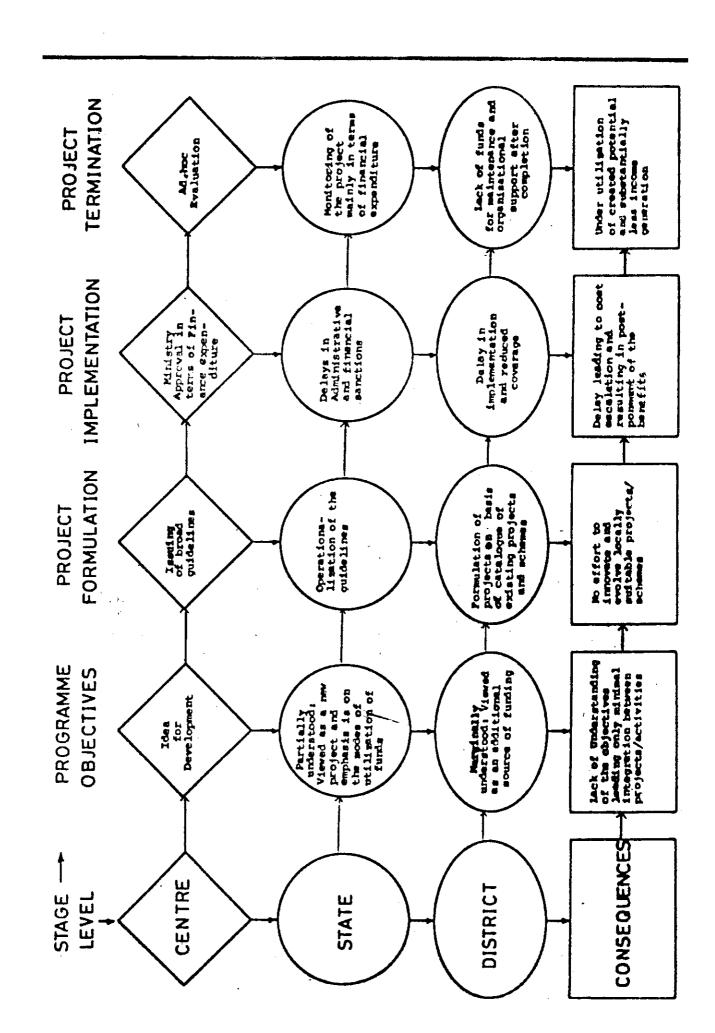
- a) In the case of planning programmes at the district level the leakage mainly occurrs in the form of lack of understanding of the main objectives of the programme. This leads to lack of integration between various departments and functional tasks as well as improper formation of schemes.
- b) Delays and cost escalation lead to further dilution of benefits to the target group. The monitoring and control system as it functions is not effective in ensuring timely implementation of the project and accurual of benefits to the target group.
- c) Lack of follow-up after the physical facilities are completed and lack of coordination between departments leads to further erosion of benefits. Thus, the impact of each programme on the beneficiaries is considerably reduced and puts pressure on the government to constantly evolve new programmes and discarding or regrouping the old: programmes which have failed to deliver goods.

The process of planning and implementation of projects and loss of intended benefits at various stages of the project cycle is presented in Figure 1.

III FINDINGS AND IMPLICATION OF THE STUDY

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The analysis clearly indicates that the main thrust of all rural development programmes has centred on the socio-economic betterment of the rural poor. This thrust has been consistently adhered to in all programmes regardless of the changes of the party in power at the centre and the state.



All the seven programmes analysed in this paper were initiated or implemented in the seventies. But the most striking feature of these programmes is the frequent changes in their nomeniculature and additions or substractions in the amphasis of the programmes. Quite often even before a programme could establish itself the name of the programme was changed to give an innovative look to the programme. The best example is that of integrated rural development programme which is now expected to substitute soveral engoing rural development programmes analysed here. But the emphasis on integration is not lacking in the earlier programmes as being projected now.

The analysis shows that none of the programme cover all the 399 administrative districts in the country. Blockwise analysis plotted on the maps indicates that none of the programmes have covered even 50 per cent of the total geographical area professed to be covered under the programme. The analysis further shows that the actual number of beneficiaries covered was much smaller than the potential beneficiaries, In quantitative terms, it is estimated that not more than 25 per cent of the total target beneficiaries have been covered by any of the programmes.

