



for sustainable
agriculture and
regenerating
rural economies

In the hands of the people

An Indian
case of
watershed
development



Anil C. Shah

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An Indian case of watershed development

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A country case study report for:

**Policies that Work for Sustainable Agriculture and
Regenerating Rural Economies**



DFID



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Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DANIDA), Department for
International Development (DFID, UK), Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
(KfW, Germany; Senegal case study), Swedish International
Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), Swiss Agency for
Development and Cooperation (SDC)

IIED is particularly grateful to Lucy Ambridge and DFID, who contributed generously to the final stages of the project, and without whom the case studies could not have been published.

Copies of this report and others in the Policies that Work series are available from:

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Design by Eileen Higgins. Layout by Bridget Tisdall.

Printed by Folium, Birmingham, UK.

A collaborative research project of the
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Khanya, South Africa; Green Senegal, Rodale Institute, Senegal;
Tegemeo Research Institute, Kenya; Chiang Mai University, Thailand;
Development Support Centre, India; SPEECH, India; AS-PTA, Brazil;
Diego Muñoz, Bolivia; IUCN, Pakistan.

**Policies that work for sustainable agriculture and
regenerating rural economies series**

There are enough examples world-wide to suggest that agriculture which is pro-sustainability and pro-people is working. We now understand the concept of 'sustainable' agriculture is not confined within the farm boundary, but has strong links (and a potential to be a dynamic force within) a wider rural economy. So, 'sustainable agriculture' not only contributes to greater agricultural production, but also environmental regeneration and local economic development.

IIED's Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods Programme has undertaken collaborative research to look at 'Policies that work for sustainable agriculture and regenerating rural economies'. The overall objective of this research is to understand the policy contexts and instruments that can promote sustainable agriculture and social change. This has been done in high, medium and low income countries in both the South and the North. 'Success stories' have been identified and the policy environment that has permitted these to emerge has been investigated. Are there lessons we can learn from these 'islands of sustainability' that will help us turn islands into continents?

This paper is one of a series of reports from the Policies that Work project, which give the research and methodological background and country specific findings. *The views and opinions reflected in this material do not necessarily reflect those of IIED, its partners or the project donors.*

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Acknowledgements

For inviting me to join the research project on PTW, and for their support, encouragement and continuous help in developing the research project on the right lines, I would like to express my gratitude to the competent and friendly team of IIED working for the SARLs Programme. Fiona Hinchcliffe prevailed upon me to attend the Planning Workshop for the PTW case study teams in London in October 1996. Though I had gone to attend the workshop as a resource person, the stimulating environment of the workshop persuaded me to take up a research project on watershed development as a case study of sustainable agriculture in India. Visits by Simon Croxton to India and the ceaseless discussion that we conducted during his visits and through email, have considerably influenced the development and the outcome of the research project.

I would only like to add my thanks to Shashidharan, the Executive Director of Development Support Centre (of which I am the Chairman), and the Programme Officers of the DSC who made valuable contribution for the research project. I would like to mention particularly researchers Poonam and specially Pankaj Kumar as well as my secretary Mahesh Mistry who co-operated unstintingly in preparing and revising the drafts of this report until we felt we could let it go.

Anil C Shah
Jan 1999



Executive Summary

This report describes one case study conducted as part of the three-year international collaborative research project *Policies That Work for Sustainable Agriculture and Regenerating Rural Economies* (PTW), co-ordinated by the SARLs Programme of IIED. Using case studies in 10 countries, the major concern of the project was to understand the policy contexts and instruments that can promote sustainable agriculture and social change. It was also interested in the particular processes of policy-making, to understand how policies are formulated and implemented. It is this process element which was the major focus for this case study.

The case study examines the Indian government's new national Watershed Development Programme, launched in April 1995. This programme was considered to contain many of the elements of a policy which, on the face of it, would support sustainable agriculturally-based rural livelihoods (SARLs). It laid the foundations for a 'bottom up' planning approach, working where possible through NGOs and with community participation as a central principle. Whilst outlining the rules and norms of various implementing stages of the watershed development scheme, the Programme allows for sufficient operational flexibility at the state, district and project levels to enable them to respond to the differing situations and aspirations of the village communities and user groups.

Through an analysis of how this programme is being implemented on the ground, the case study has sought to identify any distortions which are occurring between the aims of the programme and the reality of implementation. In this way, any weaknesses or shortcomings can be identified, and processes explored for amending them. The case study was conducted by Anil C Shah with the support of the Development Support Centre (DSC) based in Gujarat, and presents detailed findings from field research and stakeholder interviews in the state of Gujarat, combined with a national overview.

The research found that there were many distortions occurring between the intentions of the Programme and the actual implementation. These included:

- A lack of capacity amongst the many devolved implementation agencies for managing such projects, and for facilitating participatory, empowering processes. Whilst the programme provides formally for decentralised administration, it lacks the mechanisms for instituting administrative and financial processes and procedures appropriate to participatory approaches
- An under-estimation of the amount of time needed to build community capacity and organisation before handing over the management of resources and programme to the community
- A monitoring process which focused on physical and financial targets, to the neglect of social process and productivity enhancement. This resulted in imbalance of attention and development of various resources in the watershed, particularly on public lands
- The practical difficulties of securing significant benefit from the project for the poorest sections of a community (including many women, the landless, tribal, artisans, shepherds etc.)

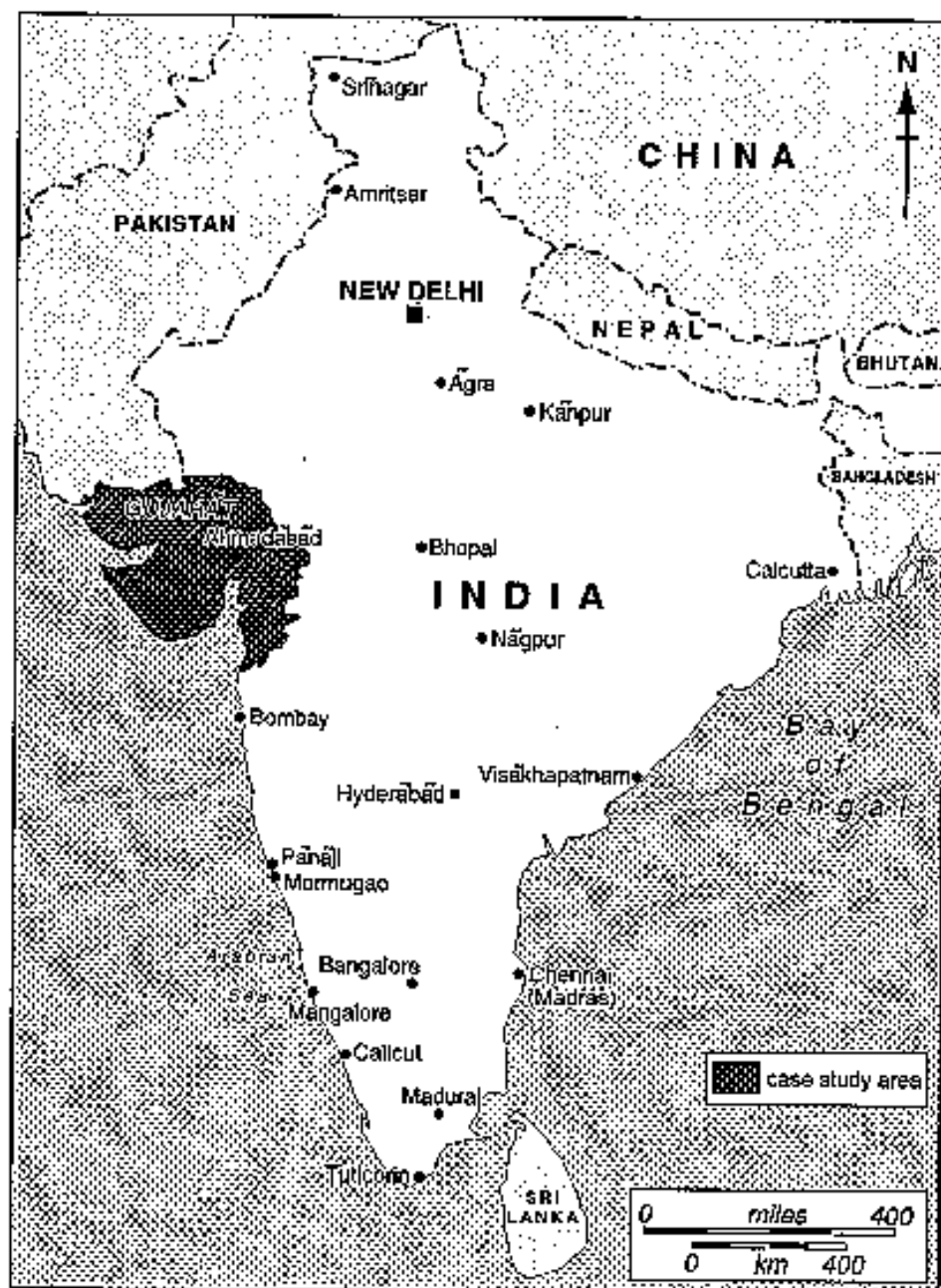
One of the major observations of those involved in reviewing the Programme, is that no policy or programme will ever be perfect: what is needed is simultaneous launching of an effective system of monitoring and evaluation whereby problems occurring on the ground can be fed back to those making the policies so that appropriate changes can be made. Thus recommendations are made for how policies and programmes can begin to 'learn' and adapt as they go along.

The report describes how opportunities to attend key policy events, such as national and state review workshops and project evaluations, were used to put forward these, and other recommendations to policy-makers. A number of the recommendations are now being considered by government, but more advocacy work is needed to keep up the momentum.

Acronyms

Source: *Water for People*

BAAC	Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Co-operatives
CD	Community Development
CPR	Common Property Resources
CSWCRTI	Central Soil and Water Conservation Research and Training Institute
DAC	District Advisory Committee
DFID	Department for International Development (British Government)
DoF	Gujarat Forest Department
DDP	Desert Development Programme
DPAP	Drought Prone Areas Programme
DRDA	District Rural Development Agency
DRD	Department of Rural Development
DSC	Development Support Centre
EAS	Employment Assurance Scheme
GO	Government Organisation
Goi	Government of India
IWDP	Integrated Wasteland Development Projects Scheme
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
JFM	Joint Forest Management
JP	Jilla Panchayat
JRY	Jawahar Rozgar Yojana
MFAL	Marginal Farmer and Agricultural Labourers Agency
MoAC	Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operation
MoRAE	Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests
NES	National Extension Service
NGO	Non Governmental Organization.
NWDPRA	National Watershed Development Programme for Rainfed Areas
ODI	Overseas Development Institute (UK)
PIA	Project Implementing Agency
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PTW	Policies That Work
RPWP	Rural Public Works Programmes
SARL	Sustainable Agriculture-based Rural Livelihoods
SIRD	State Institute of Rural Development
SC	Steering Committee
SFDA	Small Farmers' Development Agency
SHG	Self Help Group
WA	Watershed Association
WC	Watershed Committee
WDT	Watershed Development Team
VA	Voluntary Agency
UG	Users Group



The study overview

The Policies that Work for Sustainable Agriculture and Regenerated Rural Economies Project (PTW) of Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods (SARLs) Programme of the International Institute of Environment and Development in London seeks to identify the policies and practices needed to foster forms of rural economic growth that are socially inclusive and which protect diversity. There is growing evidence that sustainable agriculture and rural development initiatives cannot be treated in isolation from broader economic and political processes. It is these broader processes, particularly inappropriate policies, which are limiting the spread of sustainable agriculture.

The three-year collaborative research project began in early 1996. Using case studies in 10 countries, the major concern of the project was to understand the policy contexts and instruments that can promote sustainable agriculture and social change. These may be specifically agricultural policies or non-agricultural ones. There is also the feeling that effective sustainable agriculture policies will only be identified, implemented and sustained under particular processes of policy-making and when the relationships among key stakeholders are such that they feel committed to and can be held accountable for a particular policy outcome. Hence, a further concern of the project is at a process level – to understand how policies are formulated and implemented.

In a typical case the research in this project starts with a review of successful initiatives or 'islands of success' of sustainable agriculture which exist within the case study country. Once a few examples are identified, the research works backwards and identifies policy forces supporting the success. The actors involved in formulating and implementing these policies are identified. Other areas of interest include the differences between the way a policy is written and the way it ends up being implemented (the policy distortions); and the processes

involved in formulating and implementing the policy(ies). In the final stages of the research, policy alternatives are developed. Through this activity, in which policy-makers and stakeholders will be involved, some alternatives to current policy and to current policy-making processes will be developed so that more sustainable and equitable forms of agricultural production can be promoted.

1.1 Case study introduction

Several case studies are being conducted in India as part of the PTW research project. This report documents the findings of one of the studies, conducted by Anil Shah and supported by the Development Support Centre, Gujarat. The case study examines the implementation of the Government of India's Watershed Development Programme, launched by the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment in April 1995. It presents detailed findings from field research in the state of Gujarat, combined with a national overview.

The focus of this case study differs slightly from the typical approach of the other studies, in that it looks at the implementation of a 'good' policy, which on paper might be expected to promote sustainable agriculture. In this case, the focus is more on the implementation of the policy, in order to find out whether distortions are taking place and if so, to explore and implement policy-influencing approaches to rectify them. In this way, the study is contributing to an understanding of how policy processes work, as the processes involved are often just as important to the outcome as the policies themselves.

