CHAPTER II

The Structure and Process of Decentralised Planning

2.1 Introduction

Kerala has been way behind most states of India in the matter of decentralisation. The developments in other states did not have much effect in the state where, except for a brief period of three years, the village Panchayats alone constituted the Panchayat system. The 73rd Amendment Bill and the Conformity Act passed by the Kerala Legislature provided a new basis for the reorganisation of the Panchayats in the state by making provisions for three tiers. The concept of an assembly of voters or Gram Sabha is unknown to modern Kerala although it has been in operation in most other states of India. When the Conformity Act known as Kerala Panchayati Raj Act was passed in 1994, the Left Front, which was in the opposition, and a number of social organisations and intellectuals sympathetic to it had criticised the legislation for not going far enough to grant more powers to the local bodies in persuance of the spirit of the 73rd Amendment, which had envisaged the Panchayats as institutions of self-government. There was no popular pressure on the part of the public of Kerala to grant more powers to the Panchayats and the only exception was the Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP), a large non-governmental organisation generally allied to the Left Front active in popularising science and taking up environmental issues in Kerala for quite some time. The Left Front contested the 1996 elections to the State Assembly on the promise that, if elected to power, the decentralisation process would be given further fillip. Following the victory of the
Left Front, the stage was set for undertaking more substantial decentralisation measures. The Ninth Plan of the state was to begin from 1997-98 period onwards. The 1994 Act, despite its limitations, had made planning one of the functions of the Panchayats. Seizing the opportunity, the State Government took a bold decision to make the Ninth Plan a “people’s plan” and in order to make it a serious exercise devolved 35 to 40 percent of the plan funds of the state to the three tier local bodies. This is how Kerala’s “people’s plan campaign” was born.

Since decentralization is a political process implying redistribution of power, governments are generally wary of undertaking it. It is in this context that mass mobilisation in support of decentralisation reforms was envisaged as a strategy to overcome the institutional hurdles. Kerala is known for such mobilization for implementing drastic reforms in its recent history. For example, when the Land Reform Laws were passed in 1969, the peasant masses were mobilised for the effective implementation of the reforms.\(^1\) Same could be said of the Total Literacy Programme implemented in the state from the late eighties under the leadership of the KSSP workers.

One of the agencies having experience of mobilizing people is the non-profit sector represented by a large number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The role of voluntary organisation is now increasingly emphasized in the context of the failure of formal governmental structures to deliver basic needs and services to the people. Today NGOs are looked upon as the fourth estate.\(^2\) The felt needs of the people were better identified by the NGOs. These needs were interpreted and incorporated into local plans often by applying participatory rural appraisal techniques. In fact, it is these NGOs who experimented with and evolved the basics of participatory planning in micro-level settings. Hence the indebtedness of the current
participatory planning discourse to the contributions of the NGOs is considerable.

Kerala is known for the existence of a large number of mass and class organizations, most of whom are affiliated to the political parties. It is estimated that the combined strength of all mass organisations in the state is about ten million. Besides, there is a vast network of co-operative organisations and movements such as the organisations of library and literary movements. These organizations have set a facilitating environment for creating a participatory approach in solving the regional developmental problems according to some organizers of the “plan campaign”. They believed that the very same social capital could be used to address the crisis and stagnation that Kerala has been experiencing in the productive and social sectors. In other words, the organised strength and political consciousness of the people were sought to be used to increase production and productivity in Kerala.3

2.2 Antecedents of Decentralised Planning

Decentralised planning in Kerala is influenced by many local level experiments organised in the state since the eighties by the KSSP, voluntary agencies, trade unions, mass organisations and governmental agencies. Let us have a look at some of those local experiments.

The KSSP, formed in 1962, has been involved in several educational experiments in Kerala. Today KSSP is a mass movement with more than 40,000 members and with units in all villages and towns in Kerala.4 It has introduced a large number of non-formal educational techniques such as folk-art for communicating scientific ideas and development issues, publishing journals, pamphlets and books. Its activities include, publishing children’s magazines, establishing science clubs and conducting science talent tests and science congress for children.5
KSSP introduced the concept of Panchayat School Complexes in the field of education. It treats a high school and its feeder primary schools as a single complex and utilizes the built-in infrastructure and resources of the high school to raise the quality of education in the primary schools. KSSP organised successful experiments in Panchayat level school complexes with the co-operation from the local Panchayats of Madikai in Kasaragod and Kallisseri in Kannur District.\(^6\)

KSSP was also the key force behind the Total Literacy Campaign in Kerala aimed at the literacy of all the people of the state. The campaign started in December 1988 was initially limited to Ernakulam District. Popular committees were formed in all 860 Panchayat wards of the district as well as Municipal wards. As a result Ernakulam became the first District in the country to achieve total literacy. This prompted the state government to launch the Total Literacy Campaign in Kerala.\(^7\)

The implementation of a small scale water distribution scheme by the people of Olavanna Panchayat near Calicut city is a scheme financed by the beneficiaries themselves. When the project was started in 1990 there were 7000 households that faced acute water shortage. But by 1996, 1500 households had been provided with water through this self-financing project.\(^8\)

Local initiatives have also come up to improve people's health programme in Kerala. Thanalur Panchayat in Malappuram District in August 1993 launched an integrated health care programme with the participation from KSSP, various political and cultural organisations, Literacy Committee and Health Department.\(^9\) They undertook a total vaccination programme for children, general health survey and the formation of a health club in each school located in the Panchayat.
In the Peringome-Vayakkara Panchayat in Kannur District a comprehensive programme for animal husbandry was implemented with the technical leadership from the Kerala Veterinary Surgeons' Service Association. In May 1995 an 'Operation zero rabies' programme was implemented and, as a result the Panchayat was declared as the first rabies free Panchayat in Kerala. Irrigated fodder cultivation project, network of bio-gas units, poultry, pig, rabbit and sheep farms were programmes undertaken with the co-operation of neighbourhood groups, farmers and Panchayat level working committee in this Panchayat.

A most successful venture in the co-operation sector in industry is the Kerala Dinesh Beedi, which came into existence in 1969, with 35,000 workers. Kerala Dinesh Beedi is organised as a federation of 22 local primary co-operatives linked to a central co-operative. Its sale has exceeded 73 crores and 60 lakhs in 1995. Kerala Dinesh Beedi has developed organisational innovations that provide lessons for other industrial co-operatives.

Group approach to coconut cultivation was successfully undertaken by the farmers club in Kanhikuzhy Panchayat in Alappuzha district. In association with this an intensive vegetable cultivation programme covering all households was started in 1996. This could bring team work in the Panchayat and the output created considerable drop in local market price leading to 20-30 percentage fall in the price of vegetables. This received statewide attention.

