

# CHAPTER - IV

# **Implementation of Development Programs of TTAADC**

A careful examination has been made on the structures and functions of TTAADC in the previous chapter. Thus, the powers and functions entrusted to TTAADC under the Sixth Schedule and its compliance with it have been thoroughly discussed. Besides, functions and compositions of each department under TTAADC and revenue resources of the District Council have been lucidly analysed. From those backdrops, the present chapter analysed the process of implementation of development programs in TTAADC.

## 4.1 Concept of Implementation

'Implementation' is an act of implementing or the state of being implemented. To implement means to make something that has been officially decided start to happen or be used, that is, to carry out, accomplish or fulfill. The common synonyms of implement are – execute, apply, put into effect/action, put into practice, carry out, carry through, perform, enact, administer etc. It is often used in reference to a government plan or act, and therefore, describe the process of turning formal plans into reality.

There are two schools of thought in regards to effective methods for studying and describing implementation. They are *top-down* and *bottom-up* approach. Some of the prominent scholars who have propounded the top-down approach are Van Meter and Van

Horn (1975), and Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989). Similarly, the main proponent of bottom-up approach to implementation is Lipsky (1978), Berman (1980), and Hjern and Hull (1982).

Top-down implementation could be defined as the carrying out of a policy decision by statute, executive order, or court decision, and the authoritative decisions are centrally located by actors who seek to produce the desired effects. The approach is a clear-cut system of command and control from the government to the project, which concerns the people. The top-down system showcases – (1) clear and consistent goals that are articulated at the top of the hierarchical environment; (2) knowledge of pertinent cause and effects; (3) clear hierarchy of authority; (4) rules established at the top and policy is aligned with the rules, and (5) resources / capacity to carry out the commands from the top. The top-down approach is the rational comprehensive approach to planning. It is consistent with overhead democracy, that is, elected officials delegates implementation authority to non-elected public servants (civil service) who are accountable to the democratically elected officials.

The bottom-up implementation approach on the other hand, initiates with the target groups and service deliverers, because they find that the target groups are the actual implementers of policy. Moreover, bottom-up approach contended that if local bureaucrats, that is, implementers are not allowed discretion in the implementation process with respect to local conditions, then the policy would likely fail. Accordingly, goals, strategies, and activities must be deployed with special attention to the people the policy would directly impact. Power of discretion may enable implementers to activate more useful practices or to ignore policy that will hamper the goal of the program.

Implementation of schemes and programs among the tribals in India is found to be a challenging task for the government. Since the beginning of planning era, development schemes and programs initiated in India are basically directed towards tribal development. The government of India is applying both the approaches – top-down and bottom-up approach. However, giving due care and attention to the unique cultures and traditions of tribals, which demands protection from external assimilation, the government of India is

inclined in adapting the bottom-up approach to implementation. An attempt has been made to initiate schemes and programs to suit the cultures and traditions of local tribals.

The issue is that, for successful implementation of development programs at grass root level, decentralisation of power is the basic requirement. There are three ways of decentralisation of powers – political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation (it has been discussed in Chapter 1). Another important issue in implementation is in regards to good governance. Success of decentralisation is experienced through the medium of good governance – that is, accountability, transparency, efficiency, participatory, etc. An analysis on the implementation of development programs of the TTAADC would be viewed from the prism of good governance and decentralisation. So, the problems associated with the implementation process and the lacunae created in the process would be examined in this section.

## 4.2 Schemes and Programs implemented by TTAADC

TTAADC has several development programs being implemented for the uplift of poor tribal. Development programs of various types were supervised by different concerned department. Tribal Welfare Department, Agriculture, Fishery, ARDD, Horticulture, Rural Development etc. are the major implementing Line Department. Those implementing departments supervised both Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) and Schemes generated by the TTAADC.

It is apparent that it would not be possible to critically examine or analyse all the programs implemented by TTAADC in Tripura. But, if few of them are properly assess and analyse, it would, no doubt, reflect the general pattern of implementation process of development programs within TTAADC and Sixth Schedule at large. Besides, it is expected to unfold the basic problems that affect the administrative system. This would indicate the extent to which the approach and type of development, visualised for tribals in Tripura have been fulfilled and put into practice.

### 4.3 Profile of selected Sub-Zones and VCs

Before analysing on the implementation process of the selected development programs, this section presents a brief profile of selected Sub-Zones and VCs.

## 4.3.1 Population composition of the two selected Sub-Zone:

Khwmulwng Sub-Zone, has 28 (twenty eight) VCs and a population of 52,853 (census record of 4 VCs could not be found). Out of the total population 49364 (93.39%) of them are ST and rest 3,458 (6.54%) non-ST. Table 4.1 shows VC-wise distribution of population and average percentage of ST and non-ST in Khwmulwng Sub-Zone.

Table 4.1 Population of Khwmulwng Sub-Zone

Sl. No.	Name of VC	tion of Khwmulv	vng Sub-Zone Total Populat	ion
SI. NO.	Name of VC	ST	Sub-Total	
1	Madhabbari	1170	Others 49	1219
2		907	229	1136
3	Paschim Debendranagar		00	
4	Uttar Joynagar	2106		2106
	Kayachanbari	919	00	919
5	Paschim Barjala	2002	597	2599
6	Bishrambari	2138	470	2608
7	Belbari	3015	00	3015
8	Champabari	1170	00	1170
9	Champaknagar	3559	572	4131
10	Dakshin Radhapur	3206	00	3206
11	East Belbari	4245	00	4245
12	Jamajoynagar	2216	00	2216
13	Jiraniakhala	3597	688	4285
14	Paschim Jiraniakhala	2980	527	3507
15	Purba Janmajoynagar	2709	00	2709
16	Radhapur	3286	00	3286
17	Shantinagar	995	00	995
18	Bardhaman Thakur Para	1755	00	1755
19	Dhupcharra	947	188	1135
20	Paschim R.M. Pur	2053	00	2053
12	Radhamohanpur	2145	00	2145
22	East Jarulbachai	2244	169	2413
23	West Jarulbachai	2668	00	2668
24	Kalidaspara	1024	136	1160
25	Bikram Molsom	NA	NA	NA
26	Bubagra	NA	NA	NA
27	Rasa Dasarath Nagar	NA	NA	NA
28	Saidra	NA	NA	NA
	Grant Total	49364 (93.39)	3458 (6.54)	52853 (100.00)

Source: Compiled from Panchayat Department, Government of Tripura

Similarly, Noagang Sub-Zone constitutes 7 (seven) VCs and a population of 13,080. Out of them 11,827 are ST and rest 1253 are others. Table 4.2 shows VC-wise

distribution of population and average percentage of ST and non-ST in Noagang Sub-Zone.

If the two Sub-Zones are comparatively examined, there is huge difference in numbers of VCs and population between the two Sub-Zones. The average percentage share of population between the two Sub-Zones shows 79.2 percent in Khwmulwng and rest 19.6 percent in Noagang Sub-Zone. The rationale for selection of the two Sub-Zones has been discussed in methodology section of first chapter.

Table 4.2 Population of Noagang Sub-Zone

SI.	Name of VC	Total Population				
No.		ST	Others	Sub-Total		
1	C.H. Para	1504	128	1632		
2	Indurail	1389	113	1502		
3	Noagang	1970	236	2206		
4	Balidhum	1921	288	2209		
5	Madhuban	1807	118	1925		
6	Zoitang	1633	18	1651		
7	Balicherra	1603	352	1955		
	Grant Total	11827 (90.42)	1253 (9.57)	13080 (100.00)		

**Source:** Compiled from information collected from Panchayat Department, Government of Tripura

## 4.4 Distribution of selected beneficiaries according to Sub-Zones and VCs

Altogether, a total of 60 (sixty) beneficiary households assisted under four family-oriented income generating programs were selected from 6 (six) selected VCs of Khwmulwng Sub-Zone and Noagang Sub-Zone, under West Zone and North Zone respectively.

Table 4.3 shows the list of development programs and the distribution of beneficiaries from selected villages of the two Sub-Zones, who were assisted under selected development programs mentioned above.

Table 4.3 Selected beneficiaries assisted under selected development programs

Total: 60

List of	Noa	agang Sub-	Zone	Khumulwng Sub-Zone			
Programs	Indurail ADC Village	Noagang ADC Village	Zoitang ADC Village	Jirania Khola ADC Village	Dupcharra ADC Village	Santi Nagar ADC Village	Total
Rubber Plantation	3	6	4	3	4	2	22
Jhum Cultivation	4	5	4	3	2	2	20
Fish Productivity	2	3	2	1	1	1	10
Kuroiler Scheme	1			3	2	2	8
Total	10	14	10	10	9	7	60

Source: Compiled after data collection

#### 4.5 Socio-economic Profiles of Beneficiaries

Table 4.4 presented the socio-economic profile of a beneficiary. From the total beneficiaries interviewed, 48 (forty eight) of them were male and the rest 12 (twelve) were female. Generally, the head of the family is selected as a beneficiary for various schemes and project. So, it is obvious that the numbers of male beneficiary would outnumber their female counterpart. Female beneficiary is selected under female-oriented schemes like jhumia and program implemented by Animal Resource Development Department (ARDD). In this connection, it could be pointed that there is no strict division of work among tribal society in Tripura. Both male and female interchangeably work as manual labour and cultivator.

In terms of age, it is found that persons in between 41 to 50 are mostly selected, which constitutes 35 percent of the total beneficiaries interviewed. To be surprised, it is also found that 7 beneficiaries, that is, 11.66 percent of them are above the age of 60. The youngest age group got the least. This indicates that, aged and mature people are given more preference. In some cases, it also happens that, schemes and programs were given to most aged members of the family who is having all the necessary documents required by the implementing officials.