Figure 1 shows that there is a serious gap between the understanding of the overall national objectives of a given programme between district administrative machinery (responsible for the formulation and implementation of the projects under programme) and the state and contral administration (planning and monitoring agencies), owing to frequent changes in the nomeniculature and emphasis of the programmes, most of the district authorities have learnt to cope with these programmes by giving equal

emphasis and by treating them as an additional source of funding for the development of the district. Frequent changes in the senior cadre of the district administration reinforces this kind of attitude by the local staff towards the development programmes. As a result, each programme or project is implemented without giving due consideration to other similar or complementary programmes executed by different district level departments leading to lack of integration which is being emphasized at the national level.

Readymade projects available from the existing catalogue are submitted regardless of the overall programme objectives, be it a tribal development programme or drought prone area programme or any other. Hence, at the district level no new ideas are generated for the economic betterment of the people.

Delays are a fairly common phenomenon owing to a number of administrative, financial, and political reasons. This has led to (a) cost escalation of the initially projected budgets and (b) postponment of the benefits to the target population. The net effect of these factors is the substantial reduction in the benefit. The existing monitoring systems, central and state levels, emphasize mainly the expenditure of the budgeted amount and at the most the completion of the physical facilities. There is nothing in the programmes to prevent delays or to provide in advance required information for remedial measures. Generally, these failures force politicians and policymakers to start afresh or discontinue the existing programme before completion.

The district mechinery for the maintenance and operation of assets created and for followup of the initial activities is extremely weak.

On top of it, nofollow up action is taken to verify the intended impact on the target beneficiaries. Consequently, it is observed that and (b)

(a) actual benefits remain much smaller/the beneficiaries are much below the expectations. The analysis presented so far, in no way rejects the hypothesis that the developmental efforts have helped those who were better off than those who were not.

Suggestions

- 1. We suggest that frequent changes in the nomenclature of the progra
 mmes should not be made and efforts should be made to strengthen the

 existing programmes to improve their performance.
- 2. Efforts should be made to define the programme objectives clearly and ensure that these are understood by those who are directly responsible for the formulation and implementation of the projects. In operational terms, this means strengthing the district level planning and implementation, manpower skills (see Reports 6 & 7). This would help in need-based operationalization of the programme objectives within the given guidelines at the district level.
- 3. We suggest that the development projects should have a detailed time schedule for implementation. Monitoring should include physical work to be completed and the financial expenditure incurred along the lines of performance budget so that delays could be cut down, and controls taken.

- 4. We suggest that mid-term qualitative evaluations should be undertaken by the senior officials. The evaluations should measure the impact of the programme on the beneficiaries in addition to the actual implementation. The findings of these evaluations should be disseminated to the grass root officials and should be used for mid-core corrections. This pattern would be different from ad hoc evaluations conducted in most cases after the completion of the programme which are seldom utilized in formulating or expanding similar programmes.
- the impact of programmes on the target groups. The district level mechinary seems to be primarily involved in the completion of the activities or programmes. This is reflected in their preoccupation with expenditure and completion of the physical activities. In the process little efforts are made to look into the constraints of the target groups and lack of other support systems in optimally utilizing the physical facilities created in the project.

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APPENDIX -I

COVERAGE OF SPECIAL RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES BY DISTRICT AND BLOCKS I XIQUE

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Mahbubnagar	16	6	0	13	ø	0	0		· c	+ •	7 0
Kurnool	13	12	0	13	12	0	0			t w	0.38
* Now divided into Hyderabad Arben . and K.V.Ranga P	oad Arthan Ja	nd K.V.R	anga Peddy	.>.							

and the directory. We have used directory data (an • There are some differences between report and the direction of the Report 5) while platting on maps.