1.2 The research process

1.2.1 Research team

The research was supported by the Development Support Centre (DSC), a non-profit organisation with a mission to promote and support people centred organisations, programmes and policies in natural resources development (see Box 1.1).

Box 1.1. Development Support Centre (DSC)

DSC supports organisations, governmental as well as non-governmental, engaged in participatory management of natural resources. At present the main programmes in which DSC is involved are Watershed Development and Participatory Irrigation Management. DSC has a team of Programme Officers who are engaged in training and field services, including carrying out its own projects of Watershed and Participatory Irrigation Management. Represented on district, state and national level committees, DSC is constantly working to influence policy at appropriate levels to make natural resource management programmes more people-centred.

DSC is recognised as an implementing agency by the Gujarat state government under the Watershed Programme. It is also recognised by the Government of India as a training institution for the Watershed Programme.

The case study was conducted by Anil Shah, Chairman of DSC, and DSC Programme Officers were also involved in the fieldwork, and in sharing their own ideas and experiences relevant to the PTW project.

A Steering Committee was constituted to help guide the research. It included:

- Anil Shah and two officers of DSC
- Representatives of the Government of India and the Gujarat Government in charge of the watershed programme
- Chairmen of three District Rural Development Agencies of districts being studied intensively
- Dr Sudershan Iyenger, Director of the Gujarat Institute of Development Research
- Director of Extension, Gujarat Agriculture University
- Leaders of three Project Implementing Agencies for watershed development

The function of the Steering Committee was to give guidance on the methodology of the research project, particularly the selection of areas and institutions for intensive study. The members of the Steering Committee, particularly chairmen of DRDAs and leaders of PIAs, also shared their experiences of the issues emerging while implementing the

watershed programme. When presented with the findings of the field study and interviews being conducted by the research team, the Steering Committee gave its reactions on the significance of these issues.

The Steering Committee held three meetings: in February 1997, July 1997 and July 1998. After the July 1997 meeting, a state level workshop on watershed development was organised jointly by the State Institute on Rural Development and DSC. The agenda of the workshop included many issues identified by the Steering Committee as well as those identified during field studies. Some of the members of the Steering Committee participated in the workshop.

1.2.2 Research methodology

The research project set out to:

- analyse the new policy on watershed development, comparing how the programme is actually implemented against the objectives as conceived in the policy
- identify emerging issues which reflect distortions in implementation
- analyse the reasons for distortions and recommend possible solutions
- present these recommendations to appropriate policy-makers at state and national levels with a view to obtaining corrections in the policy/procedures to better serve the policy objectives
- undertake follow-up with policy-makers, particularly at state and national levels for acceptance of recommendations

The research team visited seven districts and conducted interviews with staff of relevant organisations. They also visited villages. Interviews were conducted with District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA), Project Implementing Agencies (PIA) and Watershed Associations (WA) (see Section 2.2.1 for a description of the roles of these organisations). The aim of these interviews was mainly to gather the perceptions of stakeholders about the positive and negative aspects of the watershed programme. The aim was not to explore the outcomes of the programme, nor to quantify its impacts. The focus was more on the process of implementation. The interviews followed checklists of questions based on the essential features of the Watershed Development Programme Guidelines.

Interviews were carried out as follows:

- Seven District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) were interviewed, two of them twice, and one three times
- Twelve Project Implementing Agencies (PIAs) were interviewed, four of them twice
- Twenty Watershed Associations (WAs) were interviewed, five of them twice

The information collected and the findings of the field studies are given in Appendix 2 of this report. Summaries of the main findings are included in Section 2.3.

1.2.3 Developing policy alternatives and influencing policy

Another aim of the study was to take the many recommendations which emerged and present them at the state and national level in order to help bring about policy change.

During the course of the PTW research, several state and national-level watershed reviews/forums were held, to which Anil Shah was invited (see Box 1.2). These were good opportunities to feed the Gujarat findings into the policy-making process, as well as to incorporate some findings on the Watershed Development Programme at a national level into the PTW study.

Box 1.2 Other watershed programme reviews

- **State Level Workshop on Watersheds:** This was held jointly by the State Institute of Rural Development and Development Support Centre, 22–23rd July 1997
- **Study Team on Impact of Watershed Development in India:** This study was conducted by DFID and the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment between Sept 97 and Feb 98. Anil Shah was invited to be an Indian member of the 4-member team. The team visited the states of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and apart from discussion with the state level officers, made an extensive tour in the rural areas to see for themselves the way the watershed scheme was implemented

and the achievements as well as the problems. A summary of the findings of this team is presented in Appendix 4.

- **Brain Storming Session on Watershed Development:** held by the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment, November '97. Several experts, state representatives and NGOs involved in the watershed programme presented their experiences and views at this one-day brain storming session on watershed development. Anil Shah was invited to participate.
- **National Workshop on Watershed Approach:** This national workshop, organised by Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment and DFID in April 1998, with the technical collaboration of ODI, was attended by experts, researchers, NGO representatives and staff of central and state governments. Anil Shah chaired a group on sustainability.
- **The Design Team on DFID assistance to Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment:** This Design Team was appointed by DFID to meet the requirements of the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment to improve its capacity and management of policy making, monitoring and evaluation etc. The Design Team worked intensively during July-September 1998 and made short field visits to Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. They pooled their knowledge based on their experience, which for Anil Shah, as a member of the Design Team, meant the chance to gather considerable information for the PTW research project, as well as drawing on the findings of the PTW research to contribute to the design.
- **Advisory Committee on Preparation of Manual:** This Committee, set up by the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment and DFID from Nov. 98 onwards, was to provide some guidance to field staff on how to operationalize various provisions in the Guidelines for implementing the watershed programme. This task was given to the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD). NIRD constituted an Advisory Committee for selection of subjects, topics and the main points to be covered under each topic. Anil Shah was invited to be a member of the Advisory Committee.



The case study: The Watershed Development Programme

2.1 A brief history of Watershed Development in India

Indian agricultural growth has been sufficient to move the country from a severe food crisis in the 1960s to aggregate surpluses today. Most of the increase in agricultural output over the years has taken place under irrigated conditions, but the opportunities for continued expansion of the irrigated area are now limited. Indian planners are increasingly looking to rainfed, or unirrigated agriculture, to meet the demand for food projected over the next several decades.

It is therefore clear that any policy for food security in India cannot rely solely on Green Revolution technology. It is essential to devise a new strategy focusing on the drylands of India to solve the problem, since the output cannot be achieved through increase in irrigated lands. The attention in terms of finance, research and extension must be redirected towards the neglected dryland areas of the country.

The different approach needed towards agriculture in the drylands offers huge opportunities for labour intensive, productivity-increasing technologies. Each of the technologies of the watershed planning could

Box 2.1 Employment programmes

The government of India has a huge employment generation programme – one of the largest wage employment programmes in the world. However, whilst its focus could be on labour-intensive techniques that would create a basis for raising agricultural productivity, the actual expenditure is more on roads and buildings. The assets created also are unplanned, do not necessarily meet local needs, and lack strategic vision. Thus, the expected outcome of employment generation is eroded.

contribute to raise the productivity of drylands agriculture, especially combined with the use of drought-resistant varieties of crops. The labour-intensive nature of much of the work required would also help to generate employment (see Box 2.1).

2.1.1 The micro-watershed approach in India

The watershed has emerged as the main focus for agricultural development in dryland areas. This is an obvious focus given that a major limiting factor to expanding agricultural production in these areas is lack of reliable supplies of water. A watershed is a geohydrological unit or an area that drains rain water at a common point. Watersheds can be defined at various levels (hundreds or thousand of hectares), at farm level or even within the farm. Their sizes are classified into three types, namely: micro, mini and macro watersheds. A combination of microwatersheds makes a miniwatershed, which in turn forms part of the macrowatershed, before finally discharging into the sea.

Over the last two decades, the Government of India (GoI) has made substantial budgetary provisions for microwatershed rehabilitation and development. There has been strong growth in both government and non-governmental institutional capacity to implement wasteland and watershed development projects. This capacity has been directed predominantly at microwatersheds. Within semiarid areas one may often find co-existing (but rarely interacting) programmes under the auspices of several agencies, including the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operation (MoAC), Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment (MoRAE)¹ and the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF).

A microwatershed concept aims to "establish an enabling environment for the integrated use, regulation and treatment of water and land resources on a watershed based ecosystem to accomplish resource conservation and biomass production objectives" (Groom et al., 1998).

In watershed management projects, mechanical or vegetative structures are installed across gullies and rills and along contour lines, and areas

¹ Now renamed the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD)

earmarked for particular land-uses based on their suitability. Erosion-prone, less favourable lands are put under perennial vegetation. This approach aims to optimise moisture retention and reduce soil erosion, thus maximising productivity and minimising land degradation. Improved moisture management increases the productivity of improved seeds and fertiliser. Thus conservation and productivity-enhancing measures become complementary. Excess surface runoff water is harvested further down the watershed. Thus conservation measures in the upper watershed have a positive impact on productivity in the lower watershed. Reducing erosion in the upper reaches of the watershed also helps to reduce sedimentation of irrigation tanks in the lower reaches (Samra, 1997).

Early initiatives in watershed development in India include the Central Soil and Water Conservation Research and Training Institute (CSWCRTI), which developed 42 small watersheds during 1956. Here the emphasis was on surface hydrology, succession of natural vegetation, grazing and burning, etc. People's participation was introduced in 1974 at four locations. This experience was elaborated in 1982-83 in 47 watersheds spread throughout the country. In the 1980s watershed development projects were taken up under different programmes launched by the Government of India. The Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP) adopted the watershed approach in 1987. The success achieved by these led to larger efforts, as 99 watersheds called Integrated Wasteland Development Projects (IWDP). This programme has now been brought under the administrative jurisdiction of the Department of Wastelands Development in the Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment.

Until now, these programmes each had their own separate guidelines, norms, funding patterns and technical components based on their specific aims. For example, the Drought Prone Areas Programme concentrated on non-arable lands and drainage lines for in situ soil and moisture conservation on wastelands under government or community or private control. The Integrated Wasteland Development Projects, on the other hand, made silvipasture, soil and moisture conservation on wasteland under government or community or private control their

predominant activity. The National Watershed Development Programme for Rainfed Areas (NWDPA), launched in 1990 by the Ministry of Agriculture, combined all these features with the additional dimension of improving arable lands through better crop management technologies.

While the focus of these programmes may be different, their basic objective has been land and water resources management for sustainable production. In 1993, the Government of India formed several committees culminating in a technical committee headed by Dr. Ch Hanumantha Rao to review these programmes². It studied the implementation and impact of the DPAP, DDP and IWDP programmes all over the country. The committee gave its report in 1993, drawing attention to the fact that even though watershed development had been advocated for several years as the best approach in drought prone areas, it was not working satisfactorily. The main reasons were:

- All components of the watershed were not addressed at the same time, leading to the neglect of important areas with implications for equity. An example would be neglecting to develop public land which falls within the watershed
- The approach was fragmented, with no single agency taking responsibility for all components
- There was no people's participation

As a result of this review, the budgets for the various different programmes were merged and made available for implementing watershed development following common national Guidelines. These new Guidelines came into effect on April 1st 1995 and now apply to all the Ministry watershed projects.

² Government of India, Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, Department of Wastelands Development, (1993) *Guidelines for Watershed Development*.

2.2 The national guidelines for Watershed Development: A Policy that Works?

The Indian Government's Watershed Development Programme was launched in April 1995. This Programme was considered to contain many of the elements of a policy which, on the face of it, would support sustainable agriculturally-based rural livelihoods, or SARLs (Box 2.2).

Box 2.2 Towards a working definition of sustainable agriculture

In the workshop held by IED in October 1996 to launch the PTW project, some key points were agreed upon as central to the definition of sustainable agriculture and SARLs. An agriculture which:

- incorporates biological processes such as nutrient cycling and pest-predator relationships
- optimises the use of external and non-renewable inputs
- encourages the full participation of producers and consumers in problem solving and innovation
- ensures more equitable access to entitlements
- makes full use of local knowledge
- diversifies the production system
- increases self-reliance
- has strong links to the local rural economy

The implementation of the Watershed Development Programme is framed by a set of Guidelines, and on examination (Box 2.3) these compare favourably to the definition in Box 2.2.

They envisage a 'bottom up' planning approach, working where possible through NGOs and with community participation as a central principle. Whilst outlining the rules and norms of various implementing stages of the watershed development scheme, the Guidelines allow for sufficient operational flexibility at the state, district and project levels to enable them to respond to the differing situations and aspirations of the village communities and user groups.

The following quote from the proceedings of the National Workshop on Watershed Approach also underscores the similarity between the Guidelines and the definition above:

"The overall impression of the implementation of the Guidelines was that there are remarkable initiatives to formalize within government system, involvement of people in the design and implementation of watershed development. Their intention is to achieve increase in resource productivity in ways which are ecologically and institutionally sustainable. More than this, the Guidelines are a means of bringing about a tremendous change in the attitude of government functionaries... A quiet revolution in rural India... Quoting a chairman of watershed association in Andhra Pradesh village 'This programme is different because we are doing it ourselves, we are drawing the cheques and we are ensuring the quality of work...'"