Table 4.4 Socio-economic profile of beneficiaries

Total: 60

Sl. No.	Socio-Economic Indicators	Sub-Total	Percentage	Total: 60		
	Gender					
	Male	48	80.00	60		
	Female	12	20.00			
	Age Group					
1	21 – 30	5	8.33			
	31 – 40	19	31.66			
	41 – 50	21	35.00	60		
	51 – 60	8	13.33			
	61 & Above	7	11.66			
	Religion					
2	Christian	39	65.00	60		
2	Hindu	21	35.00	00		
	Others					
	Educational Qualification					
	Illiterates	15	25.00			
3	Primary (1 -5 Standard)	31	51.66	60		
	High School (6 – 10 Standard)	12	20.00			
	Matriculation and above	2	3.33			
	Marital Status					
4	Married	59	98.33	60		
	Unmarried	1	1.66			
	Occupations					
	Manual labour	20	33.33			
	Cultivators	26	43.33			
5	Business	3	5.00	60		
	Social Worker	3	5.00			
	Housewife	7	11.66			
	White collar jobs	1	1.66			
	Family income (In Rs.)					
	3001 – 5000	27	45.00			
6	5001 – 7000	24	40.00	60		
	7001 – 9000	7	11.66			
	9001 – 11000	2	3.33			

Source: Compiled from the interview schedule after data collection

The highest numbers in terms of religion is Christian followed by Hindu. Among Tripura tribals three types of religion are found, namely, Christian, Hindu and Buddhist. But as the sampling areas selected for primary data collection does not encompass the tribal areas who embraced Buddhism, a beneficiary who is Buddhist by religion are not

found. It could also be pointed that, over the last few decades, Tripura tribals have started to embrace Christianity. At present, good numbers of Christian populations are found among the Tripura tribals.

So far as educational qualification is concerned, the tribals in Tripura are still found lacking. From the total beneficiaries interviewed, 31 (51.66%) of them have attained primary education and is the highest percentage among the groups classification. It was also found that 25 percent of them are illiterate. Besides, only two beneficiaries among the respondent interviewed were found to be above matriculation. The rest of them were high school dropouts who are above primary level but below matriculation.

Besides, among the beneficiaries interviewed, except a single beneficiary, all of them were married. This indicates that preference is given to a beneficiary who has a family to support. Indeed, this is a good approach adopted by local VCs, in identification and selection of beneficiaries. In case of occupation, maximum of them are cultivators and manual labourer, having 43.33 and 33.33 percent respectively. Among the 60 beneficiaries, 3 (three) of them were found to be a businessman. In fact, the tribals in Tripura are not accustom to business and other self- employment job or entrepreneurship. They work in the field or do some other agricultural works in their own land. Besides, most of the female beneficiaries interviewed were housewife.

In terms of family income, the highest percentage is found to be in a group having monthly income of Rs.3001-5000, followed by a group having Rs. 5001-7000, (45 and 40 percent, respectively). 2 (two) of them, that is, 3.33 percent beneficiaries were having family income above Rs. 9000.

### 4.6 Socio-economic profiles of Elected VC Members

From the total 26 (twenty six) VC Members interviewed, 19 (nineteen) of them constitute male and 7 (seven) of them female. Maximum of them (64%) are within 31-50 years of age. Among them, 53 percent of them were Christian and rest Hindu. The percentage of Christian is considerably higher because, Noagang Sub-Zone, which is one of the selected areas, is predominantly inhabited by the Ranglong tribe of Halam Community. The Ranglong has embraced Christianity since last few decades and at

present maximum of them were Christian by religion. Table 4.5 indicates the socio-economic profile of elected VC Members.

Table 4.5 Socio-economic profiles of Elected VC members

Total: 26

	T		10	otal: 26		
Sl. No.	Socio-Economic Indicators	Sub-total	Percentage	Total		
	Gender					
	Male	19	73.07	26		
	Female	7	26.92			
	Age					
1.	21 - 30	3	11.53			
	31 – 40	8	30.76			
	41 - 50	9	34.61	26		
	51 – 60	4	15.38			
	61 & Above	2	7.69			
	Religion					
2	Christian	14	53.84	26		
2	Hindu	12	46.15			
	Others					
	Educational Qualification					
	Illiterates	5	19.23			
3	Primary (1 -5 Standard)	10	38.46	26		
	High School (6 – 10 Standard)	8	30.76			
	Matriculation and above	3	11.53			
	Marital Status					
4	Married	26	100.00	26		
	Unmarried					
	Family income (In Rs.)					
	3001 – 5000	11	42.30			
5	5001 - 7000	7	26.92	26		
	7001 – 9000	4	15.38			
	9001 & above	4	14.38			

Source: Compiled from the interview schedule after data collection

As per data, it is also found that 38 and 30 percent, respectively, were within primary and high school standard. It is also interesting to points out that considerable percentage (19%) of them were illiterates and mere 11 percent of them have completed their matriculation. Tribals in general lack education and this ultimately leads to lack of awareness on the proper functioning of VC. When their marital status is seen again, 100 percent of them were married and unmarried person is not given chances to be a Member

of VC. Finally, when the financial conditions of the elected Members were examined, 42 percent of them were having a meagre monthly family income of Rs. 3000 to 5000. 14 percent of them, however, have a monthly family income of Rs. 9000 and above. It depicts that many of the elected Members have an acute financial shortage.

### 4.7 About the selected Programs

Implementation guidelines of the four selected development programs are discussed in details.

### 4.7.1 Improved method of Jhum Cultivation:

Jhum (shifting, slash and burn, swidden) cultivation is a traditional form of farming, in which farmer is shifting from one patch of forest to another for cultivation on a yearly basis. In other words, it is a form of unsettled cultivation, where the farmer is moving around from one forest to another, depending on the gaps of fallow periods. The more gaps the more preferable. It is a multiple cropping system and varieties of vegetables are planted in addition to rice. It is practiced throughout the tropics and subtropics (zones of high rainfall, moderate temperature, and steep slopes) of the globe, spread across tropical Asia, Africa and South America (Ramakrishnan, 2001).

There are two contrasting opinions in regards to the efficiency of jhum cultivation. While one group of scholars is favoring the continuity, arguing the symbiotic relationship with tribals, another group of scholars is against it, arguing that it is primitive and unproductive. Scholars like Gadgill and Guha (1992), TC Sharma (1976), Ramkrishnan (1992), et al., argues that clearance of small patches of forest with long fallow periods in shifting cultivation, may even enhance biodiversity in the landscape, due to the creation of a variety of habitats. It preserves agro-biodiversity through local rules, practices and the informal networks of exchange of seeds and knowledge, thus ensure food securities of the concerned communities. It causes less disturbance to the soil, build up natural fertility through the remains of mixed cropping, with minimum tillage under rain fed condition depending on local resources. It is far from being primitive and inefficient and advocates that, the science behind charm is based on intuitive experience of the farmer based on long traditions. It is an ingenious system of organic multiple cropping well suited to the heavy

rainfall areas of the hill tracts of north-eastern region. They also argue that it is not simply a farming technique but a way of life having cultural importance to indigenous tribes.

In contrast, Karthik, Veeraswami and Smal (2009), Saha, Chaoudhury and Somasundaran (2012), Tripathi and Barik (2003), *et al.* argues that jhum cultivations lead to destruction of forests and biodiversity, causes soil erosion and nutrient loss, and affect on soil fertility. Due to shortened fallow cycle, there is huge environmental impact. Moreover, being a subsistence farming system, having a very low input-output ratio, it yields inadequately. When the fallow period goes below 3-4 years, soil fertility is not renewed and erosion increase dramatically.

Jhum cultivation in Tripura is deeply integrated with the socio-economic and cultural life of majority tribals, which constitute 31 percent of the total population of the state. Out of a total 55,049 jhumias (one who practice jhum cultivation) households in the entire state, 21,677 (39.3%) of them are entirely dependent on jhum cultivation and the remaining 60.7 percent is partly dependent. Majority (70.8%) of the jhumias have only 0.8-2 hectares of cultivable land per family and only 6.1 percent have more than two hectares. About 223 km square of forest (3.76% of the total forest area of the state) is cleared annually for jhum cultivation, higher than the national average of 2.26 percent (A.K Gupta, 2000).

Scheme of 'Improved method of Jhum Cultivation' comes under the supervision of the Agriculture Department. Within the TTAADC, a good number of jhumia families are directly involved and dependent on traditional jhum cultivation. But production from jhum cultivation is insufficient for food security among tribal jhumias. In view of this problem, improved method of jhum cultivation has been introduced to increase the productivity and ensure food security. As per the record of 'Hamkrani Yakhilik,' 1 a total of 35,673 families has benefited through this program from 2010-2013. Besides, a total of Rs. 984.08 lakhs have been utilised for the program during the said financial year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is an achievement record, compiled in the form of book, printed annually by TTAADC.

Table 4.6
Year wise numbers of beneficiaries and fund utilisation

Year	No. of Families Benefitted	Fund Utilised (in lakhs)
2010 - 2011	10,115	Rs. 200.00
2011 - 2012	10,155	Rs. 255.48
2012 - 2013	9118	Rs. 528.60
Total	35,354	Rs. 984.08

Sources: Hamkrani Yakhilik: Annual Report on Development Initiatives of TTAADC (2010-2013)

# Number of beneficiaries are tentative as it varies according to different sources

Through this program, financial support is given to tribal jhumias having unit areas of jhum cultivation not less than 0.2 hectare. The fund is provided to beneficiary in one installment annually. This program is also fully subsidised. The total unit cost of the program is Rs. 500. Break-up of fund for implementation as per guidelines are – cost of paddy seeds (Rs. 200), at the rate of rupees 20/kg, and cost of manure and fertiliser (Rs. 300).

#### 4.7.2 Rubber Plantation:

Tripura lies outside the traditional rubber belt, but agro-climatic conditions coupled with low elevation and soil types have made the region most suitable for rubber cultivation. About 64 percent of the total rubber plantations in north-east India are in Tripura. The commercial success of rubber in Tripura led to the creation of the Tripura Forest Development and Plantation Corporation (TFDPC) in 1976, to establish large-scale rubber plantations through Tripura (AK Gupta, 2000). In addition, the Tripura Rehabilitation Plantation Corporation (TRPC) was also set up in 1984, to oversee the settlement of jhumias on rubber plantations.