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2	33	4	5	9	7	8	6	10	11	12	13
	(Con+da:)	 						# # # # # # # #	 		
במינים שומסטונים ביויים בייים						ı	ı	+	ſ		, 1
Prakasam	17	13	ω	4	10	C	0	0	0	4	0.32
Nellore	14	က	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.12
Cud dap an	12	10	۲	11	4	0	0	0	0	4	0.33
Anantpur	16	14	0	8	7	0	0	0	0	4	0.23
Chitoor	17	10	0	13.	0	0	0	0	0	ហ	0.18
(2) wessew (2)			;						•		
Lakhi mp ur	œ	0	0	O	0	φ	0	0	0	4	0.25
Dibrugarh	10	0	0	0	0	נט	0	0	0	4	0,12
Sibsagar	17	0	0	O	0	7	0	0	0	4	0.10
Darang	13	0	0	0). O	ß	0	0	0	ы	0.13
Камгцр	25	20	16	0	۲O	12	0	D	0	4	0.31
ा Goalpara	20	12	20	0	O	13	0	0	0	ហ	0,33
Nowach	13	12	13	0	33	4	0	0	0	S	0.30
Kabrianlong	10	4	10		g	0	10	0	0	ഹ	0.42
North Cachar Hils	n	0	0	0	0	0	ю	O	0	ហ	0.02
Cachar	15	0	0	0	0	7	15	0	0	ம	0.22
:8 : BIHAR (3)				\$ *	• •	:					
Champaran West	16	11	<u></u>	0	14	0	0	0		ю	0.52
Champaran East	20	13	15	0	17	6	0	۵	0	ю	0,53
Sitemarhi	15	4	,	0	0	O	0	0	0	ŀIJ	0.13
Madhubani	18	ß	. 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	ы	0.15
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7	2	÷	TO I	9	2	0	6	10	11	12	13
ate : BIHAR (3) (Contd.)											the first that they are made from the date of the first that the f
Gopal Ganj	10	9	0	0	10	0	0	c	C	بر	22 0
Siwan	15	10		0	35	. 0	ם נ	. 0) D		
Muzaffarpur	14	ס	D	0	10	6	0	0	0	, FJ	
Darbhanga	-	и	7	0	Ö	0	0	0	0	ю	7.21
Saharsa	23	13	£ ,	0	50.2	O	0	O	0	_,	05.0
Purnea	27	15	27	0	14	O	O	0	O	4	0,33
Katihar	Arra Arra	æ	55	Ð	4	O	0	a	۵	4	0.29
Saran	ر.	10	2	0	1 5	۵	۵	0	0	ĸ	5 % 0
Vaishali	. 11	03	Ö	Û	10	0	a	0	0	ניז	0.30
Samastipur	15	10	Ü	۵	6	0	0	0	0	ю	0°0
Begusarai	£	Q	c o	O	4	0	O	0	0	4	0.20
Patna	116	~	10	O	7	0	C	0	0	4	0.26
Bhojp ur	19	12	Ö.	0	19	Ö	0	0	0	4	0.25
Rohtas	22	14	15	14	16	0	0	0	4	យ	0.42
Nalanda	12	9	80	O	D	O	0	Đ	a	n	0.22
Monghyr	26	15	18	დ	90	O	O	٥	٥	S	0.26
Bhagalp ur	21	14	14	0	10	O	O	٥	۵	4	0.28
Сауа	25	17	7	Ö	ю	O	0	۵	٥	ĸ	0.19
Aurengabad	11	10	0	0	ស	O	۵	۵	۵	က	0.15
Nawadah	10	6	0	10	o	C	O	0	0	4	0.25
Giridih	18	no .	2	Ö	0	O	٥	0	0	4	0.09
Santhal Pargenas	41	νρ	· · 6	נא	29.	0,	C	0	0	Ň	0,02
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	23	4	S.	9	7	œ	0	10	11	12	13
sate⊵s BIHAR (3) (Conto.)											
Dhanbad	10	. 4	9	0	0	O	0	0	Ō	4	
Hazaribagh	24	9	60	0	O		O	0	0	4	0.0
Palamau	25	21	O	25	O		D	0	0		0.2
Ranchi	43	13	17		0		O	0	0		ກ ຸ 0
Singhbhum	32	LO	4			32	0	0	4	4	5.0
ate : GUJARAT (4)						2					
Banaskantha	7	4	0		0	0	С	9	O	9	0.1
🧞 Kutah	.	4	0	2		0	0	С	O	9	
Mehsana	12	~	0	2	0	0	0	8	0		. C. D
Sabarkantha	12	7	-			ľ	0	0	0		_ CO
Ahmedabad	7	Ψ-	0	2	0	0	C ·	0	0	ιΩ	0.0
Kaira (Kheda)	10	אי	C		ល	0,	0	0	0	ы	0.1
Panchmahals	24	9	: :	7	2	ம	0	0	0	Ŋ	S.O.
Subendranagar	Q.	ល	0	60	C	C	0	O	0	4	0.0
Rajkot	5	ém.		2	O	0	О	0	0	4	0.04
Jamnagar	0	~	0	2	0	0	0	О	0	4	₽
Junagadh	<u>ក</u> សៈ	æ	15	0	0	O	0	0	0	ဗ	653
Amreli	1 0	2	0	4		0	C	0	C	4	0.01
Bhavnagar	12	4	Ω	C	ъ	C	Q 1	Ö	0	4	01.0
Vadodara	14	7	7	0	0	ຸເກ	0	0	0	4	018
Baroch	14	10	12	C	ĸ)	9	0	O	0	4	0937
Surat	18	16	14	0	10	10	0	0	0	.4	0

