CHAPTER - III

THE DRDS - A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS
(DHARWAD AND KOLAR DISTRICT)
The term 'development' denotes various kinds of activities encompassing every sphere of human life and aiming at change and progress. The concept of growth, social equity and social justice are central to the word 'development'. The development administration therefore, necessarily connotes an administration involved or engaged in bringing purposeful change in the societal system. In essence, the administration of socio-economic and political programmes envisaged by the government is referred to as development administration. Pai Panandikar states: "The phrase development administration is intrinsically intertwined with the process of change. Essentially, development administration refers to the structure, organisation and behaviour necessary for the implementation of schemes and programmes of socio-economic change undertaken by the governments of developing nations."\(^1\) Within this broad framework this chapter discusses the structural aspects of the DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts. The structure has two meanings -- organisation and pattern of behaviour. The structure as envisaged by the government will be analysed in an academic manner. The structure of DRDS will be assessed in terms of extant organisational theories and models. Thus the strength and weaknesses of the DRDS structure will be discussed in the light of contemporary theories of bureaucracy and other relevant organisational models.
Organisational Structure:

Rural development administration is a complex organisational system involving the relevant central ministries, State departments, headquarters and field organisations and shopfloor level set-up scanning a country of sub-continental size and diversity. However, since the thesis is concerned with the operations of DRDS it was thought prudent to concentrate on the organisational structure at the State level with special reference to the District level.

At the State level the Development Commissioner is the principal functionary responsible for overall development. The Development Commissioner works in close collaboration with the State Planning Board/Commission. He is functionally and structurally linked with the State Planning Board/Commission.

Next in the hierarchy is Secretary, Rural Development. He is the person in charge of rural development. The Deputy Secretary, Rural Development and ex-officio Director, Special Economic Programmes is next in the hierarchy and directly concerned with the DRDS. Below him there is one Under Secretary (Integrated Rural Development Cell) and Deputy Director (IRD), Monitoring Cell looking after the DRDS affairs. The hierarchical order is given in the following chart-I.
CHART - I

ORGANISATIONAL CHART OF THE DRDS FROM STATE SECRETARIAT TO VILLAGE

Chief Secretary
  |  
Development Commissioner
  |  
Secretary, Rural Development and Panchayati Raj
  |  
Director, Special Economic Programmes and Deputy Secretary, Rural Development and Panchayati Raj

  Under Secretary
    |  
IRD Cell

  Under Secretary
    |  
IRD Monitoring Cell

Divisional Commissioner

  DRDS  DRDS  DRDS  DRDS  DRDS
  Sub-Divisional Officer, Assistant Commissioner, 
  BDO  Block Development Officer
    |  
    Extension Officer
      |  
Village Level Worker  VLW  VLW  Beneficiary
In Karnataka in between State headquarters and the district there is a middle level functionary designated as the 'Divisional Commissioner'. The Divisional Commissioner acts as a Joint Development Commissioner and shoulders the responsibility for the implementation of the development programmes in his division. The Divisional Commissioner reports to the State administration on the progress and problems in the implementation of development schemes and projects. Likewise, he passes on orders, guidelines and other policy prescriptions issued by the State administration to the DRDS and district administration in general. The Divisional Commissioner being a senior IAS man and his status that of Secretary. He can very well exert influence on the Government in transmitting the reports of various kinds to the government. The capacity to exert influence upward is essential if a supervisor like the Divisional Commissioner has to perform his supervisory functions successfully. Moreover, the linking-pin function is more effective at higher levels in an organisation than at lower levels because the political problems dealt with are more important to the total organisation and affect more people.

Thus, the Divisional Commissioner as the highest local executive authority organises and supervises the administrative machinery in his division to implement the policies of the government. He acts as the nodal point of administration in his Division. In this capacity he reviews the entire development activity through periodical meetings of the Divisional Co-ordination Committee which is held once a quarter.
He can be a friend, philosopher and guide to young and inexperienced district officials within his division, A.D. Gorwala writes: "Divisional Commissioners ought to be expeditors, co-ordinators, advisors and supervisors. If they fail in these capacities it may be because the men appointed are not permitted to remain sufficiently long in their posts. The usual tenure for a Commissioner ought not to be less than three years. The Commissioners should be men of understanding personality, initiative, and courage (I say nothing about integrity because that is the sine qua non for all concerned with Government work elected or official). They should be sufficiently senior but need not be the most senior since for such posts proper choice is very important". Time and again the usefulness of this post has been questioned by scholars, policy makers in governmental administration. This is because of two factors. Firstly, the greater degree of concentration usually or unconsciously practised by the Secretariate. The officials at the Secretariate find it convenient to deal directly with the district authorities bypassing the Divisional Commissioner. Secondly, the prestige and power enjoyed by the Deputy Commissioner makes him a real executor of government policy at the sub-state level in districts like Dharwad and Kolar. Due to these tendencies the Tukol Pay Commission in Karnataka had recommended for the abolition of this post. In spite of these trends the post of Divisional Commissioner still exists and it can be made functional and effective in three ways.
1. By allowing greater degree of delegation and decentralisation at the divisional level;

2. By underlining the importance of coordination of the work of the departments through the Divisional Commissioner; and

3. Using the Divisional Commissioner as adviser in formulating policies.

The DRDS main unit of organisation is in the district. This is evident from chart II which gives a clear picture of the administrative hierarchy of the DRDS at the District level with reference to Dharwad and Kolar districts. Its organisation consists of two parts -- Governing Body and Directional and Co-ordinating Wing headed by the Special Deputy Commissioner, Development and ex-officio Project Director. The concept of Governing Body in the form of a registered government society like the DRDS corresponds to the Boards or Commissions usually found in government undertakings or public corporations. The departmental control will be less thus ensuring efficient and quick decisions for rapid realisation of goals. This is preferred in view of the fact that it provides administrative integrity in the face of external pressures. Another merit for preferring this type of Governing Body with its autonomous powers is that it facilitates modification of public policy on the basis of field exigencies.

