

Participation and Development Outcomes: Evidences from the Poor Districts of India

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Abstract

This paper examines the degree of impact of participation of primary stakeholders on the development outcomes; viz., poverty alleviation, drought proofing and quality of life on people in the eight poorest districts of Orissa, India. The empirical evidences show that (a) the degree of participation of the primary stakeholders has a strong positive and varying impact on the three development outcomes, viz., alleviation of poverty, drought proofing, and quality of life of the poor, and (b) Homogeneity of culture and values among the primary stakeholders yields superior long-term development outcomes. The paper provides fresh perspective on participation with specific reference to the three long-term development outcomes, viz., Poverty Alleviation, Drought Proofing and Quality of Life. It provides the relationship of the 114 development output variables with the three Development Outcome variables. It suggests that the Government and development agencies should recognize the significance of homogeneity within community for better development outputs and outcomes.

Keywords: Development outcomes, Stakeholders, Quality of Life, Poverty alleviation

Introduction

From Habermasian democratic principles of participation in polity and economy to rights based perspective in development processes have argued for increased participation of primary stakeholders in the development processes in the developing countries. On the field, Participatory Rural Appraisal with an open framework of Robert Chambers has been largely in vogue over the last two decades. However, participation of primary stakeholders for long term sustainability of development projects is yet to be realized and the issues of underdevelopment in the developing countries remain unresolved.

Through a survey of 4000 primary stakeholders; 114 variables and 10 case studies of development projects in the poorest region of India, the eight KBKⁱ districts, this paper shows the significance of participation and development outcomes. Based on the detailed case studies, the paper also discusses the issues of delivery in a top-down institutional set-up of development (RLTAP)ⁱⁱ schemes of the Government of India and the role of the nature of primary stakeholders in achieving the outcomes of a development project.

The analysis of the paper distinguishes between the outputs that are short term in nature like say monthly earning and outcomes that are long term in nature like quality of life. It measures development in form of three different long term outcomes like poverty alleviation, drought proofing and quality of life. One of the key issues that the paper investigates in the above

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sample and project area is how strongly participation of primary stakeholders in development projects influences the development outcomes.

Theoretical Context

The importance of participation of people in development process has been recognized since the beginning of development efforts of the Governments and international agencies. The argument for democratization of the process of development has been argued with the beginning of development assistance from USAID in 1960s. Literature provides a rich description on the importance of participation of the beneficiaries in development projects. The process of engaging the beneficiaries and the various stakeholders in the process of implementing development projects has been the most debated topic in the present literature on participation and development.

It has been argued that participation can be strengthened if the spirit of ownership and partnership is encouraged. Large scale consultation with the poor and institutional change at all levels including, primary stakeholders NGOs, Host Governments, World Bank and other donor agencies are necessary for increasing the level of participation. Further, the participation of the primary stakeholders or the beneficiaries in monitoring and evaluation of a project can enhance ownership and accountability in the project (Blackburn, et al, 2000).

The significance of participation of the beneficiaries of a project by way of the nature of civil liberties and democratic process in country on the performance of development projects has been shown. Isham, et al , 1997 show that better civil liberties lead to better performance of Government Projects. While the democratic process itself did not show any effect on project performance, the authors argue that democratic set-up is the basis for civil liberties and hence the democratic or the participatory process is significant to project performance. While the study here has used only binary indicators of satisfactory and unsatisfactory that leaves out a lot in terms of information on the kind of performance, it nevertheless provides some indirect indication of the role of participation for outcomes in a development project.

Participation of the various stakeholders in complex projects has always been beneficial for long term sustainability not only in rural communities but across the broader cross-section of the society. It is argued that such planning can lead to positive political change in the community and result in consensus about the nature of desired development. McGuire, et al, 1994 showed that engaging the beneficiaries in the planning process through community-wide strategic planning exercises can serve as a capacity building tool in non metropolitan communities. At a country level too, participation by way of consensus building, open dialog and the promotion of an active civil society are key ingredients to long-term sustainable development. Conditionality imposed on countries through the development funds may fail to produce lasting change. Indeed, conditions would undermine the people's incentives to develop their own capabilities and weaken their confidence in using their own intelligence. Rather, transparency and accountability are necessary for effective participation and democracy (Stiglitz, 2002).

Further, the rights-based approach in development attempts to take participation from a mere voluntary and consciousness level of the development agencies to engage the beneficiaries in the development process to the rightful demands of the beneficiaries to determine the development process for themselves. However, it is feared that simply using the language of

rights-based approach to development largely to invoke the discursive power of the concept of rights, without intending to bear the weight of the entirety of consequences that flow from it has little impact on enhancing participation (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004).

From application of simple techniques to engage the primary stakeholders in small scale projects in the late 1980s, Robert Chambers (1974, 1988, & 1997) developed the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technique to let the beneficiaries participate in the development projects. With its three key dimensions viz., it is a mindset, a philosophy, and a repertoire of methods, the PRA technique has been widely popular with the NGOs and development agencies for nearly two decades. It also argues that the wellbeing of the “uppers” lie in empowering and privileging the realities of “lowers”. Five methodologies have been suggested to achieve this, viz., enable realities and priorities of poor and marginalized people to be expressed and communicated to policy-makers, enable trainers to facilitate attitude and behavior change, make normal bureaucracies more participatory, build self-improvement into the spread of participatory methodologies and enable people with power to find fulfillment in disempowering themselves (Chambers, 1998).

From the middle of 1990s, there have also been quite a number of debates on the problems with the wide range of open ended techniques in PRA. Issues of power and value, critical in large scale development projects, are often ignored in PRA techniques. The question of whether the PRA movement has led to voicing the policies and policy making processes of the Government or whether the PRA agenda involves changes in the mind sets and behavior of development professionals, in the poor themselves, in organizations involved in the development remains unresolved (Holland & Blackburn, 1996).