Box 2.3 Basic features of the Watershed Development Programme

The Watershed Development Programme will be implemented in watersheds of approximately 500 hectares each. The objectives of each watershed project cover several areas, including:

- **Decentralisation:** The implementation of the Watershed Development Programme will be done through a tiered arrangement of organisations, building upwards from the village institutions through to district level bodies.
- **Participation:** The guidelines make provisions for much of the watershed planning to be done by village user groups, and for a large proportion of the budget to be allocated to them to implement their own plans.
- **Productivity:** The guidelines promote the optimum use of the watersheds' natural resources. These include: creating water sources in addition to groundwater; promoting sustainable farming and stabilising crop yields by adopting suitable cropping and crop management systems; and covering the non-arable area effectively through afforestation, horticulture and pasture land development based on land capability.
- **Ecological/environmental:** They aim to promote the optimum utilisation of natural resources like land, water, and vegetation, to mitigate the adverse impacts of drought and prevent further ecological degradation.
- **Equity:** There is special emphasis on improving the economic and social condition of poor and disadvantaged sections of the watershed communities. They propose that separate self-help groups need to be organised for women, scheduled castes/tribes, agricultural labourers, and shepherds; that distribution of the benefits of the resource

development is made more equitable, that villages will be given preference if they are suffering from acute shortages of drinking water, and if they have large populations of scheduled castes/tribes, where the wages are significantly lower than the minimum wage, and where there is preponderance of wastelands. Finally villages will only be selected after a resolution from the elected village council that it is willing to share common property resources with the marginalised and weaker sections of society.

- *Using local knowledge:* Simple, easy and affordable technological solutions and institutional arrangements that make use of, and build upon, local technical knowledge and available material are proposed.
- *Diversification:* There is a focus on activities which can generate employment and development.
- *Increasing self reliance:* The village community is expected to be organised into several homogenous self help groups for savings and other income generation activities, and build upon financial resources to be self-sustained. Villages will only be selected after a resolution from the elected village council that it is willing to take over the maintenance and operation of the physical assets. Indicators of success include that around 80% of the completed works or common property resources are taken over for operations and maintenance by the user groups or the community/Panchayat.

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, 1995, Guidelines for Watershed Development, Government of India.

The Watershed Development Programme is emerging as a major pro-people, equitable, sustainable, pro-environment and gender balanced programme. It is estimated that about Rs. 12000 million per annum (\$ 1 = Rs. 43) is likely to be spent on the programme. This is apart from the contributory investments made by the communities (see Box 2.4).

Box 2.4 Instilling self-reliance through maintenance funds

While 20% of the project funds will be released to the implementing agency for overheads as well as for training and community organizing, 80% will be released directly to village watershed committees. The watershed committee can authorise expenditure of up to Rs. 10,000. Higher amounts will require the concurrence of a member of the WDT. For all the development activities, as well as for operational and maintenance activities, participation will be assured through voluntary contribution in terms of labour/raw materials, etc. The minimum prescribed for this is 5% for community works and 10% for private works. Against such contribution from the community, an equal amount will be made available from the watershed budget and deposited in a separate watershed development fund as maintenance funds. Thus considerable funds are available for the future operations and maintenance of community assets, but not private assets. This fund shall be operated only by the users themselves.

2.2.1 Decentralised administration

One of the major provisions in these guidelines is for empowering the district level bodies to take locally relevant decisions on administrative, technical and financial matters. The purpose of decentralised administration is to allow the implementation of the watershed programme to become responsive to participation and contribution of ideas from the bottom-up. The proposed administrative structure, and the main stakeholders involved in the programme are described below (see Table 2.1 for a summary):

- **National government:** The Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, Government of India, decides the basic technical, administrative and financial parameters of the programme. The Ministry achieves this mainly by its command over the financial resources, and its position as the country's apex co-ordinating body.
- **State governments:** co-ordinate various government departments, the agricultural university, voluntary agencies and training institutions.
- **District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs):** are responsible for the implementation of the watershed programme at the district

level.³ A Watershed Development Advisory Committee (DAC) will be constituted in each district with representation from implementing agencies and one or two members from the research and training institutions.

- *Project Implementing Agencies (PIAs)*: The actual implementation of each of the watershed projects is carried out by the PIAs, which can be voluntary agencies and other institutions, corporations, co-operatives, banks, public and private commercial organisations, *Panchayat Raj*⁴ institutions, government departments, etc. Each PLA is expected to handle 10 micro-watersheds.
- *Watershed Development Teams (WDT)*: Each PLA is expected to appoint a multi-disciplinary team, each handling 10-12 watershed development projects. Each WDT will have at least four members from different disciplines such as plant sciences, animal sciences, engineering and social sciences.
- *Members of the village community*: those who directly or indirectly depend upon the watershed are organised into a watershed association (WA). The WA will appoint a watershed committee (WC) which will consist of representatives of User Groups, Self Help Groups, and the Village *Panchayat* (an elected village council).

Previously, important decisions were taken at state and national levels. Through this process of decentralisation, the district level is now authorised to decide on most operational matters.

³ It is expected in the future that watershed programmes will be administered at a district level by the *Zilla Parishads* (Elected District Councils) as envisaged under the *Panchayat Raj* legislation. However, until this legislation comes into operation with adequate power and resources, watershed development programmes will be implemented by the DRDA.

⁴ In 1992, the *Panchayati Raj* (Local Government Structure) was incorporated in the Indian constitution. The new Act provides for a uniform three-tier local government structure at the village level, intermediate and district levels throughout the country. Elections every 5 years are compulsory. The Act empowers the *Panchayat* to levy taxes/duties, fees, etc. Interestingly the central government on one hand seeks to strengthen *Panchayat* institutions through legislation, on the other hand through various important schemes of rural development it seeks to empower grassroots organisations of stakeholders. Watershed development is one such programme.

Table 2.1 Stakeholders in the Watershed Development Programme

Level	Stakeholder	Main functionaries	Functions
National	Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment	Secretary of the Ministry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy • Funding
State	Rural Development Department	Secretary/ of Commissioner Rural Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide matching contribution varying between 20 and 50%
	State Level Review Committee consisting of senior officials and NGO representatives	Chief Secretary of the State Govt., Chairman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supervision • Training • Review and feedback
District	Jilla Panchayat (District Council) or District Rural Development Agency (DRDA)	Chairman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director of DRDA • Selection and allotment of villages • Approval of selection of members of WDT
	District Advisory Committee (DAC) consisting of District officers, experts and representatives of PIAs	Director of DRDA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approval of village plans • Release of funds • Inspection, audit • General supervision/ guidance
Project	Project Implementing Agency (PIA) which may preferably be NGO but also could be a Govt. agency	Leader of PIA and Leader of WDT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection and appointment of WDT • Awareness and motivation of watershed villagers • Promotion of village institutions (user groups, savings groups, Watershed Committee, Watershed Association) • Appointment of secretary of Watershed Committee and volunteers for supporting user groups • Preparation of village watershed plans through user groups and Watershed Committee • Get them approved by DRDA

Village	Watershed Development Association (WA)	Chairman of Watershed Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supervising and guiding in implementation of plans; maintenance of accounts and reporting • Training of village level functionaries
	Watershed Committee (WC) User Groups (UG) Self Help Groups (SHG)	Secretary of Association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare village watershed plan • Approval of plans • Proper use of funds and maintenance of accounts • Reporting progress • Maintenance of assets created

2.2.2 Participation

People's participation is mentioned in India's Plan documents as the right approach for development. Sporadic attempts have been made to generate people's participation through structural changes such as the introduction of *Panchayati Raj* (local government) and through recommendations to 'involve' the 'beneficiaries'. However, this is the first time that official Guidelines for a major programme have given concrete shape to the principle of people's participation by making it mandatory that people must decide how they want to develop their resources, that they should be given adequate funds for implementing the approved programme, and that they should be given adequate support in technical, administrative and financial matters. It is of crucial importance for India's rural development that this thrust of participatory policy is carried out satisfactorily.

The specific provisions within the Guidelines for people's participation in the planning and running of the development process include:

- Enabling user groups in each watershed to prepare their own action plans, with help from the WDT members and Watershed Committee members. The Watershed Committee will integrate the plans prepared by the user groups and prepare an integrated water

- Each village will be entitled over the four-year project period to spend Rs 2 million, of which 80%, i.e. Rs. 1.6 million, will be at the disposal of the village's Watershed Committee to spend on their own action plans.
- One of the criteria for the selection of villages will be where people's participation can be assured, for example, where the village community has been successfully organised into groups for credit, women's and children's development, social forestry etc.
- The success of the project will be measured, amongst other indicators, by the number of project activities/works that are implemented through user groups, the expected norm being 80%.

These steps are unprecedented in the history of rural development in India. Placing such confidence in the rural communities in a country divided by class and castes and other factions and entrusting them with large funds is an act of empowerment. It should be of great interest to all those who believe in a participatory approach to rural development.

2.3 Findings

The above section has summarised the main objectives of the GoI's new Watershed Development Programme, and has argued that, on the face of it, the policies, guidelines and administrative structure proposed have all the ingredients of an approach which should foster *"sustainable agriculture and rural regeneration that increase food production and access to entitlements, conserve natural resources, reduce poverty and stimulate strong rural social enterprises"* (Guijt, 1996).

In this section we examine how these policies are translating themselves into action on the ground.

2.3.1 Decentralised administration

Positive findings

Participatory processes should lead to planning and implementation that is locally relevant, and consequently may differ from national/state averages and norms in terms of priorities, sequencing, quantities and costs, etc. Decision-making at an appropriate level has to be supported by competence, resources and sensitivity – at the village level (watershed association and its committee), at the implementation level (PIA) and at the district level. The Guidelines provide for all this.

Constraints

At a national level, whilst the new Guidelines have led to empowerment of village communities, and strong interest and commitment to the watershed programme at DRDA level, there is a considerable gap between the scale and vision of the Guidelines and the implementation capacity at the project level. Within the various implementing agencies, there is considerable variation in the extent to which they have moved towards participatory principles in their working style. In the majority of the cases the district officers like to retain control over decision-making process rather than moving towards the expected facilitative and supportive role. There are also wide differences in the skills and commitment of PIAs, and some systematic difference between GOs and NGOs in their mode of operations (Shah *et al.*, 1998a).

Thus whilst the Guidelines envisaged creating a decentralised arrangement of administrative bodies, the lack of capacity amongst these bodies has failed to bear this out. Specific constraints include:

- There is no system of guidance to DRDAs on how to tackle emerging issues. DRDAs take their own decisions in isolation, creating inter-district differences in the rules governing the scheme. Those involved in the process in Gujarat also felt that the DRDA are unprepared for the programme: there is insufficient manpower, a shortage of vehicles, no provision for overhead costs for DRDA, a lack of orientation and guidance for DRDA staff on emerging issues; and a lack of expertise in community organisation.

- Even if qualified, the members of the WDT do not have experience of implementing such a large programme. Furthermore, many of the government functionaries in the watershed team are not able to do justice to their duties as they are not able to devote full time to the project. The watershed programme is seen as additional to normal duties.
- In Gujarat many stakeholders commented that an important weakness of PIAs was the problem of attracting and retaining WDT members of the right quality. This is mainly due to the limits of the time frame and *ad hoc* nature of the project organisation. Other problems include the lack of women members and community organisers; inexperience in capacity-building approaches; inadequate support to the WDTs, such as unenthusiastic responses towards WDT members' work; and a shortage of vehicles.
- The lack of training and capacity building for government officials, WDT and village functionaries was also seen as an obstacle in Gujarat, and more generally nationally. There is no strategic approach to training and capacity building, with training seemingly lacking in importance and offering few incentives to staff to participate. The training that does exist has failed to address fundamental issues such as attitudinal and behavioural change.
- There is a rapid turn-over amongst decision-makers in the government system. This leads to many problems, with new staff not sufficiently aware of the programmes; insufficient dissemination to functionaries etc.
- The lack of monitoring was mentioned as a concern by many in Gujarat. At present there are hardly any monitoring systems, except in terms of physical and financial achievements. There is a danger that this will give the wrong signals to the implementing agencies, since they may feel they are only being monitored on physical and financial progress, and therefore only pay attention to these aspects.

- Finally, some PIAs in Gujarat have only formed village institutions for the sake of complying with the Guidelines. This becomes important since the village institutions are expected to take over the operation, management and further development of assets created. With weak institutions this will be difficult (see Box 2.5).

Box 2.5 Which village institutions to involve?

The present Guidelines provide only for representation of the village Panchayat on the Watershed Committee. There are two schools of thought in India advocating different roles for Panchayats in the watershed programme and indeed in rural development activities generally. One school of thought strongly believes that village Panchayat, Block level Samiti and the tier at the district level called District Panchayats are legitimate bodies representing people through regular elections. Stakeholders institutions with access to large funds and self governing systems can create rivalry at the village level which may vitiate the atmosphere and therefore hinder the progress of the watershed programme. It will be difficult for stakeholder organisations like WAA/WC to work smoothly in an atmosphere of hostility from the three tier Panchayat system. The other school holds a strong belief that with the adoption of liberalisation the role of state is changing from a doer to a supporter and facilitator. Similarly the role of Panchayat bodies, being part of government structures, should change from doers of development to supporters and facilitators of development. Development should be planned and managed by the stakeholders. Since there are two bold viewpoints held by two strong schools it would be helpful if a major study is undertaken to consider the implications of assigning different roles and appropriate systems to Panchayat bodies and stakeholder bodies.