The constitution and composition of higher level management such as a governing body is very important since the nature of top
CHART - II

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE DRDS

Governing Body of the DRDS
Chairman - Deputy Commissioner of the District

Special Deputy Commissioner (Development) and Project Director

Additional Project Director (DPAP)

IRDP CELL

APO (Agric) APO (AH) APO (Co-OP) APO (Accounts)

Ministerial Wing Headed by Gazetted Manager

Project Evaluation AND Monitoring Officer

Co-Operative Senior Auditor Manager Inspector

Ministerial Staff
management determines the efficiency and effectiveness of the institution, and its overall success. The Deputy Commissioner of the district is the Chairman of DRDS. All the district level officers concerned with the special economic programmes numbering about 17 are the members of the governing body. In addition to this, one M.L.A. and one Taluka Development Board President are members of the governing body. One small farmer and one representative of the Scheduled Caste/Tribe are members of the governing body. These members are nominated by the Government for a one year term. The Special Deputy Commissioner and ex-officio Project Director is the member secretary of the governing body. Subsequently, the governing body of DRDS has been reconstituted to include a few more functionaries. They are -

a) A representative of the State Government
b) A representative of the Central Government
c) Senior most officer of the Lead Bank
d) General Manager, District Industries and Commerce
e) Two representatives of Weaker Sections (one from SC/ST)
f) One representative from Rural Women
g) All M.Ps, M.L As, and M.L.Cs of the District.

Proceedings Of The Governing Body:

The governing body should meet at least once a quarter to discuss and deliberate upon the activities of the society. The Deputy Commissioner of the district who is also the Chairman of the DRDS will
preside over the meetings. In his absence the members present may
authorise one of them (other than the member-secretary) to preside over
the meeting. Not less than 15 clear days' notice of every meeting of
the governing body shall be given to each member. The Chairman may
himself call or by requisition in writing signed by him, may require
the Secretary to call a meeting of the governing body at any time.
The quorum for the governing body meeting is the presence of 1/3
members. In the event of adjournment of the meeting due to lack of
quorum, a fresh meeting should be convened immediately. Each member
of the governing body has one vote and in the event of tie, the
Chairman will have a casting vote. Normally the business of the
governing body is performed by a resolution in writing circulated
among all its members and any such resolution circulated and approved
by majority of the members signing shall come into force. All
resolutions passed at the Governing Body are to be recorded in the
register kept for the purpose and a copy of the same will be circulated
among the members for their action. The DRDS will hold an Annual
G.B. meeting at least once every year and not more than 15 months
can elapse between two successive annual general meetings. The
quorum for such meetings shall be 1/3 of the members of the society
present. The balance sheet and the auditor's report shall be placed
at this meeting for its consideration.

Powers Of The Governing Body:

The principal object of DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts is to
implement the different programmes under SFDA, DPAP, IRD and other
special economic programmes that may be sponsored by the Government of India/Karnataka from time to time. In this connection, the governing body has the following powers:

a) To consider the annual budget and its subsequent alterations placed before it by the member secretary as from time to time and to pass it with such modification as the governing body may think fit;

b) To accept donations and endowments or grants upon such terms as it thinks fit;

c) To delegate any of its powers other than those of making rules to the President, Secretary or other authorities as it may deem fit;

d) To appoint committees, boards, and sub-committees etc., for such purpose and on such terms as it may deem fit and to remove any of them;

e) To do generally all such acts and things as may be necessary and incidental to carry out the objectives of the society.

The boards or governing bodies can be classified on the nature of authority. Firstly, a board may be purely advisory in nature;
secondly, it may be policy-making in its functions and lastly, it may be policy-making and executing body. The governing body is a controlling board in its functional nature. This is because it controls finance as well as the operational mechanism involved in policy or programme execution. It is somewhat quasi-legislative in terms of delegating powers it enjoys. The governing body is also a constituting body since it has committee constituting and removal powers.

From the above description of the functions of DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts it can be inferred that the principal function of policy-making and execution is conspicuously missing. The functions concerning the plan formulation, its implementation, review and monitoring have not found place in the duties of DRDS whereas the Central Committee has powers to revise and review such block plans etc. This itself reveals some inherent contradiction in the whole administrative set-up concerning rural development. This type of basic inadequacy will certainly mar the effective and efficient working of an organisation like the DRDS. It shows that the governing body is neither an advisory nor policy-making or policy-executing body. Thus, it is superfluous in a sense, since it is without specific functions prescribed for bringing about rural development and social change. In terms of the line and staff principle the line functions are missing whereas staff functions have been accorded prominence in the functional scheme of the DRDS.
Directive Wing Of The DRDS:

In order to supervise the implementation work and co-ordinate various activities, DRDS has an executive wing headed by the Special Deputy Commissioner (Development) and ex-officio Project Director. Wherever the DRDS is implementing Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), an additional executive wing is created under the headship of Additional Project Director DPAP to co-ordinate various activities under the DPAP sector.

These two have separate establishments looking after their programmes. However, the DPAP wing for administrative purpose is under the Special Deputy Commissioner (Development). The executive wing of the DRDS (mainly for IRDP) consists of the following personnel:

(a) Project-Director - Senior Category 'A' Officer.
(b) Assistant Project Directors/Officers for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, etc., Category 'B' Officers.
(c) Credit Planning Officer - Category 'B' Officer.
(d) Gazetted Manager - Category 'B' Officer.
(e) Accounts Superintendent - Category 'C' Officer.
(f) Other Ministerial staff.

As regards the DPAP wing the staffing pattern is as follows:

(a) Additional Project Director - A Senior Category 'A' Officer.
(b) Evaluation and Monitoring Officer — Category 'B' Officer.
(c) Co-operative Inspector
(d) Senior Auditor.
(e) Manager.
(f) Other Ministerial Staff.

Since 23rd September 1982, additional posts in the cadre of category 'B' officers were created and they are designated as Assistant Project Directors (Accounts). Under the above order a few additional ministerial posts have been created.

The Special Deputy Commissioner ex-officio Project Director is appointed on foreign service terms and conditions. Other key staff is also deputed by the Government of Karnataka on similar terms and conditions. However, there is a provision for direct recruitment. The pay and allowances of the staff on deputation are governed by the Karnataka Civil Service rules (KCSRs) and foreign service terms and conditions. In case of officials recruited directly, the pay is governed by the existing scales of the Government of Karnataka.