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: GUJARAT (4) (Contd.)	-								· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
•											
Dangs	2	0	o o	0		2	0	0	0	4	0.25
Valsad	15	13	15	0	9	ស	0	0	0	4	7.43
Gandhinagar	ı	. 1	1	ł	1	I	1	1	1	1) - •
. HARYANA (5)											
Ambala	89	9	09	0		O	C	C	c	۲۰	7
Karnal	ı	1	i	i	i) !) 1) I	יא כ	
Kurukshetra	1	t		1	1	i	t	i	ı	o ro	
Dind	ı	ı	ı	ı	ì	ŧ	ı	ı	1	در:	
Hisser	10	9	10	0	0	Ō	0	10	0	- 4	0,05
Bhiwani	2	2	10	9	4	0	O	6	c,	4	0.42
Rohtak	10	4	C	2	4	0	0	гo	0	ı vo	1.22
Mohindargarh	6	89	4	ហ	4	0	0	0	0	4	0.36
nogan	11	60	11	0	10	O	0	0	c	ຕ	0,63
Sirsa	4	<u>.</u>	0	О	D	0	O	0	0	ь	0 ,000
Sonepat	7	0	O	O	0	Ö	n	0	0	ю	00.00
: HIMACHAL PRADESH (6)											:** ; *.
Jhamba	7	7	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	ហ	П
lahul & Spiti	2	0	0	0	0	2	c		. 0	, v <u>c</u>	. נ
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Kangra	12	4	0	0	0	O	0	0	0	ιn	0010
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1. HIMACHAL PRADESH (5) (Contd.) 4 1 0 <	2	3	4	5	9	7	60	6	10	11	12	13
that styles 4 1 0 <th< td=""><td>HIMACHAL PRADESH</td><td></td><td></td><td>-</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>:</td><td>·</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></th<>	HIMACHAL PRADESH			-				:	·			
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Mandat 10 4 0 0 0 0 0 0 5 9 5 Kinnauk 3 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 5 6 Billaspur 3 1 0	Hamirpur	ហ	2	0	0	0	C	O	C	ם	S	00.0
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s Jammu & Kashmir R 73 5 13 0 0 0 0 0 0 4 Szinegar 8 5 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 4 Roanch 13 7 12 0	Sirmour	2	Ю	រោ	0	D	Đ	a	0	0	ιņ	0,02
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E 12	Baremulla	13	ໝ	13	D	0	C	0	0	0	4	0.25
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13 12 12 10 <th< td=""><td>Paonch</td><td>7</td><td>2</td><td>7</td><td>ם</td><td>D</td><td>တ</td><td>Ω</td><td>0</td><td>C</td><td>4</td><td>0,25</td></th<>	Paonch	7	2	7	ם	D	တ	Ω	0	C	4	0,25
6	Anantnag	13	1	12	O	D	0	0	0	0	4	0,23
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10 3 10 0 3 0 0 0 4 5 4 5 0 0 0 0 0 0 4	Uthampur	7	ĸī	0	ហ	O	O	C	0	0	4	0.18
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	Katua	ເກ	4	ſΩ	c	0	0	D	O	0	4	0.25

In fact there are other four districts, now these districts are under the illegal occupation of Pakistan.

