The Practice of Community Driven Development:

A Case of Nepal

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Acronyms

CDD	Community Driven Development
CBO	Community Based Organization
DDC	District Development Committee
INGO	International Non Governmental Organization
LSGA	Local Self Governance Act
LCMC	Local Community Management Committee
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPC	National Planning Commission
PAF	Poverty Alleviation Fund
PRRP	Participatory Review and Reflection process
PPHP	Pro-Poor Hydropower Project
PPA	Power Purchase Agreement
VDC	Village Development Committee

Abstract

Community driven development has evolved as a development tool and process for self reliance. A review of CDD and its effectiveness suggests that community participation is not always directed for producing sustainable impacts. The projects are sometimes in control of both project implementers and external actors. The CDD actual practices and its theoretical backgrounds are sometimes found to be conflicting. The study indicates that sustainable results of CDD can be achieved with institutional strengthening, favorable policy environment, good governance and preparedness at the community level. A CDD can be fruitful if participation is active, conflicts are reduced, communications are timely, evaluation systems are inbuilt and planning process involves fuller community participation. The power imbalance in community and heterogeneity often curtails CDD to achieve its objective.

Key Words: *Community, Development, Sustainability, Governance, Planning and Participation*

Organization of Report

Chapter 1 discusses the basic premises of CDD and the practice seen which deviates from its theoretical assumption. The key concepts used for this study is defined and the conceptual framework for this research is discussed.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of CDD practice in Nepal. It discusses about the policies of decentralization favoring CDD and what impedes effective functioning of development intervention. It also discusses about the planning processes in Nepal and what favorable environments exists for CDD in Nepal.

Chapter 3 explains about the research objectives and questions. It gives a details on the methodology used for the study including methods of data collection, study area, research units etc

Chapter 4 is a case study of PPHP in Lamjung district of Nepal. It gives an over view of process and products for this CDD approach. It discusses on results achieved by this practice and challenges observed for this approach. This case study signifies participation, empowerment and governance issues described by CDD.

Chapter 5 is a second case study highlighting the Kamaiyas of Banke district. This case study pivots around issues of conflict, elitism, sustainability and governance as described by CDD. The highlighted box stories give an account of community's practice and experiences on CDD

Chapter 6 is a third case study which shows the need for community participation for development works in Okhaldhunga district. This bio diesel project sees the challenges and lack of effective participation as a major hurdle for CDD approach undertaken. It also discusses about lack of effective communication in development practices.

Chapter 7 is the findings of the study. This section along with the case studies answers research questions and gives an information on practice of CDD in Nepal

Chapter 8 discusses about the possible explanation on findings sums up the CDD practice in Nepal.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction and Background

Community Based Development (CBD) and its more recent variant, Community Driven Development (CDD), are among the fastest growing mechanisms for channeling development assistance. To clarify concepts, CBD is an umbrella term that refers to projects which actively include beneficiaries in their design and management. CDD is a term, originally coined by the World Bank, that refers to CBD projects where communities have direct control over key project decisions as well as the management of investment funds (Rao 2003). CDD contains five main components: (i) Empowering communities, (ii) Empowering local governments, (iii) Re-aligning the center, (iv) Improving accountability and (v) Building capacity (Nguyen 2005). Most practitioners think of community development as an outcome – physical, social, and economic improvement in a community – while most academicians think of community development as a process – the ability of communities to act collectively and enhancing the ability to do so. (Pittman 2009)

CDD treats local communities as assets and partners in the development process. The CDD builds on the institutions and resources of the poor in partnership with Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), demand-responsive support organizations and service providers including elected local governments, the private sector, NGOs, and central government agencies. Broach participation of local stakeholders in the process of the CDD often requires decentralization reform and promotion of a favorable legal and regulatory framework. Furthermore, the CDD is a strategy to effectively and efficiently provide social and infrastructure services; organize economic activity and resource management; empower poor people; improve governance; and enhance security of the poorest. Support to CDD usually includes strengthening inclusive community groups; facilitating community access to information; and promoting an enabling environment for participatory local governance through the policy and institutional reform. Therefore, the fundamental elements of CDD are actually political in nature (Dongier et.al, 2002).

The CDD empowers local people, helps to build upon and expand existing social capital and improves governance. Empowerment here is not only limited to gaining access to resources and services but also be viewed as empowerment in making decision for oneself and community at large.

The social capital expansion and its use utilize all available human and non human resources for the benefit of local communities. Bourdieu 1986, has described social capital as, 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition'. The definition stresses on mutual effort and web of social relationship that helps to attain a vibrant and thriving community. The governance aspect of CDD is a mechanism which helps local community to plan, work and drive development by themselves. The governance aspect of CDD is an intrinsic part as it directs and enables community for decision making roles. The control over decision making and local resources also enables community to widen their social capital and networks which evenly helps to empower the community. In a nutshell, all three aspects of empowerment, social capital and governance are complimentary to each other.

The institutionalization effort of development is another vital component of the CDD, the development practices and intervention of the past largely relied on outsiders as a savior or messiah, helping the poor or down trodden locals. The institutionalization of development at the local level is an ensuring mechanism for sustainability. CDD helps to devolve responsibilities at the local level and loosen grip of centrally acting bureaucratic practices. It helps to prosper local political leadership which eventually helps to pave local development. The institutionalization of the development at the grassroots are driven by Community based Organization (CBO), groups and formal/informal organizations civil societies. The CBO's can be defined as group of local networks sharing common interests, goals and vision for self reliance.

Konteh, (2000) has identified that, throughout history, communities have organized themselves to address collective and individual needs. Community Based Organizations (CBOs) are made up of a group of individuals in a self-defined community who have joined together to achieve common goals. They can also be groups of people who are united by a common interest but do not live in the same geographic community. The common interest might be related to production, consumption, the use of common pool resources, or the delivery of services. Examples include women's groups, credit circles, youth clubs, cooperatives and farmer associations, irrigation associations, forest and watershed management groups, artisan groups, fishery associations, and school-parent associations. CBOs can be informal or formal. Informal organizations such as women's and men's clubs and community groups pursue joint interests and often appear more accessible to the poor than formal

organizations which have legal status, formally stated rights and responsibilities, and a legally binding government structure for recruiting members, selecting leaders, and conducting affairs.

1.2 CDD in Practice

CDD principles emphasize that community groups need to control their own development resources. In practice, however, questions remain as to how to distinguish the 'community' within which villagers' groups or their representatives can exercise collective control (Fang 2006). The communities in most of the CDD program remains choice of the development agencies. The most vulnerable or the needy community can be in exclusion while selection bias exists. The availability, ease of work, communities in lesser conflicts, approachable etc could be some of the selection biases which can give control over CDD to non relevant communities. Some authors argue that the spillover effects of development can reach to a distant community who are not directly involved to a project. Even if the poorest do not benefit directly from the new opportunities, they can benefit enormously indirectly from the social churning generated in the community. It may benefit everyone by seeking greater accountability in the use of local development funds and lobby to ensure that the community receives better public services (Gupta, Grandvoinnet et al. 2004). This argument largely depends on the preparedness of community and the level of empowerment they possess, a passive community is likely to produce social churning and produce ripple effects of development intervention.