Powers And Functions Of The Key Project Personnel:

(a) Chairman:

The Deputy Commissioner as Chairman and the head of the DRDS has certain executive powers. As Chairman he has the power of
overall control over the working of the DRDS. He presides over (i) the General Body Meeting, (ii) The Governing Body Meeting, (iii) Other Meetings of the Sub-committee etc. Apart from the above mentioned normal powers, he exercises all the powers of the head of a department in respect of DRDS. He shall have control over the project director, guide and supervise the working of the DRDS in implementing the various schemes.

(b) **Special Deputy Commissioner And Ex-Officio Project Director:**

Being the chief executive officer of the DRDS, he is responsible for the day-to-day administration. He works under the general control of the Chairman and further he is responsible for timely and smooth implementation of the programme. He is authorised to supervise, guide and control all personnel working in DRDS. As per the job chart prescribed by the Government, the Project Directors (Special Deputy Commissioner and Additional Project Director, DPAP, have the following powers and duties.

1. Formulation of block plan, annual plan and perspective plan for the district under special economic programme/any other rural development scheme for weaker sections of the rural population including the necessary infrastructural development needs in the plan.
2 Credit mobilisation from the financing institutions of both commercial banks and co-operatives in order to implement the IRD programmes and other rural development programmes in the district including organising of credit workshops etc.

3 Co-ordination of the activities of all the district heads of development departments in respect of the programmes under DPAP, IRD and other special economic programmes.

4. Co-ordination of the activities of all financial institutions in the district and review the performance under the District Credit Plans and IRD Credit Plans.

5 Inspection and supervision of all development activities under DPAP, IRD and other special economic programmes entrusted to DRDS.

6. Organising and supervising training programmes, conferences, workshops and seminars at Taluk levels and district level for rural development programme.

7 Arranging identification of beneficiaries under DPAP, IRD and other programmes entrusted to DRDS.

8 Advising the Deputy Commissioner and Chairman DRDS in all matters concerning special schemes of rural development in the district.
9 Review of performance in respect of credit mobilisation from financial institutions once in a month at taluk level.

10 Involving Taluk Boards in implementing all special economic programmes in the district.

11 Exercising supervision and control over the block staff in co-ordinating the implementation of the special economic programmes at Taluk level

12 Touring 12-15 days a month to make at least 8 night halts.

13 Sending regular reports to State/Central Governments on the implementation of the programmes and to keep all relevant statistics up-to-date

14 Monitoring the programme implementation in each block and cluster-wise Drawing up an operational monitoring chart prescribing duties and responsibilities

15 Dovetailing of ongoing programmes of various development departments in the block and district with the IRD block plans for comprehensive rural development
16 Keeping a close watch over the allocation of funds and expenditure thereon and ensure best progress with proper utilisation.

17 Taking prompt action to adjust the grants released by Government to the funds of the DRDS and for the proper maintenance of its accounts.

18 Taking prompt action to execute the decisions of the DRDS under the overall supervision of the Deputy Commissioner who is the Chairman of DRDS.

19 To assign proper work distribution among both technical and non-technical personnel under his control.

(c) **Assistant Project Directors/Officers:**

The Assistant Project Officers drawn from various disciplines like agriculture, animal husbandry and co-operation etc., are responsible for proper and smooth implementation of the respective programmes. They shall work under the general control and guidance of the Project Director.

(d) **Credit Planning Officer:**

The Credit Planning Officer has to study the existing credit structure in the district. The study will cover the coverage of persons,
coverage of area, coverage of activity under each category (short, medium and long term). He should also estimate the credit flow in the coming years for different activities. He should try to pin-point deficiencies or bottlenecks to be removed to improve the credit system. He should advise the DRDS officials on the preparation of the project report. This advice is mainly on what sort of programmes can be supported by credit and what programmes cannot be. The Credit Planning Officer should make efforts to strengthen the credit system wherever it is weak. He should also make an effort in building the credit system wherever it is not there.

(e) Project Evaluation Officer:

The duties of the Project Evaluation Officer are:

1. To prepare up to date resource inventory of the project area.

2. To monitor the implementation of the programme by evolving an effective system of monitoring different schemes. On the basis of monitoring, sending periodical reports to the Government.

3. To appraise sectoral programmes and assist in the review of their implementation and order of intersectoral priorities and prepare appraisal report.
4. To prepare co-ordinated Annual Plan with the help of the concerned department

5. To conduct action-oriented research and cost-benefit studies

6. To develop link with the economists of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research located in Research Stations

7. To act as co-ordinator of economic investigation carried out by the Central Government/State Government/University

(f) **Co-Operative Inspector:**

The duties of the Co-operative Inspector are-

1. Preparation of plans like credit plans, banking plans, etc

2. Collection of statistics and data for preparation of plan

3. Obtaining the subsidy proposal from implementing officer

4. Verification of utilisation of subsidy sanctioned to the beneficiaries

5. Other connected work entrusted by the Project Director and Credit Planning Officer
(g) **Gazetted Manager:**

He shall be responsible for proper upkeep of the office files and correspondence and accounts matter. He shall be responsible for controlling and supervising the works of the subordinate staff. He shall discharge functions assigned to him from time to time by the Project Director.

**Implementing Machinery:**

Implementation is the achilles heel of rural development\(^\text{15}\) The DRDS has no staff of its own for implementing the schemes. It has to fully rely on the existing developmental staff at block and sub-block level for executing its schemes. This has been included in the Sixth Five Year Plan document itself making it mandatory for the sub-district developmental officers to shoulder the burden of executing numerous poverty alleviation schemes.\(^\text{17}\) In this network of implementing machinery, the block organisation occupies an important place in view of its strategic location and functions. The following chart III gives details of the block organisational set-up in Dharwad and Kolar Districts.

**Block Organisation:**

The Block Development Office is the principal unit in implementing DRDS schemes at the Block/Taluk level in Dharwad and Kolar Districts.
CHART - III

BLOCK ORGANISATION

T.D.B.
B.D.O.

EO Animal Industry
EO Credit Panchayat
EO

Village Panchayat
V.L.W.