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0.11

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0.25 0.24 0.22 0.37 0.11 0,25 0°0 0,33

	1 20	<# <u>*</u>	::5	9	7	œ	6	10	11	12	13
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State : KERALA (9)				1	;		± .				
Cannanore	12	12	12	0	0	-	0	0	0	7	0,
Kozikode	14	***	0	0		7	0	0	0	4	ົບ ້ ດ
Malapuram	13	8	0	0	D	0	0	0	0	4	ō.
Palghat	12	ъ	0	0	4	-	0	0	0	ហ	ָרָיָּיִ בּיִי
Trichur	21	11	17	0	-	0	О	0	D	50	, co
Ernakulam	15	~	0		4	0	0	0	0	33)•0
Idikki	4	~	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Kottayam	1	2	0	C	0	0	О	О	Ó	3	0,0
Allapy	17	2	0	n	۵	, O	0	0	D		
quilon	17	12	17	O	D	0	0	۵	0	87	
Trivandrum	12	6	12	D 	O	0	0	0	0		0.5
State : MADHYA PRADESH	(10)			44							
Bhind	Ø	ĸ	0	0	4	0	Ö	0	0	ю	0,2
Мотепа	CI.	0	0	0	10	e.	0	0	0	4	0.2
Gwallor	. . €	7	0	O	0	0	С		C	4	0.0
Datia	7	2	O	0	0	0	О	0	0	ĸŋ	D*0
Shivpuri	8	2	0	0	0	0	0		0	4	C.
Tikamgarh	9	ъ	C	0	0	0	0		۵	4	0.0
Chhatarpur	co	9	0	O	C	0	0	0	C	ы	0.
Panna	'	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.0
Satna	CQ	en 	60	0	0	Đ	Ü	0	0	4	0.2

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State : MADHYA PRADESH	ADESH (10) (Contd.)										1
Sidhi		M	0	ထ	C	~ ~	0	Ö	C	Ľ	
Sarguja	24	£-	24	O	0	24	, D	. 0) C	י ק	
Shahdo.1	12	ы	ញ	2	C	σ		· c) с	r u	
Jabalpur	13	ហ	œ	ō	0	, 0	, 0) <u> </u>) C	Ö 4	,
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Sagar	11	8	1.	0	0	0	С	D	Ð	: (*)	# 1
Vidisha	7	is;	0	O	₹~	0	0	0	0	'n	.)
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Raigarh	vo	ຕ	0	O	D	0	0	0	O	- 4	
Shajapur	7	Ó	0	0	0	D	0	0			
Mandev sar	6	9	ω,	D			0	0			
Ratlem	9	73	O	0	0	8	0	0			
Ujjain), 9	9	9	0	D	0	C	С	0		, ,
Jhabua	12/	Ł	C	12	ດ		0	0	0		•
Ohar	<u>113</u>	ഗ	O	7	0	12	D	Ü	۵		,
Indore	4	-	O	O	а	G	C	D	Ö		
Dawas	9	ĸ	C	0	C	0	0	D	a		•
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Raisen	7	4	7	0	7	0	0:		۵		
Narsimhpur	9	2	O	0	ဂ	0	D	0	: O :	<i>5</i> . ‡	
Mandla	16	1	0	0	ם	16	÷o		C	7	
1 Bilasaur	25	©.	ر. ال	C		c	Ċ	C	ć	*	