Group farming was another innovative programme started in Kerala in the 1980's. An extension of group farming was the Group Approach for Locally Adapted and Sustainable Agriculture (GALASA) sponsored by KSSP and piloted by Kerala Agricultural University. GALASA is a frontier technology and demonstration
programme to boost the productivity and profitability of cultivation in Kerala.Farmers were encouraged to undertake agricultural operations as a group in order to collectively minimise the expenditure while retaining private ownership of land. Group farming was experimented with great success in Pananchery, Madakkathara and Ollukkara Panchayats in Thrissur.

With the full co-operation and participation of people and voluntary organisations the importance of sanitary latrines was demonstrated in the Trikunnapuzha Panchayat in Alappuzha District. With funding from the Dutch government and an eighteen percent beneficiary contribution amounting to Rs.500, 2000 latrines were installed, thereby reducing by ninety percent the number of latrines opening into canals. After construction of latrines in 1995, there has been a drastic fall in the occurrence of gastroenteritis.

By developing alternative construction techniques, a voluntary organisation, the Centre of Science and Technology for Rural Development (COSTFORD) has brought low waste and low cost house construction technology in Kerala. Laurie Baker helped to form the COSTFORD that built more than 5000 houses, each with an area of 250 square feet and costing Rs. 8,000/- under poverty alleviation programmes, and more than 1000 public buildings all over Kerala. For undertaking public works under the People’s Planning Campaign, COSTFORD has been recognised as an accredited agency to help the Local Self Government Institutions (LSGIS).

With the help of neighbourhood groups community development society projects were undertaken in Alappuzha District as a part of poverty alleviation programme. Community Development Society (CDS) is a community initiative using women’s agency with legal backing. It has been built on four pillars - women's
empowerment, thrift and credit, viable income generating activities and convergence at the level of the local bodies where it is to function as their subsystem.\textsuperscript{16}

The neighbourhood groups collected thrift from the members and the pooled savings were made available as loans to the most needy at low interest rates. Different poverty alleviation programmes were also undertaken by the CDS projects to provide shelter, latrines and community taps. Literacy classes and training programmes for capacity building were also undertaken.\textsuperscript{17}

In water conservation, Kunnothuparamba Panchayat in Kannur District with the help of Panchayat water conservation society, has provided comprehensive water management for the Panchayat. Under this programme 32 check dams were built across two main streams.\textsuperscript{18} As a result, 200 wells that were observed, showed a significant increase in water levels during the hottest season.

People's Artificial Reefs Programme is another novel action undertaken by an NGO known as Programme for Community Organisation (PCO) started in 1977 to rejuvenate the Coastal resources which have been destroyed by uncontrolled and destructive fishing activities. People's Artificial Reefs, which were man-made can act as fish aggregating units and they are rooted in the traditional knowledge system of the fisher folk. In Thiruvananthapuram and Kanyakumari Districts, 21 People's Artificial Reefs were deposited between 1984 and 1991.\textsuperscript{19}

The Meenvallam Small Hydel Project study undertaken by Integrated Rural Technology Centre (IRTC), the research centre of KSSP in Karimba Gram Panchayat in Palakkad district, from April 1994 to March 1996, was an attempt to produce small scale electricity. The proposed project would have an installed capacity of 2.5 megawatt and its annual generation potential would be 8.75 million units.\textsuperscript{20} The
capacity outlay for the project was estimated at Rs. 7,60,00,000. This project was approved by the Palakkad District Panchayat.

Through its participatory technology development programme, KSSP has made important contribution to the improved cooking stove programmes in Kerala. The diffusion programme was organised through the Agency for Non-Conventional Energy and Rural Technology (ANERT) formed in 1986. Through ANERT, 5 lakhs high efficiency cooking stoves were installed in Kerala.

A comprehensive database is an essential factor for sustainable development. To generate this a People's Resource Mapping Programme was implemented in 25 pilot Panchayats with the support of KSSP activists. Land literacy is what the People's Resource Mapping Programme was intended to achieve. The success achieved in this field provided the impetus to the KSSP activists, voluntary organisations and LSGIs to know the resources of their respective Panchayats in framing new projects, when people's campaign was introduced in Kerala. The idea of sustainability was introduced in Kerala with this programme. It has been claimed that, by January 2000, over 214 Panchayats had carried out at least partial mapping. 21

A close analysis of the above micro level experiments that came as antecedents to people's campaign reveal that effective solutions to certain kinds of novel and fluid public problems may require the variety of experience and knowledge offered more by diverse, relatively more open-minded citizens and field operators than by distant and narrowly trained experts. Direct participation of grass root operators increases accountability and reduces the length of the chain of agency that accompanies political parties and their bureaucratic apparatuses. 22
2.3 Context of People's Campaign in Kerala

The Kerala economy had been facing severe constraints to growth since mid-70's. Agriculture production, particularly food crops, has been declining at a very rapid pace, thereby making the state increasingly dependent on other states in respect of food crops. Similar stagnation was visible in the industrial sector, which was already very fragile in the state. Added to it was the dwindling resources of the state to sustain the achievements made and institutions created in the social sector with state intervention. In fact the economy of the state was being kept afloat mainly from remittance from abroad, particularly from the Gulf countries. The sharply adversarial political relations in the state further complicated the economic problem. It was in this context that decentralisation was recognised as a probable way to break the impasse. 23

Moreover, the people's campaign was organised in Kerala on the basis of four factors that counted on the skills and energy of ordinary people to make it work.

1. Kerala's long-term achievements in bringing a high material quality of life to its people even at low levels of economic development - the well known "Kerala Model".

2. A vibrant civil society combined with political parties that are cadre organisations capable of mobilising people for activities beyond voting.

3. A recent history of what Kerala activists call "micro experiments" that showed the power of local initiatives and developed specific case materials that organisers could insert into the campaign.
4. A conjunction of historical events that created a 'perfect' moment in which to take the plunge.  

2.4 Disintegration of Soviet Union and its Implications

Kerala's people's campaign experiment comes at a crucial historical conjuncture itself. The collapse of the Soviet Union and of East European Socialism has been followed by a rapidly expanding assault on many of the welfare gains of the mid to late 20th century. The service sector of many third world countries including India is under attack from World Bank and International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustment Programmes. It was in this context that decentralisation was offered as a means of creating more efficient use of dwindling state resources.  