So, rubber plantation program has also been initiated and implemented by TTAADC. It comes under the supervision of Tribal Welfare Department of TTAADC. It is one of the departments, among nineteen departments, created under TTAADC Administration Rules, 1988.<sup>2</sup> The establishment of Tribal Welfare Department was intended to take intensive care to Tripura tribals for their welfare, social security, removal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Administration Rules, 1988

of social disabilities and providing economic empowerment. It also tries to ensure proportionate representation with the enjoyment of an absolute human right in the overall development of the tribal people by providing sustainable employment.

The program is being implemented as part of 'Integrated Jhumia Re- Settlement'<sup>3</sup> of the poor STs, who is having own allotted lands or *khas* land for their economic improvement to reduce intensity of shifting cultivation, thereby help to restore ecological balance and ensure participation of tribal communities in the developmental process. The project is being implemented in areas inhabited by tribals who are dependent on shifting cultivation. The old rehabilitation program <sup>4</sup> could not make much progress. So, those locations of project where the families still reside, but allotted land could not be put to proper use, is being given priority in identifying the project areas. An amount of Rs.1518.05 lakhs has been proposed during the 12<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan (2012-2017) to cover 1830 hectare of rubber plantations.

To ensure verity of rubber plantation and reduce carrying expenditure, rubber nurseries were raised at Zonal/Sub-Zonal level for plantation in different VCs of TTAADC. For this purpose, an amount of Rs.907.16 lakhs has been proposed during 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017) for raising 93,000 of rubber nurseries. General guidelines for implementation of the program are:

- 1) The poor tribal families willing to raise rubber plantation may approach in groups/cluster to concerned VC/BDOs for financial assistance under the program.
- 2) Beneficiaries would be selected from fully or partially jhumia family who are having non-forest/allotted or in position of government *khas* land. In case of *khas* land, necessary allotment has to be made favoring selected beneficiaries by concerned BDO.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A Project initiated by Government of Tripura with the assistance of TTAADC to reduce intensity of Jhum cultivation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'Tribal Rehabilitation in Plantation and Primitive Group Programme' formed in October 1985

- 3) In the selected village/area a detailed household survey would be conducted to obtain relevant information about socio-economic condition of the inhabitants, availability of resources and suitability of land for rubber cultivation. A joint survey may also be conducted with concerned department officials before the final selection of beneficiaries.
- 4) Selection of beneficiaries is to be made in such a way that the plot of non-forest land comprising of a minimum of 10 hectare owned by the beneficiary is located within ½ km. radius and should not be in scattered locations. For the purpose, proper mapping should be done showing clearly the position of the plot therein.
- 5) Clearing operation should begin in advance. A light burning after drying may be done to ensure destruction of minor brushwood and branches of trees. Excessive clearing and burning may cause loss of organic matter and expose the land to erosion.
- 6) Plantation should be done when the weather condition is ideal and when there is sufficient rainfalls. It is better to plant seedling with the onset of rainy season and preparation of land should be completed accordingly.
- 7) The planting density recommended is 420 nos. to 500 nos. plant per hectare (170 to 200 per acre). Some common spacing adopted is  $6.74\times3.4$  meter, and pitting size is  $75\times75\times75$  cm.
- 8) Fertiliser application for young rubber should be made into two split, that is, during April-May (pre-monsoon) and September-October (post-monsoon) periods.

Under this program, a beneficiary is assisted both in cash and kind. The program is fully subsidise and the a beneficiary is not required to repay any amount at the latter stages. In the form of kind, beneficiary got a maximum of 200 rubber nurseries and it has to be planted in an allotted unit area/areas not smaller than one hectare. The cost of rubber nursery, which is received in kind, is deducted from the total unit cost. The total unit cost of a program is Rs. 52,000 approximately. Beneficiary received the remaining amount after deducting the cost of nursery, in the form of cash. The unit cost varies with different financial years. As the base year for the present research is from 2010-13, the average unit cost falls within the mentioned amount. Break-up of fund for implementation as per guidelines are – cost of nursery, clearing of jungle, terracing, lining and pitting, planting,

weeding, pruning, labour to manure, cover crop establishment, drainage, fencing, fertiliser, photograph and signboard etc. Financial transaction in most cases is done through bank. Table 4.7 shows the break-up of unit cost and their distribution among different components or item of work.

Table 4.7 Break-up of Unit Cost of rubber plantation

(In Rupees)

Sl. No.	Item of Works	Man-days	Wage Per Day	Total	(III Rupees)
1.	Clearing	8	200/-	1,600	
5.	Pitting	40	Do.	8,000	
2.	Terracing	25	Do.	5,000	
3.	Planting	30	Do.	6,000	
4.	Weeding	38	Do.	7,600	Wage
5.	Pruning	3	Do.	600	Component
6.	Manuring	5	Do.	1,000	
7.	Protection	8	Do.	1,600	
8.	Cover Crop	5	Do.	1,000	
9.	Repairing Fencing	3	Do.	600	
10	Others	5	D0.	1,000	
1.	Planting Materials	-	-	12,000	
2.	Cow dung	-	-	3,000	Material
3.	Plant Protection	-	-	340	Component
4.	Cover Crop	-	-	747	
5.	Others	-	-	1000	
	Total	•	·	5,2281	

**Source:** Information collected from Sub-Zonal Office, Noagang, under Machmara Zone, North Tripura.

## 4.7.3 Fish Productivity and Fishery Extension Programs:

Fishery Department of TTAADC plays an important role to meet the requirement of ninety five percent fish within TTAADC, which is a source of development of tribal economic conditions of rural tribal people.<sup>5</sup> TTAADC produced 23,402 metric tons of fishes in 2010-11. It contributes forty nine percent fish production of the State. The per capita fish availability rises to eighteen kg per head in the year 2010-11 from six kg in 2003-04.

Accordingly, Department of Fisheries of TTAADC proposed a total outlay of Rs. 2,414.80 lakhs for the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-17) with a target to increase fish

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Draft 12<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan (2012-17) and Draft Annual Plan (2012-13), *Planning and Statistic*, TTAADC, Khwmlung, Tripura, p. 12.

productivity above three thousand kg per hectare per year, which was then 2,120 kg per hectare per year during 11<sup>th</sup> Plan. Fishery Department of TTAADC has spent Rs.176.06 lakhs during 11<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan (2007-12).

The main objectives of 12<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan (2012-17) is to increase fish productivity through:

1) Demonstration of Scientific Fish culture technology; 2) Utilisation of Seasonal water bodies; 3) Fish culture inputs support to poor fish farmer; 4) Encouragement of fish seed production in remote areas; 5) Pisciculture skill up gradation of rural fish farmer through training; 6) Motivation of rural fish farmer; 7) Introduction of modern technology in fishery sector and 8) Development of post harvesting facilities.

To serve these objectives, a program to increase the level of fish productivity is being introduced in TTAADC areas. Financial assistance is provided to the tune of Rs. 6,512 to a beneficiary having unit area/areas of not less than 0.8 hectare. In most cases, beneficiaries are given assistance in kind rather than cash. Implementing officials provides all necessary materials which are outlined in the project guidelines. It is fully subsidised and the beneficiary is not required to repay any amount in return. However, in case of this program, beneficiary has to contribute an amount of Rs. 500 as share of farmer's contribution. So, the total unit cost of the program is Rs. 7,012, including contribution from beneficiary. As per guidelines, unit cost of the program is divided into different segment for proper implementation. They are – cost of fish net, quick lime, manure, raw cow dung, fingerling, micro-nutrients, supplementary feeds etc. The details break-up is given in table 4.8.

Table 4.8
Break-up of Unit Cost of fish productivity / fishery extension

(In Rupees)

Sl. No.	Items of Expenditure	Rate	Quantity	Amount			
1.	Dewatering to Control Predator	-	-	900			
2.	Lime Application	12/ kg	24 kg	288			
3.	Manuring: i) Mastered Oil Cake	20/kg	16 kg	320			
	ii) Raw Cow Dung	0.25/kg	800 kg	200			
4.	Stocking of Spawn	-	800 cc	2,800			
5.	Cost of Medicine	-	-	150			
6.	Cost of Supplementary Feed	-	-	1,944			
7.	Micro Nutrient	110/kg	1kg	110			
8.	Miscellaneous	-	-	300			
	Sub-Total (Government's Contribution)						
	Farmer's Contribution						
	Total			7,012			

**Source:** Information collected from Sub-Zonal Office, Noagang, under Machmara Zone, North Tripura.

#### 4.7.4 Kuroiler Scheme:

Kuroiler is a hybrid breed of chicken developed in India. It is derived from Crossing coloured broiler males with 'Rhode Island Red females' (American breed of chicken). In TTAADC, programs related with cattle and livestock rearing is under ARDD. Tripura is rich in animal resources. These resources are mostly concentrated in TTAADC since majority of the population of these areas are farmers having tradition of livestock rearing. Total cattle population of the State, as per 18<sup>th</sup> Livestock Census is 9, 48,278 of which 3, 72,518 cattle population are in TTAADC. It is thirty nine percent (39%) of the State total cattle population. Similarly, concentration of pig, goat and poultry populations of TTAADC are much higher than that of the State.<sup>6</sup>

Higher concentration of animal resources in TTAADC is not only due to traditional practices of cattle rearing, but is also due to its socio-economic condition, availability of natural feeds and fodders in hilly regions. The food habit of tribal community also contributes to availability of large numbers of domestic animals within TTAADC. Though large in numbers, the varieties of animals in TTAADC areas are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p.7

mostly of indigenous and unproductive in nature. The productivity of local animals in respect of milk and meat is much lower than that of improved/upgraded varieties.