2.3.2 Participation

Positive findings

The participation of the village community and groups is central to the watershed programme. The Guidelines detail a process for ensuring participatory planning of local resources. It was very encouraging to find that all the DRDA, PIA and WA members interviewed in Gujarat appreciated the participatory character of the scheme. The programme has facilitated new approaches in participation and most of the WAs said that other government programmes should also be participatory. They were enthusiastic about the bottom-up nature and transparency of

the approach, and considered it to be the most valuable part of the new scheme. PIAs and village groups particularly, had developed a sense of ownership and with their involvement in planning and implementation of the various components, the project ought to be sustainable.

For example, all the WAs are implementing the programme independently, with the support of the Watershed Development Team (WDT), and are taking important decisions about the formulation of plans, approval of the statement of accounts, and the formation of user groups. They are also able to resolve differences or disputes between user groups and self-help groups.

There are cases of success in blending local and professional knowledge in technologies such as selection of appropriate sites, choice of building materials etc. For example in some project villages, sites selected for water harvesting structures by WDT were changed after input from the community. However, in most cases there was little evidence that the WDT had attempted to achieve synergy between local knowledge and external expertise.

Constraints

The guidelines stipulate that within 3-6 months of starting the community organisation process, Self Help Groups (SHGs) should be formed which will continue to function and grow. Nevertheless, it was observed that it generally took a year to build the capacity of the community and in a few cases partners would have preferred more time. Some of the PIAs mentioned that they did not have enough experience in the community organisation process.

Some PIAs apply participatory principles mechanically and prepare almost identical microwatershed plans for several villages. They need to be guided, trained and equipped in participatory methodologies.

Constraints in efficient functioning of decentralised administration and capacity building had a direct impact on fostering and supporting participation.

2.3.3 Self-reliance

Positive findings

As envisaged in the Guidelines, in Gujarat, Users Groups and Self-help Groups are beginning to take over the operation and maintenance of activities. Within two and a half years maintenance funds are accumulating: between Rs. 50,000 to 150,000 per village. This is expected to be around Rs. 75,000 to Rs. 250,000 per village at the end of the project period. The money is deposited in a separate bank account (see Box 2.4).

This is very different from the previous practice of either line departments or local bodies assuming responsibility for maintenance of assets. This required village leaders to run to district offices that were always short of resources and in any case had little interest in looking after far-flung assets. Assets usually deteriorated, not very slowly.

Constraints

Not enough time has been allowed in the Guidelines for the capacity building phase. Some of the PIAs felt that, drawing on the experience of other NGOs, the programme should be for a longer period. The present scheme envisages the project, including its funding and the supportive role of WDT, will come to an end after four years. To what extent in its present form will it be sustained after the project period? Experience shows that there will still be a role for the PIA in some form or another, after the project period ends.

2.3.4 Equity

Positive findings

The field study came across an outstanding success story of joint NGO-PIA organisation of self help groups of poor families which have been given revolving funds for producing art products. The PIA has organised marketing links, both in the local fairs and city outlets. In another instance, SHGs have been providing loans from the deposited funds to their members for agriculture and allied activities.

Constraints

Whilst the Guidelines specify that the benefits of watershed development should reach all groups including the landless, great concern was shown by the participants in the national workshop about the encroachment of public lands that has been going on for decades due to the slackness of enforcing agencies. This encroachment is depriving the poor of the benefit from their development. The degree to which public lands were a focus for development varied from state to state. In Andhra Pradesh only private lands were being developed, whereas in some districts of Madhya Pradesh only public lands are being developed. There is a need for an equal emphasis on the development of all lands within the watershed boundary.

Investment on public lands should also be an important mechanism for extending benefits across a broader section of the community. Whilst the Guidelines do stipulate that individual Watershed Development Plans should specifically outline approaches for Common Property Resources (CPR), the national study team found only isolated cases of carefully thought-out strategies for identifying users of public land and developing mechanisms for benefit sharing (Box 2.6). In Gujarat too, there were many problems of working on CPR. It was observed that they were either encroached upon or that institutional arrangements for the protection of these lands were difficult to set-up.

Access to forest land and increasing its productivity is important for the villagers living close to forests, particularly the poor. However, there is a lack of clarity in the Guidelines about how forest land should be protected and developed when it is part of a microwatershed. The national study team recommended renewed efforts at Government of India and state levels for inclusion of forest land in watershed plans.

In Gujarat there was concern about the role of women in watershed development, and the lack of capacity building exercises, with the exception of a few PIAs. In most of the PIAs and WAs there were very few women's groups formed.

Box 2.6 Participatory productivity enhancement of public lands

The Guidelines clearly emphasize the use of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) exercises by WDT members to gather first hand information about the village community, the watershed area and their problems, leading to the shared diagnosis and understanding of the village community's priorities. During one such PRA exercise in Jhabua, a drought prone district of Madhya Pradesh, lack of fodder emerged as a serious problem. An area of public land was identified and a strategy was developed for regenerating common land to increase the supply of fodder for stall feeding livestock. A total of approximately 4500 ha of public land in 15 micro-watersheds were regenerated in a span of two years, yielding additions of 20,000 quintals⁵ of grass.

To share the benefits from the common land at the time of harvest, three main practices were developed and adopted by the communities:

- Time sharing: A day was allocated for each family in the User Group to cut the fodder they need.
- Place sharing: Portions of land in the regenerated areas were allocated to various families in the User Group, who were entitled to harvest grass from these allotted areas.
- Production sharing: All the members of the User Group cut grass collectively and then under the guidance and supervision of the Watershed Committee/ Watershed Association distribute grass among the families according to their needs.

Source: Samwardhan, 1998

2.3.5 Diversification of livelihoods

Watershed development improves the natural resource base. It can make a strong contribution to improving the livelihood of the poor but it cannot be expected to be the sole source of livelihoods. Watershed rehabilitation cannot be a panacea for rural development. Other measures are needed to be introduced with a long term strategic perspective to strengthen social organisations among the poor prior to

⁵ One quintal = 100kg

watershed rehabilitation and to link them to a wider range of economic and social activities, some of which are unrelated to watershed development (Shah et al., 1998b). However, in Gujarat people reported during the interviews that the programme has helped in reducing out-migration and provided employment in drought-prone areas.

2.3.6 Productivity

Positive findings

With the groundwater recharge and consequent rise in the level of water in farmers' irrigation wells, some farmers have started taking two additional crops, summer and winter, which was not possible earlier. The physical assets constructed for recharging of the groundwater and conservation of rain water have improved the drinking water and irrigation scenario in the rural areas which had been gradually worsening.

Coincidentally, during the period of the PTW research, the DSC itself was evaluated by an independent agency appointed by one of the donors providing funding support to DSC (EDA, 1998). As part of this study the evaluation agency looked into the watershed programme being implemented by PIAs which are supported by DSC. The study looked mainly at the impact on water resource development, rather than at other resources such as improvement in land resources. One finding was that against the investment by three PIAs of Rs. 6 million, the additional income generated on account of extension of irrigation is of the order of Rs. 22.5 million (\$1 = Rs. 43), giving a return of 3.7 times over a three - four year period (Table 2.2). The watershed programme therefore is not only conceptually sound but is largely implemented in a cost effective manner.

Constraints

Productivity enhancement is a low priority with most PIAs except some well organised ones. There are almost no or negligible linkages established with outside agencies (especially line departments like animal husbandry, agriculture etc.) for productivity improvement in agriculture and related sectors.

Table 2.2 Cost per unit output measures for three PIAs

Parameter	Shri Kundla Gram Seva Taluka Gram Seva Mandal (SKTGSM)	Orprat Charitable Trust (OCT)	Lokbharati	Total/ average
Additional area brought under irrigation (ha.)	1778	2500	1446	5724
Number of household supported (hhs.)	2470	800	600	3870
Number of programme villages	33	10	25	68
Additional net income generated (in Rs.)	15,894,200	3,750,000	2,891,200	22,535,400
External investment	4,034,721	1,044,288	959,434	6,038,323
Total cost per additional ha. irrigated (in Rs.)	3,079	472	715	1,343
Total cost per hh. supported (in Rs.)	2,216	1,474	1,722	1,986
Total external investment per household (in Rs.)	1,633	1,305	1,599	1,560
Cost – benefit ratio	3.9	3.6	3.0	3.5

It was felt that there was an over emphasis on employment at the expense of the development of agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry etc. to sustain the activities of the project.

There also seemed to be a greater emphasis on water resource development such as water harvesting, as compared to land development, eg. building soil fertility. The expenditure pattern shows that as much as 70-80% of the total budget is spent on water storage. There is a need for a more balanced approach, as the watershed approach calls for integrated development of both soil and water resources.

Furthermore, questions were asked about the feasibility of the watershed approach and treatment in the flat areas, particularly if they are saline. Various treatments for rainwater harvesting and the retention and development of soil fertility are readily applicable when the lands in the watershed area are undulating. However on flat land located in drought prone areas which are particularly saline, different measures are needed to conserve rain water and improve land fertility.

Recommendations

The two years of the PTW research project have been encouraging and rewarding. The results so far show that the Guidelines are very sound, people-friendly and flexible. There are many advantages in following these Guidelines, which have innate strength in many areas. But there are problems also, mainly recognised as the number of implementation difficulties described above, which need to be addressed.

The recommendations in this section are drawn from the field research in Gujarat, the project's Steering Group meetings, and the various national and state level forums and reviews listed in Box 2.1.

3.1 Decentralised administration

The growing popularity of the watershed programme has attracted organisations and individuals who have no experience in implementing programmes through a participatory process. This results in weak PIAs and the programme suffers as a consequence. Criteria are therefore needed for the future selection of organisations to act as PIAs, to ensure that they have the capacity and experience for this role. These criteria should take into account past experience with participatory development, evidence of acceptance in the village (especially where NGO PIAs are concerned), familiarity with watershed programmes, and access to professional staff.⁶ It is also recommended that procedures be introduced to ensure that PIA staff are full-time, and that processes exist for 'derecognising' PIAs if they turn out to be incompetent and/or indulging in malpractices.

Specific criteria are also needed for the selection of Directors of DRDAs, with a particular emphasis on experience in participatory approaches to rural development.

⁶ As part of the policy-influencing process, Anil Shah adapted criteria developed in Andhra Pradesh, and used these to draw up criteria appropriate for Gujarat State. These were sent to the Rural Development Commissioner.

Also, despite clear guidelines, the profile of selected villages that many PIAs have come up with indicates that on many important counts the selection criteria were ignored, with the result that more deserving villages were left out. Thus there is a serious need for criteria and procedures for selection of PIA's and villages and their deselection, if necessary.

There is a question-mark over how the sustainability of the institutions and activities initiated during the project period can be ensured at the end of the four years currently allowed for project implementation. The Guidelines have little to say on the issue of how the post investment phase is to be managed. Some continuing support and assistance by the PIA (or one or more members of the WDT) may be desirable for a further one or two years. Modifying the Guidelines to merge together the amounts available for administration (10%) and community organisation (5%) may go some way towards funding this, but additional funds may also be necessary. Further research may be needed to decide on the best course of action.

For implementation of the watershed programme government departments can also be appointed as PIAs and in fact in several states government departments are preferred as PIAs. It has been found in several studies that there are number of problems in government departments functioning as implementing agencies.

They cannot employ a full time and exclusive WDT, and hence there were many gaps in doing full justice to the various responsibilities of the PIA in social organising and technical services. As recommended by the national workshop therefore, there is a need for a nationwide study of the problems faced by government agencies working as a PIA and possible solutions.

Flow of funds plays a critical role for success of the programme. While the Guidelines clearly mention the yearly budget allocation of the programme and fund releasing pattern, they do not mention the procedural aspects of the fund flows. Consequently, various systems are developed at district/ state level, with different levels of effectiveness.

The issues and problems arising from this, such as multiple sources of funding, are found in all states of the country. Since these issues affect the programme's implementation adversely, it is desirable that some specific norms and systems be developed which can be followed with flexibility to suit local conditions all over the country.

Finally, in any scheme using public funds it is necessary to ensure that money is spent within the framework of the conditions of the scheme. As the watershed scheme is very flexible in its approach, there is more scope for the misuse of funds, sometimes out of misunderstanding of the conditions and sometimes through malpractice. This has to be checked, and accountability for the use of public money properly adhered to. Inspection and audit by government agencies are therefore required. However in a highly participatory programme where the voluntary sector is invited to work as implementing agency and great responsibility entrusted to village institutions, the approach and function of audit and inspection have to be different. They have to appreciate the in-built flexibility and therefore diversity in planning and implementation. They should bear in mind the lack of experience on the part of NGOs and village institutions about accounting matters. Thus one of the roles of the inspecting agencies will have to be educational so that the capacity of the NGOs and village institutions can be built in developing transparent accounting systems. An advocacy effort will be required to achieve such a change in the role of inspecting authorities.

3.2 Participation

Participation is at the heart of the watershed programme, and the right attitudes and behaviour are at the heart of participation. Along with appropriate decentralised administration, it is very important to arrange for capacity building from national to village level to adequately grasp the why and how of participation.

There is an urgent need for a major programme of capacity building at all levels: for the government, NGO and WDT teams involved in the process. For government staff the focus needs to be on increasing

awareness of participation, equity and gender issues. For NGOs there is a need to raise their technical capacities. Given the difficulties of recruiting social scientists as members of WDTs, investment should be made in strengthening the social and community development skills of technical staff. PIAs will be able to kick-start this process by giving priority to training within a system of incentives based on monetary benefits and opportunities for personal growth. Because of the rapid turn-over of staff, an induction arrangement is needed for DRDA staff for rapid orientation for newly appointed officers.