The three major problems identified with the PRA techniques have been (a) it does not recognize that poor people are diversely embedded in unequal meso, macro and global and social power structures, (b) scanty local knowledge on the part of PRA practitioners, and (c) ethical principles focused on development professionals and not on the poor (Bevan, 2000). Years of implementation of PRA has revealed new understanding of the problems in PRA techniques. This technique has not taken into account the issues of inclusiveness, role of PRA facilitators, and the personal behavior of elites overshadow or some times even ignore the questions of legitimacy, justice, power and the politics of gender and difference (Kapoor, 2002). In other words, the author argues that the PRA technique does not take into account issues like differences among various stakeholders and the power play of community.

Further, while PRA techniques is primarily a technique to involve the primary stakeholders to participate in the data collection process about their needs and their context, it does not explain whether this process leads to participation of primary stakeholders in the implementation of the same project for which the data was collected. Most often engaging primary stakeholders for data collection may serve only to get the people accept the desired output of project implementers. Many development projects like the credit schemes and forest protection schemes in rural India for the poor that have adopted PRA have served little beyond data collection and understanding of local context by the external project implementers.

Jurgen Habermas and Max Weber have sufficiently critiqued the problems in Enlightenment theories based on reason. Extending his analysis of reason, Habermas (1984) discusses how reason in political sphere and economic sphere is embedded with the false notion of equity of

participation in politics and economic growth among citizens. The political power play among the various actors in the publicly constituted institutions and community organizations for development schemes of the Government and other agencies are likely to influence the nature of outcome of development projects.

While several research issues relating to participation and development have been raised, there has not been much discussion with regard to the impact of participation on different measures of development. Impact of development project on the target beneficiaries have been largely assessed from project effectiveness through an input-output model. The economist approach to development has been to measure change using the standard economic indicators such that income levels, employment levels, production levels, etc. Input-Output Model has been most used. It has been suggested that labor, capital, technology and resources as input components and facilities, training, technology, organization, production, total economic costs and non-economic costs and equity consequence as the output indicators (Finsterbusch & Wicklen, 1987).

Development project outputs in terms of economic indicators like income, employment, production are good measures as they only measure immediate impact. However, as the development process is an involved and long-term change process, development outcomes in terms of quality of life is the ultimate objectives of development efforts. Indicators like poverty alleviation and drought proofing can be the medium term development outcomes. With the above context, the primary focus of this paper is to empirically show the relationship of participation with specific development outcomes. It measures development from three different long term outcomes viz., poverty alleviation, drought proofing and quality of life. It also looks into how the institutional mechanisms of the Government and the nature of primary stakeholders affect the development outcomes. With the above backdrop, the following hypotheses have been tested and discussed in this paper:

1. The lower the degree of participation of the primary stakeholders in the development project, the lower the development outcomes.
2. The top-down institutional set-up of the Government tends to be driven by financial targets and not by development outcomes of primary stakeholders.
3. The greater the homogeneity in culture and values among the primary stakeholders, the greater the development outcomes.

Methodology

The study consists of *Survey Methodology* and *Case Methodology*. The *perception* of the program beneficiaries on the impact of the selected program was based on survey of over 4000 beneficiaries from the eight development (RLTAP) schemes in 60 blocks of the total of 80 blocks in the eight KBK districts of Orissa, India.

From the eight development schemes, a total of 114 output indicators on a 1-5 point ordinal scale were taken to assess the perceived output among the primary stakeholders of respective schemes. These indicators were classified into three broad categories of indicators, viz., economic, social and participation-action variables. The economic indicators relates to direct economic benefit to the beneficiary, the social indicators relates to the systems, processes and social dimensions at the block/village level that is intermediate to flow of benefits to the targeted primary stakeholders. The participation-action indicators relates to the nature of

primary stakeholders and the political process that assist in better absorption of the benefits from the government and social institutions designed to deliver the benefits. It also reflects on the sustainability of scheme towards improving the overall quality of life of the primary stakeholders.

A number of bi-variate and multivariate statistical tests using SPSS software were undertaken to assess the impact in terms of outputs and outcomes of the different schemes. Social groupwise and genderwise differences in outcomes were also tested for using the various multivariate statistical techniques. Based on the Factor Analysis, the model used to explain the different outcomes, viz., poverty alleviation, drought proofing and quality of life was the following:

$$Outcome = \alpha ECON + \beta SOCIAL + \gamma PA$$

Where, ECON refers to composite economic indicator, SOCIAL refers to composite social indicator and PA refers to composite participation-action output indicator.

While each composite output indicator is an arithmetic average of all the relevant variables of an output, the outcome indicator is the weighted (α , β , and γ) averages of the composite output indicators. The values of α , β , and γ were computed using principal component method of Factor Analysis of the composite economic, social, and participation-action output indicators.

The survey of primary stakeholders was complemented with ten detailed case studies of the individual development schemes to get deeper insights into the implementation process, segments that benefited from the schemes, and impact of the schemes on the targeted beneficiaries. The case studies analyzed various layers of people and institution to assess the impact of each scheme on the targeted beneficiaries in the context of economic, social, participatory phenomena of the primary stakeholders and to capture the nuances of the outputs and outcomes of the various schemes on the beneficiaries. The four levels of study used for individual case analysis included the analyses of the key issues at four levels, viz., (a) physical and financial targets achieved as per the Government records, (b) systems and processes adopted by the Government for implementing the development projects, (c) immediate physical and economic benefits received by the primary stakeholders, and (d) long-term sustainable benefit of improving the quality of life of the primary stakeholders. Focus group discussions, discussions with village communities, individual interviews with the primary stakeholders and the government officials at the state, district, block, and panchayat level and subsequent analysis of data from the state and district governments were the different methods used for data collection and analyses.