Thus, emphasis is given on genetic upgradation of domestic animals and birds. Further, it requires inoculation of genetically improved variety of domestic animals and birds for rearing by the tribal people. This in turn necessitates in creating an adequate sources of supply of improved variety livestock. Accordingly, poultry and pig breeding farms within TTAADC are being established. Cattle and livestock rearing activities is encouraged considering the curiosity of tribal population in adopting new technologies like cross-breeding and rearing of high yielding variety of animals.

Further, to fulfill the entire implementation process, there should be sufficient allocation of funds to create ARDD infrastructures, establish new farms, launch an awareness and skill development programs, upgrading livestock and birds, adopting high technique and providing proper protection. So, to meet these requirements, a total outlay of Rs. 1947.88 lakhs has been proposed in 12th Five Year Plan (2012-17). Draft Annual Plan for the year 2012-13 has been fixed with a sum of Rs. 188.37 lakh.

For the purpose of present research, one program, i.e. Kuroiler Farming Program is selected. Under Kuroiler Farming Program, beneficiary is provided financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 40,000 which is both in kind and cash. Table 4.9 shows the break-up of unit cost of Kuroiler farming. The general guidelines for implementation of the program are:

- 1) The program may be considered as beneficiary oriented (single beneficiary) mini Block Level Brooder House (BLBH) program and assistance should be provided with full subsidy.
- 2) Unemployed youths may be selected as beneficiary of this program in consultation with Zonal Advisory Committee / Sub- Zonal Advisory Committee / Village Committee preferably nearer to the concerned office.
- 3) The program shall be implemented by Zonal level Assistant Director of ARDD, TTAADC through the field Veterinarians with the help of Paratechnical staff, working under their jurisdiction, in consultation with concerned Village Committee.

- 4) Three hundred (300) nos. of chicks should be reared in three batches having hundred (100) per batches each, for selling at the age of 45-49 days after completion of all vaccinations.
- 5) Routine vaccination, medication etc. should be ensured by local veterinary staff from the nearest veterinary hospitals.
- 6) Feedback report should be submitted by the beneficiary to the respective supervisory officers in every month, maintaining a register showing expenditure and return.
- 7) Selected beneficiaries are to undergo one (1) day training programme organised and funded by ARDD, and should be extended if necessary.
- 8) Provision of clean drinking water may be made by either beneficiary or local Village Committee.
- 9) The beneficiary should continue this process of rearing chicks by himself/herself after completion of assistance using the sale proceeds of earlier batches as working capital.

Table 4.9
Break-up of Unit Cost of Kuroiler farming

(In Rupees)

Sl. No.	Items of Expenditure	Rate	Quantity	Amount			
1.	Construction of Kuroiler House	-	-	15,000	A		
2.	Cost of Materials	-	-	2,100	1.		
3.	Cost of Kuroiler chicks	18/Chicks	300 Chicks	5,400			
4.	Cost of Litter	100/Bag	4 Bags	400	В		
5.	Cost of Feed	-	-	12,700			
6.	Miscellaneous	-	-	4,400			
7.	Cost of Medicines and Vaccines	-	-	Supplied 1	эу		
				Govt.			
Total	Total (A+B)						

**Source:** Information collected from South Zonal Office, Birchandra Manu, under South Tripura.

## 4.8 Indicators used for measuring implementation

Table 4.10 shows the indicators used for measuring implementation. Based on those indicators, attempt has been made to study the pattern and the extent to which guidelines and norms are applied in the process of implementation.

The first indicator used for measuring implementation is 'identification and selection of beneficiary.' To implement development programs, deserving family should be selected. Deserving in the sense, those family who are financially poor should be selected giving viable program. Viability of program is an important factor for successful implementation. A program which is viable for one family might not be the same for another family. It depends on the socio-economic status of family and the beneficiary. Thus, identification and selection of beneficiary is the first step to study the implementation process of any development program. To understand the procedure of identification and selection of beneficiaries at the VC level, the role of elected VC Members, local party leaders, officials and beneficiary would be analysed.

The second important indicator is the 'awareness of beneficiary in implementation process.' By awareness it indicates beneficiary's knowledge in physically putting the work into practice. It is important because implementation of some scheme and program requires technical knowledge. Selection may be made considering the viability of program to certain beneficiary, but the question remains whether those selected beneficiary have proper awareness to implement. Thus, beneficiary's knowledge in implementation would be analysed. Besides, program related training is being conducted by implementing agencies in order to make the beneficiary aware in implementation process. So, whether beneficiary received training or not is the pertinent question which has been examined and analysed.

The third indicator of implementation is a system of 'delivery of fund and materials' to the beneficiary. Deserved beneficiary may be selected and the beneficiary may have proper awareness in implementing the programs. But if there is a poor delivery system the beneficiary is likely to face problems in the implementation process. Questions like system of disbursement of cash to the beneficiary, timely delivery of assistance, etc, are important to understand the process of implementation. Besides, question of bribe is

also an important factor involved in the process of implementation. Thus, attempt has been made to find out any cases of bribe in the process of delivery process.

The fourth indicator is 'adequacy of fund and its consequences at latter stage.' The term 'adequacy' is a relative terminology. The general assumption is that, a beneficiary would always feel inadequate with the fund or assistance received and would wish to get more. However, the main objective in analysing this variable is to find out beneficiary's follow up activity with the limited fund at his/her disposal. Besides, an important issue is the sources of extra expenditure incurred for successful implementation. Thus, an attempt has been made to find out those sources, in order to analyse the participation of beneficiaries.

The fifth indicator used for measuring implementation is 'supervision of work' by officials and elected VC Members. If implementation of programs ends in only delivering goods and materials, there are chances of failure. As per guidelines and norms, officials and elected VC Members have to make a regular inquiry/investigation on the progress of work done by the beneficiaries. In some cases, there are chances that a beneficiary utilised the assistance to some other intended purpose. Supervision of work is, therefore, an important factor that contributes to successful implementation. Thus, an attempt has been made to analyse this aspect.

Finally attempt has been made to find out probable causes of failure of programs. The present study would find out the factors based on the opinion of beneficiaries. Based on those factors, some suggestions would be made to further improve the implementation of programs among tribals. The following indicators in table 4.10 are, therefore, used for the present study.

Table 4.10

Table showing indicators of implementation

Objectives		Indicators
		1. Identification and selection of beneficiary
		2. Awareness of beneficiary about the program
	of	3. Delivery of fund and materials
	of	4 Adequacy of assistance and its consequences at latter
TTAADC		Stages
		5. Supervision of works
		7. Causes of failure of programs

#### 4.9 Identification and Selection of Beneficiaries

As stated earlier, the first step in the process of implementation of development program is careful identification and selection of beneficiaries. In order to implement any type of development programs in an effective manner, it is imperative that the program reaches the lowest rung of the social hierarchy, so that genuine and deserved persons have the chance to be assisted. This brings into questions the proper identification of a beneficiary who really needs assistance. It involves fair and just criterion in selecting a beneficiary.

As per Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Village Committee (Administration) Rules, 1996, VC shall place before the meeting of 'Village Sansad,' matters relating to selection of beneficiaries of any program and selection of work-site of public utility, under any program or project pertaining to the Village Sansad area. VC shall submit before the Village Sansad a full report in respect of development programs relating to concerned VC area undertaken in the preceding year and development programs to be undertaken during the current year. In addition, any matter referred to VC by TTAADC, for decision of the people of VC shall be placed before the meeting of Village Sansad for consultations and decisions.

Besides, in each meeting of Village Sansad, VC shall distribute a printed booklet to each voter of the meeting. The printed booklet should contain information about amount of fund received, the amount of fund spent and the works/projects undertaken with the fund. It should also contain the number and nature of projects completed, number of beneficiaries selected and benefit given under different programs. Again, the amount of unspent fund, number of man-days generated, number and nature of assets created, number of sites selected indicating the name of the programs and projects etc, should be clearly mentioned in the booklet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'Village Sansad' means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to the area comprised within 'Village Sansad area' as may be constituted by Village Committee.

So, it is implicit that, the working process of VC is executed by VC Members with proper consent and cooperation of the general public within the locality. Decisions on important matters are taken in the general meeting called 'Village Sabha' where all the local community participates. Thus, attempt has been made to analyse the entire selection process.

The beneficiaries were asked to report on how they got selected as a beneficiary. Four options – 'through village sansad,' 'through personal request to elected VC Chairperson,' 'through personal request to other elected VC Members,' and 'without information,' were given to them.

The first option, 'through village sansad,' is the formal process of identification and selection which is as per TTAADC (Administration) Rules, 1996. Through village sansad, deserved beneficiaries were identified, viability of programs to a certain beneficiary is examined and final selection of beneficiaries is made with proper information and consent of the locality. The said rules further stated that the meeting should be presided and chaired by the local elected VC Chairperson and the minute recorded by the concerned VC Secretary.

Other two options, 'through personal request to elected VC Chairperson and through personal request to other elected VC Members,' are informal mode of selection. These options are given to understand the powers exercised by local elected VC Chairpersons and Members. In some cases, due to personal request by a beneficiary to get selected for certain programs, Chairperson or even elected VC Members may enter the name in the selected list, without the information of the general public in Village Sansad. As per informal discussion with non-beneficiaries in the course of fieldwork, it is found that elected VC Chairperson or Members sometimes monopolised the selection of beneficiaries. According to them, in case of some programs, selection is made by VC Chairperson with the influence of some local party members, without the information and notice of the local public. Thus, an attempt has been made to analyse all these aspects.

Question may arise regarding the last option, that is, 'without information.' The objective in putting the last option is to find out whether there is any case of selection without the information of a beneficiary. Practical experience shows that in case of

program like improved method of jhum cultivation, where the unit cost is merely below Rs. 1,000, selection is sometimes done without necessarily informing the beneficiaries. So, analysis would be made based on the reports of beneficiary. Table 4.11 presents programwise percentage distribution of beneficiaries reports on the mode of selection of beneficiary.