EO

Manager Ministril Wing

Block level development Functionaries

Grass roots development functionaries of respective development departments

TDB = Taluk Development Board
BDO = Block Development Officer
EO = Extension officer
VLW = Village Level Worker
SEO = Social Education Officer
This unit is the product of Community Development Programme and National Extension Service Scheme initiated in 1952. With the introduction of Panchayati Raj institutions, Taluk Development Boards have been added to the Block Organisation. Since the initiation of Special Economic Programmes in the Fourth Five Year Plan, the block organisation is the key unit for implementing all these programmes. Even now under the DRDS it is the chief unit of the implementation nexus.

Block organisation is headed by the Block Development Officer—a category 'B' Officer. He is assisted by extension officers in animal husbandry, co-operation, panchayats, industries, and so on. All the staff of block organisation is on deputation from various departments.

The duties of Block Development Officer with regard to DRDS are:

1. Identification of beneficiaries through household surveys;
2. Preparing the loan applications of the beneficiaries;
3. Forwarding applications to the concerned financing institutions and to the DRDS office for sanctioning of loans and subsidy respectively;
4. Supervising the utilisation of assistance; and
5. Follow-up of the utilisation of assistance.
Apart from the above mentioned duties it is the duty of the block personnel to associate with financing institutions in the recovery of loans and with DRDS personnel in evaluation and monitoring. They have to attend to any other work entrusted by the DRDS. The Block Development Officer and his team of specialists in animal husbandry, co-operation and industries should undertake the above mentioned works. The Taluk Development Board also should be fully involved in this effort.

The village level worker (VLW) is the key development functionary in the DRDS work at grass roots. There is a VLW for each hobli/circle. These VLWs will be constantly meeting the villagers and appraising them of the benefits. He also helps them in getting financial and other assistance. He is the main functionary in the identification of beneficiaries. He assesses their needs and suggests the same to the DRDS for the action plan. Later, he receives applications from the needy (identified target groups) and builds up the case with necessary documents. Lastly, he forwards the application to the BDO for onward submission to the financing institutions and to the DRDS. The VLW associates himself with the financing institutions in assessing the creditworthiness of the beneficiary. For this he convenes the meeting of the Gram Sabha. He also associates with the financing institutions in the recovery of credits. He assists the DRDS staff in evaluation and monitoring work. As he is the immediate officer in the village he closely supervises the utilisation of assistance.
rendered to the beneficiaries. The VLW being a functionary at the cutting edge of development administration delivers various kinds of services. Thus the entire exercise in development administration culminates at this point and VLW is the transmitter of service to the rural populace.

The anatomy of DRDS structure which is fitted into the overall governmental framework exhibits three kinds of organisational models. Firstly, the very hierarchy from State Headquarters to village levels network in terms of manpower, rules and regulations with fixed responsibility indicates that the operating organisation is necessarily the 'bureaucracy'. Secondly, the DRDS directional wing which is grafted on the governmental bureaucracy is a kind of matrix fitted into a project organisation. The DRDS co-ordinating and operating wing corresponds to matrix organisation with added emphasis on project management. Lastly, the implementing machinery at the block and the block level development organisation (BDO) represents a kind of disaggregated or diffused type of complex organisational mix. The block organisation is, too, a matrix organisation. In order to analyse the relative strengths and weaknesses of these structural models one has to analyse the assumptions and features of these two.

In a developing situation the bureaucratic system is identified with controls and 'red tape'; a development, which advocates of liberty, J S Mill and Herbert Spencer, consider it highly prejudicial to freedom and free enterprise. Philip Selznick, rejecting the Weberian
emphasis on formal structure of organisation, pleads for the study of informal structure. Alvin Gouldner advances the thesis that bureaucratic techniques produce their own reaction which most of the time are dysfunctional. Peter Blau a hardened critic of Weber besides emphasising the strengths of formal organisation advocates the role of informal aspects of organisation. He challenges the myth implied in the Weberian concept of bureaucracy that rationality only comes from the top. 'Maximum rationality in the organisation therefore depends in the ability of operating official to assume the initiative in establishing the informal relations and insisting on unofficial practices that eliminate operational difficulties as they occur.' Michel Crozier terms bureaucracy as one of 'vicious circle which cannot correct its behaviour from its error.'

Joseph La Palombara lists the following defects of bureaucracy:

A. Organisation - Actual Defects:

1. Favouritism, nepotism in recruitment and promotion,
2. Wasteful, inefficient procedures,
3. Feather bedding,
4. Failure to delegate or to exercise responsibility and discretion,
5. Confusion in assignments,
6. Excessive conflict, bad morale,
B. Defects Hampering Achievement Of Goals:

1. Rigidity, inadaptability,
2. Ritualism and retreatism,
3. Excessive legality,
4. Inadequate coordination and feedback,
5. Blocked channels of communication,
6. Defective ends-means relationship
7. Over centralisation,
8. Inadequate review and evaluation,
9. Inadequately trained personnel,
10. Insufficient, uneconomical operation,
11. Empire-building

C. Value-Centred Defects:

1. Concentration in bureaucracy of actual control over politics and implementation,
2. Inadequate supervision of administrative activities,
3. Excessive secrecy,
4. Arrogant, insensitive behaviour towards citizens,
5 Displacement of goals from collectivity to those of special interests or of bureaucracy itself,
6 Development of elite or caste or dynastic succession in administrative recruitment,
7 Corrupt behaviour,
8 Identification or collusion of bureaucracy with special social group or classes,
9 Prevalence of technocratic over all other considerations,
10 Duplication of effort, inefficiency, and
11 Empire-building

Víctor Thompson is of the opinion that bureau-pathological condition of the bureaucracy makes it dysfunctional rather than functional. Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy suffering from bureau-pathology may impede rather than aid the achievement of efficiency. The bureau-pathology is inherent in excessive hierarchy, overdeveloped specialisation, promotion by seniority and rigid adherence to rules.