Participation & Development Outcomes

Development Outcome 1: Poverty Alleviation

Poverty alleviation is one of the three development outcome that we have considered in this study. Schemes such as Rural Employment (IAY, SGSY, SGRY) and Rural Connectivity of RLTA were designed to cater directly to increase income of poor people by way of creating labour man-days through various economic activity and public works in KBK region. Biju Krushak Vikas Yojana scheme was designed to increase farm income of poor and marginal farmers in KBK region. Hence, all the relevant economic, social, and participation-action related indicators of these schemes were used in computing the poverty alleviation index.

Although schemes like Watershed Development and Afforestation had long-term objective of overall development of village communities, the initial activities of these schemes at the village level had a large component of daily-wage employment opportunities especially for poor people. Therefore, the economic indicators of both Watershed Development and Afforestation were added to the list of indicators from Rural Employment and Rural Connectivity for computing the poverty alleviation index. From the survey, the selected indicators accounted for about 2500 primary stakeholders with 76% of male and 24% female in the sample. The sample consisted of 56%, 20% and 24 % of primary stakeholders from scheduled tribes, scheduled caste and other castes respectively.

In order to fine-tune the impact of each of the economic, social, and participation-action indicators, weight of each indicator was computed using Principal Component Method of Factor Analysis. KMO measure of sampling adequacy and Barlett's test of sphericity (see Table 1) confirmed that the data was appropriate for Factor Analysis. The scree plot and component matrix of Factor Analysis confirmed that the three indicators formed a single component, suggesting that they all referred to one parameter that has been named as Poverty Alleviation indicator (PALLEV). The relationship of different output and outcome poverty alleviation variables is given below.

$$\text{Poverty Alleviation (PALLEV)} = f(\text{AECON, ASOCIAL, APA, BECON, BSOCIAL, BPA, CECON, DECON})$$

Where, the first letter viz., **A, B, C & D** of a variable refer to Rural Employment, Rural Connectivity, Watershed Development and Afforestation respectively. The second portion of a variable **ECON, SOCIAL, PA** refer to gross economic indicator, gross social indicator, gross participation indicator of respective schemes)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Further, ECON} &= f(\text{AECON, BECON, CECON, DECON}) \\ \text{SOCIAL} &= f(\text{ASOCIAL, BSOCIAL}) \\ \text{PA} &= f(\text{APA, BPA}) \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Finally, PALLEV} = 0.770 \text{ ECON} + 0.748 \text{ SOCIAL} + 0.708 \text{ PA} \quad \text{Equation 1}$$

Participation of the primary stakeholders or the beneficiaries in the development schemes seems to be a significant factor for achieving the development outcome of poverty alleviation of the beneficiaries. Participation and poverty alleviation outcome shows a strong correlation of **0.735** at a 0.01 level of significance. Further, the analysis shows that participation has a higher level of correlation of 0.423 with gross social output than on gross economic output with correlation of 0.37 (see Table 2).

The study also investigated on whether the impact of RLTP on poverty alleviation differed across different segments of population across the eight districts. ANOVA test results suggest that there was difference in both the level of participation and the level of poverty alleviation outcomes with regard to the various social classes (SC, ST, & Other Castes). Further, all the gross economic, gross social and gross participation-action indicators seem to have had different impact on different categories of social classes (see Table 3). This raises questions of why and how the level of participation differs among different social groups.

With regard to the male and female population, while the poverty alleviation outcome differed from each other, the gross participation-action output did not seem to differ from each other (see Table 4). The question therefore is whether participation is not related to development outcomes. However, the case studies of various development schemes show that people including women in these communities believe that women need not participate in the decision making process and that men alone can take the decisions.

Development Outcome 2: Drought Proofing

Drought proofing is an important development outcome in the region under study as this region largely consists of hilly terrain and upland prone to drought conditions that significantly affect the livelihood of people in the region. Schemes such as Watershed Development and Afforestation were aimed to reduce the drought conditions in KBK region. From the beneficiary survey, the selected indicators accounted for 944 with 90% of male and 10% female of the total sample. Scheduled tribes beneficiaries constituted 54%, scheduled caste constituted 23% and other castes constituted the balance 23%.

Based on the Principal Component method of Factor Analysis as discussed in the previous section, the drought proofing outcome indicator was constructed (see Table 1). The relationship between the outcome and output variables of the drought proofing schemes is given below.

$$\text{Drought Proofing (DP)} = f(\text{CECON}, \text{CSOCIAL}, \text{CPA}, \text{DECON}, \text{DSOCIAL}, \text{DPA})$$

Where, the first letter viz., **C** & **D** of a variable refers to Watershed Development and Afforestation respectively. The second portion of a variable **ECON**, **SOCIAL**, **PA** refers to gross economic indicator, gross social indicator, and gross participation indicator of respective schemes.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Further, } \text{ECON} &= f(\text{CECON}, \text{DECON}) \\ \text{SOCIAL} &= f(\text{CSOCIAL}, \text{DSOCIAL}) \\ \text{PA} &= f(\text{CPA}, \text{CPA}) \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Finally, } \text{DP} = 0.726 \text{ ECON} + 0.868 \text{ SOCIAL} + 0.864 \text{ PA} \qquad \text{Equation 2}$$

The correlation between participation and development outcomes and associated development outputs shows a very strong relationship of participation on the drought proofing outcome. The correlation between participation and drought proofing outcome is 0.883 at a 0.01 level of significance. The correlation of participation with drought proofing related gross social outputs and gross economic outputs were 0.667 and 0.425 (see Table 2).