Development practice has incidences of donor's influence where development programs are intervened to serve donor`s interest and goals. Who is driving development has implications for who is held accountable for results. Many development practitioners work in hierarchically structured environments where development practice is not only driven by community or NGOs, but by a donor agenda. Planning, monitoring, and evaluation are consumed by the need to be accountable "upwards."(Mathie and Cunningham 2005). Following this practice CDD will never be able to produce what it claims, 'downward accountability', and can reinforce serving needs and ambition of donors.

CDD requires collective action from a social structure and social agents for optimum delivery. A society with hierarchy can often produce lesser impact. The collective action requires both feeling

and practice of equality at the community level. But a society with significant stratum and inequality cannot initiate collective action. Rao & Mansuri (2004) have mentioned several studies showed that the heterogeneity has negative impact on cooperation and public management and weakens the cohesive effects of social norms and the application of sanction for violating collective agreements. The elites will perceive collective action by the poor as a threat to their hegemony, and will strongly discourage it. For their part, the poor are unlikely to want to engage in collective action for fear that the elites will seek retribution or appropriate the gains (Gupta, Grandvoinnet et al. 2004). Communities are also characterized by serious power imbalances, which place severe constraints on community-based development. Where the poor are heavily dependent on vertical links with local elites, it is difficult to form the horizontal associations necessary for organizing collective action for the common good. Moreover, there is real danger of 'local capture' of development program, with local elites thwarting efforts at collective action or monopolizing their benefits.

The issue of local governance and decentralization are key components of CDD projects. But this is largely governed by capacity of local actors and culture of accountability and legal enforcement practices. A community with lesser education and history of weak government accountability despite participation of locals it will unlikely promote pro-poor governance. CDD aims achieve governance and accountability but often fail to take in account of social institution and political power structure. OECD 2004on decentralization and poverty has identified four key processes for decentralization including ability and willingness to carry out reforms, transparency and participation, elite capture and corruption and policy coherence. These issues largely resonate to political commitment at national level, culture and the social settings. CDD projects are not always able to shape and influence national practices and uproot social and cultural evils that diminish issues of good governance. The preparedness and a will to change at the local level and execution of best practices from the central level are often found to be missing. This leads to CDD projects often setting slogans for changes and good governance but delivering least for the local communities.

The autonomy of CDD formed community institution which is a measure of sustainability also produces a yardstick to evaluate CDD. But if institutionalization efforts are the product of passive participation with control over by some specific groups then communities are not in position to freely choose what they want to undertake and to decide how they want to run their own development affairs. The CDD practice can induce capacity building but not to an extent that the

communities are able to design and drive the development on their own. The development agencies then act as a crutch supporting communities and creating dependencies rather than empowering them. The reason behind this behavior of development agencies could be fear of failing, a project completion will add a feather on the cap of organizational profile and as projects have constrains of time and resources and also set priorities, and they often fail to cater new demands from the community. The result could be few half hearted initiatives under coercion and if the communities are really weak to demand a canopy always exists for safe exit for the development agencies.

CDD envisions pro-active inclusiveness in its program but communities thriving with equally vulnerable and marginalized individuals there is always a possibility of selective participation. Defining poor and vulnerable can be applicable to a heterogeneous mixture of people with marked differences, but a homogenous poverty and vulnerability of individuals do not necessarily ensure inclusion and participation of all. The development agencies can come with an answer of restrains of capacity and fund as an answer for this selective participation but it nullifies the paradigm of CDD inclusiveness and participation of vulnerable. (Rao & Mansuri 2004) suggests that participation can be manipulative as it requires time and resources, could be an issue of policy interest and thinking of participation as a transformative measure to countercheck pre-established bureaucratic practices can be naïve. This infers selective participation and issues of participation are not always as what they are seen. The participatory process can be manipulative to legitimizing CDD projects.

The CDD projects are considered to be demand driven but not always. The programs can also be in operation as project-led activities. The process of selection of activities and needs are not always in consultation with the locals. The CDD intervening agencies can establish needs or identify the spheres of intervention. They can find vulnerable and dis-empowered community who are more than happy to be in a part of development project which could cater few of their needs. The intervention is supposed to be participatory in design and in execution but as teeth of elephants are different for display and different for chewing, so is the factual premises for few CDD. Communication is not always two ways in these cases and a monologue of development actions can prosper where activities, goals and objectives of projects are predefined and community functions as per a blueprint that might not always be of their concerns. Even if the development agencies provide an open menu development programs, the choices are likely to be formulated with prior consultation with the community.

1.3 Key Concepts:

1.3.1 Community

George Hillary (1955) *Definitions of community: Areas of agreement* has identified ninety-four definitions of community with consensus discovered only three definitional elements: social interaction between people, one or more shared ties, and an area context. (Bates and Bacon 1972) argues that the definition of community should facilitate the gathering, classification and analysis of empirical observations. Furthermore, the definition should operate as a theoretical guide to research on total communities as social systems and on specialized aspects of community organization and behavior. Also, the concept of community should be consistent with other concepts employed in analyses of social systems other than communities. Specifically, the concept of community should be logically related to and be consistent with the concepts of social groups, complex organizations and total societal systems. Finally, the structural properties of communities should be identified unambiguously so that changes in them constitute the criteria whereby direction and magnitude of change can be measured empirically.

Development intervention now focuses on largely using the local capacities and initiatives for development. With this recent development in the third sector, new forms of self-help organizations have emerged at the grassroots, delivering development to the rural people, especially in the 'third world' countries where the state led social security and insurance system is almost non-existent. After the Second World War, especially in the 1970s, there was a paradigm shift in development thinking from the earlier focus on technology and resource gap in developing countries, which were highly centralized in nature, to the recognition of an "organization gap" along with issues like participation, use of labor, self-reliance, equitable growth and income distribution (Esman 1984). One positive development in the 1980s was the recognition of the essential role of civil society in development and the shift in the national and international institutional structure where state and market failure led to the further legitimization of local participation and empowerment (Chambers 1993). As a result, along with the emphasis on decentralization, there has been the rise of users' groups at the local level and the increased participation of clientele groups in development decision-making (Blut 1996). Furthermore, it has been a common phenomenon across the developing countries that many rural 'development agencies' choose to work by supporting the existing indigenous organizations or stimulating or by imposing the creation of new ones (Garforth 1995)

(McMillan and Chavis 1986) has identified community consisting of different elements. The first element is membership. Membership is the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness. The second element is influence, a sense of mattering, of making a difference to a group and of the group mattering to its members. The third element is reinforcement: integration and fulfillment of needs. This is the feeling that members' needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group. The last element is shared emotional connection, the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together and similar experiences.