As per data in table 4.11, program-wise percentage of those beneficiaries who got selected through village sansad shows highest in jhum cultivation (55%), followed by fish productivity (50%), rubber plantation (45.45%), and Kuroiler scheme (37.5%). Data also shows that there are few percentages who reported of getting selected through personal request to VC Chairperson. The highest is rubber program (22.72%), followed by fish productivity program (20%), and Kuroiler scheme (12.5%). The average percentage shows 13.33 percent. This illustrates the extent of power exercised by VC Chairperson in selection process.

Question remains, why the percentage is highest in rubber plantation, so far as selection through the request of VC Chairperson is concerned. It has been found that rubber plantation is most viable program for rural tribal as it suits the milieu of tribals. Most of the locality want to get benefitted with rubber plantation program, and this let them to approach VC Chairperson and even other elected VC Members (as data shows) for getting selected. This further indicates that there are chances of bribe given to VC Chairperson so as to get selected under rubber plantation scheme.

Another interesting fact is that considerable percentage of beneficiaries got selected without one's information. The average percentage shows 30 percent, which ensure malpractices in the identification and selection of beneficiaries. Program-wise percentage distribution shows highest percentage in Kuroiler scheme (50%) and followed by jhum cultivation (45%). In this case, two questions could be raised. Why the percentage is comparatively high in jhum cultivation and Kuroiler scheme? How is selection done without prior information of beneficiary? As stated earlier, unit cost of jhum productivity program involves very less amount which is less than Rs. 1,000, and practical experience shows that selection has been made informally by local VC Members. Similarly, Kuroiler scheme is somewhat uncommon to rural tribals and the number of beneficiaries in a year is

less as compared to other programs like rubber, jhum, etc. So, VC Chairperson would select a beneficiary of his/her choice with the influence of local party leaders. This further proof the excessive role of VC Chairperson and party leaders, in monopolising the selection of process. That is, Selection of beneficiaries has been made in a clandestine way by the elected VC Chairperson and Members in collusion with local party leaders.

Table 4.11 Mode of selection of beneficiaries

Total: 60

	How do you get selected as beneficiary?							
List of Programs	In Village Sansad	Personal request to Elected VC Chairperson	Personal request to other elected VC Members	Without information	Total			
Rubber	10	5	4	3	22			
Plantation	(45.45)	(22.72)	(18.18)	(13.63)				
Jhum	11			9	20			
Cultivation	(55.00)			(45.00)				
Fish	5	2	1	2	10			
Productivity	(50.00)	(20.00)	(10.00)	(20.00)				
Kuroiler	3	1		4	8			
Scheme	(37.5)	(12.5)		(50.00)				
Total	29	8	5	18	60			
Total	(48.33)	(13.33)	(8.33)	(30.00)	(100.00)			

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

In this connection, it could be pointed out that informal group discussions were also organised with non-beneficiaries, to further collect information with regards to identification and selection of beneficiaries. According to them, although the selection of beneficiaries are done through Village Sansad, it sometimes got changed at the final stage. Final selection is done by VC with huge influence form local political leaders and some influential persons. This act of malpractice by local leaders affect the interest of the general mass, in attending a meeting like Village Sansad and Village Sabha. Dilip K. Ghosh (2008) also discussed the same problems faced by panchayat of West Bengal. He has cited the Reports of the Second West Bengal Finance Commission (2002), which stated, '... the attendance at the meetings of Gram Sansad declined when the participants found that their aspirations could not be fulfilled by the Gram Panchayats...'. There is general assumption among the masses that nothing would come out from these meetings.

Such an assumption about village sansad motivates local political leaders in monopolising the selection process of beneficiary.

Poor family and deserved people are sometimes neglected and due importance is given to political party affiliation, regardless of the family's socio-economic conditions. As a result, many families who have the capacity in lobbying local political leaders are benefitted consecutively. On the other hand, illiterates and ignorant families are often neglected and would seldom or never get desired developmental programs.

When asked to beneficiaries the reasons for their acceptance of a program (whatever program it may be) without being informed of his/her selection, they reported that they have no opportunity to select a program of their own choice. In addition, most of the development programs implemented within TTAADC are fully subsidies. So, a beneficiary does not need to take the problems of recovery, and therefore accepted with whatever program given. Beneficiaries have built a wrong concept that facilities given to them are freely subsidised by government and would not affect, in any case, even if it is not succeeded in implementation.

So, the demands of governance – accountability, transparency, etc, is still lacking at grass root level of democracy in TTAADC. Decentralisation of power is to some extent practiced in TTAADC, but tribal still lacks general awareness in regards to schemes and programs (awareness of beneficiary is discussed in the next section). Few local leaders would take an opportunity of the ignorance of general public and monopolised the local administration.

Malpractice in the selection of beneficiaries is evident from the audit reports. As per audit reports, an amount of Rs. 24.15 lakh has been utilised in the year 2011, for raising tea nursery for plantation in 20 acres land, by 20 beneficiaries under SZDO Takarjala, West Zone. It has been noticed that plantation on the land of four beneficiaries were damaged. Those plantations could not be revived as 2 beneficiaries shifted to rubber plantation in the same plot. Thus, due to improper selection, expenditure incurred to four beneficiaries became wasteful (CAG Reports, 2012).

#### 4.10 Awareness of Beneficiaries about the Programs

In the earlier section of this Chapter, discussion has been made on the identification and selection of beneficiaries. It has been found that there are various modes of identification and selection practice at the VC level. The following section again make analysis on their awareness. In order to effectively implement any developmental schemes or programs, there should be proper awareness among the beneficiaries with regard to method and process of implementation. By awareness, it indicates a beneficiary's knowledge in physically putting the work into practice. In fact, the success of schemes and programs largely depend on the awareness of a beneficiary in connection to implementation process.

In regards to awareness in implementation, it does not necessarily mean that, a beneficiary selected formally with proper information would have awareness and those who have no knowledge of one's selection would lack awareness in implementation. Awareness depends on an individual's past experience of agricultural works or any sort of labor works. The presumption is that a beneficiary may be aware or unaware regardless the mode of selection of a beneficiary.

The problem, therefore, lies with those beneficiaries, who lack awareness of the implementation. If they are left with implementation work regardless of their lack of awareness, programs lead to failure. The official norms and guidelines is that selected beneficiary would be given program related trainings. The issue of training is a serious matter, because beneficiaries should have minimum basic technical knowledge to carry on with works of implementation. Accordingly, an attempt has been made to analyse whether the implementing officials conducted program related training.

Further, beneficiaries should be given necessary information about finance related matters of the program including unit cost. This will ensure more enthusiasm among the beneficiaries to have a systematic planning beforehand. Appropriate awareness among the beneficiaries would have mental and physical preparedness and therefore, succeed in implementation. Practical experience shows, in few cases a beneficiary does not even have knowledge of unit cost of a program. They carry on the implementation works with

whatever funds and materials provided. This problem has also been addressed in this section.

Therefore, this section constitutes 3 (three) basic questions – Is the beneficiary acquainted with the program in which he/she is selected? If not, are they given any sort of program related training? Is the beneficiary aware in regard to allocation of funds and materials in which he/she is selected as a beneficiary? This section attempts to answer those questions.

### 4.10.1 Beneficiary's awareness of implementation in the program selected:

For the question regarding the beneficiaries' awareness in implementation of the program, two options –'aware' and 'not aware' are given to the beneficiaries. In general, the responses from beneficiaries varies with variation in option given to them. So, only two options were given in order to find out direct answer. Table 4.12 shows that 68.33 percent of the beneficiaries are aware and 31.66 percent of them lack awareness of the implementation process.

If program-wise percentage is examined, 90 percent (highest) of beneficiaries of jhum cultivation reported of having awareness. It is followed by rubber plantation program (63.63%), and fish productivity and Kuroiler scheme (50% each). On the other side, when the average percentage of unaware beneficiaries are examined, a considerable percentage (31.66%) of them directly reported of their lack of awareness in the program in which they are selected. Program-wise percentage of unaware beneficiaries shows highest in fish productivity and Kuroiler scheme (50% each), followed by rubber plantation (36.36%), and jhum cultivation (10%).

One may ask why in case of rubber plantation and jhum cultivation programs, there are good numbers of beneficiaries having awareness, and in fish productivity and Kuroiler scheme the percentage of aware beneficiary is less. As stated earlier, rubber plantation and jhum cultivation are very common among rural tribals. For many beneficiaries, the implementation works of the two programs are directly linked with their daily life and is in fact, treated as a livelihood. So, it is natural that many beneficiaries would have an awareness, based on their work experience related to the two programs.

However, in case of the latter two programs – fish productivity and Kuroiler schemes, it is somehow uncommon for many rural tribals as the nature of works requires basic technical knowledge, which is alien to the traditional tribal mode of cultivation (jhum). This necessitates basic program related training, especially in those programs where tribal lacks awareness. The following discussion would deal with accordingly.

Table 4.12 Beneficiary's awareness about the implementation method of a program Total: 60

List of Programs	Aware	Not Aware	Total
Rubber Plantation	14	8	22
	(63.63)	(36.36)	
Jhum Cultivation	18	2	20
Jiiuiii Cuitivatioii	(90.00)	(10.00)	
Eigh Deadwativity	5	5	10
Fish Productivity	(50.00)	(50.00)	
Vymailar Cahama	4	4	8
Kuroiler Scheme	(50.00)	(50.00)	
Total	41	19	60
Total	(68.33)	(31.66)	(100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

### 4.10.2 Training imparted to beneficiaries:

The preceding discussion illustrates the awareness of beneficiary in program implementation. It was found that 19 (nineteen) beneficiaries, constituting 31.66 percentage from total 60 (sixty) beneficiaries are unaware of the process of scheme implementation. An attempt has been made to analyse whether those unaware beneficiaries have undergone any sort of training. As per officials norms and guidelines, a beneficiary would be given basic training to acquaint him/her in implementation. The training program is generally two to three days organised by implementing officials with resource person from the concerned department.