It has also been observed from the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) that there are differences among different social classes, viz., SC, ST, and other communities with regard to the participation in the implementation of drought proofing schemes (see Table 3). Although there is a significant difference among male and female groups on the overall drought proofing outcome, there does not seem to be a significant difference on the level of participation in project implementation and sustenance (see Table 3). Why such phenomena exist is a point yet to be answered.

Development Outcome 3: Quality of Life

In principle, improvement in Quality of Life is the ultimate objective of any development project. Among the various RLTAAP development projects or schemes such as Rural Drinking Water, Mobile Health Unit, and Watershed Development have primarily been directed towards improving quality of life in KBK region. However, all the other schemes viz., Afforestation, Rural Employment, Rural Connectivity, BKVY, and Emergency Feeding have also been designed to contribute indirectly to the overall Quality of Life. Therefore, Quality of Life index was computed using all the economic, social and participation-action indicators of the eight development schemes. The survey consisted of over 4000 beneficiaries with 71% of male and 29% female. Beneficiaries from scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, and other castes constituted 56%, 21% and 23 % respectively.

In order to fine-tune the impact of economic, social, and participation-action indicators, weight of each indicator was computed using the Principal Component method of Factor Analysis. KMO measure of sampling adequacy and Barlett's test of sphericity (see Table 2) confirmed that the data was appropriate for Factor Analysis. Bi-variate correlations among the gross economic, gross social and gross participation-action indicators showed correlation at a 0.01 level of significance, suggesting that factor analysis can be carried out. The scree plot and component matrix of Factor Analysis confirmed that the three indicators formed a single component, suggesting that they all referred to one parameter that was named as Quality of Life (QL) indicator. The relationship of different output and outcome poverty alleviation variables is given below.

$$Quality\ of\ Life\ (QL) = f(AECON, ASOCIAL, APA, BECON, BSOCIAL, BPA, CECON, CSOCIAL, CPA, \dots, HECON, HSOCIAL, HPA)$$

Where, the first letter **A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H** of a variable refer to Rural Employment, Rural Connectivity, Watershed Development, Afforestation, BKVY, Emergency Feeding, Rural Drinking Water, and MHU respectively. The second portion of a variable **ECON, SOCIAL, PA** refer to gross economic indicator, gross social indicator, gross participation indicator of respective schemes)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Further, } ECON &= f(AECON, BECON, CECON, \dots, HECON) \\ SOCIAL &= f(ASOCIAL, BSOCIAL, CSOCIAL, \dots, HSOCIAL) \\ PA &= f(APA, BPA, CPA, \dots, HPA) \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Finally, } QL = 0.743 ECON + 0.777 SOCIAL + 0.782 PA \quad \text{Equation 3}$$

The importance of participation of the primary stakeholders in the ultimate development objective of improving quality of life of these stakeholders appears to be paramount. The correlation between participation and quality of life outcome is as high as 0.803 at a 0.01 level

of significance (see Table 1). Participation has a significant correlation of 0.42 and 0.323 with the gross social output and gross economic outputs relating to quality of life.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) shows that the level of participation in the various schemes towards the improvement of Quality of Life outcome significantly differs among different social groups, viz., scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, and other castes in the KBK region (see Table 3). However, as we saw in the other development outcomes, while the outcome is perceived differently by male and female groups, the level participation in the execution and sustenance of projects are not seen differently by beneficiaries of different gender (see Table 3). Indeed, we find that while male and female perceived differently on all the output and outcome variables of quality of life, there was no significant difference on gross participation between the male and female groups.

The three equations 1, 2, and 3, empirically show that participation-action (PA) is significant to the development outcomes. The coefficient of participation-action (PA) is higher than the coefficient of gross economic (ECON) and gross social (SOCIAL) outputs in the quality of life outcome.

Taking the whole population into account, the mean values of participation-action indicator is the lowest among the gross economic, social and participation outputs for all the three development outcome indicators (see Table 4). Further, when we look at the district-wise development outcomes of poverty alleviation, drought proofing and quality of life, we find that participation and these development outcomes show a strong positive relationship. The box plot of participation-action and quality of life outcome is illustrative of this point (see Fig. 1). Participation-action indicator is very poor in the districts of Malkangiri (Ma) and Sonepur (So) and all the three development outcomes are poor in these two districts. Similarly, Nawarangpur (Na) district shows a high level of participation and accordingly, all the three development outcomes are high for this district..

Institutional issues

The problems of non-delivery and non-performance of developmental works in rural and scheduled areas of the country have often been attributed to institutional voids at the state, district, or department levels. Many projects in watershed development and afforestation have been abandoned by the people for whom the projects were meant for. Given the diversity of administrative and development work, many bureaucrats are equally unaware of several issues and details of several projects.

Given the limitation in the age old style of project planning and implementation, it has been argued that the development assistance programs must be a part of holistically perceived learning process as opposed to a bureaucratically mandated blue-print design. Rural development programs could be better implemented when adopted on a learning mode for learning to be effective, efficient and to expand rather than directly executing a centrally planned scheme (Korten, 2001).

From the experiences of the various development experts, it has been observed that there are many issues of concern as the route to participation has been pointed out for better effectiveness of development projects. Delays, additional costs, sabotage by powerful economic and social groups, hostility to or distrust of the government, intensification of community conflicts, and

diversion of benefits, to the well established rather than to women or the disadvantaged (Bamberger, 1991). Whether differences in objectives between the individuals operating the institutions and the stated objectives of the institutions lead to delays and diversion of funds?