Kepe (1999) is his work [The problem of defining.. land reform in South Africa] confirms with the notion of community as spatial unit, economic unit and a web of kinship, social and cultural relation. He infers that, 'In all three characteristics of 'community', what is of particular relevance to the land reform program (equally valid to community driven development) is an understanding of who is acknowledged as belonging to the 'community' for each geographic' area in question. Also the issues of groups within these groups and perceptions of 'community' that are exclusively external and are immediately followed by implementation of projects (e.g. by the government) can fuel internal conflicts rather than help resolve them. He adds that economic development initiatives, designed to alleviate poverty in rural areas, can result in new 'communities' being formed or old ones being fragmented. Kepe sums the uncertainty around the meaning of 'community' is not only a problem for outsiders, but also for local people engaged in struggles in terms of social and territorial groupings.

This research has been able to bring forward issues defining and separating communities. For example, the communities of Kamaiya living adjacent to non Kamaiya have their own definition of community. It was perceived that integration and disintegration of community were largely pivotal to inclusiveness of development program and mutual interest. The benefits of a development intervention and integration of efforts on the ground realities of poverty, exclusion and deprivation were the crucial indicators in defining and redefining communities.

1.3.2 Elitism and Capture

Elitism in Nepalese context has emerged as an aftermath of feudal history. The country has a recorded history of 104 years of Autocratic Rana regime, where the political power was inherited by family. The absolute monarchy of 30 years also followed similar practices. In these lights, the society was bound to be influenced. Few influential groups emerged based on political nexus, resources access and from kinship with established power bearers. The hierarchy based society was simple to rule for these elites and abuse of power got wide spread.

Elite capture is a phenomenon where resources transferred for the benefit of the masses are usurped by a few, usually politically and /or economically powerful groups, at the expense of the less economically and/or politically influential groups (Dutta 2009) One common disadvantage of the decentralization process is the phenomenon of elite capture, especially in developing countries. Despite the presence of this problem in realizing effective public service delivery through decentralization, there is lack of systematic study on elite capture within the literature on decentralized governance (Bardhan and Mookherjee 2002).

The elitism is a product of an unequal power relationship and a society with inequality and hierarchy it tends to prosper more. Like the social structure its self the elitism is dynamic, based on political connection, money and power relationships it tends to get fluid and elitism tends to shift along with time. The issue of corruption and abuse of power in development intervention is reflected by works of Bardhan and Mookherjee (2005) where they argue that elite capture is a phenomenon specific to lower levels of government (based on the idea that collusion is easier in local governments than higher governments) and hence is a feature typical to the decentralization.

Platteau (2004) refers incidences from Africa and India where elitism are also used as a tool to capture aid. He argues with his model chain including fund purveyor (P), donor agency (A), local leader (L) and grassroots (G), he refers that the donor agencies are not in close communication with the grassroots and the only bridge of local leader can be manipulative at times. Platteau (2002) suggest that In order to get out of this quandary, the local leader must be disciplined through an appropriate mechanism. Such a mechanism must involve the possibility of detecting embezzlements and punishing the leader in the event of a proven fraud. For punishment to be feasible, the game

must be repeated, yet we know from repeated game theory that, unless some uncertainty exists regarding the payoffs or some doubts about the rationality of other players, the inefficient outcome (the leader embezzles the funds) is as unavoidable in a finitely repeated game as in a one-period game.

Pantanali (2004) has identified implementation procedures and elite capture of project benefits as the following:

- A perverse impact of inappropriate procedures is the capture of project benefits by elites foreign to the partner communities
- Benefits that could accrue at community level are captured by the administration, the technical advisors, and large contractors of urban origin
- This type of project induced elite capture may often be more relevant than the capture of benefits by dominant elites within the communities.

1.3.3 Kamaiya

The Nepali dictionary meaning of Kamaiya is "a hard tiller of land, earner, manly (strong/courageous) or obedient person; one who is hired along with his family in other's land by borrowing in cash or kind from the landowner or a peasant equivalent to him". The Kamaiya system developed from a customary practice of obtaining a "helping hand for family business" that was gradually replaced by a 'patron-client' relationship as state-led land grants were intensified. This is how inequality became structured, with one person as the Jamindar (landlord) and the other as Kamaiya bonded laborer, bonded by indebtedness to the landowner and bonded by unequal social relations to sell labor in lieu of the loan taken for sustaining a minimum livelihood. Over time the social relations of production and reproduction helped develop the Kamaiya system in its present form, in the form of 'pure' bonded labor (Paudel and Niraula 1998).

The vicious circle of poverty trap for Kamaiyas starts with petty loans which subsequently increase with time in the form of interest. The inability to cope with exploitation and absence of security further aggravates the problem for the Kamaiyas. The result is further exploitation and marginalization of Kamaiyas. The Kamaiyas started to get of this bondage through political transformation. The movements after the 1990s are better organized with alliances with NGOs,

INGOs and progressive political forces determined to fight against the whole system. One of the factors stimulating a concerted Kamaiya movement is the restoration of multi-party democracy and the open political environment that existed in the country after 1990. Kamaiyas managed to get external support from NGOs, INGOs and some party politicians. As a result, the government was forced to ban the whole system although the heinous tentacles of the system are yet to be finished. It appears that the movement and campaigns against the Kamaiya system have built on the assumption that once the Kamaiya system was abolished justice would be established and all forms of inequalities would be removed. This assumption diverted the attention away from the adverse role the structurally unequal socio-economic relationships had played over centuries. (Karki 2001)

1.4 Conceptual Framework

Community driven development is not a project. It is an approach that aims to empower communities and local governments with resources and the authority to use these flexibly, thus taking control of their development. Empowerment means the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives. It means giving people access to voice and information, greater social inclusion and participation, greater accountability, and organizational strength. CDD aims to harness social capital through empowerment, and increase social capital through scaling up.(S.Aiyar 2003) The discourses on CDD and ground realities can be different; this research will analyzes the perception and actual practice of CDD. The claims will be assessed and the practice will be discussed.

The idea of community hovers around belief system and networking of people. People's social networks usually extend beyond geographical boundaries, often based around their work, faith or hobbies. Communities are actively constructed by their members, rather than merely arising from local circumstances. Cultural traditions and symbols are used to assert community identity, expressed through ritual activities, music and flags, or their equivalent. This is about conventions and customs, often linked to religious or sporting occasions, but also about the ways in which people go about their everyday lives – their hairstyles, dress codes, language and so on. Such 'badges of belonging' reinforce community boundaries and can help identify 'friends' and 'foes' through multifaceted 'webs of significance' These act as a social resource, reducing the stress of determining how to act and what to expect, but can sometimes constrain aspirations or choices (Gilchrist 2009). This idea provide us inter alia concept of communities, from their genesis to execution of any communal

work. It is likely that CDD projects are more effective in a socially cohesive community with better networking and education, therefore benefiting the community. However, there is clearly no reliable evidence on community participation projects actually increasing a community's cohesiveness. (Faheem 2010)

When designed and implemented well, the CDD approach promotes equity and inclusiveness, efficiency, and good governance. Equity and inclusiveness are achieved through effective targeting, inclusion of vulnerable and excluded groups, putting resources in direct control of poor people, and allowing poverty reduction measures to go to scale. Efficiency is gained through demand responsive allocation of resources, reduced corruption and misuse of resources, lower costs and better cost recovery, better quality and maintenance, greater utilization of resources, and the community's willingness to pay for goods and services. Good governance is promoted by greater transparency and accountability in allocation and use of resources because the community participates in project decision-making processes. Some of the principles of CDD—such as participation, empowerment, accountability, and nondiscrimination—are also worthy ends in themselves (ADB 2006). The issue of governance also pivots around commitment, preparedness and supporting mechanisms, policy and actual practices of governance at the community level. Can CDD really establish itself as an important tool for self good governance need to have a critical analysis?