A direct and close ended question is asked to beneficiaries, that is – 'yes' or 'no.' As per data presented in table 4.13, it is found that a huge percentage constituting 73.68 percent of them have not undergone any training. However, 26.31 percent of them reported of having basic scheme related training. Program-wise percentage from those

who reports of undergoing training is highest in fish productivity (80%), followed by rubber plantation program (12.5%).

In the other two programs – jhum cultivation and Kuroiler scheme, no beneficiary reports of having any program related training. This signifies the negligence of implementing agency. Kuroiler scheme is monitored by ARD Department and in fact, this department has not much achievement among rural tribals. Basic training is very necessary in Kuroiler scheme as the implementation method requires technical knowledge. Besides, further training arrangement should also be made in regard to rubber plantation, because through rubber plantation the socio-economic condition of rural tribals has considerably improved.

So far as fish productivity is concerned, data in table 4.13 shows 80 percent of the beneficiary had undergone scheme related training. Program of fish productivity could be further augmented among the tribals. TTAADC have good scope in this sector as there are enough suitable areas to undertake this program. The tribal in general still lacks basic technical knowledge and hence, more training program could be organised at VC level.

From further informal discussion with the beneficiaries, it has been found that few beneficiaries have intentionally skipped program related training organised by the concerned department. When asked the reasons of their avoidance of such training they reported that it is not helpful as the training is organised for formality. They further reports that going to training is merely to give attendance. So, it does not make much sense of attending such training. When the same issue is discussed with officials of Sub-Zonal office, they reported the negligence and uncooperative nature of tribal beneficiaries with the officials. This shows a situation of blame game in between them. In regard to the responses of the VC Chairpersons on the same issue, they reported that the process of training is not under their purview and their mere duty is to give information to a beneficiary regarding their training.

Whatever the case may be, data show irregularities in scheme related training, which is but an important factor for the success of implementation. The following

discussion deals with the awareness of beneficiaries regarding allocation of fund of a scheme.

Table 4.13
Trainning imparted to beneficiaries

Total: 19

			1000111
List of Programs	Yes	No	Total
Rubber Plantation	1 (12.5)	7 (87.5)	8
Jhum Cultivation		2 (100.00)	2
Fish Productivity	4 (80.00)	1 (20.00)	5
Kuroiler Scheme		4 (100.00)	4
Total	5 (26.31)	14 (73.68)	19 (100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

## 4.10.3 Beneficiary's awareness on the allocation of fund of a program:

For the question regarding beneficiaries' awareness about allocation of fund of a program, two options were given to a beneficiary – 'aware' and 'unaware.' Here also, direct and closed ended question is asked so as to avoid varies in responses. For the purpose of the present study 'aware' indicates to those beneficiaries who have knowledge of the process of funds and materials allocation in a scheme in which he/she got selected. Allocation of funds of a scheme means the total unit cost and break-up of a program etc.

Awareness of a beneficiary in the allocation of funds of a scheme is important because the beneficiaries has to carry on the work with proper planning. To have proper planning, beneficiaries should have information on funding process, so that he/she could have a systematic plan accordingly. For instance, after knowing the total unit cost and break-up of a program, beneficiaries may feel inadequate with it. So, a beneficiary may like to make an extra expenditure so as to make program success. For the purpose, it is necessary that the beneficiaries has proper information beforehand, in regard to allocation of fund of a scheme.

As per data presented in table 4.14, the average percentage of beneficiaries who have awareness is 58.33 percent and rest 41.66 percent reported of not having awareness.

When program-wise percentage distribution of aware beneficiary is examined, the highest percentage is in jhum cultivation (75%), followed by rubber cultivation (68.18%). In case of the other two programs – Fish productivity and Kuroiler scheme, the percentage of aware beneficiary is comparatively less (30 and 25% respectively). Thus, these two programs have also higher percentage of unaware beneficiary as compare to rubber and jhum cultivation. The case of lack of awareness in regards to allocation of fund of a program is similar in comparision to lack of awareness in regards to implementation method as discussed in section 4.10 of this Chapter.

Why some beneficiaries are aware about the allocation of fund of a scheme, and others are not is a pertinent question that could be analysed. So far as socio-economic profile of the aware beneficiary is concerned, majority of them are within primary standard. However, few of them have also reached high school standard and interestingly 2 (two) beneficiaries having awareness about the allocation of fund of a scheme are illiterate. So, it is found that education qualification has no much role in beneficiaries' awareness about financial matter of a scheme. In matter of age, it is found that maximum of the aware beneficiaries are at the age of 40 (forty) and above, and only 2 (two) beneficiaries are under forty years of age. Thus, the elderly beneficiaries are more aware than the younger one.

Table 4.14
Beneficiary's awareness about the allocation of funds of a scheme

			i otai: ou
List of Programs	Aware	Not Aware	Total
Rubber Plantation	15 (68.18)	7 (31.81)	22
Jhum Cultivation	15 (75.00)	5 (25.00)	20
Fish Productivity	3 (30.00)	7 (70.00)	10
Kuroiler Scheme	2 (25.00)	6 (75.00)	8
Total	35 (58.33)	25 (41.66)	60 (100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages)

Source: As per data collected from field work

## 4.11 Delivery of Fund and Materials

The preceding discussion illustrates the awareness of a beneficiary in regards to allocation of funds of a scheme. Analysis indicates that many beneficiaries are not aware of it. The present discussion would again examine the actual system of delivery so as to find out the problems associated with it. Delivery of fund and materials indicates the mode of 'cash' payment and timely delivery of materials to the beneficiaries. Mode of cash payment further indicates the system of disbursement of cash to beneficiaries, that is, through bank or hand to hand. As per guidelines, cash payment should be made through personal saving bank account which is termed as Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT).

Secondly, attempts have been made to analyse on timely delivery of assistance. The term 'timely' is used in connection to the season of a locality. Out of the four programs selected, three programs – rubber plantation, jhum cultivation and fish productivity programs are seasonal based, that is, it should be implemented at the beginning of monsoon season. For instance, if the beneficiary received assistance like rubber nursery, fish nursery etc., at the end of monsoon season, it would not be helpful as they are totally seasonal base. For the purpose of the present analysis, those mentioned there seasonal based programs would be used for tabulation.

Mode of disbursement of cash in table 4.15, shows that informal mode of disbursement is still practiced at the VC level. When the average percentage distribution of the two modes of disbursement is examined, the higher percentage is through DBT (71.66%), and the rest is made informally, that is, hand to hand (28.33%). Program-wise percentage distribution of payment through DBT shows highest in Kuroiler scheme (87.5%) followed by rubber plantation, fish productivity and jhum cultivation. On the other side, the percentage distribution of payment through informal means is highest in jhum cultivation (35%) and lowest in Kuroiler scheme (12.5%).

When those beneficiaries who received 'cash' informally were asked about the reasons of not receiving through DBT, they have no proper idea about the actual proceedings in the delivery of funds. Some of them said that, due to their remote location, they could not go to distance places to collect their subsidy. It happens that local VC Secretary or Chairperson would collect the cash and distributes among the beneficiaries.

This is evident as per reports of internal audit 2013, conducted by Directorate of Internal Audit, Government of Tripura. As per the reports, in Indurail VC (one of the selected VC), under Noagang Sub-Zone, payment of fund to beneficiaries amounting to Rs. 0.83 lakh has been made through bearer cheque. The same case occurred in Noagang VC (one of the selected VC), where an amount of Rs. 1.72 lakhs payment has been made through bearer cheque (Internal Audit Reports, Tripura, 2012-2013). This means that fund is withdrawn from bank by one person and distributes among the beneficiaries. This sort of malpractice in delivery of fund is still common in remote location of tribal villages.

Table 4.15
Method of disbursement of cash to beneficiaries

Total: 60

			101111.00
List of Programs	DBT	Hand to Hand	Total
Rubber Plantation	16 (72.72)	6 (27.27)	22
Jhum Cultivation	13 (65.00)	7 (35.00)	20
Fish Productivity	7 (70.00)	(30.00)	10
Kuroiler Scheme	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	8
Total	43 (71.66)	17 (28.33)	60 (100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

### 4.11.1 Timely delivery of assistance:

A question is asked to beneficiaries whether they received assistance in time, in other words, during peak season (monsoon). As stated earlier, from four selected programs – rubber plantation, jhum cultivation, fish productivity and Kuroiler scheme, the first three programs are seasonal based programs. So, for the purpose of analysis, these three programs would be examined, and Kuroiler scheme would not be taken into account. Accordingly, the total numbers of beneficiaries would be reduced to 52 (fifty two).

From table 4.16, it is clear that, 53.84 percent of them claimed of not receiving necessary materials during peak season. They further went to the extent of reporting that, very often the beneficiaries received planting materials like rubber nurseries, paddy seeds,

etc. at the end of the season (after the monsoon). So, rubber nurseries (in particular) have to be temporarily kept in some cold places by digging the earth. But before the next rainy season begins many nurseries died during lengthy dry season. Similarly, to those beneficiaries selected under fish productivity and fishery extension program, 80 percent of them have claimed of not receiving nursery fish during peak season. Thus, untimely disbursement of fund and materials is a serious problem faced by rural tribals.

It is, therefore, natural that, beneficiaries would face problems in processing the materials because of untimely delivery. For instance, as per the reports of CAG, ZDO North Zone sanctioned an amount of Rs. 6.30 lakhs in 2011, in favour of SZDO Dasda, for raising tea nursery of 2.25 lakhs for 30 (thirty) beneficiaries. But the work started when the actual time for raising the nursery is almost over. Out of 2.90 lakhs seedlings only 1.26 lakhs plants survived due to dry spell and pest attack. 1.26 lakhs plant were distributed among 21(twenty one) beneficiaries at 6000 plants per head. For remaining 9 (nine) beneficiaries 0.78 lakhs plants were procured from Tripura Tea Development Corporation (TTDC), at an additional cost of Rs. 4.88 lakhs (CAG Reports, 2012). Untimely delivery of nursery plants to beneficiary causes various problems at latter stage.