Weber was conscious of some of these weaknesses of bureaucracy and suggested a number of counter-weights to overcome them. Measures included collegiality in decision-making, the separation of powers, the use of amateur talents in bureaucracy, democratic decentralisation, and above all, a representative government which Weber regarded as a happy compromise between irrationality of masses and the absolutiveness of bureaucratic rule.
The DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts which is superimposed on the governmental bureaucracy has a long chain of hierarchy commencing from Delhi (Union Government) to villages passing through the State capitals. The hierarchy is quite long making it complex in terms of its task-managing process. Two levels of hierarchy are found in this chain. Firstly, the Central Government to State Government which is constitutionally determined under the Centre-State relations.

In the field of rural development, too, this holds good. Secondly, there is the hierarchy at the sub-State level beginning from State headquarters to villages. The administrative model appears to be centralised extended over a large number of sub-offices. Indian bureaucracy is a hierarchically well-knit organisation operating throughout the breadth of India and the lines of command flow upward and downward in an unbroken manner. The implication of this on development administration is the inflexibility at local and field level.

This chain passes through division, district, sub-division, taluk, hobli and reaches the villages. The units of administration are revenue units and the rural development administration too follows the same pattern. The level of authority or office denotes the diffused nature of hierarchy encompassing several layers. The hierarchy envisaged for DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts corresponds to the traditional and regular administration in which development administrative hierarchy runs parallel to it, sometimes converging into it. At the district and sub-divisional level, the regulatory and development administration converge, since the Deputy Commissioner and
Assistant Commissioner at district and sub-divisional level respectively perform regulatory as well as development functions. The development administration is run on the lines of 'maintenance' administration. It shows that the regulatory administration has provided the model for developmental tasks. But developmental tasks at times demand a different kind of hierarchy and organisation. For instance, the DRDS assists the small farmer, agricultural labour in sericulture and fisheries, horticulture and industries. The potential for such schemes is not evenly spread over the district or taluk which provide hierarchy and basic units of development and are necessarily revenue units of administration. In managing the tasks such as horticulture, fisheries, forest, sericulture and industries, a different kind of hierarchical chain and organisational network is obviously needed for fully exploiting the potentialities. An officer of industries complained that "in general administrative units it is very difficult to get the required number of beneficiaries, in some areas they are concentrated and in some areas absolutely nil. Moreover, to implement the industrial schemes the potentialities of raw material, and market facility have to be looked into. But in some cases these pose problem in accommodating in general administration units." Thus Joseph La Palombara's remark that the law and order bureaucracy (regulatory administration) is often at odds with development administration seems right. Richard Taub's study of Indian administration also finds the same trend. The legal rational bureaucracy is neither efficient nor particularly rational when applied in the development context of a country like...
India in general and the rural setting of Dharwad and Kolar districts in particular. Unlike the regulatory administration the tasks of development are not repetitive and cannot be predicted. These require a high degree of motivation and flexibility.

The structure principle of hierarchy manifests at a number of levels of differentially graded authority. The necessary implications of this hierarchy is the superior subordinate relationship under which the lower office comes under the supervision of a higher office. Thus the extent of supervision and magnitude of overseeing the task management is complex and wide.

The State Government through the office of the Divisional Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner supervise the work of rural development. The Divisional Commissioner being the head of the revenue division (comprising a number of revenue districts) supervises the districts under his jurisdiction. Likewise the district administration under the stewardship of the Deputy Commissioner supervises the sub-district level efforts in rural development. The sub-divisional officer (Assistant Commissioner) is authorised to supervise the activities in this field. At the taluk level the B D.O is made responsible for this, while the VLW at hobli level operationalises the activities in rural development. Since the hierarchy of public bureaucracy is lengthy, the supervision of immediate levels is manageable but the overall supervision becomes very difficult.
The implications of hierarchical organisation is that targets are set from above, without much bearing on local situations and environment. Two inferences can be drawn from such a phenomenon. Firstly, if targets are set from above, naturally they miss local relevance and thus stand in the way of full realisation of targets. It necessarily follows that targets are not fulfilled in toto. Secondly, the very setting of targets from above implies the trend of authoritarianism. A necessary corollary is that the same trend of authoritarianism is followed in fulfilling the targets. It is needless to add that the authoritarian style of operation is antithetical to development administration. The authoritarian style may have some relevance in revenue or other regulatory administration and it will bear fruits in such a task, but in development administration it certainly becomes counter-productive. The case of DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar Districts are a proof of such a reality.

The superior-subordinate relationship is another facet of hierarchical organisation. This has both functional and dysfunctional value. The hierarchical organisation built by a colonial administration has instilled fear complex among the subordinates. Due to this fear phobia, subordinate officers and staff avoid direct dealings with the supervisors. The net effect is that the supervisor never gets a real picture of the fact since the subordinates in their fear psychosis hesitate to appraise them of the real and true facts. Due to this type of atmosphere the subordinate's initiative and
innovation in resolving vexed issues are curbed. Moreover, supervisors never encourage subordinates to undertake new ventures. Thus, governmental bureaucracy is deprived of an innovative mechanism. Supervisors always suspect the subordinates and thereby suppress their innovative and creative talent. However, a fine balance in the relationship between the superiors and subordinates has to be worked out for ensuring smooth administration. Another facet of supervisor-subordinate relationship is that of delegation of authority. Since the superiors enjoy power status and authority, it becomes difficult to share power with subordinates. The net effect is the centralisation of power and authority. The subordinates are assigned responsibility only without adequate delegation of powers. The administrators face innumerable difficulties in the field and sometimes sit with fingers crossed and express their helplessness in execution of emergent functions in the absence of required powers and authority. It is obvious that under such circumstances implementation of a scheme suffers heavily.

This superior-subordinate relationship in a governmental office administration has created a new class namely the bureaucratic elite. Due to this fact Jayaprakash Narayan rightly observed that administration was really in the hands of 'babus' and there was 'Babudum' in existence. This superiorist attitude stands in between the client and government. Sometimes people are thwarted. Thus the superior attitude is not conducive for development administration. The
superior-subordinate mechanism developed out of hierarchical design makes the subordinate depend heavily upon superiors for all matters. Further, this hierarchical relationship dilutes a subordinates' sense of responsibility even in his work. Therefore the culture of dependence of the civil servant on his superior reduces the intensity of his concern for achieving specific results in work. Hence, the superior-subordinate mechanism of hierarchy impedes speedy and efficient achievement of goals. This is true of the DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts.