This programme of capacity-building also has implications for training institutions, which will need to be revamped and resuscitated to equip them with the facilities and capacity to deliver this training requirement. A Committee on Training for Watershed Scheme has recommended setting up a National Standing Committee on Training and Capacity Building. There is also a need for a similar Committee at the state level. This was recommended by Anil Shah at the State Level Workshop on Watershed Development in August 1997.

From the point of view of the villagers, they often only hear about the scheme through oral communication by PIA leaders and WDT members. Such a communication mode widens the scope for misunderstanding, distortions and misuse. It is therefore recommended that pamphlets in simple, local languages be prepared and distributed to the villages selected for the scheme.

3.3 Equity

In every forum there is always a mention of enhancing the role of women in the watershed programme. Several agencies have different experiences of facilitating women to play an effective role in natural resources development. It would be very useful to pool together these experiences to find out what arrangements, conditions and factors, as well as support, are required for achieving the enhancement of women's role in watershed development. There should be at least one woman member in each Watershed Development Team to ensure attention is

given to the involvement of women in the scheme. One recommendation is that watershed projects need to develop better links with existing institutions in the village. There is particularly scope for better links with women's credit and saving groups.

There is a need for clarity about the inclusion and treatment of forest land falling under the watershed area. This would have benefits for the poorest inhabitants of the watershed. The Principal Chief Conservator of the Forest Department, Government of Gujarat has issued instructions for this but action has not yet materialised (see Section 4.1.1).

A better understanding is needed of the options available for the use of public and common lands. Further research would be useful into the extent of encroachment of public lands; the degree of productivity and use of the products available from public lands; the factors that may motivate the community to protect and develop public lands; and the technical and social measures that are appropriate in different locations for developing public lands etc. Two specific recommendations for public lands include:

1. Where commons are no longer available, provision should be made for the lease of private fallow for the landless and for marginal farming families.
2. That all watershed development action plans should contain a clear statement on how benefits accruing from common land are to be shared.

Cross-subsidy should be considered within the watershed projects, by increasing the contributions of the better off. It has been observed, for instance, that for land shaping and irrigation, farmers with more land pay a higher rate of contribution, with small farmers paying a lower rate.

3.4 Productivity

To take advantage of the major investment in land improvement afforded by the watershed development projects, it is essential that

agricultural productivity is greatly increased. PIAs should begin establishing contact with outside agencies (especially Line Departments like Agriculture, and Animal Husbandry) in the second year of project implementation in order to marshal their support for subsequent productivity improvement in agriculture and related sectors. Support is particularly important in irrigation management, horticulture, livestock and marketing.

Governments should consider amending the Guidelines to incorporate more comprehensive watershed-based downstream development that will put to use the enhanced capacity for raising productivity in agriculture and livestock. This is popularly described as the 'watershed plus' approach, which is likely to lead to more sustainable rural livelihoods.

In view of the enormous ecological and social diversity of the watersheds of the dryland areas, there should be a more site-specific approach to investments in land improvement.

Various treatments for rainwater harvesting and the retention and development of soil fertility are readily applicable when the lands in watershed area are undulating. However land which is flat and located in drought-prone areas, cries out for measures that conserve rainwater and improve land fertility, particularly when the land is saline. There is a need for further research into how participatory development of watersheds can be undertaken in flat lands, considering the technical issues in particular.

3.5 Self-reliance

An important objective of the watershed scheme is the promotion of self-reliant community institutions. During the project period they will be assisted to develop capacity for managing administrative, technical and financial matters. Attention to human resources development is important for the success of participatory approaches. The Guidelines have emphasised this and made provision for it. However, experience shows this is not enough.

Social mobilisation and human resource development are slow and intensive processes. The Government of India should avoid the temptation of a quick replication without adequate time for capacity building for people's participation.

For long term sustainability, PIA attention cannot focus solely on women and the weaker sectors: the needs of the mid/higher income groups must also receive some attention if they are not to undermine pro-poor initiatives. The WDTs and village leaders have to learn how to make participatory management all inclusive, as far as possible.

Self Help Groups (SHGs) should be promoted as institutions of long term sustainability, with particular attention to the scope offered by properly managed savings and credit groups. Ideally, SHGs should be seen as the foundation of community action and the building blocks of Watershed Committees.

For the sake of institutional sustainability, Watershed Committees should not only manage the funds for watershed maintenance, but should also undertake productivity enhancement through input supply, marketing and linkages with external expert agencies.

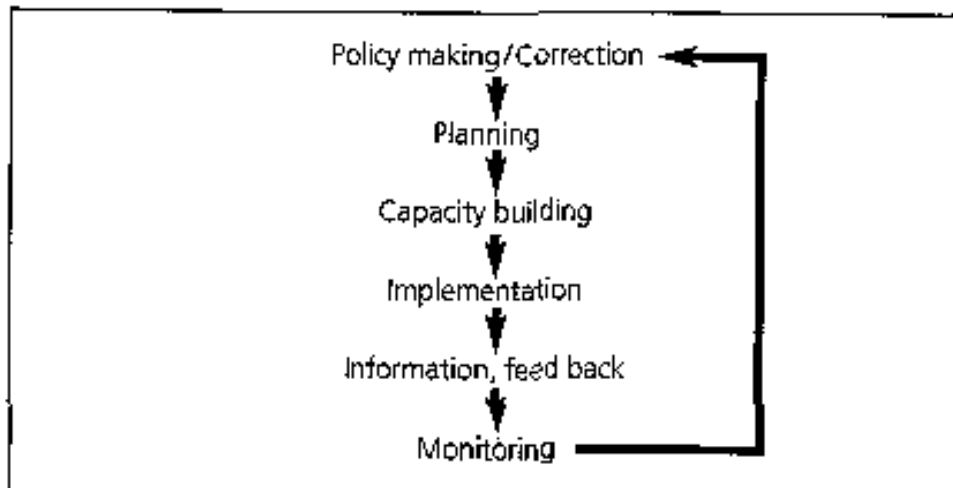
3.6 Creating a programme that learns

"Our planning is right, the problem is with implementation"
(Shah et al., 1998a).

This research has shown clearly that however desirable the purpose of a project, however much care has been taken in its formulation, it is bound to carry within it germs of inadequacies and gaps that surface as the programme is implemented. Rather than assume that the project design is near to perfection, it is far more realistic to assume that no project design can be without some faults: there are always going to be hidden problems, gaps, shortcomings and inadequacies that are bound to reveal themselves as the programme implementation proceeds. What is needed therefore, is a system of monitoring and review which picks up

on these problems and allows the programme or policy to be adapted accordingly (see Figure 3.1). *This is one of the most critical lessons emerging from this study.*

Figure 3.1



For example, challenging the widespread belief reflected in the quote which starts this section, the Design Team firmly believed that rural development programmes are severely limited in their design by the lack of adequate “knowledge input” of the right kind (see Box 3.1).

Box 3.1 Knowledge - a vital resource

All successful experiences in rural development make some provision for accumulating and assessing knowledge as they proceed. Two-thirds of the successful experiences reported in *Reasons for Hope* (Uphoff et al., 1998) either had an initial connection to a knowledge-generating institution or established such a linkage once they got more deeply enmeshed in processes of socio-economic change.

Doing analysis and acquiring, utilising, disseminating knowledge are important aspects of development work. There needs to be someone involved in successful programmes, if not their executives, who will engage in formulating, assessing, communicating, and revising the essential ideas that undergird a new initiative. Although successful programmes may emphasise practice and empiricism, the ones we studied show respect for the role of knowledge in preparing and implementing programmes for substantive change.

Source: Uphoff et al., 1998.

Experience has shown that as soon as the excitement of the launch of a new programme and the attention that it gets fades away, the programme slips into an equilibrium state to which the system is constantly referring. This is done through the instruments used for review and monitoring, which in turn determine financial flows and performance assessment. While an appropriate programme design is a necessary condition, it alone is not sufficient to keep the programme on track.

The Watershed Development Programme is a good example of such an equilibrium process in operation. In terms of project design, there is no other rural development programme in recent history in India that has gone through such a detailed design process. In fact in terms of results as well, the programme was able to show significant progress in the three years since its launch in 1995. However, as the programme got scaled up, there is a perception in many quarters that it has begun to slip towards the kind of equilibrium characteristic of a system dominated by physical and financial monitoring systems. Staff at different levels get pulled up only for not having spent the allocations and not for a failure to achieve some of the other desired outcomes.

The Design Team is therefore of the opinion that we can change the 'system equilibrium level' if we replace the present MoRAE monitoring system (after successful pilots) with one that keeps pace with outputs, outcomes and impacts. The Design Team (Shah *et al.*, 1998a) concluded that there were a number of ways in which MoRAE could improve the monitoring and on-going improvement of the Watershed Development Programme. Other workshops also made valuable recommendations. These recommendations have much relevance for the process of making and implementing appropriate policies:

- The Design Team recommended replacing the present monitoring system (after running successful pilots) with one that keeps pace with outputs, outcomes and impacts. The new system would also generate and sustain demand for 'quality performance' where the attainment of physical and financial targets alone will not be seen as adequate performance.

- To help achieve the above point, there is a need to set up a mechanism whereby a continuous loop is created running from policy-making, to learning, to implementation, which then feeds back to policy corrections (see Figure 3.1). In addition to routine monitoring, this could also be achieved by setting-up a think tank at the central and state level. This would identify important issues that required special but quick studies to provide feedback to policy-makers that would help them to decide if course-correction is required.
- There is also a need to strengthen the Ministry's capacity at different levels to monitor its programme for a range of outputs, outcomes and impacts, and to digest, synthesise and integrate the resulting applied knowledge in the design of on-going programmes and evolving new ones.
- Indicators are needed to help assess progress from the angle of quality and process, rather than simply physical and financial progress against targets. This should specify what needs to be monitored, by what criteria and for whom. Caution needs to be exercised so that the performance indicators selected are not too sophisticated. The emphasis should be on a few, accurate indicators requiring low levels of skill, time and other resources to measure.
- Training and financial provisions would need to be made for this new system.
- There is also a need for adequate baseline data (biophysical, socio-economic, etc.) to be collected prior to the implementation of a watershed project in order to permit accurate assessment of change.

At the time of drafting of this report, it is understood that there are groups formed consisting of representatives of DFID and the Ministry to consider the recommendations of the Design Team report and to work out modalities for their implementation.

Influencing policy to support sustainable development

The information provided up to this point about the work of the study teams, workshops and meetings, presents a range of official initiatives and activities for improving the policy of watershed development and removing the bottlenecks and 'distortions' that hamper its progress. However there are three more steps required before these recommendations can create an impact on implementation.

1. First, the implementing agencies usually do not act on recommendations unless they are converted into written instructions. Only then do they feel comfortable to take action.
2. Second, the written instructions issued by central government and state governments have to reach implementing agencies. Though it may appear a simple matter of transmission of papers, in reality there are many gaps which obstruct the spread of knowledge about modified amendments and instructions. This is particularly true when implementing agencies are NGOs.
3. Third, even when fresh instructions have reached implementing agencies they may not be implemented right away for several reasons:
 - they are not understood
 - their significance is not fully realised
 - they are found to be difficult to implement
 - the new instructions may require additional effort by implementing agencies which may consider themselves already overloaded
 - the revised instructions may undermine entrenched vested interests

For these reasons, it is important to understand the context of policy-making in India, and thus to understand how policies may best be influenced and changed.

4.1 The Indian policy-making environment

The vast size of India and the federal character of India's constitution present some particular problems to the policy-making process by central government. There are a number of other elements which are specific to the Indian policy-making context:

- The uncertainty about continuity of leadership, which can be a major hindrance. Sudden changes in political leadership often take place due to the vulnerability of minority governments. Since the Government of India approved the watershed scheme in October 1994, there have been four changes in the political party in power.
- Transferability of government officers at all levels of the administrative system is also a serious problem. Even though the rule is postings in a position for three years, there is no certainty, as transfers can take place even after three months. Again, since the watershed scheme was launched there have been four changes in the crucial position of Secretaries in charge of the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment. The watershed scheme was formulated and launched under a secretary who had a vision and administrative skills to get such a revolutionary scheme accepted by other Ministries and political leadership. During the first four years of the launching of the scheme the Ministry was headed by four secretaries, two of them quite unsuitable.
- In a federal structure, the financial strength of central government is extremely important and effective in developing national policies. When backed by liberal funding support (usually 50 to 80%, the remaining to be matched by state governments and sometimes small part by the beneficiaries), the central government acquires legitimacy

for developing and to some extent enforcing policies, which under the Indian constitution are in the states' domain.

- In the Indian situation, senior bureaucrats reach policy-making level in the central government after decades of service in district and state administration and sometimes at an intermediate level in the central government. There is considerable screening in the selection of bureaucrats for the senior positions in the Central Government. Therefore their calibre is usually high. However the problem is that most of them, even if otherwise suitable, are somewhat out of touch with the ground realities which they have left many years before. They have to therefore rely upon other sources of information and knowledge. The most important of these are:

1. Reports of committees/task forces etc. Reports of such committees usually provide useful information about prevailing status and guidance on future courses of action. For the purpose of this case study the report of the Hanumanth Rao Committee (1993) (see Section 2.1.1) was a decisive factor in the formulation of policy for the new watershed programme.
2. Conferences of state representatives which usually have a comprehensive agenda for appraising the progress and problems of various schemes. The information in the agenda papers and deliberations in the annual conferences of states' Secretaries and sometimes Ministers of Rural Development provide useful knowledge to the senior officers in the central government for formulation and corrections of policies.
3. Policy lobbying by interest groups such as NGOs, and by academics that have intensive first hand experience and studies of important issues. Their effectiveness depends upon their capacity, access and qualities/strength of their presentations.