What are the issues in the government institutional set-up in implementing and sustaining the development projects? How far does the present government-institutional structure tend to be driven by financial targets and not by the long-term beneficiary outcomes? Does the bureaucratic structure, planning and execution process themselves inhibit participation of primary stakeholder affects adversely the long term development outcomes?

Let us look at the case of RLTA development schemes of the Government of India to explore into the above institutional issues. The total expenditure on all the eight schemes during 2001-06 was estimated to be about INR 1800 crores (see Table 5). While the allocation and expenditure of funds on different districts of KBK has been proportional to the population of the district, the distribution of funds on different projects lacks the direction for long term development outcome in the region.

Rural Employment scheme including IAY, SGRY and SGSY constituted 50% and Rural Connectivity constituted 24% of the total expenditure. Watershed Development and Afforestation constituted 8% and 5% respectively. Rural drinking water supply, BKVY, and Emergency Feeding constituted 4% each and Medical Health Units constituted only 1% of the total expenditure (see Fig. 2).

The allocation of funds shows that projects that can absorb larger sums of money in shorter time period seems to take precedence over projects that take longer time to implement. During one of the case studies on rural connectivity, the author attended the three hour meeting of the executives of District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) and found the following: The meeting was of the Executive engineer, Assistant engineers, and several road work contractors of the districts. The only issue this team discussed was how much will be amount of bills (invoices) that they can generate over the next one and half month. This team then met the Project Director, DRDA; here the discussion on which single road proposal they should execute so that they can spend the maximum amount of money at one go. There were indeed many proposals of shorter village roads, broken culverts, and small bridges from several villages that would connect people from many villages and hamlets to the main road. However, the executives of DRDA decided to implement a longer concrete road so that most of the budget for the financial year could be utilized.

On the one hand the district officials complain that the state government delays the transfers the funds to the district and expects the district to utilize the funds within a financial year. On the other hand, the state officials complain about late receipt of proposals from the districts. The local project executives and work contractors complain about the rent seeking behavior of local executives in sanctioning projects. Indeed, there are several structural and motivational issues among the executives that shape the delivery of development projects; the outcome issues are hardly the concerns of the various layers of executives.

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local project executives and work contractors complain about the rent seeking behavior of local executives in sanctioning projects. Indeed, there are several structural and motivational issues among the executives that shape the delivery of development projects; the outcome issues are hardly the concerns of the various layers of executives.

While it is true that the superstructure at the centre and state, the leadership and the administration at different layers from centre to district level is yet to deliver its potential, the issues of governance and the institutional mechanisms at the grass root level also plays a significant role in the development processes. The actor network dynamicsⁱⁱⁱ at the grass root level and the institutional mechanisms arising out of these dynamics seem to be much stickier phenomena to understand and that the actor network in the first layer of community more often than not add in diverting the large portions of the funds for few select individual gains and not for community gains.

The local representatives (agents) may be living in a village which they apparently represent; they may be relatively better educated, communicate better with government officials and have some mode of personal transport. All these make them very good intermediaries for project implementation at the village level. However, it is quite revealing to note from the case studies that most of these local intermediaries are migrants from the urban areas and are not the original inhabitants of the village that they officially represent. Most primary health workers and school teachers, local contractors, shop keepers are people from outside the village communities. The conception and motivation of urban migrant towards the long term development of the primary stakeholders is likely to differ from that of the local primary stakeholders. The institutional arrangement for program delivery at the grass root level therefore needs to seriously look into this aspect.

Nature of the Beneficiaries

It appears that the demographic, social and economic characteristics of people in a community and people among them who lead the institutions at the grass root level are likely to affect the development outputs and development outcomes. The engagement of people with each other within the institutions needs to remain fluid in order to facilitate innovative solutions to complex problems and situations. While participation of the beneficiaries in the project implementation plays a role, the nature of beneficiaries plays a significant role on the effectiveness of a development project or scheme. As it has been pointed out that the level of development of the host country contributes towards the positive impacts of participation on project effectiveness. A large scale study of 52 USAID development projects showed that participation improved the project in terms of building community capacity and that participation was more effective in more developed host countries (Finsterbusch & Wicklen, 1987, 1989).

Increase in heterogeneity of tribal village communities with migrants from urban areas and other social groups seem to affect the culture and values in the communities of the primary stakeholders. It apparently reduces the level of participation, cooperation and decision making process in the villages. In one of cases of Rural Drinking Water scheme in Nawarangpur district, the study found a drastic difference in the maintenance of tube wells and piped water supply systems in villages with homogenous communities and heterogeneous communities. Water supply systems were very well maintained by the tribal villages with homogenous population; whereas the tube wells and piped water systems in heterogeneous villages of locals,

urban migrants, different social groups were poorly maintained and no one seemed to be responsible for the maintenance of the water supply systems; with most tube wells or water pipe stands either broken or it is filled with filth around it.

Participation of women also has been different depending on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the village communities. Tribal villages with out the urban migrant tended to give more space to women to participate in the development activities. Villages with heterogeneous population of scheduled castes, tribes and urban migrants had lesser role for women to participate in the developmental projects. From studies elsewhere, it has also been noticed that after several years of implementing PRA techniques, many raise the question whether the development work undertaken has benefited the women and men equally. With simplistic assumptions of socio-cultural aspects in rural communities, women have often been the losers (Gujit & Shah, 1998)

Surprisingly, in the present study, gender-wise analysis of variance (ANOVA) on participation-action indicator across all the development outcomes did not show any significant difference (see Table 4). It implied that the level of participation of women was similar to that of men. Lack of difference in participation of women and men in the statistical analysis could be due to the smaller sample size of women who are vocal and actually participate in the decision making of development projects and came forward to participate in the survey.