2.5 The Kerala Model

The campaign was erected on the foundation stone of the Kerala Model. In the later part of the 20th century, Kerala's people organised to bring about near first world level of literacy, life expectancy, birth rates and infant mortality, an effective public distribution system, a land reform that stopped the exploitation by the landlords and an Agricultural Labourers' Act that codified wages, benefits and better working conditions. The Kerala Model means that across the state one finds an educated population that has experienced major social reforms in recent times. Such a population could be easily mobilised for further change in Kerala, it was hoped.  

2.6 Kallialassery Model of Decentralised Planning and the Introduction of People's Campaign.

The most advanced experiment that came as an institution, inspiration and historical conjunction to introduce people's campaign was the Kallialasseri Model of Decentralised Planning.
Kalliaresseri Panchayat in Kannur District has a good number of experienced KSSP activists and it was selected as the site to carry out experiment of resource mapping among the selected 25 Panchayats in Kerala. It was a very comprehensive plan based on hard data generated through popular participation with the assistance of a large number of state level experts.

The Kalliaresseri Development Society, registered in 1993, was the key force in the Kalliaresseri planning experiment. The general body of the society chaired by the Panchayat president consisted of representatives of 200 neighbourhood groups, each having 25 households each. Elected Panchayat members and some government officials also participated in the meeting. Policies of development were framed at the general body meeting whereas a sub committee for each of eight development sectors handled the day to day functions. Under the chairmanship of the ward member, each ward had a ward committee.

A demand survey of vegetables and eggs, surveys of educational institutions and household energy consumption and mapping of drainage and powerlines were undertaken. It took almost 3 years to produce a tentative village development plan. An integrated programme for each eco-zone was developed using a systems approach. The total energy programme involved mapping the entire electrical distribution system and energy consumption patterns.

Vegetable cultivation and constitution of school complex were the immediate programmes selected for implementation. This was the first trial for micro planning.

The Kalliaresseri Panchayat Educational Complex was started in January 1993, with Aksharavedi activities for enhancing the knowledge base of the school children. The complex helped in raising the standard to a predefined level in five years. The
complex has now become self-reliant in planning and implementation of their activities.\textsuperscript{30}

Repairing of canal work and building the Vellanchira - Parapadam road received wide acclaim for their success in generating mass-voluntary labour.

By September 1995, a comprehensive report on participatory planning in Kalliasseri outlined the participatory planning process, the philosophy of the efforts and a sector by sector analysis of problems that could lead to an action programme. The potential of voluntary action, the importance of creating new institutions for development, the problems of integrating the institutions of civil society with those of the government and the relations between policies and local development were also made evident.

A seminar to discuss the Kalliasseri report was held in the Panchayat, which was inaugurated by EMS Namboodiripad. The Kalliasseri report was also presented and discussed in a two-day seminar at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram. The seminar suggested that the Kalliasseri experiment would have to be tested in more widely varying circumstances. Meanwhile the central government had passed the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments mandating decentralisation from the states to lower levels of administration, listing 29 functions of government that were to be handed down to local bodies.

The Left Democratic Government that came to power in 1996 announced that local plans would be prepared like the Kalliasseri Model all over Kerala and thus the people's campaign was launched.\textsuperscript{31}
2.7 Objectives of People's Campaign

The objectives of people's campaign can be summarised as follows:

- To improve the quality of investment by allocating resources for priorities fixed by the local people.

- To facilitate emergence of local solutions to developmental problems through improved planning, better implementation, use of traditional knowledge and appropriate technology.

- To exploit local production possibilities.

- To enable people's participation leading to better vigil in execution of schemes followed up with better upkeep of assets.

- To provide an enabling environment for people to make contributions in kind and cash for development programmes identified by them for priority action.

- To bring about a convergence of resources and services to tackle development problems with greater vigour.

- To unleash public action resulting in a demand-led improvement in the delivery of developmental and welfare services.

In the process of realising these objectives, it was felt that it would lead to a new politics of development emerging out of dialogue and consensus rather than conflict and collusion and help forge a realistic approach to development based on a clear understanding of problems and issues at the grassroot level.32
2.8 Some Salient Features of the Plan Campaign

Instead of making suitable amendments to the Kerala Panchayat Act before launching participatory planning, the plan managers decided to use the provision in the 1994’s Act to initiate the plan. They decided to remove the hurdles to planning through a parallel process of Panchayat reforms. Growth was a key issue in participatory planning. In order to ensure that this issue will be adequately addressed, the Planning Board made it mandatory that all Panchayats should spend not less than forty percent of the funds released under “people’s planning” for the productive sector. Another area emphasized was the situation of women, who were identified as a key constituency for development intervention. The Planning Board ensured that women’s issues figured at every stage of the planning process, including training, preparation of development report, preparation of projects, preparation of Panchayat plan, project vetting and so on. From the second year onwards, ten percent of the funds were to be compulsorily demarcated and spent for women-specific projects. Likewise it was suggested that women’s participation should be encouraged in all forums of the Gram Sabha. The overall approach to gender questions, as the plan campaign matured, reflected the gender and development approach although at the grass root level, it did not go farther than conveying the message of women in development approach. Like women, the plight of the SCs and STs was to be a priority item on the “plan campaign” agenda and this was emphasized during each stage. This has added significance since Panchayati Raj was seen an institutional means of rendering social justice to the marginalized sections. The model of development that was adopted was largely a growth-oriented one with values like equity, environment protection and sustainability also finding some space in it.
Figure 2.1
Objectives of Different Phases and Sequences of Various Events

Figure 2.2
Phases in People's Campaign Programme

First Phase
September October 1996

Second Phase
October November 1996

Third Phase
November 1996 - March 1997

Fourth Phase
March April 1997

Fifth Phase
March June 1997

Sixth Phase
May October 1997

2.9 Phases in People's Campaign Programme

There are five basic phases in people's campaign for the ninth plan. They are Gram Sabha meetings, Development Seminars, Task forces, Formulation of grass root level plans and the preparation Block and District plans. (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2)

Phase I

Gram Sabhas consisting of all registered voters were convened at ward level. When the “plan campaign” was started the frequency of the Gram Sabha meetings was two per annum with 50 persons constituting the quorum. This was later changed by an amendment to four and ten percent of the total membership respectively. In all the then 14,147 wards of the Panchayats and urban areas in Kerala, Gram Sabha meetings were held in September/October 1996. This was a much publicized meeting and was designated as a “Special Gram Sabha”. About 30 lakhs people participated in the Gram Sabhas and ward assemblies. The Gram Sabha was divided into different groups representing different development sectors and identified local development problems sector by sector with suggestions for solving them. There were 12 major sectors of development identified for group level discussions.