Despite these varied sources of information and knowledge, the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment in the Government of India

does not have an adequate system for assimilating such information. Systematic processing of information generated by regular information flows and from special studies is required for developing a sound knowledge base that would help in policy-making and policy changes that reflect the political reality and ground practicality. The Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment is substantially dependent upon the feedback from state governments. Therefore for better policy-making at state and national level, it is essential that state governments themselves have better monitoring systems; and secondly, that the central government also has its own instruments for information feedback and for developing a sound knowledge base.

4.1.1 Developing policy alternatives

Before any attempt is made to try to influence policy, the following points need to be considered:

- Perception and knowledge is needed about what needs to be done. This has to be based on information and knowledge of the ground realities
- Judgement is needed about what would be acceptable to political level decision-makers and state governments. Since the rural population commands a large majority of the electorate, rural development is high on the agenda of all political parties at the national and state level
- A realistic assessment is needed of the practicality of operationalising the policy/scheme through field administration

Appendix 5 contains detailed guidelines for the steps needed in influencing the policy process.

In terms of the PTW case study, it was felt by the Steering Committee that the recommendations emerging from the study should be presented to the state administration and at a national level. The purpose would be to influence policy makers to make appropriate changes in the

Guidelines. The range of national and state level forums occurring at this time (see Section 1.2.3 and Box 2.1) were seen as ideal opportunities for these recommendations to be brought to the attention of key policy makers.

Some of the outcomes of these forums were as follows:

- A recognition by the Secretary at the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment (MoRAE) that *"...despite all these successes and despite the potential of this programme, there are also problems. The programme today, even at the Government of India level, is fragmented. Whatever allocations are made for this programme are not fully utilised because of a lack of capacity, inadequate training and because of a lack of proper attention to this programme. And there may also be uncertainty about the release of funds. Most important perhaps, people's participation is not very well understood... how to promote people's participation, what are the constraints because of which people are not able to realise their own potential, how can these small successes here and there be replicated, and how can we bring more area under watershed development successfully."*
- A recognition at the National Workshop on Watersheds (see Box 2.1) that despite having *"strong confidence in the Guidelines, particularly in their provisions for participatory, equitable, gender-sensitive and decentralised approaches to watershed development, [there are a] number of implementation difficulties...."* A number of recommendations were made to address these, including setting up a National Standing Committee on watershed development that would meet regularly to review progress and consider problems that arise in implementation that require action at the policy level. This has still not been done. There is already a Standing Committee on watershed development established at state level in Gujarat, chaired by the Chief Secretary of State and comprising important government officers as well as representatives of NGOs. Similar Standing Committees are also needed in the other states.

- The Design Group on British assistance to the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment has made an innovative recommendation for setting up a special instrument (National Rural Development Support Unit) for monitoring the implementation of the programme and taking corrective action to remove bottlenecks. There is a need for a similar instrument at state level. For the present a modest proposal is made to the Secretary of Rural Development, Government of Gujarat to appoint a Monitoring Group for watershed development, which has been accepted. Considerable effort will have to be put in to ensure its effective functioning.
- The Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment issued a statement in March 1998, in consultation with the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF), that *"Nature does not recognise the artificial legal boundaries of forest and non-forest lands and watersheds."* It was therefore clarified that forest lands, which form part of project watersheds, are to be treated simultaneously in the project. However, this has yet to be operationalised. Further advocacy will be needed to keep this process moving.
- Meanwhile, efforts were made at the state level in Gujarat to get forest lands included in watershed planning. Anil Shah worked closely with the Forest Department of Gujarat to develop instructions to not only permit inclusion of forest lands in the watershed planning process, but also about how the officers of the Forest Department could cooperate in planning and implementing the watershed scheme when part of it is on forest land. These instructions of the Gujarat Forest Department were considered as a model by MoRAE, and have been circulated to all the state governments. They will need intensive follow up to secure implementation.
- An advisory committee was set up by the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment and DFID to prepare a manual. There has been a need felt all along for some guidance to the field staff on how to operationalize various provisions in the Guidelines for implementing the watershed programme. The Ministry of Rural Affairs and

Employment with the support of DFID entrusted this task to the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD). NIRD constituted an Advisory Committee for selection of subjects, topics and the main points to be covered under each topic. Anil Shah was invited to be a member of the Advisory Committee. The title "Manual" may carry the impression that its provisions are mandatory and therefore it may impart rigidity in the operationalizing the Guidelines. Therefore it was agreed that the title "Field Handbook" would be used instead of Manual.

As a follow up to the recommendations of the committee on training in watershed, a national committee on training has been appointed by the Government of India. Anil Shah is a member of this committee.

Conclusions

The PTW research project came to an end in March 1999. However, this is not the end of the policy influencing process, as there will continually be a need to advocate for the many changes in policy and its implementation identified above. The agenda for the future calls for a two-pronged action consisting of (1) continued advocacy; and (2) further research into approaches to overcome some of the unresolved issues. DSC, led by Anil Shah, and with the involvement of like-minded institutions, will be advocating policy changes to make the watershed programme more people centred.

At the state level, a few of the research recommendations have already been accepted and action taken by policy makers. These can be considered success stories. Of course it would be wrong to attribute these successes to this research project. Other like-minded individuals and institutions also contributed to these achievements. Some of the successes are:

- a) Gujarat State High Level Working Group on Watersheds
- b) Gujarat State Standing Committee on Watersheds
- c) Gujarat State Training Committee on Watersheds
- d) Gujarat State Committee on Monitoring and Evaluation of Watersheds

All the committees have as members senior government officers, representatives of NGOs involved in watershed development, and academics interested in watershed studies. Anil Shah is a member of all these committees.

Clay and Schaffer (1984) as well as Ascher and Healy (1990) make the point that *“policy-making is not a coherent rational process of identifying a central problem, finding options, setting criteria and*

selecting the best option. In fact it is a sequence of many actions by many actors, each with potentially different interests, information, roles and perspectives... there is no one discreet moment at which a policy is made; and there is no one key person who takes policy decisions".

All this is equally true about a good policy to remove the 'distortions' that are found in its implementation. It is not enough to work out a cogent case, however well founded on facts, to secure changes in policy. A resolution is required over a long period, sometimes stretched over a decade to secure even partially the gains of advocacy. Those who set out to influence policy and policy changes should therefore be prepared for hard work; in the field to collect reliable information, for desk work to prepare a strong presentation and plenty of footwork and follow up by written and personal communication to ensure that the presentations reach the right authorities and more important they give it the required attention and due consideration. Only then will the cycle of three steps mentioned earlier start. Though difficult, almost torturous, the effort appears worthwhile when some results are obtained as described above.

Fortunately for this research project the Indian public system is still amenable and responsive to such initiatives. It is democratic and has a tradition of rational decision-making processes. *The Economist*, in a review of the World Bank publication "*Assessing Aid: What works, What Doesn't, and Why*"⁷ certifies that India has "reasonably good policies and its capacity to absorb aid and use it well enormous". Therefore continuing effort to influence policy changes for an epoch-making programme like the Watershed Development Programme is worth all the hard work and occasional inevitable setbacks and frustrations.

⁷ November 14-20, 1998

Appendix 1

Issues identified by the Steering Committee

The significant observations made by the various members, officials as well as PIA leaders, in the different steering committees are as follows:

First Steering Committee meeting

The Steering Committee recommended that the research findings may be presented at the state and national levels which may have more impact than only sending recommendations on paper or presented personally by/through individuals. The members showed readiness to attend such a presentation.

Second Steering Committee meeting

The SC was informed that the interviews conducted by the Research team of DRDA, PIAs and villagers in 2 districts helped in identifying number of critical issues.

- The state Government had agreed to organise in collaboration with DSC, a state level workshop on watershed development on 23-24th July 1997. About a third of the issues identified for consideration in the workshop have been contributed by the field studies conducted for PTW.
- It was very encouraging to find from the field studies that all stakeholders are aware of the participatory character of the scheme and they considered it its most valuable part.
- The SC decided that the scheme is likely to throw up new issues as it progresses and therefore would be advisable to make more rounds of interviews with the same DRDAs, PIAs and village groups.
- Anil Shah raised the issue "What after 4 years of the project period?" There is need for study of the post implementation/investment phase

of the project. The study of sustainability should consider institutional, technical and financial aspects.

Third Steering Committee meeting

- The third meeting recommended that village communities should be supplied literature in simple language about the watershed scheme. The SC was informed that DSC had produced a small pamphlet in local language giving basic information about watershed development project. This was being freely distributed in project villages. However the field studies showed that the decisions of the state government on various recommendations made in the State Level Workshop on Watershed Development had not reached the PIAs. The Steering Committee recommended that DSC should study the communication and dissemination system pertaining to watershed programme.
- About the recommendation on the need for co-ordinating the contribution of the line departments such as agriculture, horticulture, forestry, animal husbandry etc., for improving the productivity of the watershed resources, the Steering Committee recommended that this may be studied along with the research on "What after 4 years".
- The Steering Committee considered the findings of field studies and suggested more intensive study on the following issues:
 - a) There was a strongly felt need for more reliable criteria for selection of PIAs. Adapting criteria developed by a state like Andhra Pradesh, Anil Shah had drawn up criteria appropriate for Gujarat State and sent them to Rural Development Commissioner. Need was also felt for derecognition of PIAs when found thoroughly incompetent and indulging in malpractices. It was necessary to work out a procedure for this purpose.
 - b) As in the case of PIAs, criteria were also developed for the selection of villages and sent to the Rural Development Commissioner.

- c) The need for better monitoring was an important issue presented during field study. Monitoring of quality and process aspects acquire particular significance because on the one hand this was very much emphasised in the Guidelines and on the other what is monitored by government at the state and national level is only physical and financial progress in relation to the targets.
- d) It was found that the rainwater harvesting structures which are only 2 out of 11 treatments listed in the Guidelines are taking away as much as 70% and more of the watershed budget. This needs to be studied and some guidance given about minimum attention and expenditure on other items such as on private lands, public lands, agriculture, animal husbandry etc. The pattern of expenditure by PIAs in watershed villages needs to be looked into.

Appendix 2

Stakeholders' observations recorded during field study

District Rural Development Agency (DRDA)

Districts

- Amreli.
- Banaskantha.
- Bhavnagar.
- Jamnagar.
- Kutch.
- Rajkot.
- Vadodara.

Project Implementing Agency (PIA)

- Anarde Foundation; Distt: Jamnagar, Tharad; Distt: Banaskantha.
(2 WA's: 1 twice of Jamnagar distt.)
- Ambuja Cement Foundation; Khodinar, Distt: Amreli. (2 WA's: twice)
- Shri Akharpurshottam Charitable Trust; Gadhada. Distt: Bhavnagar.
(2 WA's)
- BAIF; Khumban Distt: Bhavnagar; Kukavav, Distt: Amreli; Atcot Distt: Rajkot. (6 WA: 2 WA's each)
- Development Support Centre; Dhari, Distt: Amreli. (3 WA's)
- Gram Vikas Trust; Dwarka, Distt: Jamnagar. (1 WA's: twice)
- Gujarat State Rural Development Corporation: Vadodara.
- Gujarat Land Development Corporation; Liliya: Distt: Amreli.
- Self Employed Women's Organisation; Radhanpur, Distt: Banaskantha.
(2 WA's)
- Shroff Foundation (SF); Vadodara
- Submersible Pump Users Group of Farmers (SPUGF); Distt: Palanpur.
(2 WA's)
- Vruksh Prem Trust (VPT); Upaleta, Distt: Rajkot.