However, the detailed case studies of several development schemes revealed that most women hardly participated in the decision making process. This phenomenon is more acute in villages with heterogeneous population; with such villages increasingly forming the bulk of villages in the KBK region. In fact, most women are unaware of their right to participate in the decision making process. Most women being illiterate, women self groups depend on others for managing their banking and business transactions. Except for some primitive tribal communities, in most socially disadvantaged groups, it has been a tradition that men tend to take the decision for the whole family and women are not involved in the decision making process.

Summary & Further Questions

In the final analyses, the empirical evidences from the KBK districts of India show that (a) the degree of participation of the primary stakeholders has a strong positive impact on the development outcomes, viz., alleviation of poverty, drought proofing in the KBK region and overall improvement in the quality of life in the long run. (b) By design, the top-down institutional set-up of the Government lead to a systemic error of being driven by financial targets and drifts away from the long-term objectives of achieving long term development outcomes. (c) Homogeneity of culture and values among the primary stakeholders yields superior long term development outcomes.

The argument that participation of primary stakeholders in the development projects is significant to development has been vindicated from the present empirical evidence from the eight poorest (KBK) districts of India. The paper provides fresh perspective to participation in development with specific reference to 114 short-term development outputs like monthly income, employment generation, etc, and the long-term development outcomes, viz., poverty alleviation, drought proofing and quality of life.

However, the present study throws up several complex issues for further investigation so that participation of the primary stakeholders especially the weaker groups as a concept will be practical. Some of the key issues that arise from the study are (a) how can the governance structure be designed to make it dynamic and responsive to the primary stakeholders, (b) how do we break through the strong actor-network at the grass root level of communities that often divert the development funds meant for a community in favor of a select few influential people, and (c) how do we complement the strengths of the weak primary stakeholders so that they can effectively participate in the development process.

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Table 1: Factor Analysis of 3 key variables (outputs) of different Development Outcomes

KMO and Bartlett's Test				
		Poverty Alleviation	Drought Proofing	Quality of Life
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		0.631	0.650	0.653
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx Chi-Square	582.127	653.830	1298.645
	df	3	3	3
	Sig.	0.000	0.000	0.000
Component Matrix				
ECON		0.770	0.726	0.743
SOCIAL		0.748	0.868	0.777
PA		0.708	0.864	0.782

Table 2: Correlations among key variables of Participation & Development Outputs & Outcomes

	Poverty Alleviation (PALLEV)				Drought Proofing (DP)				Quality of Life (QL)			
	ECON	SOCIAL	PA	PALLEV	ECON	SOCIAL	PA	DP	ECON	SOCIAL	PA	QL
ECON												
Pearson Correlation	1	0.370**	0.370**	0.754**	1	0.436**	0.425**	0.668**	1	0.356**	0.373**	0.711**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	2857	2005	1139	1985	784	781	782	781	4257	4119	3303	3236
SOCIAL												
Pearson Correlation	0.370**	1	0.423**	0.737**	0.436**	1	0.667	0.891**	0.356**	1	0.420**	0.783**
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000
N	2005	2009	1143	1985	781	781	781	781	4119	4124	3241	3236
PA												
Pearson Correlation	0.370**	0.423**	1	0.735**	0.425**	0.667**	1	0.883**	0.373**	0.420**	1	0.803**
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000
N	1139	1143	1143	1985	782	781	782	781	3303	3241	3310	3236
PALLEV/DP/QL												
Pearson Correlation	0.754**	0.737**	0.735**	1	0.668**	0.891**	0.883**	1	0.711**	0.783	0.803**	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.	0.000	0.000	0.000	.
N	1985	1985	1985	1985	781	781	781	781	3236	3236	3236	3236

** . Correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 3: One way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

Social Groups: Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, & Other Castes						
	Poverty Alleviation (PALLEV)		Drought Proofing (DP)		Quality of Life (QL)	
	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
ECON	10.600	0.000	7.443	0.001	19.687	0.000
SOCIAL	8.469	0.000	2.235	0.108	9.831	0.000
PA	19.649	0.000	5.378	0.005	17.574	0.000
PALLEV/DP/QL	15.765	0.000	1.734	0.177	16.480	0.000
Gender - Male & Female						
ECON	1.245	0.265	2.369	0.124	18.849	0.000
SOCIAL	71.423	0.000	2.898	0.089	65.646	0.000
PA	1.130	0.288	2.277	0.132	0.089	0.766
PALLEV/DP/QL	11.383	0.001	3.630	0.057	15.023	0.000

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics of Development Outputs & Development Outcomes