CDD projects are not concerned only with mobilizing public resources in support of rural communities. Addressing the problems of government failures includes helping governments to overcome their own shortcomings by concentrating on what is the best role for the public administration, and mobilizing the private sector for what the private sector is capable of doing better than the government. It also includes, concurrently, efforts aimed at broadening beyond the state sector the sources of support that poor rural communities should be capable of mobilizing to help them.(IFAD 2004). It is necessary to see how things are practiced in case of void of local representatives or in a politically instable environment where communities lack issues of self governance, the CDD approach claims to facilitate both governance through capacity building of locals and enabling state actors to meet their obligations. Having a closer look at the issue of governance is also imperative to assess CDD claims.

Since the mid-1990s, community driven development has emerged as one of the fastest growing investments by NGOs, aid organizations and multilateral developments banks. This continued investment in CDD has been driven mostly by a demand from donor agencies and developing

countries for large-scale, bottom-up and demand-driven, poverty reduction subprojects that can increase the institutional capacity of small communities for self-development. The success and scale of some CDD projects in the World Bank are especially notable. The World Bank supported approximately 190 lending projects amounting to $9.3 billion in 2000–2005. Initiated by the International Development Association (IDA) at the World Bank, CDD projects have been instrumental in harnessing the energy and capacity of communities for poverty reduction. Since the start of this decade, IDA lending for CDD has averaged annually just over 50 operations, for an average total of US$1.3 billion per year (Faheem 2010). The resources used for CDD is increasing continually and research suggests that CDD projects have not been able to deliver what it claims for, the use/misuse of resources depends upon sustainability of CDD impacts, it is necessary to understand about impact and sustainability delivered by CDD.

IFAD on its CDD experiences in African countries has recognized that the objectives of CDD projects has to be sustainable, community's role has to be defined, fund control has to be maintained and institutional development has to be assessed. It also refers to clear understanding on roles of grassroots organizations.

A CDD approach may be warranted in situations of "local institutional failure." These failures can be failures of omission, i.e., when local institutions are absent or nonexistent, as may be the case with local credit markets, management bodies for common property resources, or in post-conflict and post-disaster situations. They can also be failures of commission when local institutions do not function because they lack capacity or because of corruption, control of resources and decisions by powerful local elites (elite capture), or lack of accountability. In terms of sectors, CDD can be effective in projects involving locally managed resources and services, such as community infrastructure development, common property resource management, microenterprise development, and local governance or decentralization support. But the issue of does it really exist is crucial, has local capacity increased to check and counterbalance odds in an absence of local institutions, do they thrive and function well, has it been able to reduce corruption could be few interesting issues for observation.

Conceptually, CDD does not cater to problems that are beyond the capacity of local institutions or activities that require economies of scale. CDD by itself does not guarantee immunity from the risks of elite capture. Additional measures may be needed to ensure effective participation of the poor and those excluded within the community. Further, because CDD is demand driven, it tends to

select communities that already have in kind commitment and planning capacity. This can mean that, in the absence of careful selection criteria, the poorest communities with limited capacity are crowded out.(ADB 2006)
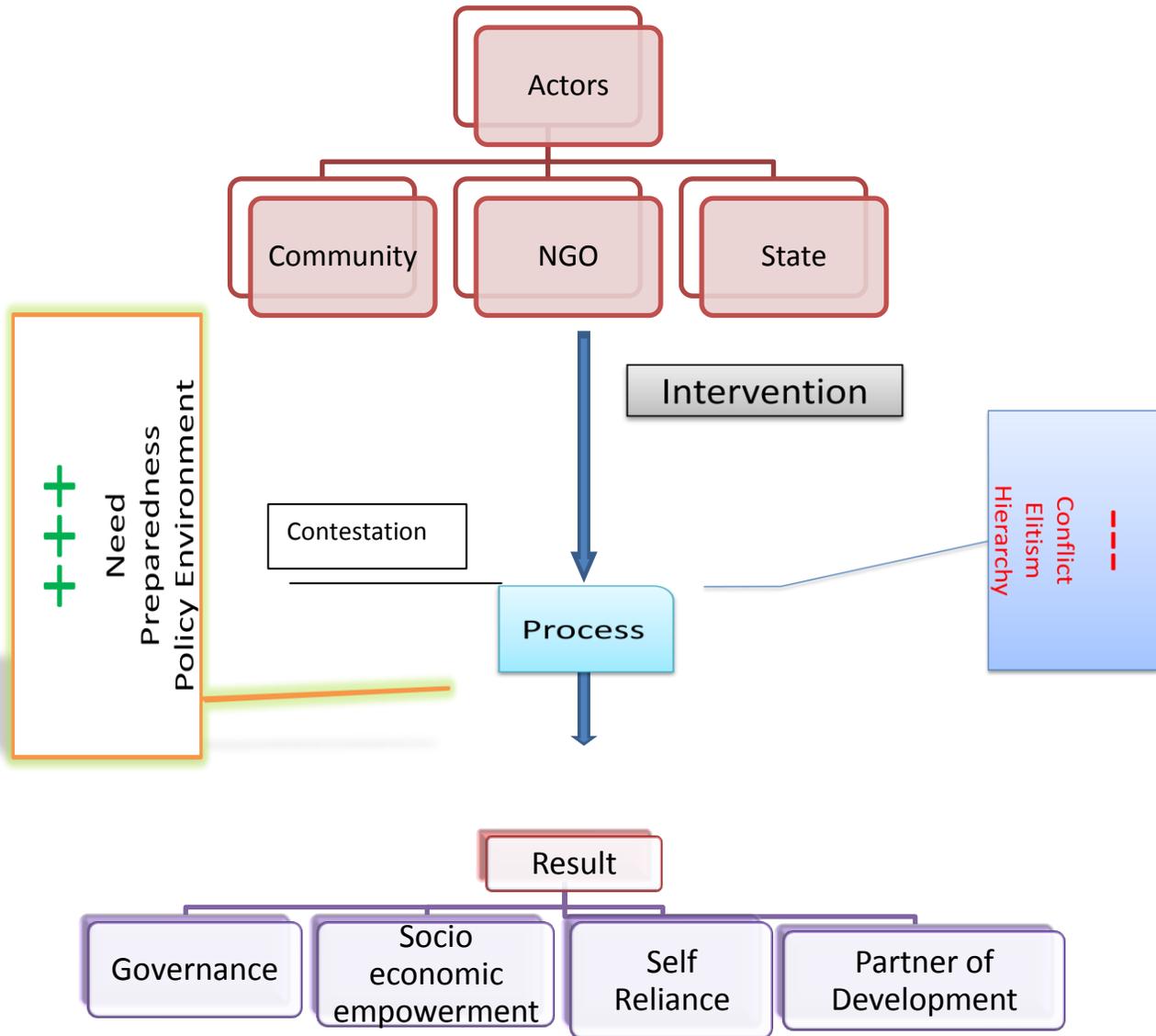