I. Decentralized administration

Positive

1. Selection of secretary, volunteers and functionaries for the Watershed Committee (WC) / Watershed Association (WA). *(All WA's)*
2. WA and WC handling large funds and maintaining accounts them at village level. *(4 of 12 PIA and all WA's repeatedly)*
3. Importance of well organised PIA. *(7 of 12 PIA repeatedly)*
4. Responsibilities of agencies. *(4 of 7 DRDA repeatedly)*

Problems/issues

6. Selection and derecognition of PIAs and villages. *(All DRDA, 2 of 12 PIA and 8 of 20 WA repeatedly)*
7. Weak PIA's. *(3 of 7 DRDA and 7 of 12 PIA repeatedly)*
8. Inadequate amount of Overhead cost for PIA. *(8 of 12 PIA's repeatedly)*
9. District Rural Development Agency's (DRDA) are unprepared for the programme. *(3 of 6 DRDA repeatedly)*
10. Timely release of funds for PIA. *(6 of 12 PIA)*
11. Need for comprehensive monitoring systems. *(1 of 7 DRDA and 4 of 12 PIA)*
12. Need for clear administration and management responsibility. *(1 of 7 DRDA and 2 of 12 PIA)*
13. Absence of written agreement between DRDA – PIA, PIA /DRDA – WA, except in few districts. *(1 of 7 DRDA and 5 of 12 PIA)*
14. Lack of capacity building exercises for government officials, WDT and other functionaries. *(1 of 7 DRDA and 5 of 12 PIA)*
15. Unaware of financial expenditure in different line items. *(8 of 20 WA)*
16. Difficulties in identifying and engage of consultants. *(2 of 7 DRDA)*
17. Difficulties of getting Watershed Association registered under societies registration act with Charity Commissioner. *(2 of 12 PIA)*
18. Lengthy auditing by DRDA. *(2 of 12 PIA)*
19. Irregular Advisory Committee meetings and discussion only of physical and financial aspects. *(2 of 12 PIA repeatedly)*
20. DRDA is overloaded with work and work culture of DRDA for community organisation process is different. *(1 of 7 DRDA repeatedly)*

21. Less expenditure on training and "Community Organisation". (1 of 6 DRDA and 4 of 20 WA)
22. Inadequate level of supervision by WDT. (1 of 7 DRDA)
23. Apprehension regarding transfer of money to WA and WC directly. (1 of 7 DRDA)
24. Clarity of permissible and non permissible items for PIA under overhead cost. (1 of 7 DRDA)
25. Need for commonality in norms of different district for DRDA, PIA and WA. (1 of 7 DRDA)
26. Pressure over DRDA from state government to utilise money. (1 of 7 DRDA).
27. Funding from Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) is complicated. (1 of 7 DRDA)
28. At least minimum of 4 yrs of watershed project for Project Implementing Agency (PIA) to assess their capacity. (1 of 7 DRDA)
29. Technical competence of Watershed Development Team (WDT). (1 of 7 DRDA)

II. Participation

Positive

30. Favourable peoples participation, bottom - up - approach, implementation by beneficiaries, development of sense of ownership and transparency in the programme. (All DRDA, PIA and WA's repeatedly)
31. Contributions are both in voluntary labour and cash. (All PIA and WA repeatedly)
32. Communication of the programme to villages by PIAs. (All WA)
33. Favours linkage in the scheme: Government - Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) - Village. (All WA repeatedly)
34. WA are implementing programme independently. (2 of 12 PIA and all WA)
35. All important decisions taken at village level. (4 of 12 PIA and all WA)
36. Prior relationship of few established NGO's with the community have made programme success. (2 of 7 DRDA and 6 of 12 PIA)
37. Cooperation between village Panchayats and village institutions in most of villages except few. (4 PIA of 12 and 12 of 20 WA)

38. Would like to work more in future. (5 of 12 PIA and 10 of 20 WA)
39. Examples of cases of contribution: as much as 50 % for private and up to 20% for the public structure. (4 of 12 PIA and 6 of 20 WA)
40. Examples of successful blending of local and professional knowledge in technology. (5 of 12 PIA)
41. Taken additional watershed development project apart from the existing ones. (2 of 12 PIA and 6 of 20 WA)
42. For future selection of villages, prefer cluster approach. (4 of 12 PIA)
43. Need for involvement of elected elements at district level. (1 of 7 DRDA and 2 PIA out of 12)
44. Held cascading workshops at district level for WDT, WA and other functionaries. (2 of 7 DRDA)

Problems/issues

6. Lack of DRDA and few PIA's orientation towards community organisation process. (1 of 7 DRDA and 2 of 12 PIA's repeatedly)
7. More time required for building capacity initially. (4 PIA out of 12 and 8 of 20 WA repeatedly)
8. Role of few elected members became negative. (1 of 7 DRDA and 2 of 12 PIA's)
9. Peoples ignorance and not obeying decisions taken collectively lead to damages to structures. (3 of 12 PIA's)
10. Except for few PIA, no planning at the villages. (1 of 7 DRDA)

III. Sustainability

Positive

11. The UG, SHG shall take over the maintenance and operation of the activities /works. (1 of 7 DRDA, 7 of 12 PIA and 16 of 20 WA)
12. Availability of the maintenance funds at in each Watershed Development Projects (WDP). (1 of 7 DRDA, 5 of 12 PIA and 16 of 20 WA)
13. Other Government programmes should also be participatory. (All WA)
14. Plans to work in future in Natural Resource Management (NRM) after the project. (2 of 12 PIA)

15. PIA involved in development works earlier have formed strong institutions which shall be sustainable. *(1 of 7 DRDA)*
16. Need for brain storming at state level on 'What after the project'. *(1 of 7 DRDA)*

Problem/issues

17. Programme should be of longer duration than four years and at least 8-10 yrs for sustainability. *(3 of 7 DRDA and 5 of 12 PIA repeatedly)*
18. Sustainability of the user group or SHG etc. was doubtful in the absence of eligibility of the successors or the transferee of the land. *(1 of 7 DRDA and 1 of 12 PIA repeatedly)*
19. Damage to structures – there should be provision for damages. *(3 of 12 PIA)*
20. Technical soundness of the structures built by PIA. *(1 of 7 DRDA)*
21. Support from Government departments, programmes and PIA after the project. *(1 of 12 PIA)*
22. No plans to work in future. *(1 of 12 PIA)*

IV. Equity

Positive

23. Training programmes and exposure visits for Self Help Groups (SHG) and other functionary etc. have gained confidence in the community. *(4 of 12 PIA and 8 of 20 WA)*
24. Linkages of the WA, SHG etc. with the Government Programme *(4 of 12 PIA)*
25. Few good leaders have been prepared for the WA/ User's group. *(1 of 7 DRDA)*
26. Success story of SHGs. *(2 of 12 PIA)*
27. Ex. of removing encroachment in common lands in few PIAs by WA. *(1 of 12 PIA)*

Problem/issues

28. Moderate work on common lands due to encroachment. *(1 of 7 DRDA and 5 of 12 PIA, 12 of 20 WA repeatedly)*
29. There was a concern about the role of women in watershed and capacity building exercises, except in a few PIAs. *(2 of 12 PIA and 14 of 20 WA)*

30. Institutions by a few PIAs are formed only for the sake of the programme. *(2 out of 7 DRDA and 1 out of 12 PIA)*
31. Groups should be formed only after gauging people's response to works or activity. *(1 out of 7 DRDA and 1 out of 12 PIA)*
32. Limit of Rs. 5,000/- SHG for revolving funds. *(2 of 12 PIA)*
33. Not enough linkage of the SHG's have been established with the Govt. programmes and institutions etc. *(1 of 7 DRDA)*

V. Productivity

Positive

34. Farmers have started taking two crops – summer and winter. *(1 of 7 DRDA, 2 of 12 PIA and 5 of 20 WA)*
35. Solved drinking water apart from the irrigation. *(5 of 12 PIA and 10 of 20 WA repeatedly)*
36. Helped in reducing migration and provide employment in the drought prone areas. *(1 of 7 DRDA, 1 of 12 PIA's)*
37. Defined low cost small structures for the programmes. *(1 of 7 DRDA)*
38. Changes in cropping pattern. *(1 of 12 PIA)*

Problem/issues

39. Lack of balanced approach and equal emphasis on land and water. *(1 of 7 DRDA, PIA and all WA)*
40. Feasibility of watershed approach and treatment in flat lands in particular saline areas. *(1 of 7 DRDA and 2 of 12 PIA)*
41. Unaware of inclusion of forest land in watershed programme. *(1 of 12 PIA)*
42. Non-cooperation of some line departments in few cases. *(1 of 12 PIA)*
43. Lack of planning for raising productivity of agriculture or animals. *(1 of 12 PIA)*
44. Even with incorporation of local knowledge, technical expertise should play a major role. *(1 of 12 PIA)*

Appendix 3

Recommendations of various policy forums

1. State Level Workshop on Watershed, 22-23rd July 1997

The issues collected from the field studies, those deliberated in the Steering Committee, the issues identified by DSC through its own activities and those which were suggested by the state administration were all discussed in the state level workshop in July 1997 that was organized jointly by the State Institute of Rural Development and DSC. It was a very well attended workshop, participants included representatives of central government, state government, District Rural Development Agencies and PIAs. The participants considered in groups and in plenary sessions the issues presented in the agenda and made 64 recommendations. They were considered by the state government and instructions were issued on most of them.

- a) Selection of villages for watershed: A scoring system of assigned value of different criteria may be evolved for selection of villages as per Guidelines. The state government prepared criteria and DSC developed a scoring system which were circulated to all DRDAs. It does not seem to be operationalized.
- b) Selection of PIAs: A scoring system of assigned value of different criteria may be evolved for the selection of PIAs which would be capable of implementing watershed development in a participatory manner. State Government and DSC have prepared criteria and circulated to DRDAs. It does not seem to be operationalized.
- c) Considering that monitoring is so far focused on physical and financial progress against targets, the workshop recommended that indicators may be evolved that would help in assessing progress from the angle of quality and process.

- d) **Contribution:** There should be no compromise on contribution. Watershed Development Associations should try to get more contribution from those likely to benefit more. State Government instructed DRDAs to implement these recommendations.
- e) The self help groups of the poor should be involved in development of public lands, fisheries etc. to share the benefit. There should be convergence of schemes of rural development in the watershed area that would raise the living standards of the resourceless. Landless families having milk animals may be provided access to suitable block of public land to create a fodder plot and may be also encouraged to raise fruit trees on public lands.
- f) There should be at least one woman member in the watershed development team.
- g) Villagers must agree to remove the encroachment on common lands before a project is committed. Whatever part of a watershed is under forest land should be treated under Joint Forest Management scheme through user groups.
- h) The Principal Chief Conservator of Forest Department, Government of Gujarat has issued instructions in March 1998 for inclusion and treatment of forest land which falls within the selected watershed area. These instructions, which are excellent, have yet to be operationalised.

II. Brain storming session on watershed development

In November '97 the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment organized a one-day brain storming session on watershed development. Several experts, state representatives and NGOs involved in watershed programme presented their experiences and views. Anil Shah was invited to participate in the session.

- i) Project priority should be demand driven and should have enough flexibility.

- j) It was brought out that the government functionaries in the watershed team are not able to give justice to their duties as they are not able to devote full time to the project. The watershed programme is treated as additional to normal duties.
- k) The Secretary, MoRAE observed: "The programme requires not only technological coordination and administration coordination but also a very high level of people's participation which is the key factor for successful implementation of the watershed development programme. The indicators for public participation are:
- Knowledge for running of the programme
 - Empowerment in terms of confidence
 - Sustainability and maintenance of the project after its completion."
- l) He also linked participation to its outcome – learning, empowerment and building up vibrant organisations. He emphasised the importance to identify who is to participate, when to participate and what will be outcome and indicators of participation.
- m) Key to success of watershed development is when the programmes are owned by the beneficiaries and supported by the agency i.e. participation of project agencies to implement the people's programme.
- n) The programme requires not only technological coordination and administrative coordination but also a very high level of people's participation which is the key factor for successful implantation of the watershed development programmes. The size of the group and cohesiveness within the group is of utmost importance for peoples participation.
- o) Need to include forest lands for development purpose when it is part of watershed was discussed at length. Anil Shah stressed that there was an urgent need for issue of a joint order by Ministry of Forest and Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment for treatment of watersheds on both forest and non-forest lands.

- p) The Secretary, MoRAE mentioned that the weakest link in the programme is poor monitoring and poor follow up. The state governments give very little attention towards monitoring and evaluation. This creates a gap between policy-makers at one hand and implementers on the other.
- q) Need for seriousness about monitoring: A management tool of knowing what you have done and what failures are to be collected.
- r) Importance of attitude in monitoring and evaluation is important. Monitoring is not policing but to improve the things.
- s) The institutional arrangement for the post project sustainability is not the easy job, this requires creation of viable organization for maintenance of the assets created.

III. Advisory committee on preparation of manual

Nov '98 onwards for watershed development Guidelines (appointed by National Institute of Rural Development with the support of DFID). Need has been felt all along for some guidance to the field staff how to operationalize various provisions in the Guidelines for implementing the watershed programme. Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment with the support of DFID entrusted this task to National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD). NIRD constituted an Advisory Committee for selection of subjects, topics and the main points to be covered under each topic. Anil Shah was invited to be a member of the Advisory Committee.

- a) The title "Manual" may carry impression that its provisions are mandatory and therefore it may impart rigidity in the operationalizing the Guidelines. As suggested by the Anil Shah, it was agreed that the word "Field Handbook" will be used instead of Manual.

- b) Another important point which has repeatedly arisen during the implementation of the programme was release of funds. Though Guidelines have emphasised the need for timely release of funds, in the absence of clear instructions sometimes the implementation comes to a halt for want of funds. Giving examples of Development Support Centre and other implementing agencies, Anil Shah tried to make a strong case for strict instructions which would carry deterrent action for the defaulters.

Appendix 4

Findings of study team on impact of Watershed Development in India

Responding to the request of Ministry of Rural Affairs and Employment, the DFID office in India appointed a study team to review the implementation of the Watershed Guidelines. Mr Anil Shah was invited to be an Indian member of a 4-member team appointed by DFID in October 1997. The team visited the states of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and apart from discussion with the state level officers made extensive tours in the rural areas to see for themselves the way the watershed scheme was implemented and the achievements as well as the problems. It presented the report in February 1998.