Table 4.16 Beneficiaries receiving assistance during peak season (monsoon)

			10tal: 52
List of Programs	Received	Not Received	Total
Rubber Plantation	13 (59.09)	9 (40.90)	22
Jhum Cultivation	9 (45.00)	11 (55.00)	20
Fish Productivity	2 (20.00)	8 (80.00)	10
Total	24 (46.15)	28 (53.84)	52 (100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

## 4.12 Adequacy of assistance and its consequences at latter Stages

Adequacy of fund or assistance is essential for successful implementation of development programs. Inadequacy of fund allocated for certain program often leads to incomplete and unsuccessful works. This attributes is more traceable among the poor tribals, because they have limited sources of income to supplement the inadequate fund

received. As stated earlier, the term 'adequacy' is a relative terminology. The general assumption is that, a beneficiary would always feel inadequate with the funds or assistance received and would wish to get more. However, the main objective in analysing this variable is to find out a beneficiary's follow up activity with the limited fund (if asserted by beneficiary) at his/her disposal. So, an attempt has been made to gather as much information as possible, about the opinion and view of beneficiaries regarding adequacy of fund.

So, question is asked to beneficiary about their observation on the adequacy of assistance received. As per data presented in table 4.17, it is found that 56.66 percent of them feel inadequate. Considerable percentage, that is, 33.33 percent of them, however, felt to be adequate. Few beneficiaries are not ready to share their views and simply said that they do not have idea about it.

Table 4.17 Beneficiary's view about the adequacy of assistance

Total: 60

List of Programs	Adequate	Inadequate	Cannot Say	Total
Rubber Plantation	11 (50.00)	9 (40.90)	(9.09)	22
Jhum Cultivation	-	20 (100.00)		20
Fish Productivity	7 (70.00)	2 (20.00)	1 (10.00)	10
Kuroiler Scheme	2 (25.00)	3 (37.5)	3 (37.5)	8
Total	20 (33.33)	34 (56.66)	6 (10.00)	60 (100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

### 4.12.1 Beneficiary's follow-up works with inadequate assistance received:

Another important point to be address is the follow-up implementation work by beneficiaries with the inadequate assistance received. A beneficiary may or may not utilise the assistance received to intended purpose. Sometimes, it so happens that, due to inadequacy of fund received for a specific program, a beneficiary diverts to other unintended purpose. To find out the ground situations, beneficiaries were asked to provide information about the work done with the inadequate assistance received. The question is posed only to those beneficiaries who reported on the inadequacy of funds.

Table 4.18 indicates the percentage distribution of beneficiaries, in regards to follow-up work. It is found that 47.05 percent of the total beneficiaries have added or extended with extra money to make the program successful. It is a good sign of awareness among the poor tribals. They showed their enthusiasm in successful implementation of the programs, which would generate income to support their family. However, 52.94 percent of them continue the work with the limited and inadequate assistance received. They could not afford to invest extra expenditure from their own sources. In the process of data collection, no beneficiary is found who have diverted the assistance received to some other unintended purpose.

However, it could be pointed out that, beneficiaries feel reluctant to share accurate information about the follow-up works. Practical experience shows few instances where the beneficiary diverted the fund received to some other unintended purpose. To substantiate this conjecture, audit reports pointed out an instance of two beneficiaries who shifted to rubber cultivation from initial tea plantation program (CAG Report, 2012).

Table 4.18
Beneficiary's follow-up work done with inadequate assistance
Total: 34

List of Programs	Added/extended with extra	Continue with inadequate	Total		
	expenditure	assistance received			
Rubber	5	4	9		
Plantation	(55.55)	(44.44)			
Jhum	10	10	20		
Cultivation	(50.00)	(50.00)			
Fish		2	2		
Productivity	<del></del>	(100.00)			
Kuroiler	1	2	3		
Scheme	(33.33)	(66.66)			
70.4.1	16	18	34		
Total	(47.05)	(52.94)	(100.00)		

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

Finally, a question is asked to those 16 (sixteen) beneficiaries who have incurred extra expenditure. They were asked to report on the sources of expenditure they have incurred. As per beneficiaries, maximum of them reports to have managed from their own sources. They managed by selling their asset like domestic animals. None of them have

reported to have borrowed from some others. It indicates the participation of beneficiaries for the success of the program. In fact, there are many instances where a beneficiary successfully implements the development program given to him/her, especially in rubber plantation program.

### 4.13 Leakages in the Process of Implementation

Involvement of bribery is very common in implementation. This sort of malpractice exists even at grass root level of administration. Hence, effort has been made to collect information from beneficiaries regarding involvement of any types of bribery related activities in the process of program implementation. It could be understood that, while posing questions to the beneficiaries they feel reluctant to share their experiences regarding bribery. Accordingly, maximum of the beneficiaries, with an exception of two to three beneficiaries, reported that they have not given any sort of commission or bribery. When asked to those beneficiaries about the causes, they reported that bribe is given for getting selected as a beneficiary in rubber plantation scheme. The amount of bribe given is from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000.

The point is that tribal beneficiaries are very ignorant and unaware, that they became contented with whatever facilities given to them. They have no motivation to demand and hence no idea of giving commission or bribe in order to be selected as beneficiary or to get more. Some beneficiary, however reported that during delivery of 'kind' like rubber nursery, fish nursery and other agriculture related item, poor quality is given to them. Huge numbers of them died after beneficiary received the item. Besides, there is also chance of leakages in delivery of 'cash,' as payment is made through bearer cheque (in some cases as mentioned earlier). In addition, as many beneficiaries have no knowledge of unit cost of a program in which he/she is elected, VC Chairperson and Secretary have the chance to misappropriate the fund.

## 4.14 Supervision of Works

For the success of developmental schemes and programs, good supervision and monitoring of work is necessary. Implementation of programs should not end after providing fund and necessary materials to the beneficiaries. Supervision is essential to tribals, because they are generally ignorant and unaware with all the method and process

of implementation. Cases of mishandling of fund and materials are very common among tribals in Tripura. Here comes the inevitability of regular visits to worksite, coordinate supervision and monitoring of works, by implementing agencies or officials, with strict norms and guidelines.

The importance of supervision and monitoring is more vital when it involves programs which come under the department of Agriculture, ARDD and Fishery, etc. These programs are long term income generating activities which require rigorous action plan. So, it becomes the responsibility of implementing officilas to supervise and guide the beneficiaries in the execution of works for successful implementation. With this objective in mind, best endeavor has been made to collect information from beneficiaries regarding supervision and monitoring of works by implementing officials and local elected VC Members.

## 4.14.1 Frequency of Officials in visiting worksite:

Initially, beneficiaries were asked to provide information about the regularity of departmental officials in field visit / visiting worksite and scrutinise the actual situation of programs implemented. Officials indicate those departmental staff engaged in monitoring the execution works. There is no uniformity in regards to appointment of 'implementing officer' among various Line Departments. Generally, an officer in the rank of 'inspector/supervisor' (Group-C) employee is appointed as implementing officer. Accordingly, Supervisor for rubber plantation, Fishery Inspector for fish productivity scheme, ARD (extension officer) for Kuroiler scheme and Agriculture Inspector for jhum cultivation is the implementing officer.

From table 4.19, it is found that officials have not given importance in visiting worksite for proper supervision of works. Out of the total beneficiaries, 73.33 percent of them reports that officials never make field visits to scrutinise the progress of implementation. It shows that, in case of some programs, they end up by simply providing necessary funds and materials without considering the progress, at a later stage.

Table 4.19 Frequency of visit of worksite by Officials

Total: 60

List of Programs	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Cannot say	Total
Rubber Plantation		6 (27.27)	13 (59.09)	3 (13.63)	22
Jhum Cultivation		4 (20.00)	16 (80.00)		20
Fish Productivity	1 (10.00)	2 (20.00)	7 (70.00)		10
Kuroiler Scheme			8 (100.00)		8
Total	1 (1.66)	12 (20.00)	44 (73.33)	3 (5.00)	60 (100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages) **Source:** As per data collected from field work

### 4.14.2 Frequency of elected VC Members in visiting worksite

In line with the earlier question, beneficiaries were asked to answer the regularity of local elected VC Members in visiting and supervising programs implemented within the village. So far as supervisory works is concerned, maximum responsibility is now vested to the local administrative unit. Hence, it is assumed that VC would regularly make a field visit and discuss program related matters with the locality.

Table 4.20 explains the actual performance of VCs in supervising the programs. Surprisingly, the data show that there are VC Members who never make visits to worksite and scrutinise the progress of works. VC members who regularly make field visits and worksite is also negligible. Taken as a whole, the supervision and monitoring performance of officials and VCs is found to be poor and below expectation. Remoteness of tribal villages could be one of the reasons for irregularity among the implementing agencies in visiting worksite. But, it could be accepted that poor supervision and monitoring performance could be one reason for unsuccessful programs in tribal areas.

Table 4.20 Frequency of elected VC Members in visiting worksite

Total: 60

					1000
List of Programs	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	Cannot say	Total
Rubber Plantation	3 (13.63)	14 (63.63)	3 (13.63)	2 (9.09)	22
Jhum Cultivation	4 (20.00)	12 (60.00)	4 (20.00)		20
Fish Productivity	3 (30.00)	6 (60.00)	1 (10.00)		10
Kuroiler Scheme		6 (75.00)	2 (25.00)		8
Total	10 (16.66)	38 (63.33)	10 (16.66)	(3.33)	60 (100.00)

(Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages)

Source: As per data collected from field work

When the cause of poor supervisory work is further analysed, it has been found that implementing officials generally entrusted the local VC Chairperson to execute the works. As a part of supervisory work, VC Chairperson would collect information from villager (not necessarily beneficiary), about the status of works rather than personally visiting worksite to make inquiry. Thus, VC Chairperson acts as a medium of communication in between beneficiaries and implementing officials. So, it could be inferred that there is somehow an act of connivance in between implementing officials and VC Chairperson in regards to supervision of works.