Figure: CDD modality

The above figure shows concerned stakeholders, actors, processes and results for most of the CDD project. The process is facilitated by needs of the community and their preparation for achieving it, the policy factor of the state also helps to facilitate the process, on the other hand social conflicts, hierarchy and stratified society creates contestation.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Nepal and CDD

The recorded history of formal community development works in Nepal is rather new but the unofficial communal work has a long history. The country had, to name a few, forest users group, communal irrigation, and religious institutions etc in which there was direct involvement of community in managing and developing local areas. The country was hidden from the exterior world until late 1950's and the global paradigm of community development was an alien to this mountainous country. The religious institution of the Hindus, called 'Guthi' which is more like a social institution of faith follower and cultural believers, supported running water, forest conservation etc glued to social fabric of religion and belief. The Buddhist monastery called 'Gumba' also played similar roles. This allows us to infer that under the canopy of religion a vibrant communal development program was thriving since a long time in Nepal.

The formalization of development efforts through community involvement initiated after 1990's political change from absolute monarchy to multiparty democracy. This stage marks the boom of NGO's which were still under strict scrutiny of monarchy. Before 90's there are evidence of representation of community at development and welfare programs but the only through direct appointment from the royal palace, but the scenario changed significantly when NGO's started to operate at the grassroots after political changes. The doors for bilateral and multilateral agencies were also wide open after this transformation.

The policies and program for community development increased in years as the local representatives started demanding changes at communal level at their constituencies with focus on active community participation. The result were not as good as it was anticipated, the poverty was still rampant and the development efforts failed to bridge the gulf of poverty as seclusion, marginalization and control over development program was at loose. The existing social hierarchy, gender roles, ethnicity still hold to be the culprit curtailing people to design and rein their own life. The development efforts centralized to limited urban areas sown the seed of separation and exclusion to majority of population, as most of the population lived in remote and rural areas in Nepal. This brought forward an issue of unequal regional development and deprivation from the long development run. A rather hasty decision of decentralization emerged as the quick answer for

this problem. The decentralization and local autonomy was granted but preparedness and obligation were missing. Apart from newer acts and regulation promoting local initiatives for development, Poverty Alleviation Fund (PAF) was envisioned targeting Millennium Development Goals of the UN. The PAF was established in 2002 for a participatory intervention from locals, NGO, INGO, private sector and CBO. A partnership in development was inked and established, the Poverty reduction strategy paper was drafted and the 9th-10th development program largely focused on communal participation for development works.

2.2 Political Settings and Decentralization

There are three levels of local representation in Nepal, Village Development Committee (VDC), District Development Committee (DDC) and the Municipalities. The Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal records 3913 VDCs, 75 DDCs and 58 Municipalities in Nepal. The local representatives are elected for five year tenure at each level through an open election. The Local Self Governing Act (LSGA) of Nepal identifies that in each VDC, the eligible voters of the respective wards elect the ward chairpersons and members, and the adult voters of the VDC based on the adult franchise system elect VDC Chairpersons and Vice Chairpersons. Likewise, the ward adult voters of the municipality elect the ward chairpersons and Members the eligible voters of the municipality elect Mayor and Deputy Mayor. The DDC is the representative body of all the VDCs and Municipalities in the district. The Electoral College consisting of the elected members of each village and municipal council in the district elects the president and vice president of the DDC. It is interesting to note that the tenure of these locally elected representatives has expired in July 2002 and currently filled in by political appointments.

Local elections have not been held in Nepal since 2002, so there is no opportunity for citizens not benefiting from the status quo to express their dissatisfaction through votes. As provided by in the Interim Constitution, an "all-party mechanism" comprising of political representatives from different parties is supposed to run local bodies until a new constitution is drafted. However, due to differences in the interpretation of all-party representation, the mechanisms have failed to work in most places. This has resulted in government representatives (VDC Secretaries, Executive Officers in Municipalities and Local Development Office in DDCs) running the local bodies. (Dix. 2011)

2.3 Planning local Development

The LSGA envisions for bottom up participatory planning. The service providing agencies, including NGOs working in the areas of the concerned local bodies, need to coordinate with them in planning, resource mobilization and service delivery. Plans should generate at the ward level, (a VDC consists of nine wards) based on the felt needs of the ward inhabitants. The ward chairperson submits the ward plan to the VDC/municipality. The VDC/municipality prepares a VDC/municipal plan and submits it to the concerned council for approval. Programs that can be managed with village and municipal resources do not need to be forwarded to the district. Programs requiring district or national support are discussed at *Ilaka* level (cluster of VDCs and municipalities). In the *Ilaka* level discussion, programs are prioritized and those selected are forwarded to the district, where DDC sectoral committees discuss, prioritize and finalize them. Through the DDCs these programs are then submitted to the District Council for approval. Programs approved at the district level are further forwarded to the National Planning Commission (NPC) for approval and budget. Once the programs submitted are approved at the NPC, the sectoral Ministries prepare budgets (with a trimester breakdown) and submit it to the Ministry of Finance for budget allocation

2.4 CDD Environment in Nepal

The blue prints for development in Nepal are the five years development plan drafted by National Planning Commission after consultation with local authorities. The Ninth development plan had components of local participation in development, the tenth Five-Year Plan (2002–2007) which is also poverty reduction strategy paper aimed for (i) broad-based and sustainable economic growth; (ii) improvement in access and quality of infrastructure and social and economic services in the rural areas; (iii) targeted programs for social and economic inclusion of the poor and marginalized communities, emphasizing the need for inclusive development and provision of safety measures for excluded and vulnerable groups (e.g., women, *Dalits*, *Janajatis*, children, and senior citizens); and (iv) good governance to improve service delivery, efficiency, transparency, and accountability.

If we take a closer look at this policy document and its aim, all of them resonate to a fertile ground for CDD. The policy environment is favorable, the decentralization is in hand and the partners for development are in cooperation.