They are, Agriculture and Irrigation, Animal husbandry and Fisheries, Industry, Energy and Housing, Transport, Education, Health, Drinking water and Sanitation, Women and development, Welfare of SC/ST, Culture and Resource mobilization. Group discussions took place with the help of partially structured questionnaire. The inputs from the sector-based group discussions of Gram Sabhas of each ward were consolidated at the Panchayat level. A printed development report was prepared for each Panchayat. The inputs that went into the report include the
consolidated reports of Gram Sabha discussions, local history and secondary data available in and around the Panchayat, review of rural development schemes implemented in the Panchayat so far and the report of transect walks (a rapid appraisal technique) undertaken in the Panchayat.

Phase II:

The second phase was the Development Seminars held in October-November 1996 at Gram Panchayat level to discuss the development report. It is also at this stage that some additions and corrections which were absolutely necessary were incorporated, often as addendums. The seminar was attended by around 200 to 300 persons who included conveners of Gram Sabha group discussions, resource persons, Panchayat members, line department and Panchayat officials and local leaders of political parties. In the development seminar also group discussions were held on the basis of the identified development sectors after which task forces were formed to translate the needs that the people had voiced in the Gram Sabha into projects. Each task force was to be headed by a Panchayat member.

In the development reports economic aspects had to receive special emphasis. Each development sector had to be analysed and the potential for development identified. At the same time, the social aspects of the economic processes were not to be ignored. There had to be special chapters on culture and status of women. In every sector, a historical approach was to be adopted. Apart from local history, development problems in every sector were to be assessed. Results of the transect walk and administration map with distribution of man-made assets like roads were to provide important spatial dimensions to the local plan.
Phase III:

The third phase was to prepare projects in the prescribed project cycle format. The task forces were expected to prepare a shelf of projects from which the Panchayat would select some for inclusion in the Ninth Plan. This phase was during November 1996 to March 1997. Since projects for the entire Ninth Five Year Plan period was contemplated initially a large number of projects were necessary, from which selection could be made. However, subsequently, this was abandoned as this appeared to be too ambitious, and the Panchayats were asked to prepare annual plans only.

Phase IV:

The fourth phase was to prepare the Gram Panchayat/Municipal plan. This was timed for March/April 1997. After the presentation of the Annual State Budget the plan allocation to each local body was announced. The State Planning Board had issued guidelines regarding sectoral allocations. Productive sectors were to get an allocation ranging from 40 to 50 percent. The social sector spending was confined within a range of 30-40 percent and infrastructure 10 to 30 percent. In March/April 1997, the elected bodies of the Panchayats selected the projects to be incorporated into the 1997-98 Annual Plan. The Block Panchayat and the District Panchayat also prepared their plans similarly, the only difference being that they have no Gram Sabha.

It was hoped that the local plans would be much larger in terms of allocation than the state's plan for Panchayats and Municipalities as the plans would be supplemented by voluntary contributions. It was also hoped that non-governmental agencies and co-operative sectors would be used as instruments in implementing the plan. The annual plan was also toned down by asking the Panchayat to select projects
that were technically simple, and postpone more complex ones for the plans of the ensuing years.

Phase V

It was during this phase that Block and District Panchayat plans were prepared. Decentralized planning is a multi-level planning exercise. The plans prepared by the lower levels should be reckoned by the other larger spatial levels of local government, when they prepare their plans to ensure complementarity, optimal resource use, and to avoid duplication. So the Gram Panchayat should prepare their plans first and such plans are made available to the Block and District Panchayats before they can finalise their own plans. Thus in the fifth phase of the campaign, during March-June 1997, Village Panchayat plans were forwarded to the Block and District Panchayats for discussion, consolidation and integration after which Block and District plans were prepared.

Voluntary Technical Corps - Phase VI

A concurrent review of sample projects and plan documents by the Planning Board revealed that many of them required revisions before they could be finalised.

The Planning Board had recommended that a new phase - VI Phase - be organised “to systematically appraise the schemes included in the projects concurrently with the Vth phase. The sixth phase would examine the technical feasibility, financial viability and procedural acceptability of the projects included in the plans of the local bodies by competent bodies comprising qualified persons. These bodies will be called Voluntary Technical Corps/Plan Appraisal Team (VTC/PAT) at the Block/Municipality level.” VTC/PAT were later renamed as
Block Level Expert Committee (BLEC), Municipal Level Expert Committee (MLEC) and Corporation Level Expert Committee (CLEC).43

The sixth phase was completed by May/October 1997. It should be noted that the Project Appraisal Team had no right to select/reject projects. Such choice had already been made by the elected bodies. They had no right to challenge the social acceptability of the projects. Their duties were confined to the approval of technical feasibility and financial viability and making the necessary corrections and modifications in the projects to overcome the deficiencies.44 Such modification was to be carried out in consultation with the consent of the Panchayat representatives.

Around 1.5 lakh projects had to be evaluated. To undertake this task 50-60 experts in various fields were necessary in every Block/Municipality. This meant identification, recruitment, training and positioning of around 10,000 experts who were willing to work voluntarily for a duration of 3-4 months. Fifty percent of the voluntary technical corps would be retired gazetted officers, Twenty five percent would be gazetted officers who are in the government service and the other twenty five would consist of key resource persons, district resource persons, bank officials, college lecturers and teachers. 

Technical sanctions for the projects included in the village plans were given by the BLEC. Similarly the District Level Expert Committee (DLEC) examined the projects included in the Block and District plans. Finally the District Planning Committee (DPC) gave approval to all the plans.45

DPCs have been set up in all districts, each having 15 members. On each DPC, the president of the District Panchayat, the District Collector and one Senior Professional (mostly a retired official) are nominated as members. The president of
the District Panchayat is the Chairperson of the DPC and the District Collector is its Secretary.

On approval of the plan by the District Planning Committee on the basis of certification by the Plan Appraisal Team, the first instalment of the plan funds will be released by the state government to the concerned local bodies as per procedures determined by the agreement. The procedure shall ensure proper accountability through social audit and official concurrent audit.

On 5th June 1997 at Kodakara the state level inauguration of the release of plan funds to the Gram Panchayats was organised. The plans of all the Panchayats in Kodakara Block were approved. The Chief Minister E.K. Nayanar gave away the formal allotment order to all the Panchayat presidents. The West Bengal Panchayat Minister, Surej Kant Misra was the Chief Guest in the state level release of funds to Municipalities organised at Badagara on 10th June 1997. Chittoor, in Palakkad, was the first Block Panchayat to receive funds at a function organised with the Revenue Minister K.E Ismail as Chief Guest. Kollam was the first District Panchayat to receive funds from the then Chief Minister, E.K. Nayanar.