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ate : MADHYA PRADESH (13) (0	(Contd.)				 						
Rajgarh	13	:	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	4	
Khargaon	16	ю	0	4	0	<u>1</u>	0	0	0	ហ	0.2
Khandwa	6	•	0	Б	0	.	О	0	O	4	. O•O .
Hoshangabad	10	Ġ.	0	0	60		Ó	O	0	4	0,29
Betul	10	9		co	O	ហ	0	0	۵	r.	0.
Chindwara	£.	L	11	0	0	o	0	0	0	4	0
Segni	œ	0	0	0	0	r.	0	C	0	4	0.1
Balaghat	1 0	-	0	0.		2	0	0	0	4	0.0
Rajnandgaon	12	ιΩ	6	0	0	ю	0	0	0	4	0.2
Raip'ur	24	en	0	0	0	ю	٥	О	0	4	, c
Durg	12	ю	10	0	0	←	n	O	0	. 4	0.2
Bastar	32	0	Ο.	0	0	32	0	0	9	4	67
Guna	6	0	C	O	ପ	0	0	0	C	4	0.0
Rewa	o,		O	0	С	. 🙃	0	O	0	4	0.0
ate : MAHARASHTRA (11)											
Onulla	.	0	6	0	0	 ເກ	0	0	0	4	0.35
Jalgaon	<u>13</u>	9	CO ·	0	σο	ю	0	0	0	4	0.21
Buldana	13	~	11	-	0	0	C	0	C)	ы	0.28
Akola	13	~	12	0	0		O	0	0	ניז	0,30
Amravati	13	9	100	0	0	0	C	Φ	0	4	0.15
Mardha	7	ניו	, CD	0	0	0	0		C	KJ.	0

1 Mathic RASHTRA (11) (Contd.) 13	ю	4 5	9	7					***************************************	
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agar 13 4 0 13 7 11 14 5 8 7 11 14 5 8 7 11 10 9 6 11 12 13 14 15 14 15 17 10 10 10 10 10 11 11 11 11	, ,)	നാ (ם	0	0	0	4	0.05
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LE S NO Black Lyber Area	, t	- 4	י כ	o ,	on.	C	0	0	4	0.38
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ur 11 10 0 9 8 0 firition 15 4 7 0 0 0 firition 11 9 5 4 5 0 like 2 0 5 0 0 like 12 5 8 0 0 0 like 13 0 0 0 0 0 No Black Urban Area	13		9	, -	0	. с.) c	י כ	J	0.14
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iri 15 4 7 0 0 0 0 0 1 11	- 	*)) (ɔ	D	0	Ð	4	0.38
15 4 7 0 0 0 0 11 9 5 4 5 0 8 2 0 0 2 0 12 5 8 0 0 0 0 7 0 0 0 0 0 7 0 0 0 0 0	: !	- -	כֹ	Ď	0	C	0	0	ы	7.33
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Ir 12 5 8 0 2 0 12 5 8 0 0 0 13 0 0 0 0 7 0 0 0 0 No Black Urban Area	11		4	ហ	0	a	C) <	0.0
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13 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 No Black Urban Area	12			C) с) () (5	4	90*0
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y No Black Urban Area) E		o.	-	0	0	0	0	ы	0 •0 1
No Black				0	0	0	С	0	ю	טריי
	No Bleck	Urban /	rea				i	1	ı	0.03
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7	ĸ	4	ம	9	7	80	6	10	, 11	12	13
						} } } } !					
# MANIPUR (12)	*										
Manipur North	ניז	4m	2	0	0	ĸ	0	0	0	ĸ	0.33
Manipur East	ហ	*	· Kees	0	0	ю	0	0	0	S	0.24
Manipur West	4	C	n	О	0	4	7	0	0	2	0.04
Manipur Gentral	9	₩	8	D	۴	0	0	O	0	S	0.01
Tengno Upal	ы	4.4	+ -	0	0	מי	0	0	0	ហ	0.27
Manipur South	ហ	~		0	C	ហ	О	O	0	വ	0.24
# MEGHALAYA (13)											
East Garo Hills	(*)	-	2	0	0	O	0	D	O	ស	0.13
West Garo Hills	83	ζ	2	C	0	0	0	0	D	ល	9,05
West Khasi Hills	ស		O	0	0	0	O	0	0	ហ	0.00
East Khasi Hills	7	7	ഗ	D	0	0	O	0	D	ц	0.14
Jaintia Hilla	'n	2	ы	0	0	0	0	D	0	ហ	0.02
: NAGALAND (14)											
				-							
Mokokafiung	m	-	ro	O	0	0	0	0	O	ហ	0.0
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Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, Government of India.

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