CHAPTER 3

3 Research Questions and Objectives

3.1 Objective

The objective of this study is to find out human efforts of narrowing gulf of inequality and processes undertaken for self reliance and sustainability. The study has assessed decentralization, democratization and collective action of CDD initiatives. It has also assessed how this process of CDD has helped to mitigate spoon fed development dependency syndrome or not. The study focused on aspects of social capital, including community cohesiveness and networks and self help initiative. It has analyzed community learning and dialogue for development of knowledge and skills.

This study focused on increasing its understanding on how CDD has operated on inter-intra conflicts in the community. It is understood that development of one group at the expense of other breeds conflict and conflict generates hatred, distrust and hostility which lead to social disintegration. This study focused on if CDD has become a sensitive agenda which fails to take stock of different strands of society sowing seed of destruction and discord. This study aimed for increasing its understanding of CDD at different societal level, it came up with state version on CDD, the development industry and the community itself. This study was an effort to understanding aspiration of people for development. It aimed to see processes and results of this human intervention from a narrow window of community involvement.

3.2 Research Questions

The specific research questions for this study were as follows:

1. How CDD is practiced in Nepal and how inclusive is it?
2. How have communities evolved or adapted to approaches of CDD?
3. What contestation takes place for power? How are elites in operation?
4. What conflicts exists in community?
5. How are issues of governance understood and executed?
6. Has CDD been a sustainable in its impacts?

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Research Design

The research was based on emic perspectives and focused on imparting meanings on processes rather than on static terms. The study was a naturalistic inquiry of events rather than focusing on experimental issues. A flexible approach of investigation was used where researcher was a primary instrument for involvement with the people and event under study. This study largely adopted a case study design. The case study design was opted as it focused on providing evidences for the selected case rather than generalizing empirical facts and evidences. The study is based on qualitative design but not limited to observation, in-depth individual interviews, focus groups, biographical methods such as life histories and narratives, and analysis of available documents and texts.

3.3.2 Research Unit

The study consisted of three major units consisting communities, development actors and the state. The communities were the integral component among these units. The key informant for this study included locals, VDC officials, local development consultants, NGO officials, state functionaries personnel, elites, local opinion builders and influential social actors. The sampling method was purposive sampling method followed by simple random sampling and/or snow ball sampling upon information received from the gate keepers and access to local communities.

3.3.3 The Study Area

The study area for this research was *Banke, Okhaludhunga and Lamjung* districts of Nepal. The

heterogeneity of the community was the major yardstick for selection of these study areas. Also, the western district (*Banke*) had a heavy infiltration of development activities compared to other parts of the country; assessing developmental practice was rather comprehensive and easier. The issue of bonded labor existed in this area which was a major reason for selection. The other two districts viz. *Okhaldhunga* and *Lamjung* had some CDD projects in operations so selected for this study. The study was carried out from November to mid of January in the field, the strategy behind choosing this period of time was the availability of community and local people who remain mostly idle after their major crop harvest.

3.3.4 Methods of Data Collection

The study used 3 focused group discussion one at each site and in-depth interviews with NGO official, government staffs, elite and with locals. The researcher observed CBO's meetings and Participatory Review and Reflection process (PRRP) at the community level where issues of development projects, participation and implementation process were discussed by local partner for development. This observation at the grassroots helped to build nexus with the locals and facilitated for further in-depth and general interviews. The key informant for this research also included local development consultants and NGO officials based in Kathmandu, the capital city. The researcher also attended national level workshop on *"Preliminary Findings of research on State-building, Peace-Building and Service Delivery in Nepal"* organized by DFID on 21st November 201. This workshop was helpful in identifying intervention approaches and also reflected the works and its result on state building, peace building and service delivery. A local level workshop on capacity buildings of locals on bio-fuel was also attended in *Lamjung* district which helped to assess working modality and capacity building initiatives for the locals. The workshop was successful for this study as it revealed the background picture, community's perception and capacity building initiatives on livelihood and bio-fuel production. Few in-depth interviews were facilitated by local NGO staffs while the researcher accompanied them during their monitoring visit at the site.

The research was based on interpretive approach aiming to describe the life experiences of individuals from their own viewpoints and to understand how people 'interpret' their experiences. The research relied on both primary and secondary sources of information. The empirical data was generated using semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews, formal and informal in-depth interviews, focused group discussions and observations. The frequency of use and method was

devised in the field as per availability of respondents. The ethnographic method was also be used for collecting primary information. Reflexivity on both event and research work was be the basis for ethnographic method. The collected information was recorded as filed notes which was later processed and refined for findings. The observational unit included formal assembly of people in group meetings, reflection classes, workshops or training programs etc in operation during the course of field visits. The use of documents, reports and records including policy briefing of formal institutions and official minutes of community groups were secondary sources of information.

3.3.5 Reasons for site/case selection and approaching elites

The bonded labors were selected as case for study due to the familiarity of place, accessibility and brief understandings of developmental works executed. The other reasons for this site selection included increasing understanding on conflicts occurring between Kamaiyas and non Kamaiyas sparked by development intervention. The case of Kamaiyas speaks of contestation for space, power sharing and incidences of emergence of newer power groups which was important paradigm for this study. The Kamaiyas have been catered with development programs since a long time so the issue of sustainability and community's evolution for self reliance could be observed and recorded at this site. The history of feudalism of this place also provided space for elite' movement in the development works and evidences of elite control/capture and power struggle was crucial agenda for this study.

The cases of Pro-Poor Hydropower Project and Bio-diesel project were selected while on the field. The details about project offering sweat equity and community producing their own diesel for communal use had to be seen to understand more on control mechanisms for elite capture and needs for CDD projects. The addition of these two cases was thought to generate understandings on intervention mechanisms, practices and participation issues for CDD.

The identification and approach to elite was a tricky job to perform. The identification part was not gruesome, few interactions with community and local NGO staffs revealed the whereabouts of the elites. The elites were found to be individuals with greater landholdings, economic well being, education and social status higher than the commoners. The approach to elite for interviews and for understanding their version on CDD was facilitated by local NGO staffs, community and through researcher's personal request. Once the elites were identified request for appointment were sent and the one who was keen in discussing was selected to be the part of this study.

3.3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical consideration was maintained at all level of study. Verbal informed consent was taken with the participants before interview and objectives of the research were made clear. Participants were assured that their privacy and confidentiality was highly respected and the respondents were also informed that this study was entirely academic in nature whose sole purpose was to come up with empirical findings on CDD practiced at all levels.

3.3.7 Validity and Reliability

The semi structured questionnaire will be translated into the local language by independent translator and pretested for refinements. In the case of using enumerators and field assistant they will first receive orientation on data collection procedure and conducting various methods of data collection as required by the study. The opinions of expert will also be taken periodically as per need of the research process.

CHAPTER 4

Findings

4 Pro-Poor Hydropower Project (PPHP)

4.1 Introduction:

The Pro-Poor Hydropower Project (PPHP) is a concept which integrates hydropower development with poverty alleviation. It integrates local community as the partner for development with opportunity to invest in hydropower development to the rural poor of Nepal. This concept allows increasing ownership and efficient use of available local water resources. The local populations are the major shareholder in this hydropower project and also the project focus on developing commercially profitable and socio-ecologically acceptable hydropower projects and facilitating the local poor to own measurable share of the project. This two prong strategic project focuses majorly on commercial scale electricity generation and social motive of improving livelihood conditions of local population.