To make the conclusion of the campaign and to sum up its lessons, a four day Kerala Congress was organised in November 1997. Representatives of the Planning Board from other states and Local Administration Departments were also invited. The Congress was a forum to take stock of the progress in decentralised planning in Kerala and India in the context of the Ninth Plan and the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments.
Thus for the first time in the history of the country there has been a process of planning that started from below. It has been claimed to have contributed to strengthening people's unity in development action and generating a new development consciousness in the state that emphasize production and quality of services and is sensitive to gender, environmental and poverty concerns.\textsuperscript{46}

2.10 Organisational Structure of the Campaign

The State Planning Board was the main organising-implementing agency of the Decentralised Planning Campaign in the state. To ensure the widest possible consensus in support of the proposed campaign a High Level Guidance Council under the Chairmanship of EMS Namboodiripad, the Former Chief Minister of Kerala (1957-59) was constituted. A panel of Vice Chairpersons consisting of the present and former Chief Ministers and opposition leader was also constituted for the successful implementation of the programme. \textsuperscript{47} K.N. Raj, an economist, V.R. Krishna Iyer, a jurist and Sukumar Azhikode, a cultural figure were also members of the council. The Convenor of the Council was the Local Administration Minister. The High Level Guidance Council was to advise the Planning Board in the implementation of the campaign. \textsuperscript{48}
Figure 2.3
Organisational Structure of People's Campaign

HLGC High Level Guidance Council
KRP Key Resource Person
CC Coordination Committee
GP Gram Panchayat
DDP District Director of Panchayat
MD Municipal Directorate
SPB State Planning Board
DRP District Resource Person
DPC District Planning Committee
M/C Municipality/Corporation
PO Panchayat Office
RD Rural Development Department
SC Special Cell
LRP Local Resource person
JP Jilla Panchayat
LA Local Administration Department
MC Municipal Directorate
DRDA District Rural Development Agency
PD District Planning Officer
C Convenor
BP Block Panchayat
RD Regional Director

Fig 2.3 clarifies that important roles were undertaken in the campaign by both the Local Administration Department and the Rural Development Department. To give administrative support to the elected bodies, was their important function. In implementing the people's campaign there were possibilities for these departments to create bureaucratic hurdles. The state level co-ordination committee was very much involved in solving these hurdles.

The State Planning Board (SPB) organised the people's campaign in close association with the Local Administrative Department. As the activity involved tremendous amount of organisational work, which could not be accomplished by the State Planning Board, a small group of experts was constituted for the duration of the programme to assist the Planning Board. The group would liaise with various departments, institutions, voluntary agencies, political activists and played an active role in organising discussions, meetings and seminars. For this, State Planning Board appointed 30 experts from various departments and government colleges on working arrangement. Fourteen among them were assigned to the districts for organisational works and as convenors of Key Resource Persons (KRP)s and the others were retained at the head quarters of the State Planning Board. 49

The elected local bodies at various levels is assigned the central roles of co-ordination. The hierarchical relationship among the three tiers of resource persons shown in the illustration was limited to giving training to the lower level.

The KRP$s in every district were directly under the control of the District Planning Committee (DPC), the District Rersources Persons (DRPs) were under the control of the Block Panchayat and the Local Resource Persons (LRPs) were under the control of the Gram Panchayats and Municipalities. 50 The District Planning Committees assisted by a district team drawn from the Key Resource Persons was to
co-ordinate the programmes at the district level. It was the duty of the resource persons to render necessary help to the elected representatives who were to co-ordinate and give leadership to the campaign. In addition to training lower level resource persons, namely DRPs and LRPs, and to planning and facilitating Gram Sabha, the only independent function performed by resource persons was to give feedback on the campaign to the State Planning Board.

A small group was constituted at the state level for day to day interdepartmental co-ordination with representatives from Finance Department, SC/ST Welfare Department, Rural Development, Local Administration and SPB. This state level co-ordination committee turned into an empowering committee that dealt with all aspects of the campaign. The Local Administration Minister used to preside over the meeting.

Resource Persons

The involvement of resource persons was essential for the successful function of the campaign. The resource persons were divided into Key Resource Persons (KRP), District Resource Persons (DRP) and Local Resource Persons (LRP). KRP and DRPs are the master trainers for the respective levels below them and they also work as support staff for technical and organisational matters.

Two-thirds of the KRP were selected by the DPCs and one third were selected by the SPB. Like that, two-thirds of the DRPs were nominated by the Gram Panchayats and Municipalities and one third were nominated by the DPCs. LRPs were selected by the Gram Panchayats and Municipalities. For the successful implementation of the campaign, it was estimated that 50-75 trained resource persons
were necessary in each Gram Panchayat. The activists of the KSSP constituted a sizeable segment of the resource persons particularly at KRP and DRP levels.

2.11 Training and Capacity Building

In view of the scale of participatory planning attempted in Kerala, considerable attention had to be paid for training. The training was driven by the needs of the trainees. Several handbooks were prepared by the SPB. Nearly 3000 pages of printed material and more than 12 hours of video programmes were prepared as part of the training programme. 53

The institutions that have had the closest interaction with Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) training have been Kerala State Institute of Local Administration (KILA) at Trichur, Institute of Management in Government (IMG) at Ernakulam, Kozhikode and Thiruvananthapuram, State Institute of Rural Development (SIRD) at Kottarakkara and Centre for Development of Imaging Technology (C-DIT) at Thiruvallam. 54

As the campaign progressed it was found necessary to organise separate training interventions before each phase. The training interventions had in focus four levels of participants. Resource persons at various levels, Elected members of different local bodies, Departmental officials and Voluntary Technical Corps The programme curriculum was focused on three key themes, namely, awareness creation, institution strengthening, administrative reorientation and reforms. 55

First Round of Training

In the first round of training the emphasis was on resource persons at various levels and elected representatives. The organisation of Gram Sabha and the creation
of awareness among the people about the importance of Gram Sabha particularly in planning constituted the main content of the first round of training.

In the second round the participants were the same as in the first round. But in this round a detailed and complete account of how to prepare the Development Report and awareness creation on the development approach to be accepted in the local planning was given.

In the third round, the faculty, resource persons at various levels and Task Forces were given training. To equip the above groups especially the Task Forces to prepare the projects was the objective of the third round of training.