The principle of division of labour is a little complicated in governmental bureaucracy. The Central Government frames policies and programmes and issues guidelines in rural development. The Centre's role is purely policy-making. Notwithstanding the federal nature of the polity the centre's initiative and interests are high, thus making the State Government redundant in this matter. The State Government transmits the central policy to implementing units like the DRDS and district administration. Likewise it is transmitted to the sub-division and then to the block. Thus, each level of hierarchy is assigned a specific task in consonance with the principle of division of labour. Correspondingly each unit or level of administration is charged with the responsibility of review, monitoring, evaluation and feedback. This facilitates the authority at each level to initiate corrective measures.

In DRDS, too, apart from the usual bureaucratic division of labour for the implementation and completion of projects under it, a special
kind of division of labour has been adopted. The division of labour for the implementation and completion of a project in DRDS is presented in a tabular form.

The Table - 2 gives details of division of labour shows that the association of the Special Deputy Commissioner (Development) and Project Director in all the activities brings coherence and effectiveness to the activities. Also, it makes the implementing staff to discharge their duties properly in view of top officials assisting the process of implementation. Secondly, the work assigned to the BDO and his team of extension officers reveals that they form the core of the implementing manpower. Their omnipresence in almost all activities makes them the nucleus of the ground level implementing exercise. The scheme of division of labour devised in the DRDS is in accordance with the precepts of the Weberian ideal type which fuses specialisation flowing from division of labour with specialization of knowledge. This type of schematic division of labour results in rationality in organization which is the ultimate aim of the Weberian bureaucracy.

In IRDS of Dharwad and Kolar districts, two types of rules can be identified. Rules regarding the task management belong to the first category and the rules concerning the personnel to the second. Rules are framed concerning the execution of various development schemes and projects. These are framed in the form of guidelines. In this connection, the following first category rules are to be found.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Nature of the Activities</th>
<th>Responsibility of Executives</th>
<th>Support, Assistance, Guidance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Holding of Credit Workshops, Collection of loan applications</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, Tahsildars, Managers of Commercial Banks and Co-operative Societies, Extension Officers, Veterinary Assistants, Agricultural Assistants</td>
<td>Special Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Project Officers(All)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Animal Husbandry Schemes</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, EOS, Assistant Director Animal Husbandry and Veterinary services</td>
<td>Senior Assistant Director of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Services, Special Deputy Commissioner (Development), Assistant Project Officer(AH).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Minor Irrigation Schemes</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, EOS</td>
<td>Special Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Project Officers(All)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, EOS, Assistant Director of Fisheries</td>
<td>Senior Assistant Director of Fisheries, APO (Co-Op)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, EOS, Assistant Director of Agriculture</td>
<td>Principal Agricultural Officer, Special Deputy Commissioner (Development), APO (Agri), APO(AH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Trysem</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, EOS of Industries, Assistant Director of Industries and Commerce</td>
<td>General Manager, District Industries and Commerce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, EOS, Assistant Director of Horticulture</td>
<td>Senior Assistant Director of Horticulture Special Deputy, Commissioner (Development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sericulture</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner, BDOs, EOS, Assistant Director of Sericulture</td>
<td>Special Deputy Commissioner and Deputy Director of Sericulture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) Rules concerning the identification of beneficiary and area,
(b) Rules concerning advancement of assistance to beneficiary and area,
(c) Rules concerning preparation of plan and modus operandi of implementation,
(d) Rules specifying financial transaction,
(e) Rules concerning review, monitoring and feedback

In the second category rules concerning the personnel form the core of staffing. These include:

(a) Rules relating to recruitment, deputation, transfer and promotion, suspension and dismissal,
(b) Rules relating to discipline, punishment, conduct, reward etc

Rules adopted in the functioning of the DRDS have a multi-functional role. This is evident from the contents and intentions of the rules. Many circulars and orders were issued to simplify the fulfilment of tasks. In this case rules performed the function of simplification. Rules were framed to explain the duties, responsibilities, tasks, use of funds and so on. Here the rules performed the function of explication. Some rules played the role of motivation. A few orders were issued to motivate the development staff by way of introducing awards and other incentives. Rules in this case
performed motivating functions. In DRDS rules also performed a constitutive function. Many circulars were issued denoting the constitution of various committees, groups and such other activities. In essence, rules were framed to delegate powers for the implementation of various schemes. Rules in this category performed authorisation function. Likewise the DRDS sought to adopt methods and techniques of implementation of schemes uniformly. This is clear from the perusal of the various orders issued to the BDOs, bank authorities and other development functionaries. In this sense rules perform the role of standardisation. This was initiated in order to overcome usual bureaucratic sins like delay and haphazard spending of money and implementation of schemes. In order to adopt to the changing needs of the field situation and contingencies, old rules were often changed and supplemented by new rules. Sometimes rules permitted some kind of flexibility in its operation. Thus, in this instance it performed flexibility producing function. The government has issued many orders to associate the Panchayati Raj institutions in the implementation of schemes by the DRDS. Through such a process it sought to supplement participation of the grass roots political masters. It is evident from the above discussion that rules in this particular case performed the role of politicisation. Certain orders were issued specifying the duties and responsibilities of the development personnel involved in the DRDS. This indicates the specification function of rule. The work of DRDS involves a number of government departments and financing institutions. A net work of relations have to be established and
sustained for effective implementation of schemes. In this connection a number of orders were issued for this purpose, thus making a rule to perform the linkage function. Then a few rules were aimed at resolving inter-departmental deadlocks and conflicts. In this sense, rules performed the function of arbitration. A few orders were issued to involve different kinds of functionaries in the implementation of schemes. For instance, the involvement of block staff and extension officers was laid down in the government orders. Thus, in this case rules performed the involvement-function. Lastly, rules perform punishment-legitimising function by way of providing implicit or explicit warning in advance. In the same fashion, the government has issued a number of orders specifying the punishment measure such as adverse remarks in confidential reports if development personnel fail to perform their duties diligently. Rules in this sense performed punishment-legitimising function. Even though rules in DRDS have this type of multiple role which is a general phenomenon in the context of developmental targets, the fact is that rules and techniques should be considered less important as compared with the accomplishment of objectives.