4.2 CDD and Pro-Poor Hydropower Projects

Community development with a real ownership has proven to increase livelihood opportunities and economic empowerment of the local population. It has asserted community with skill and technology to look for a better future also reducing possible conflicting grounds. The involvement of marginalized groups and women in the project has been able to solve issues of seclusion. It has brought forward new leaders and pioneers equipped with skills and vision to initiate local development efforts. The project functioning and also largely reduces the fear of elite capture as the ownership of the project relies on both sweat and cash equity.

The project allows citizenship to the local communities and is a small token of nation building facilitating citizenship building. The project also aims to build social capital by creating alliance at the grassroots and structural relationship among the members of community. The social capital as described by Putnam as a feature of social life enabling participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives hold true to this project.

(Narayan 1995) argues that if a community group is to function successfully, several criteria must be met: the group must address a felt need and a common interest; the benefits to the individuals of

participating in the group must outweigh the costs; the group should be embedded in the existing social organization; it must have the capacity, leadership, knowledge and skills to manage the talk; and it must own and enforce its own rules and regulations. Steps need to be taken, therefore, whether strengthening or modifying existing organizations or establishing new ones, to ensure that these conditions are in place. The PPHP seeks to operationalize this defining element of community and proceeds to strengthen grassroots.

((WB) 2001) states that CDD gives control of decisions and resources to community groups, which often work in partnership with demand-responsive support organizations and service providers, including elected local governments, the private sector, NGOs and central government agencies. As such, CDD is seen as a way of providing social and infrastructure services, organizing economic activity and resource management, empowering poor people, improving governance, and enhancing the security of the poorest. The PPHP in lieu with this definition of mobilizing community aims to gain security for the poor with economic and social benefits.

(Agrawal A. 1999) has identified four types of powers that when transferred, result in some extent of decentralization: the power to create rules, make decisions on the use of resources and opportunities, implement rules and ensure compliance and finally adjudicate disputes. The author suggests that the key to recognizing true decentralization is identifying the direction of accountability. When the devolution of powers makes local actors upwardly accountable, the process is merely administrative decentralization, whereas when local actors are made downwardly accountable, political decentralization can be said to take place. Decentralization is directly concerned with democracy and enabling people to have a say in their own affairs. Mere participation does not lead to decentralization. The issue of decentralization and accountability of the duty bearers are not made clear with the project. The effort of development actor in substituting state has not ushered upward accountability.

(Bebbington T 1996) for the World Bank's Participation Sourcebook delineates three different levels of participatory practice of NGOs. The first level involves consultation with clients to match supply with demand, the second involves closer collaboration with the community being encouraged to share responsibility, costs and some decision making, and the third, builds capacity within the community with the ultimate goal of devolving power to the community. The paper recognizes that community development through NGOs has plenty of both problems and opportunities. It

highlights the need for transparency and a clear understanding of roles and responsibilities, flexible approach that allows for learning along the way, opportunities to reinforce common interest groups, a supportive state environment and a willingness to work with donors for a shared vision.

4.3 Stakeholders Involved

The project aimed at providing economic and social freedom involves various stakeholders. The project largely relies on local participation but also includes various other concerned stakeholders as follows;

a) The Local Poor

The local poor are the main target beneficiaries of this project, who qualify according to the criteria set by the PPHP consortium in broader consultation with the local community. The criterion of identifying poor is based on discussion and consultation. The poverty is largely assessed by willingness to contribute with physical labor for project building. The project perceives that affluent local population will only contribute with capital instead of their labor. The poor in this project are termed as Local Labor Investors, which gives dignity and doesn't carry any stigma with it.

b) The Local Non-Poor

To ensure participation from all level the project also includes local non-poor in the project. The group is however not the target group of the project but are invited to invest in the project. This involvement increases ownership for wider segment of population, reduces conflict and helps in well functioning of the project. This group has been called as Local Cash Investors.

c) Community Groups, Cooperatives and Networking

The project has mobilized the grassroots in form of CBO's called as community groups and each group constituted individual from 15-20 households. The community groups are in the process of formation of cooperatives which will work in lieu with local hydropower company. Ensuring sustainability the project has envisioned forming a national consortium of user group in form of a functioning NGO with participation of local CBO's in the vicinity of project.

d) Local Partner Organization

A local partner organization has worked for the project in its initial day of program implementation. The local organization functioned in the capacity of awareness raising and collecting baseline information on project requirements. The other task for the this local NGO include were sharing information on concept of equity, assessing project viabilities and other potential business opportunities and in understanding willingness of local participation.

e) Commercial Hydropower Developer

A commercial hydropower company is one of the major stakeholders for this project. Although driven by profit motives but the project was able to identify hydropower developer which was willing to work for the poor with least profit margin. The company claims it to be its one of its corporate social responsibility in serving poor and being a vehicle for local development. The local hydropower subsidiary of the developer was functional in designing, constructing and operating the plant.

f) Financial Institutions

A commercial bank has invested close to 70% of the expense for the project in terms of loan with prolonged return time for loan repayment.

4.4 Ensuring Participation

The involvement of poor has been devised such that the local poor earn their ownership in the hydropower project by providing their labor during construction. A proportion of their wage is sacrificed in order to buy shares in the project. This salary sacrifice or sweat equity is multiplied by a grant and soft-loan to the poor in order for the poor's equity stake to be sufficient to provide a reasonable long term income.

The PPHP project reaches out to the local poor and involves them in the benefits produced by the use of local resources in upgrading their standard of living. The project facilitates local poor to own significant number of investment share as an important priority through labor investment. On the basis of the labor invested in the project, the local poor obtain a proportionate ownership share and

a benefit of dividend payout. The project helps to maximize the labor input from the local poor later compensated as both wage and share.

It was observed that, there was an active involvement and participation of people from all levels of the society. The mechanism of compensating the labor input of local poor with wage and share, the provision of obtaining share ownership by local labor investors were discussed widely. In regards to gender equity at least fifty percent women representation was mandatory. The project also had a provision of attracting local non poor to invest in project who were not willing to invest labor in the project.

4.5 Results of PPHP
4.5.1 Community Mobilization and Capacity building

The project relied on different groups at the grassroots in the community majorly ownership group and Local Community Management Committee, LCMC), formed during the project. The self governing LCMC will take over the project once the implementing NGO phases out its program. The other responsibilities of this LCMC included capacity building initiatives such as training related to community development works, need identification, women participation, and general accounting. The LCMC was found to be the main steering group at the community level for the project. The works of this committee includes managing investment of the local community; taking leadership role in identifying the resources necessary to create income generating opportunities and initiate development works at the local level, facilitate regular meetings and recordkeeping. The committee is also responsible for management of local labor and cash investment in the PPHP and encouraging women participation and representation in the community groups

Alongside involving the local community people in the share ownership of the project, the project also works on capacity building of the local community people to create other income generating opportunities. The project offered benefits to communities in two ways firstly, the selling of power generated from the use of local water resources benefited the local people in getting a continuous string of income, which enabled them for economic empowerment to invest in other income generation opportunities improving their standard of living. Secondly, the local community also received trainings on developing leadership skills, livelihood skill transfer and other income generating sources.