During the fourth and fifth rounds, elected representatives and KRPBs were given training. The emphasis was on the preparation of Village Panchayat Plan documents.

Resource persons and VTC members were given training during the sixth round. The appraisal of the plans was given more emphasis.

In the last round of training, elected representatives, KRPBs, DRPs, officials and VTC members were considered. Emphasis was on the implementation of the plan. 56

A total of 660 KRPBs, 11808 DRPs and nearly 1,00,000 LRPBs were given training. It was mandatory that all District and Block Panchayat members participate in district level training and that other elected representatives participated in at least local level training. 57

The emphasis in the training was on self-study by the participants. Handbooks, simple monographs and information leaflets were printed and distributed.
Short video documents were also prepared. Lectures, discussion sessions, group discussions, work shops, field trips were also emphasised for effective learning.\(^5\)

2.12 Gram Sabha

The emergence of Gram Sabha as an integral part of Panchayati Raj system in Kerala is the creation of 73rd Constitutional Amendment and consequent state legislation entitled Kerala Panchayat Raj Act 1994. \(^5\) With the declaration of 1999-2000 as the year of the Gram Sabha by the Union Government, the importance of the body has been publicly affirmed.

The Ashok Mehta Committee, highlighting the role of Gram Sabha, stated that it has an important role in activating the democratic process at the grass root level, in inculcating community spirit, in increasing political awareness, in strengthening development orientation, in educating rural people in administrative and political processes and in enabling weaker sections to progressively assert their point of view.\(^6\) In other words Gram Sabha is essentially viewed as an open forum for general review and scrutiny of work done by the Panchayat.\(^6\) Gram Sabha is the only body, which at least symbolically conveys the idea that political sovereignty rests with the people. The number of persons attending the Gram Sabha, the nature of the persons attending the Gram Sabha, the nature of the topics discussed, the quality of discussions and the intensity of participation are important factors contributing to the success of Panchayati Raj institutions. With the introduction of people's planning in Kerala, Gram Sabha secured an opportunity to formulate plans on the basis of the realities of the village economy, ecology and socio-economic conditions of the population. A number of impractical functions of the Gram Sabha such as helping the conduct of rural development programmes and collection of donation for social welfare activities also had found a place in the 1994 Act.\(^6\)
Gram Sabha became active only when special Gram Sabhas were held in Kerala as a part of people's campaign in September/October 1996. In the special Gram Sabhas held all over Kerala nearly twenty percent of the total voters participated. Between October 1995 and August 1996, before the plan campaign, two Gram Sabhas were to be held. In Panchayats where such meetings took place, the attendance was in the range of 60 to 70 persons.

2.13 Sen Committee on Decentralisation of Powers – 1997

The process of introducing complementary Panchayat reforms was undertaken even as the participatory planning process moved forward. Instead of first changing the legislation to suit the requirements of the plan campaign, the method adopted was to start the campaign and rectify the legal gaps as and when they are identified. A committee headed by late Dr. Satyabrata Sen, former Vice-Chairman of the West Bengal Planning Board was appointed to suggest suitable amendments to the 1994 Act. The proceedings of the committee went on concurrently with the “plan campaign”. The Committee submitted an interim report in August 1996, and the final report in December 1997.

Article 243-A of the constitution provides that a Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the legislature of a state, may, by law, provide.

The Sen Committee attempted to bring about a restructuring of the Kerala Panchayati Raj Act, the Kerala Municipality Act and the allied Acts. The committee recommended that there be an enabling provision to create participatory community structures like neighbourhood groups to enable the poor to have a say in development matters.
As per the recommendations of the Sen Committee, the Kerala Government decided that the Gram Sabha should be held as frequently as possible, but not less than once in every three months. The quorum has been raised to 10 percent from the existing 50 members. There should be written invitation to every household about the Gram Sabha. Failure to convene Gram Sabha is deemed to be a violation of the provisions of Kerala Panchayati Raj Act and calls for penal action including loss of membership of the convenor in case two consecutive instances of non-compliance take place. 67

2.14 Powers and Functions of Gram Sabha

The committee recommended the following functions, powers and responsibilities for the Gram Sabha.

1. To select beneficiaries in the case of beneficiary oriented schemes by applying the selection criteria fixed for a particular scheme either by the Panchayat or by the government.

2. To verify the eligibility of persons getting various kinds of welfare assistance of government like pensions, subsidies, ration scheme etc.

3. To suggest the location of street lights, water taps, public wells, public sanitation units, minor irrigation facilities etc. pertaining to that ward.

4. To know the action plan for the next three months as far as various development programmes are concerned.

5. To know the detailed estimates of the works proposed to be taken up in each ward.
6. To know the detailed item-wise account of every expenditure incurred within the area of the Gram Sabha.

7. To ascertain from the officials the services they will render and the works they are to do in the succeeding three months.

8. To generate proposals and indicate priorities for preparation of Annual and Five Year Plans.

9. To set up sub-committees and neighbourhood groups to undertake or oversee any kind of work in furtherance of the rights and responsibilities of the Gram Sabha.

10. To know the rationale of every decisions of the Panchayat concerning that area.

11. To know the follow-up action taken on the decisions of the Gram Sabha and to know the detailed reasons, if some of the decisions cannot be implemented.

12. To discuss performance audit report.⁶⁸

2.15 Responsibilities of Gram Sabha

1. Dissemination of information on development and welfare programmes.

2. Canvassing participation in health, literacy and similar development campaign

3. Collecting essential socio-economic data

4. Providing feedback on the performance of development programmes

5. Resorting to moral persuasion to pay taxes, repay loans, promote environmental cleanliness

6. Mobilising local resources to augment Panchayat resources
7. Supervising development works as volunteer teams

8. Creating arrangement to report quickly incidence of epidemics, natural calamities etc. 69

In order to strengthen Gram Sabhas, it may be necessary to constitute support structures through community organisations like neighbourhood groups. This has been incorporated in the Kerala Panchayati Raj Amendment Act 1999. Since 1996, a number of reforms in the Panchayat Raj Act have been given shape and these were implemented with the passage of the above Act. All these developments as well as the elaborate and ambitious participatory planning has elevated Kerala to the centre stage of the decentralisation discourse in the country, and in some sense also the developing countries.