		Poverty Alleviation (PALLEV)				Drought Proofing (DP)				Quality of Life (QL)			
		ECON	SOCIAL	PA	PALLEV	ECON	SOCIAL	PA	DP	ECON	SOCIAL	PA	QL
N	Valid	2857	2009	2075	1985	784	781	782	781	4257	4124	3310	3236
	Missing	442	1290	1224	1314	160	163	162	163	473	606	1420	1494
		3.138	3.118	2.600	2.9858	2.9215	2.9250	2.5529	2.8048	3.2231	2.9969	2.6363	2.8977
	Mean	0.0163	0.0206	0.0226	0.01579	0.02362	0.03475	0.03354	0.02584	0.01287	0.01479	0.01704	0.01225
	Std. Error of Mean	3.143	3.000	2.500	3.0000	2.8889	3.0000	2.6667	2.7778	3.2500	3.0000	2.5000	2.8737
	Median	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.67	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
	Mode	0.8737	0.9224	1.0300	0.70370	0.66147	0.97109	0.93797	0.72207	0.83943	0.94958	0.98012	0.69709
	Std. Deviation	0.7633	0.8509	1.0609	0.45919	0.43754	0.94301	0.87978	0.52138	0.70464	0.90170	0.96063	0.48594
	Variance	-0.029	-0.121	0.218	-0.090	-0.003	-0.136	0.316	0.188	-0.135	-0.021	0.231	0.050
	Skewness	0.046	0.055	0.054	0.055	0.087	0.087	0.087	0.087	0.038	0.038	0.043	0.043
	Std. Error of Skewness	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.00	3.86	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
	Range	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	Minimum	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.00	4.86	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
	Maximum	2.500	2.500	1.500	2.4294	2.3333	2.0000	1.6667	2.2222	2.5000	2.0000	1.6667	2.3549
	Percentile	2.500	2.500	2.000	2.5270	2.4286	2.3333	1.7500	2.3333	2.5714	2.5000	2.0000	2.4774
	20	3.000	3.000	2.500	2.8320	2.7143	2.6667	2.3333	2.5833	3.0000	2.7500	2.5000	2.7282
	25	3.143	3.000	2.500	3.0000	2.8889	3.0000	2.6667	2.7778	3.2500	3.0000	2.5000	2.8737
	40	3.429	3.500	3.000	3.1730	3.1111	3.2000	2.7500	3.0000	3.5000	3.2500	3.0000	3.0454
	50	3.714	3.750	3.500	3.4905	3.4286	3.6000	3.0000	3.2500	3.7778	3.5000	3.3333	3.3389
	60	4.000	4.000	3.500	3.5635	3.5556	3.8000	3.3333	3.4167	4.0000	4.0000	3.5000	3.4526
	75												
	80												

Note: Ratings were on an ordinal scale of 1-5, PA – Participation-Action

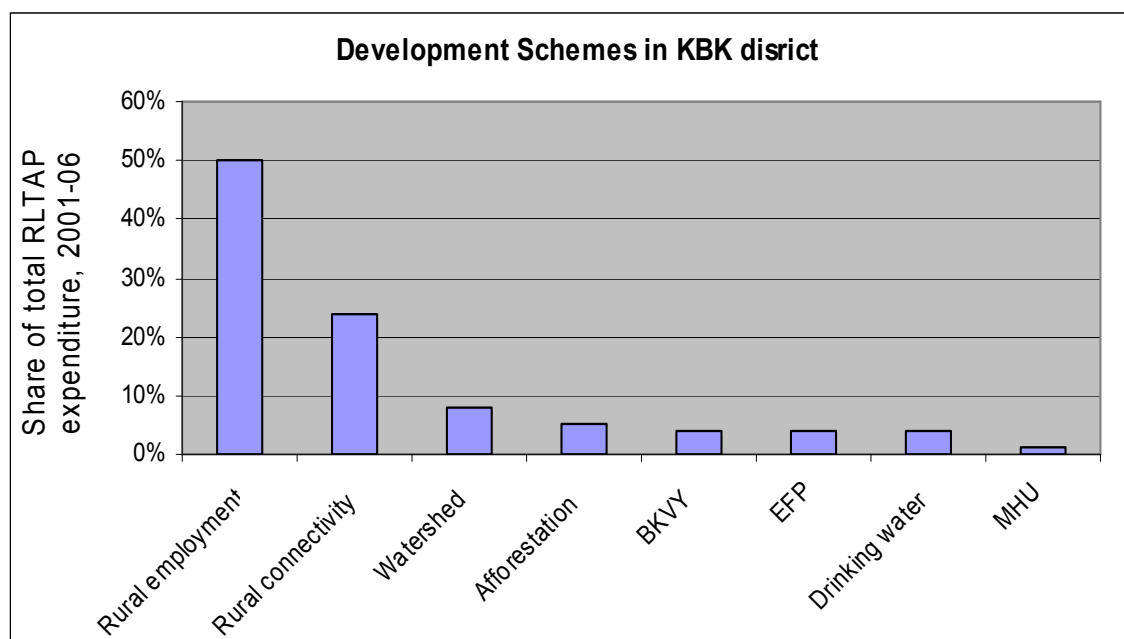
Table 5: District-wise expenditure for 8 selected schemes, 2001-06
(INR in crores)