The role specificity is another unique feature of governmental bureaucracy. Each functionary is assigned a specific job earmarking the area of work. In the DRDS set-up, of Dharwad and Kolar districts the functionaries involved from State headquarters to village level have been assigned a specific job which is exemplified in the job chart.
presented earlier. The Development Commissioner at the State level is a generalissimo of development effort of the State Government. The Deputy Secretary and Ex-officio Director, Special Economic Programmes (SEP) is charged with the responsibility of SEP and DRDS. At the district level, the Deputy Commissioner is made responsible for implementation of rural development programmes as the district head and the Chairman of the governing body of DRDS. Likewise, the Special Deputy Commissioner and Ex-officio Project Director is the head of the DRDS operational activities and executes the SEP under the overall guidance of the Deputy Commissioners. At the block level, the BDO and VLW at the village level are assigned distinct works in the field of rural development.

The structural characteristics of bureaucracy are implicit in the DRDS organisation which is superimposed in it. It can be inferred from this that the DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts are working in the frame of public bureaucracy. This obviously has its strengths and weaknesses. As observed earlier, the hierarchical system has its own advantages but in development administration there are some limitations. The division of labour, system of rules, role specificity which are found in DRDS have added strength to it. Another structural facet which has made its way in the DRDS is the Project Organisation in which the matrix organisation is embedded. The project organisation is essentially a radical departure from classical organisations like bureaucracy. The horizontal and diagonal
relationships are its salient features. These relations provide substance to the project organisation since in reality they provide the modus operandi for the project.

The project organisation is established when the end result of a project is definable in terms of specific activity. When the tasks require interdependence of various complex functionaries the project organisation is initiated. Thus the end result and interdependence of tasks require the project type of organisation. The project organisation is categorised into four types. They are:

(a) Individual,
(b) Staff,
(c) Intermix, and
(d) Aggregate

The individual project design consists of only the project manager without any direct control on personnel under him. The project manager in this type of organisation has to rely on the persuasive technique in performing his role. Secondly, the staff project design has a back-up staff for project activities but the primary functional tasks of organisation are performed by the traditional line department. The project head has the authority and control only over the back-up staff. The Intermix project construct has staff personnel and selected functional heads reporting directly to the project head. The aggregate project design has also the necessary personnel for the project.
The DRDS directional wing is a project organisation superimposed on governmental bureaucracy. It is a kind of staff project organisation in which it has few back-up staff, while the main activities are initiated through the functional departments whose heads are represented in the governing body of the DRDS. In terms of criteria for its formation, it fulfills the criteria laid down earlier that the end result is specific and definable. The DRDS end result is the implementation of SEP, which has the ultimate aim of uplifting the poor above the poverty line. The DRDS also satisfies another criterion, namely, that of inter-dependence among various functionaries to realize the objectives. The DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts is engaged in rural development, which is a multifaceted activity comprising various aspects of human life. As such, it has to depend upon functional departments like agriculture, animal husbandry, sericulture, industries, horticulture, and banks and so on. Thus, the definable end result or goal and the interdependent nature of activities have given the necessary drive for formulation of the DRDS on the model of project design.

When a project structure is superimposed on a functional structure, the result is a matrix. The matrix organisation is a project design plus functional organisation type. The DRDS controlling and directive organisation largely conforms to a 'matrix organisation' which has been fixed into the total governmental bureaucracy. The main features of the matrix organisation are (1) work in matrix organisation...
will be done by the specialists coming from functional departments, (ii) an individual has two or more superiors to whom he is formally accountable and (iii) general orders and instructions are issued by the department and specific orders and instructions by the project manager. Matrix structure is designed primarily to gear two needs of the organisation (1) the need to specialize activities into functional departments that develop technical expertise and provide a permanent home base for employees and (2) the need to have units that integrate the activities of these specialised departments on a programme, project, product or system basis.

Matrix organisation has the unique quality of bringing together functional experts and the general manager in a single project. In DRDS the Project Director is a general manager giving directions and lead to the project work. All Assistant Project Officers (APO) are the functional experts in their fields such as agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives and the like. Most of the work is done by these functional experts. The functional experts are taken from their respective departments and as such they have two superiors—one in the working department and another in their own department. All directions and instructions in their functioning areas are issued by functional heads whereas the project manager i.e., the Project Director co-ordinates activities of all functional experts into a purposive manner towards the achievement of the goals of an organisation. In essence general orders and instructions are issued by the Project Director.
whereas specific instructions in their field are issued by the functional department. Incentives like promotions are determined by the functional department. The matrix organisation suffers from a few weaknesses. Firstly, goal conflict between functional department and the project, and secondly, multiple subordination i.e., individuals are under more than one supervisor. The duality of control is established by the Deputy Commissioner and the district level technical head. This obviously creates problems of control and coordination. Another problem is that the project head may not be able to directly reward his staff with promotions and salary increase. This necessarily hinders the effectiveness of the individual who heads the project.

In case of DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts the problem of goal conflict does not arise since the goals are set by the functional head at the district level in governing body meetings as a member in an ex-officio capacity. Since the functional heads are involved in fixing goals, the question of conflict does not arise. The problem of multiple subordination is also not a serious problem since functional experts are working directly under the Project Director and as such accountable to him. There is some lopsidedness in this, since functional experts look mostly towards their functional departments. This is because of lack of incentives like promotions which are controlled by the parent departments.

The very essence of project design of the DRDS clearly implies the de-emphasis of hierarchy and conventional organisational pyramid.
This necessarily leads to a smooth and peaceful organisational design since centralisation, which is the heart of conventional bureaucracy, and its corresponding diseases like tension and interpersonal conflicts, are minimised if not totally eliminated. The essence of the Governing body in DRDS is to enable collegiate decision-making and promotion of collaborative problem-solving. This is also one of the counterweights advocated by Weber to counter the centralist tendency in the legal-rational construct. The governing body comprises all the development functionaries at the district level who are principal executors of rural development schemes which facilitates collegiate decision-making. It also ensures collaborative effort in problem-solving which is best exemplified in the governing body proceedings of Dharwad and Kolar DRDS.