2.16 Planning Process in Gram Sabha

In the period of study April 1997 to March 2000 in Kerala, the Gram Sabha met six times in almost all the Panchayats. Before this period the first Gram Sabha was held in March/April 1996 as per the Kerala Panchayati Raj Act 1994 and the second Gram Sabha - Special Gram Sabha- was held in September/October 1996 as a the first and one time input into the participatory planning process. 70 It was in this meeting that the needs of the peoples were identified. The third meeting in April/May 1997 was held for the approval of the projects and the fourth held in September/October for beneficiary selection and plan implementation. 71 Since then this division of the Gram Sabha agenda into planning functions and implementation functions as well as the above timings have been adhered to. Even though the present frequency of Gram Sabha meetings is once in three months, it is yet to come to stay. The old pattern of two meetings and the old timing seem to persist. The
regular holding of Gram Sabha at least symbolically conveys the idea that political sovereignty ultimately lies with the people.)

2.17 Beneficiary Selection

In the people's campaign, transparent procedures have been laid down to ensure that the beneficiaries are selected on the basis of objective criteria with the involvement of the people. In the first plan year there were no specific criteria for the selection of beneficiaries and there were complaints that the selection of beneficiaries was politically biased. This was rectified by the Kerala Government by issuing guidelines for beneficiary selection. The Kerala High Court also issued a judgment which clearly asserted that Gram Sabhas were the sole bodies authorised to identify beneficiaries. The High Court also ruled that the Panchayat was no selecting authority, it was only an approving authority in the case of beneficiary selection. The Government of Kerala also issued an order endorsing the High Court order.

Gram Sabha will identify the beneficiaries. Since the District Panchayat and Block Panchayat cannot convene Gram Sabha, they will access the beneficiary list approved by the Gram Sabha available with respective Gram Panchayats. This would mean that the Panchayat would be expected to prepare a beneficiary list on the basis of eligibility which will be sufficiently large so that those included in the list who did not get benefit from the Panchayat projects could get them from the Block and District Panchayat projects. Priority list for each ward for a particular scheme would be prepared by the Gram Sabha. In the light of the lists prepared by the Gram Sabhas, the Panchayat will prepare a priority list at the Panchayat level based on certain criteria with weightage given to each criterion by way of marks.
Procedure for Selection of Beneficiaries

The eligibility criteria and prioritisation criteria fixed by the scheme guidelines have to be followed in the case of centrally sponsored and state sponsored schemes also. In case of schemes/projects planned by the different tiers of Panchayats, the eligibility criteria would be determined by that Panchayat as stated in the project approved by the DPC. Panchayats at each level should also state clearly in writing the prioritisation criteria to be followed to short list eligible beneficiaries in cases where all the eligible beneficiaries cannot be considered under the scheme. For the prioritisation criteria, the local body should assign relative weightage to each criteria by giving marks to each criterion in such a way that the total marks for all the criteria would add upto 100. The eligibility and prioritisation criteria should be clearly stated in the project and should be published on notice boards. Each applicant should be given a copy of the criteria relating to the scheme for which the individual has applied.76

Publicity

There could be general publicity in the media given by government about approaching levels for finding out various forms of assistance and the norms related to them. Model application forms would be published in newspapers. Publicity should also be given through elected representatives, resource persons of the plan campaign, political parties and their affiliated organisations, voluntary organisations and field staff. The types of schemes along with the criteria should be prominently displayed in each ward for which Notice Boards have already been set up in all the wards. Notices may be printed and circulated. In the case of District and Block Panchayats press releases are mandatory.77
Application Form

A model application form would be prepared by government and published in the major dailies. If there are any schemes not covered by the general application form, forms can be designed locally in the local language. Such forms should clearly state the eligibility criteria and the prioritisation criteria and the weightage assigned to each prioritisation criterion. All application forms should be received before the Gram Sabha is held. 78

Verification

The application form should contain in it a proforma verification form. The Gram Panchayat should decide on a system of verification through a designated sub committee consisting of elected members, concerned officials, task force members and resource persons. All the applications should be enquired into before the Gram Sabha meets and a draft priority list prepared based on the marks awarded for each criterion.79

Authentication

Immediately after the verification process is completed, Gram Sabhas are to meet. All persons applying for a benefit should be asked to be present in the Gram Sabha. The Gram Sabha sub groups are to discuss the selection of beneficiaries and do the final verification. The list of applicants from that ward along with their marks should be explained in the Gram Sabha sub group. The marks for each criterion should be clearly made known. For different schemes, different sheets are to be prepared giving the names and address of the applicant, marks given to each criterion and the total marks. Errors and defects noticed by the Gram Sabha are to be rectified and the final priority list read out in Gram Sabha.
The list should be written and approved by as many people present in the Gram Sabha as possible. List finalised in the Gram Sabha cannot be changed under any circumstances. For the Gram Panchayat as a whole the selection list should be prepared based on marks given. There cannot be any ward-wise target, and eligibility will be considered only on the basis of mark received. However, the ward mentality seems to persist even in the selection of beneficiaries.

**Publication of Beneficiary List**

Once the Panchayat finalises the list, it shall publish it as a draft, showing the rank and indicating the factors, which resulted in the rank in a tabulated form. If any objections are received on the draft list, Gram Panchayat shall consider after further verification, if required, and record its views on accepting or rejecting it. Thereafter the final list shall be printed and published in the Gram Panchayat office, ward notice boards, libraries, markets, government offices and schools. All implementing officers and Anganwadi workers should be given a copy of lists of all beneficiary schemes. Failure to insist on printing the final list for distribution to the implementation officers and the public was a major lapse that allowed manipulation in the final lists.

In the case of Block Panchayats and District Panchayats, Gram Panchayats shall send the final list to them with all the applications and documents related to the selection for taking the final decision. The lists submitted by the Gram Panchayats should be published as drafts by the District and Block Panchayats calling for objection if any. This should be published simultaneously in the District or Block Panchayats and the concerned Gram Panchayats. Only after clearing the objections, the list should be finalised.
All documents related to selection including verification reports, minutes of the decisions etc. are public documents which can be perused by any one and copies of which are to be given to anyone who makes a request and who is willing to pay the actual photocopying charges. The final list of beneficiaries has to be presented in the next Gram Sabha for information. The comments of the Gram Sabha are to be recorded.\textsuperscript{83} In other words, transparency and right to information was recognized as integral elements of the “plan campaign”. In people’s campaign every decision taken has to be based on norms and criteria evolved on the basis of social consensus and the rationale behind each decision has to be made public. There should be freedom to the people to know every detail of how money is going to be spent, before a scheme is taken up and how it was spent after its completion. The procedures and the language of the administration need to be demystified and made people friendly.\textsuperscript{84}