Recommendations

In general the Team recommends:

1. that stronger links be established between national, state and district levels particularly with a view to better strategic planning and management of such aspects as training, selection of staff, and cross-learning among districts and states; strategic linkage of watershed development with wider rural development initiatives; monitoring and evaluation; strategic selection of watershed development sites in relation to agro-ecological and socio-economic characteristics; and monitoring of local adaptation of the Guidelines to ensure that they are constructive.
2. that the Guidelines be modified in order to distinguish clearly those aspects which must remain uniform across all areas from other which may be adapted to local conditions.
3. that the resources available under each of the four initiatives under MoRAE (IWDP, DPAR, DDP, EAS) be pooled at district level into a single programme, and that reporting and monitoring procedures be standardised across all initiatives at all levels.

In respect of implementation arrangements the Team recommends:

4. that specific criteria be devised and implemented for the selection of Directors of DRDAs, with particular emphasis on experience in participatory approaches to rural development.
5. that the MDT approach be modified to specify a minimum tenure by team members of 3 years, and to reserve one position for a social scientist. It further recommends that other States examine the MDT model as a means of strengthening technical support to PIAs and WDTs, and links with the line Departments.
6. that clear criteria be developed and implemented for the selection of both GO and NGOs applying to become PIAs, and where necessary, for their subsequent de-selection.
7. that procedures be introduced to ensure that PIA staff are full-time.
8. that all WDTs should contain one female member.
9. that given the difficulties in recruiting social scientists, investment should be made in strengthening the social and community development skills of technical staff.
10. that in large villages, the additional area for watershed development may be allotted after the WA and WC have demonstrated their capacity to implement the scheme.
11. that the 30% quota for women on the WC be extended to cover the DWDAC and SWPERC. Furthermore, the WDT and MDTs should contain at least one female member.
12. that the watershed project should develop better links with existing institutions in the village. There is particularly scope for better links with women's credit and saving groups.

13. that renewed efforts are made at national and state levels to reach agreement with the MoEF and with DoF to implement JFM in watershed project areas.
14. that all watershed development action plans should contain a clear statement on how benefits accruing from common land are to be shared.
15. that project duration should be increased from 4 to 5 years to allow for a longer capacity building phase and provision for a handing over phase. No additional expenditure on works is envisaged. Overhead costs of PIAs / WDTs will need to be increased accordingly.
16. that during the second half of the project, the WA / WC should produce an action plan detailing how investments will be maintained, this should include details of procedures and responsibilities for managing the funds after the project. This must include measures to ensure transparency and clear accountability.
17. that as the first of these new generation projects draw to a close (in 2 years time), a small number of NGOs be selected and assigned responsibility to provide support to these villages. Each NGO would be responsible for a specific area. Their responsibilities may include provision of technical and institutional support on a need basis and providing continuous training to watershed secretaries and volunteers. Provisions for meeting the cost of these 'support teams' will need to be made.
18. that despite the difficulty, continued efforts be made to collect villagers' contributions to watershed development, and that the fund thus created be supplemented by matching contributions from government, and used for wider economic or social activities.
19. that contributions for work on private land should be calculated according to a 'slab-system' whereby all farmers are entitled to a fixed rate subsidy for works undertaken land up to a specified limit

and pay a higher rate for work carried out on any additional land they own. This system should be flexible for areas with particularly serious degradation problems.

20. that greater scope needs to be provided in the Guidelines to encourage the formation of joint government/NGO PIAs. The modalities governing their operation will need serious thought at State and District levels.
21. that State directives should be issued by the DRD and DoF clarifying the position with regard to development of forest lands in watersheds. This should direct that whenever forest land forms part of micro watershed, it should be given appropriate treatment.
22. that any PIA whether government or NGO should have action plans for forest land approved by an authorised forest officer and carry it out through a user group which may be designated as a FPC to meet the requirement of the JFM scheme.
23. that in every watershed a board/notice detailing financial outlays and progress of physical works should be displayed in a prominent place. Thought should also be given to the use of pictorial symbols to enable information to be shared by the illiterate.
24. that an effective system of monitoring and evaluation based on the outline be put in place, and the necessary training and financial provisions be made.

In respect of funding arrangements the Team recommends:

25. that the sums provided under the Guidelines for the works component remain unchanged.
26. that the sum provided for administrative overheads should be calculated separately and de-linked from the rate/ha formula. It should be calculated above all to ensure that the PIA can operate effectively and released to the PIA on an annual basis.

27. that DRDAs compile and synthesise existing information or workloads, operating costs and financial arrangements of watershed secretaries and volunteers. This will enable central government to set a more realistic sum aside for these costs.
28. that a sample of PIAs should compile and synthesise existing information or workloads, operating costs and financial arrangements of watershed secretaries and volunteers. This will enable central government to set a more realistic sum aside for these costs.
29. that clear statement of policy be made at state level on the funding arrangements for government PIAs.
30. that research institutes support the programme through the design of training curriculum for PIAs, WAS, WCS, and DRDAs.

In respect of land improvement the Team recommends:

31. that in view of the enormous ecological and social diversity of the watershed of the dryland area, there should be a more site-specific approach to investments in land improvement.
32. that, to take advantage of the large investments in land improvement, agricultural productivity must be greatly increased. Strong support from the line departments horticulture, agriculture, livestock, irrigation, forestry – is needed. Support is particularly important in irrigation management, horticulture, livestock and marketing.
33. that, in villages with steep or highly erodible land there should be a mechanism for cost sharing for soil and water conservation. Otherwise land owners themselves should be responsible for the work.
34. that efforts to plant trees or grasses on common land be undertaken cautiously, on a site specific basis, given that the natural regeneration of trees and grasses is rapid once areas are protected.

In respect of further studies needed the Team recommends:

35. that a short study be commissioned to investigate practical provisions which can make it easier for women to undertake field duties.
36. that studies be conducted in watersheds where benefits have been successfully shared with the weaker sections and with women, in order to identify the conditions for success and make proposals for their replication.
37. that studies on the economic and financial benefits of the programme over a wide diversity of ecological conditions be undertaken to supplement currently merge information.
38. that there is a need to carry out studies of projects which have successfully motivated farmers to increase their contributions documenting the processes involved.
39. that training at all levels should contain components on gender awareness and on the role of social scientists.

In respect of human resource development the Team recommends:

40. that the "report of the Committee on Training for Watershed Development" be adopted; it further recommends that high priority be given to such critical areas as:-
41. Developing expertise in the training institutes and giving them adequate support
42. Training in awareness and attitude change for Collectors to sensitise them to the benefits and needs of participatory approaches
43. Training for women , a hitherto neglected area, and the need for a programme to assess their skills and needs.

44. Organising workshops for state level functionaries on watershed development at regular intervals to exchange ideas and discuss future strategies
45. Introducing watershed development into the university curriculum for engineering and agriculture.

In respect of "old projects", the Team recommends:

46. that a clear policy statement is needed be issued from the GoI regarding the future of projects undertaken prior to the 1994 Guidelines, given the considerable investment made in them.
47. that a parallel fund be established to be used for capacity building and institutional development in areas covered under the old Guidelines.
48. that DRDAs conduct a survey of the status of old Guidelines projects, taking into account both the nature and extent of resource productivity and the institutional arrangements in place for managing the resource. Based on the findings, and using the funds provided as above, PIAs should be selected to develop local capacity to manage the resource.

Appendix 5

Strategies to influence policy

Some useful tips are reproduced here from a paper: *"Challenges in Influencing Public Policy: an NGO perspective"*. (Shah, 1998)*

These principally apply to those outside the government system, like NGOs. Such organisations can have access to policy-making processes through committees, study groups etc. They might have opportunity of becoming members and in any case they can present studies and facts which may influence them to make recommendations supporting participatory and sustainable development.

Since influencing public agencies is an arduous and daunting task, NGOs should be ready to expend considerable time and effort when they take up the challenge. What needs to change?

Public policy is embodied in a country's constitutions: legislative acts, rules, administrative instructions, issued through manuals, Guidelines and orders by government bodies/officers at different levels. It works also through established decision-making practices and their implementation. Policy-change advocates should know precisely which of these need change in order to facilitate development.

Those who decide policy changes are usually preoccupied in implementing already existing courses of action, and considering and sifting a plethora of proposals for change. Such proposals are made by: influential political parties/leaders, interest groups, committee recommendations, research findings, public-spirited experts, and in letters to the editors of newspapers/magazines. Policy-makers are bombarded daily with proposals for change; they are not waiting for good ideas. Their basket is full, the bus is crowded.

* Published in Blackburn (1998).

Selecting ideas

Development agencies will do well to select a few advocacy ideas out of the many that emerge in the course of their work. These should have the potential for a large impact in furthering the cause of development, particularly for deprived areas, communities, groups and families. Even if convinced, the decision-maker will take months to change administrative orders, years to modify legislating provisions and decades to amend a country's constitution. Development agencies should, therefore, give priority to ideas that require a change in practice, *administrative orders, manuals, rules, acts and a country's constitution* in that order.

Plan of action

After carefully selecting ideas for policy change, an agency will need to develop a plan of action by which to influence the decision-maker to know, appreciate, accept and act upon the proposal. The following steps are useful:

- build up a strong case for proposed change, why it is necessary, important, urgent, whom it will benefit and by how much;
- find out precise policy that requires change, who is authorised to decide on the proposal, and the process that will be followed;
- contact like-minded organizations and individuals likely to support and join in presenting the proposal;
- formulate the proposal which should, as far as possible, incorporate:
 - (i) information about the proposing organisation(s): what is the motive?
 - (ii) the problems in the field that are blocking development;
 - (iii) the precise policy that needs change; and
 - (iv) a request for a personal meeting to explain the details.

Strategy for drawing attention

Since this proposal will be one of many, the agency will need to work out a strategy for gaining early attention. This may include:

- locating the officer whose acceptance of the proposal is crucial and those whose opinion s/he values;
- locating a key officer who is sympathetic to the development

programme promoted by the development agency. Take his/her advice on how to go about promoting the proposal;

- contacting influential people and taking their advice and help in influencing decision-makers;
- requesting influential officers to visit the NGOs work for better appreciation of the proposal; during such visits presentation by the people incorporating PRA exercises would strengthen the case if necessary, a meeting with the decision-makers should be arranged; and
- using the media to create a climate favourable for the acceptance of the proposal.

In the event of rejection

If the crucial officer is not impressed by the proposal, if s/he rejects or is likely to reject it, work out a strategy to overcome the obstacle. The agency may approach higher levels in government to direct the officer to reconsider the proposal sympathetically and expeditiously. The agency may have to wait until the unsympathetic officer is transferred or a more favourable situation develops.

In the event of a favourable response

If and when the response of the decision-maker is favourable, the agency should work to ensure that the formulation of the proposed change will meet its requirements:

- suggest the appointment of a drafting committee, with agency representation, for the proposed change;
- offer the agency's services to work with the officer who is responsible for drafting the government order/instruction; and
- if such offers are not welcome, remain in touch informally with the officers concerned.

Follow up

Government decision-making on policy matters involves several levels in a department. In more important matters, several departments are involved, particularly legal, finance and personnel. The agency should follow up the progress of the proposal from table to table, department to department, until the desired order is issued.

Credit

Give credit and compliments to all who have helped, with and without enthusiasm, in the progress of the proposal.

An environment conducive to participatory development

- Appointment of a working group for each programme consisting of senior officers, NGO representatives, academics studying the programme, and representatives of village level organisations.
- Policy resolution affirming government's commitment to participatory approach in a programme.
- Pilot projects as 'learning laboratories'.
- Action plan indicating tentative targets, responsibilities, and delegated authority.
- Specific responsibility entrusted to a senior officer to develop the new programme.
- Process Documentation Research by independent competent agencies to provide continuous unbiased feedback about development and emerging issues in the field.
- Dissemination through media.
- Fostering in the public system a culture of consultation and participation of various levels within the organization and with stakeholders outside.
- Organising a national support group (NSG) outside government but with active involvement of key officers of concerned government department(s), donor agencies, NGOs and academics active in the programme.

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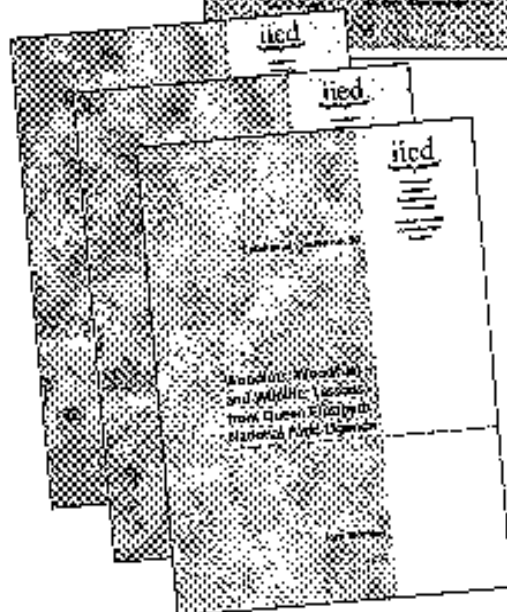
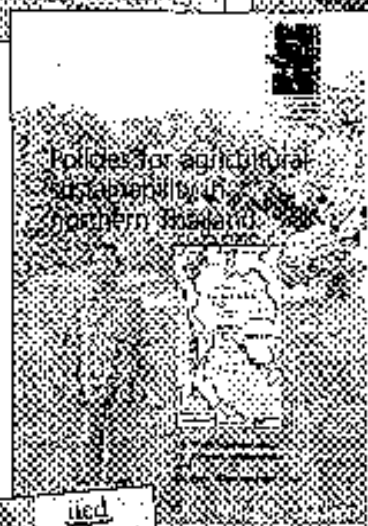
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