The implementing organisational design is a disaggregated structure. This is because all the functional departments are held responsible for executing the schemes of DRDS but they are not under the direct command and control of the DRDS. At sub-district level all the commands, directives and controls are initiated by the district functional head. The Block organisation has been made a nucleus unit at the block level for implementing the schemes meant for the rural poor. The block organisation is also a kind of matrix. The work-organisation of BDO is essentially a matrix organisation, and deviates from the traditional organisation i.e., bureaucracy with single line of command.
Block organisation is essentially a development organisation and the need for bringing together specialists in various fields in a common organisation paved the way for matrix organisation. This problem is discussed with reference to the DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts. Extension officers (EOs) from functional departments work under BDO, a general manager of the block organisation and at the same time report to their functional heads of their work. EOs receive orders and instructions from both the technical head and immediate boss, i.e., BDO. It is needless to say that the ills of matrix organisation are carried with block organisation also. Firstly, EOs exhibit divided or dual loyalty between technical head and the BDO. They will be always upward looking for rewards rather than lateral looking for work. Hence the BDO fails to control EOs directly. Secondly, EOs always look back to their parent departments because they are incentive promoters. Under such situation, BDO fails to extract work from EOs. Based on intensive field work, a study comes out with more or less the same findings. "In view of the pronounced departmental loyalties, it becomes extremely difficult on the part of Block Development Officers to effectively coordinate the activities of the Extension Officer."

Other aspects of this matrix organisation is that the BDO lacks adequate power in case of disciplinary matters over EOs. The technical head at the district is empowered to impose all minor punishments and penalties and thus the BDO has been bypassed here.
Added to this, many times the technical heads at district level directly communicate with their EOs. The study team on Community Projects and National Extension Services also recognises this problem. It says, "BDO did not have full administrative control over their specialist staff. BDOs complained that the departmental heads often directly deal with their specialists and that the specialists therefore are not available for extension work when required." This once again undermines BDO's abilities and status. Obviously, BDO fails to extract work from EOs. In Rajasthan, Sadiq Ali Committee felt that the functionary who is charged with taking work should also have sufficient powers of control. It further suggests that BDO should have powers of imposing minor penalties over the non-gazetted deputation staff.

In the structural design of the DRDS in the entire gamut of public bureaucracy, the role of intermediary organisations are conspicuously missing. It is a common phenomenon that governments frequently attempt to serve their mass public through intermediary structure which capitalises on existing organisational resources, simultaneously, strengthening the existing organisations and reducing the burden on public administration. The intermediary organisations are preferred in view of inbuilt limitations of public administration. The social distance between educated officials and low status of peasants inhibiting communications, producing service irrelevant to the needs and capabilities of the peasant and predisposing them to
withdraw from contact with officials, services flowing to those who are easy to reach are some of the limitations of public bureaucracy in serving the rural poor. It is revealed that administration service oriented to mass rural public cannot effectively reach and engage the public without effective local organisation. Due to these weaknesses of public organisation and public services the effort to reach mass rural public through bureaucratic chain usually fail. Government cannot maintain field staff on one-to-one basis with their intended clients, especially when service are targeted on individual basis. The necessity of intermediary organisation is most needed in developing countries like India. The intermediary organisation can easily overcome the in-built weakness of public bureaucracy in serving the rural populace. The intermediary organisation can interact on one-to-one basis with individuals in serving their needs. Likewise the problem of social distance, inhibiting communication and services flowing to those are easy to reach are easily overcome. In spite of these advantages the role of intermediary organisations are completely missing in the DRDS structural and organisational mix.

The foregoing analysis of the structural aspects of DRDS with reference to Dharwad and Kolar districts shows that it is purely a government bureaucratic organisation. In this public organisational network the DRDS is one of the components of rural development administration along with the departmental set up and the attenuated development block set-up. The project organisation with matrix design is superimposed on the public bureaucracy. The executive chain or
machinery is disaggregated at the block level even though the BDO is made nucleus of the block development organisation. The strength and weakness of this organisational structure has been analysed and inferences are drawn at appropriate places. One broad inference is that the DRDS in Dharwad and Kolar districts is a disjointed and disaggregated unit of bureaucracy. Hence it is inferred that much of the poor performance of field staff is attributed to this type of work organisation. With this structural overtones and background it is worthwhile to examine the functional dynamics of the DRDS in the next chapter.
REFERENCES


5. The post of Divisional Commissioner finds place in the Revenue Act. As such he derives his position and powers from the same Section 7(2) state that: "subject to the control of the State Government the Divisional Commissioner shall be the Chief Revenue Officer in the Division and shall exercise powers of superintendence and control within the division over all officers subordinate to him Section 7(3) states the Divisional Commissioner shall exercise the powers and discharge the duties conferred on him by or under this Act or any law for the time being in force. He shall exercise such powers and discharge such duties as the Government may confer or impose in this behalf for the purpose of carrying out the provision of this Act or any other law for the time being in force." See The Karnataka Land Revenue Rules 1966, and The Karnataka Land Grant Rules 1969, (Bangalore Department of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Karnataka, 1984), pp 11-12


11. G O No RDP 41 IRD 83, Bangalore dated 10-9-1985


13. This post was abolished subsequently


15. G O No RDC 282, SEP, 78 Bangalore dated 6-12-1980


The main purpose of creating block as an administrative unit was to bring the development administration as near as possible and to equip it with a qualified team of officials for coordinated and integrated field extension work in the interrelated sectors of agriculture, animal husbandry, rural industries etc. See V.R. Gaikwad, "Administration Of Development Programme In Agriculture And Community Development" in *A Survey Of Research In Public Administration*, Vol II, (New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1975), p 2.


36. *Annual Plan Of DRDS Dharwad 1983-84 IRDP (Bangalore, Project Formulation Division, Karnataka Government Secretariat, 1983)*, pp. 5-6

37. For instance it is recorded that since 1979-80 till the end of July 1982, about 132 circulars have been issued by the Central Ministry of Rural Reconstruction in order to simplify and explain the various dimensions of the IRDP, *Kurukshetra*, Vol. 33, no 6, August, 1985


49. In Indian context the intermediary organisations are Panchayati raj institutions, co-operatives and voluntary organisations