A transparent administration is expected to reduce chances of corruption particularly in a high literate state like Kerala. Certainly, transparency is the best audit and open government is the best government.\textsuperscript{85} It is necessary that every action should be transparent to the public. Every citizen should be able to get information from the government.\textsuperscript{86}

\textbf{2.18 Right to Information}

The citizen’s right to information and the level of his access to it would constitute the best indicator of democratisation of a society. The right to information is a natural fundamental right. It is implicit in the constitutional guarantee of the right to speech, and various judicial pronouncements have confirmed this interpretation. Similarly, the freedom of information is in built into several of our democratic systems, particularly in the legislature and executive.
In the legislative process the right to interpellate, the committee system of examining the performance of the executive and similar practice are good examples of the importance of access to information. In the judicial system all concerned parties have the right to know the documents that are relied on before a decision is taken and the decision itself is backed by an explicit and detailed justification based on facts and precedents. But unfortunately the executive has not been very transparent in its functioning. Every decision of the government is kept under the carpet of secrecy under the pretext of protecting public interest. But it is irrational and improper to keep information on development decisions and expenditure of public funds outside the scrutiny of the citizen.\textsuperscript{87}

With the introduction of people’s campaign, the elected representatives in LSGIs were in every sense of the term trustees of the people and it was their bounden duty to ensure that every action of theirs was in keeping with the trust bestowed on them by the people. New institutions like Gram Sabhas, beneficiary committees, neighbourhood groups and so on have become centres of information for the ordinary men. The voters of these bodies have become legally empowered to participate in the developmental process and seek information regarding the administrative procedures. But in the present socio-economic setting the participation of the people is not guaranteed in the panchayat. But they stand a better chance of listening if not speaking in a Gram Sabha. Long years of silence have bound them to on ‘culture of silence’ and terminal fear.\textsuperscript{88}

It is stated that people have access to any document, minutes or records in the Village Panchayats. By paying a fee of Rs. 2 for documents of the current year and a search fee of Rs.1 for each year for documents of the previous years, one can get the true copy of a document. For the copies as such one is expected to pay photocopying
charges depending upon the size of the document and its date of origin.\textsuperscript{89} The secretary is in charge of all documents at the Village Panchayat. Initially all the Panchayats were permitted to buy and install photocopy machines for this purpose. However, all the Panchayats were subsequently asked to deposit a sum of Rs.1 lakh each with the Department of Local Administration for bulk purchase of the photocopying machine. However, this did not take place and Panchayats still depend on the private sector for photocopying services.

In beneficiary selection, final list shall be printed and published in the Gram Panchayat office, ward notice boards, libraries, markets, government offices and schools. All implementing officers and Anganwadi workers should be given a copy of the lists of all beneficiary schemes.\textsuperscript{90} But it was found that the final lists of beneficiaries were available only at Gram Panchayat office and with the implementation officers in the three Panchayats under study. The printed copies were made available only during 1999-2000.

Complaints regarding violation of the selection procedures can be given to the Grievance Enquiry Committee under the District Collector in the case of Gram Panchayats, Block Panchayats and Municipalities and the Grievance Enquiry Committee under the Secretary, Local Administration in case of Corporations and District Panchayats. If on enquiry it is found that the prescribed procedure has not been followed, the selection is liable to be cancelled by the government, in which case the liability would be on the persons responsible.

Thus any shortcomings in selection of beneficiaries can be questioned and further steps can be taken by the people for the rectification of mistakes. Thus we understand that the right to information has been one of the key themes of the campaign.
2.19 Notice Boards

For creating awareness among the people about the people’s campaign programme, public information boards have been set up in each ward of the Gram Panchayat, municipalities and corporations. Details of schemes and projects being implemented in each ward are to be exhibited prominently on the board. Various notices can also be exhibited on this board. Such transparency is in keeping with the spirit of the decentralization process and it recognises the right to information.

These notice boards were erected as instructed by the Local Administration Department because it could be included as a separate project to be approved by the DPC. The expenses for erecting these boards were met from the plan funds or own funds.\(^9^1\)

There were three optional designs in selecting the notice boards as prescribed by the Local Administration Department. Type.1 costs Rs. 3000, type. 2 costs Rs. 3200 and type.3, Rs. 6800. So, for example, if type No.2 was selected by a Panchayat having 10 wards the erection of boards would cost Rs. 32000/-.

More than the notice boards, essential facts about any public work in common language should be exhibited on a notice board at the work site.

Seeing the extent of effort put into the process, Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer said, “The People’s Campaign marks the beginning of a social revolution in Kerala. The failure of democracy in India consists in the failure to share power with the people. In Kerala today political power is in the hands of the people”.\(^9^2\)
2.20 Conclusion

Kerala’s participatory decentralized planning is unique in the country, not only in terms of its scale of operation and the extent of mobilization achieved, but also in terms of generating progressive ideas relating to participation and local governance. The campaign evolved a methodology of planning, the key elements of which were repeated each year.
Notes and References


13. *Vikasana Rekha* (Malayalam) 1996 - Kanhikuzhy Panchayat - Development Sector, 4-I (1-10)


39. Ibid


41. M.K. Prasad, et.al, op.cit., p.9

42. GO(MS) No.8/97/Plg dtd. 16-05-1997. Government orders related to People's Campaign, State Planning Board, Vol.1, p.10


55. *Ibid*


60. Govt. of India, 1978, Report of the Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions, New Delhi, p.16


65. GO(MS) 131/96 LAD dated 04-07-1996. Local Administration Dept., Govt. of Kerala.

66. A. Suhruth Kumar, For a better participatory Democracy, *Kerala Calling*, Dept. of Public Relations, Govt. of Kerala, Vol. 16, No.12, October 199, p.54

67. S. Chathukulam, M.S. John, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41


70. Power to the People - *Janakeeyasoothram* - 1996 (Malayalam) Handbook to Trainees, Thiruvananthapuram : State Planning Board, pp-30-31


73. OP No. 181/75/L dated 04-04-1997, Judgement by the High Court of Kerala.


75. GO(P) No. 181/98/LAD dated 02-09-1998.

76. Ibid., pp-105-106.


79. Ibid


82. GO(P) No. 181/98 LAD dated 02-09-98.

83. Ibid p.108.


89. G.O. No. 104/98/Local Administration Department, Govt. of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram.

90. G.O. (P) No. 220/97/Local Administrative Department, dated 02-10-97, Govt. of Kerala.

91. Circular No. 37805/L3/LAD dated 10-09-98 Local Administrative Department, Thiruvananthapuram.

92. V.R. Krishna Iyer, Mathrubhoomi Daily (Malayalam) dated 17-8-1998