# 4.15 Causes of failure of Programs

After analysing the process of implementation of development programs, various problems linked with it has been found. There is problem with identification and selection of beneficiary, lack of awareness of beneficiary in implementing the program, irregularities in scheme related training and delivery process, inadequacy of fund, poor supervision of works, etc. This indicates that programs implemented by TTAADC would not fully succeed, meaning that some programs are in failure.

So, it is obvious that some of the programs implemented in TTAADC could not succeed. In many cases, implementation of programs is left half-way before completion. In some other cases it could not produce the desired output even after completion of works.

The question is who are responsible for the failure of program, or what factors lead to failure of programs in TTAADC. From the preceding analysis on implementation, it could be found that a single factor is not responsible for the failure. As the process is a chain system involving many stakeholders, like officials, elected VC Chairperson and Members, beneficiaries, etc., all of them are more or less responsible for it.

From the analysis of implementation processes and field work experience, it is found that the most important factor that leads to failure of programs is lack of awareness of beneficiary. As discussed earlier, beneficiaries lack awareness in implementation method and allocation of fund and materials in which he/she is selected. Lacks of awareness of a beneficiary in turn have many bearings in the failure of programs. Due to lack of awareness, there are chances of malpractice and misappropriation of fund by officials and VC Chairperson. In addition, there are chances of utilising the benefits to some other purpose by the beneficiaries. Why a beneficiary lack awareness? Is the implementing agency entirely responsible for the beneficiaries' lack of awareness or is a beneficiary's own responsibility? What is the better process to make more aware? Those are the pertinent questions needed to be answer.

The cause for beneficiaries' lack of awareness is partly because of their socio-economic backwardness. Most tribals in Tripura (basically) live in remote areas having not much link with the modern system of administration. Their daily life revolves around the village practicing jhum cultivation. Some development programs implemented by the government are found to be totally unfamiliar to their livelihood. Here comes the role of implementing agency in imparting proper training to beneficiaries. Special care should be given to them beyond the implementation norms and guidelines. Besides, if a certain development program is not viable to them, there is no point of implementing those programs in rural tribal areas. Most preferably, agriculture related development programs are most viable for tribals as the method of works are more or less parallel to the traditional tribal mode of cultivation (jhum).

Another important factor for the cause of failure of program is untimely delivery of funds and materials. This is very acute problems faced by beneficiaries in implementation. Implementing officials should speed up the work so that the beneficiaries received

essential item in time. In this regards, there is big role of local elected VC chairperson. He/she should communicate with the implementing officilas to speed up the works or take necessary action (their relationship pattern is discussed in the next chapter). For instance, one beneficiary from Indurail VC (one of the selected VC), under Noagang Sub-Zone, assisted under Kuroiler scheme, reports about untimely delivery of materials, which finally lead to program failure. As per his reports, the implementing agency instructs the beneficiary to construct Kuroiler house to keep Kuroiler cheeks. But the beneficiary has to wait several months after construction, and by the time he received the cheeks, Kuroiler house already needs repairing. Being disappointed, the beneficiary sold out all the cheeks after a few weeks.

Lastly, another important cause of program failure is poor supervision of works. This is very crucial as the tribal needs continuous and rigorous supervision owing to their remote location and general lack of awareness. Both officials and local elected VC Members should take the responsibility of visiting regularly or make enquiry about the progress and status of implementation works. If the beneficiaries are lead free without any official inquiry than there is a big chance of diverting the program to unintended purpose. As stated earlier, tribal beneficiaries have built a wrong concept that development programs given to them are fully subsidies and they do not need to take the trouble of recovery. Hence, they take for granted that problems would not occur for failure of programs. The same issue has been raised by Glyn Williams (2001), in his discussion on party action and political discourse in West Bengal. He stated that panchayat activities were commonly described as 'help' by all concerned, and this assessment of correct political behavior suggests that, rather than raising consciousness at the grassroots, the CPI(M) are content to play a role in government as fair patrons. 8 So, this problem could be solved if officials and elected VC Members make regular enquiry about the progress of works and should also increase their awareness level.

# 4.16 Elected VC Members on Implementation Process

As the tribal people in general and Tripura tribals in particular, are generally unaware of the implementation process, the tribal local leaders are no exception. When

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Glyn Williams, (2001). *Understanding 'Political Stability': Party Action and Political Discourse in West Bengal* Third World Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 603-622

their socio-economic backgrounds are thoroughly analysed, it has been found that they lack proper education and hence lack awareness in the functioning of VC (details have been discussed in section 4.6 of this Chapter). In the beneficiary selection process, maximum of them reported to have been selected through Village Sansad and Village Sabha of local VC, and main consideration for selection is poverty level of household, which is conflicting with the answer of beneficiary. The fact is, after selection of beneficiaries through Village Sansad and Village Sabha it got changes again, at latter stage. This is because of the involvement of local party leaders, to monopolise the entire beneficiary selection process.

One important fact found from local elected VC Members is their negligence in visiting worksite to scrutinise the actual progress of work. They claimed of collecting required information regarding work progress, from the beneficiaries or from some other locality. While elected local VC Members are expected to make regular visit to worksite, but this activity is absent among tribal local leaders. They are busy in their family life and would not give much interest to the welfare and development of their locality. However, few of them have said to have visited the worksite infrequently and discuss important program related matters with the beneficiaries. The following diagram 4.A shows the regularity of elected VC Members in visiting worksite to make inquiry.

Diagram 4.A
VC Member's frequency on visiting worksite and makes enquiry
Total Number: 26

Source: As per data collected from field work

When the average percentage of their regularity is examined, it is found that while 23 percent of them regularly make visits, 26 percent of them do sometimes. However, a

huge percentage (50%) of them reported of never visiting worksite and make inquiry regarding the progress of work.

In regards to fund adequacy, elected VC Members feel inadequate with the fund received for a particular program. They reported that development programs could not be successfully carried out on account of fund insufficiency. Hence, they viewed that unit cost of a program should be increased with the increased cost of daily necessity. In this connection, it could be highlighted that the total unit cost of jhum cultivation (for instance) is only Rs 500 – 700. Besides, majority of them reported of not receiving fund in time. Due to untimely disbursement of fund by implementing agency, implementation works could not be carried out as per guidelines. Important question in this aspect is whether elected VC Chairperson approached officials/implementing agency for timely delivery. This aspect of VC Chairperson approaching officials has been discussed in the next chapter.

Again, when asked to those elected VC Members, about the viability of schemes and programs, 46 percent of them said that schemes and programs are not at all viable or helpful for the uplift of poor tribal people. However, 42 percent of them feel those development programs given to them as somehow viable for uplift of tribals and only small percentage of elected VC Members felt it very helpful.

Total Number: 26

50
40
30
Some extent
10
Average Percentage

Diagram 4.B VC Member's rating on the viability of Programs

Source: As per data collected from field work

So far as viability of schemes and programs implemented in TTAADC are concerned, rubber plantation and fish productivity programs are found to be viable, provided proper guidance is given. Diagram 4.B indicates the opinion of elected VC Members regarding the viability.

### 4.17 Assessment of Implementation of Development Programs

The above discussion on the implementation of development programs extensively highlighted the implementation process of programs. Out of the four programs selected and studied, 'rubber plantation program' is more or less beneficial for the tribal jhumias and could be popularised. Rest selected programs is not much helpful for the poor tribals. But 'fish productivity scheme' has good scope in providing a better source of income. However, tribal beneficiaries should be given a proper program related training with proper supervision by the concerned Line Department.

As discussed earlier, there are many probable causes for unsuccessful implementation. Lack of awareness of beneficiary, poor supervision by officials and elected VC Members, untimely disbursement etc, are the major causes. When these causes are thoroughly examined, it could be suggested that there is no such big reason why development schemes/programs should not succeed. These causes could be easily solved if local elected VC Members are more serious in executing the entire implementation process. Thus, elected VC Members should be more aware of their powers and functions in executing the local development works. Under this setting, it would be worthwhile to make a study on the relationship between elected leaders and officials, because the two parties play a major role in the success of a program. Their level of relationship and cooperation largely contributes to proper implementation development program. The following chapter, therefore, discussed in detail and make analysis of their relationship.

An important aspect, which could not be ignored in the implementation of program, is the role of local party leaders. As stated earlier local party leaders play an important role in the entire selection process of beneficiaries. Selected beneficiaries through Village Sansad often got changed at a later stage. Local party leaders extensively influence the elected VC Members to include candidates on the basis of party affiliations in the list of selected beneficiaries.

From informal discussion with villagers, including non-beneficiaries, it could be found that in some occasions, selections of beneficiaries were even made without formal Village Sansad. Local political leaders would directly make a selection of their own choice, with the support of bigger party leaders at Block level, without the notice of villagers. When asked whether they protest against the selection process, they claimed the role of party leaders in the entire implementation process and would not make any positive impact in their complaint and protest.

In this connection, it could be pointed out that, party discrimination regarding government facilities and assistance, is very intensive in TTAADC and Tripura at large. In both Council and State government, CPI(M) is dominating the entire politics. More importantly, CPI(M) captured all the MDC seats of TTAADC election since last 2010, and 90 percent of VCs and 85 percent of VC seats in VC election, 2016. So, the ruling party is playing an excessive role in the affairs of local administration.

Nevertheless, it could be asserted that, other political party is also not free from this sort of nepotism. But as maximum VCs seats are captured by the ruling party CPI(M), they eventually have the better advantage in monopolising the process of beneficiary selection and implementation. It becomes a tradition among local political/party leaders, irrespective of party affiliation, to give preferential treatment to their respective party members. So, families who have the capacity in lobbying local political leaders are benefitted consecutively. On the other hand, illiterates and ignorant families are often neglected and would seldom or never get viable developmental programs.