Scheme	Wings	Kalahandi	Nuapada	Bolangir	Sonepur	Koraput	Rayagada	NGP	Malkangiri	Total	Share
Rural connectivity	Works	7.9	3.09	5.69	5.59	9.87	9.48	6.32	8.22	56.16	24%
	RW	7.05	2.72	4.89	0	17.76	7.09	5.46	8.87	53.84	
	PMGSY	77.19	24.55	63.21	25.55	45.47	31.5	32.23	13.09	312.79	
	Total	92.14	30.36	73.79	31.14	73.1	48.07	44.01	30.18	422.79	
		21.8%	7.2%	17.5%	7.4%	17.3%	11.4%	10.4%	7.1%	100.0%	
Drinking Water	Total	10.94	7.79	8.95	4.87	9.4	8.46	10.27	5.45	66.13	4%
			16.5%	11.8%	13.5%	7.4%	14.2%	12.8%	15.5%	8.2%	
Rural Employment	IAY	85.07	13.31	33.11	16.57	38.45	36.74	34.29	16.86	274.4	50%
	SGRY	75.23	50.28	54.16	34.92	88.33	79.75	84.3	64.67	531.64	
	SGSY	13.57	8.75	15.75	5.81	17.21	9.81	12.35	6.72	89.97	
	Total	173.87	72.34	103.02	57.3	143.99	126.3	130.94	88.25	896.01	
		19.4%	8.1%	11.5%	6.4%	16.1%	14.1%	14.6%	9.8%	100.0%	
BKVY	OLIC	9.13	3.05	7.66	12.22	7.95	2.87	10.8	1.6	55.28	4%
	OAIC	0.69	1.62	0.95	1.52	0.87	1.02	3.73	2.27	12.67	
	MI	0.0007	0.0002	0.38	0.15	0.89	1.34	2.62	2.66	8.04	
	Total	9.82	4.67	8.99	13.89	9.71	5.23	17.15	6.53	75.99	
		12.9%	6.1%	11.8%	18.3%	12.8%	6.9%	22.6%	8.6%	100.0%	
MHU		2.87	1.32	3.16	1.92	3.95	3.24	2.65	2.64	21.75	1%
			13.2%	6.1%	14.5%	8.8%	18.2%	14.9%	12.2%	12.1%	
EFP		15.76	8.95	11.55	4.19	13.8	7.67	6.68	5.62	74.22	4%
			21.2%	12.1%	15.6%	5.6%	18.6%	10.3%	9.0%	7.6%	
Afforestation		12.79	8.73	15.92	4.33	16.6	12.24	7.91	5.97	84.49	5%
			15.1%	10.3%	18.8%	5.1%	19.6%	14.5%	9.4%	7.1%	
Watershed		29.32	15.45	23.94	11.34	28.42	15.22	14.96	11.72	150.37	8%
			19.5%	10.3%	15.9%	7.5%	18.9%	10.1%	10.0%	7.8%	
Total		347.51	149.61	249.32	128.98	298.97	226.43	234.57	156.36	1791.75	100%
			19.4%	8.3%	13.9%	7.2%	16.7%	12.6%	13.1%	8.7%	
Population (in '000)		1334	531	1336	541	1178	823	1018	480	7241	
			18.4%	7.3%	18.5%	7.5%	16.3%	11.4%	14.1%	6.6%	

Source: Office of the Principal Accountant General, Orissa

Note: 1 crore = 10 million

Figure 2: Development (RLTAP) schemes in KBK districts



Endnote

ⁱ KBK districts comprises of eight poorest districts of Orissa, a state of India. The districts include Koraput, Rayagada, Malkangiri, Nawarangpur, Bolangir, Sonepur, Kalahandi, and Nuapada. A brief statistics describing the KBK district is elicited in the Endnote Exhibits 1 & 2.

Exhibit 1: Demographic & Literacy Indicators in the KBK districts: 2001

District	Popu-Density	Population Indicators					Literacy Rate	
		Total (000)	Female (%)	Rural (%)	ST* (%)	SC* (%)	Total (%)	Female (%)
1. Koraput	134	1,178	49.96	83.18	50.67	13.41	36.20	24.81
2. Malkangiri	83	480	49.91	92.79	58.36	19.96	31.26	21.28
3. Nawrangpur	192	1,018	49.81	94.18	55.27	15.09	34.26	21.02
4. Rayagada	116	823	50.71	85.98	56.04	14.28	35.61	24.31
5. Bolangir	203	1,336	49.56	88.45	22.06	15.39	54.91	39.27
6. Sonepur	231	541	49.13	92.59	22.11	9.50	64.07	47.28
7. Kalahandi	168	1,334	50.00	92.49	28.88	17.01	46.20	29.56
8. Nuapada	138	531	50.15	94.34	35.59	13.09	42.29	26.01
KBK Districts	152	7,241	49.91	89.89	38.72	16.63	36.58	24.72
Orissa	236	36,707	49.29	85.03	22.21	16.20	63.61	50.97

Note: Popu-density - population density (persons / sq.km). * As per 1991 Census

Exhibit 2: Census of Families below Poverty Line (BPL): 1992 & 1997*

	District	HCR (%)	1992 Census			1997 Census		Percent (%)
			Total	BPL	Percent (%)	Total	BPL	
			(lakh families)			(lakh families)		
1	Kalahandi	80.19	2.41	2.07	85.77	3.08	1.93	62.71
2	Nuapada		0.94	0.79	83.64	1.27	1.09	85.70
3	Bolangir	48.89	2.39	1.81	75.82	3.30	2.01	61.06
4	Sonepur		0.92	0.57	62.29	1.10	0.80	73.02
5	Koraput	92.24	1.88	1.63	86.59	2.65	2.22	83.81
6	Malkangiri		0.80	0.68	84.81	1.09	0.89	81.88
7	Nawrangpur		1.52	1.38	90.56	2.15	1.59	73.66
8	Ravagada		1.42	1.22	86.04	1.88	1.36	72.03
Total (Southern Orissa)		87.14	12.28	10.14	82.60	16.52	11.89	71.97

Source: NSS Data, Panda, Manoj (2002)*, Panchayati Raj Department, Government of Orissa.

Note: HCR – Headcount ratio as per 1999-00

ii. The Revised Long Term Action Plan (RLTAP) has been a development and action plan of the Government of the India that consisted of the following development schemes, viz., (a) rural employment, (b) rural connectivity, (c) watershed development, (d) afforestation, (e) biju krushak vikas yojana, (f) emergency feeding, (g) rural drinking water supply, and (h) mobile health units. Under the rural employment scheme, three schemes included are indira awas yojana (IAY), swarnjayanti gram swarozar yojana (SGSY), and sampurna gram in rogzar yojana (SGRY). RLTAP has been under implementation since 1997-98 and our study has considered data till 2006-07.

iii. Various players or actor or people representing different groups, viz., village shop keepers, local contractors, etc., in the first contact layer of the community refer to the actor network. These actors have different power relationship among themselves, which in turn leads to the coordination and decision making in the development process and these process are referred to the actor network dynamics.

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