4.5.2 Women and Marginalized groups

The general social practice of Nepal shows that the female population of the society are left far behind socially, economically and politically as compared to the male population. The project has a firm footing in realizing the need of the women and other marginalised groups in relation to the development works. The project has focused on empowerment of the women and other marginalised group as an essential component of PPHP. The proportion of female group member in community group is to equal number as that of male. This means that in the community groups has at least fifty percent representation of women population of the community.

The marginalized group comprises mostly ethnic population and the *Dalits,* the untouchables. Formation of these groups through representation from each household is deemed able to ensure maximising the involvement of the marginalised group in the community. The important objectives in this regards, through including these targeted groups (women and marginalised) in the social and community activities, are to change and broaden the limited boundary of social interaction of these groups, to break the group-specific-works and broaden the boundary of work these groups can accomplish, to establish equal influence on the available resources, and to establish equal voice and influence in any decisions with community interest. The project has taken these four issues as the fundamental aspects of empowering the women and marginalised groups.

4.5.3 Economic Empowerment

The PPHP modality offers a regular stream of income from the debenture interest and dividends paid by the hydropower company to the locals. The money received by community is invested in other economic activities and for income opportunities. Access to resources is one of the prime achievements to the local communities which further reinforced addressing socio-economic vulnerabilities and decision making of the locals. The economic empowerment has established local communities to voice their concerns, live a dignified life and economic freedom. The economic empowerment has also freed local communities from debt and the businesses of moneylenders are decreasing sharply.

4.5.4 Peace and Reconciliation

The social setting for this project is made up of a broad cross-section of people from different strata of society. Reducing conflict and enabling consensus was not an easy task. With the given context of

political volatility and security threats establishing trust at the initial level of the project was difficult. The mutual goal and solidarity efforts came handy in uniting the population. Sharing common goal and ownership of the project helped to reduce hostile grounds for the community. The 'Do No Harm' strategy devised by the project helped to foster good relationship with in the various actors for the project.

4.5.5 Involvement of State Actor

The project has been able to use local state functionaries as a partner for development. It holds local Village Development Committee, as an officiating institution, having important role to play for the effective mobilization of the local poor. It seeks support from local VDC in developing harmonious environment for the effective implementation of the project and for facilitating efforts of the local community group in relation to the project and other community developmental works. The local VDC also disseminates information regarding PPHP and advocate for its implementation with other developmental organizations entering the local community

4.6 Challenges for PPHP

Will the beneficial effect continue?

Privately developed hydropower in Nepal is generally developed on a Build-Own-Operate-Transfer (BOOT) basis. That is, the private developer undertakes to build the project, own it for an agreed duration (normally 20 to 30 years), operate it during that period on terms defined by a Power Purchase Agreement (PPA) and then transfer ownership (and management) of it to the state. The project believes that the The intervention by the Pro-Poor Hydropower Programme would be in the period leading up to, and through the period of financing and construction, which should be concluded within a few years after construction is complete. Dividends will be paid regularly throughout the 20 + year operation period. Therefore the benefits will continue well past the intervention.

The study was able to come up with some of the likely scenario of pitfalls for the project which included:

- The rural poor may have only a tiny share-ownership, which might not be enough for the poor in order to provide a significant support for poverty reduction

- Having a majority share-ownership, the commercial developers dominate the company. There may be conflicting interests of the commercial developer and rural poor and the rural poor most likely will lose the battle for the interests.

- The pace of the project is likely to be set by the commercial hydropower company, not the local community. Thus, where the local poor may favour a slower construction timeline so that they can maximise their labour contribution, the contractor maybe unwilling to accept any reduction in pace.

- Being in a minority, the rural poor may have fewer opportunities for their empowerment as they do not control the company.

- A larger hydropower company generally might have greater environmental impacts in the areas where the rural poor live – yet benefits to the local poor are relatively small because of tiny share-ownership.

The study came up with some potential conflict breeding ground for the project as follows:

- Little knowledge on the concept and process

- Difficulty in understanding or making understand any related issues

- Unreliable medium for communication and information dissemination

- Social circumstances – continuation of past conflict within the community, conservative thinking

- Lack of leadership

- Misunderstanding within the community

- Least priority given to community works

- Unfair or unbalanced

CHAPTER 5- Case Study 2

The Kamaiyas

5.1 Introduction

The Kamaiya system is a form of slavery that existed in mid and far western region of Nepal. Kamaiya system is basically a bonded labor system where generations remained in-debt to landlords and money lenders in repaying the loans. The loan had to be repaid in terms of physical labor without any remuneration for the extra work they perform. The whole family of Kamaiyas including wife and children had to work both on and off farm as compensation for loan. The male members of the family worked in the fields while females did household work at the landlords and the children had to herd animals.

This precarious form of labor was abolished in 17 July 2000 when the government of Nepal set Kamaiyas free. The Kamaiyas gained their freedom from debt and also became master of their life. The freedom for the Kamaiyas was not an overnight development; the movements for freedom did start to brew more than a decade ago. The political transformation from absolute monarchy to multiparty democracy paved avenues for NGO's in Nepal. These NGO's were the first to bring this issue forward in national and international platform.

Action Aid Nepal, working for free Kamaiya movement and supporting them for rehabilitation states that *freedom from bondage was a landmark event in the lives of thousands of Kamaiyas. However, the initial euphoria quickly faded when the freed Kamaiyas found themselves without shelter after the landlords chased them away from their homes.*

The government came up with the Kamaiya Labour (Prohibiton) Act, 2002. The Act highlights includes the following

- Upon the commencement of the Act, persons working as Kamaiyas will be freed; no one shall maintain Kamaiya labour henceforth; any agreement (written or verbal) governing Kamaiya labour and Kamaiya loan is illegal

- Any property obtained by the creditor as a mortgage to credit Kamaiya loan must be returned back to the concerned person within three months following the commencement of the Act.

- The defaulters will be fined.

The freedom for Kamaiyas turned out to be a difficult reality when they found themselves squatting in temporary shelters with plastic roof over their head and empty kitchen. The living conditions for Kamaiyas turned dreadful with limited supply of safe drinking water and lack of sanitary practices. The Kamaiyas who relied for generations on their hard labor could only trust their physical strength for earning their livelihood. The labor however could not produce enough to feed a family for a day leaving health, sanitation, shelter and other requirements at bay.

The Kamaiyas had to wait for six months in hope, fear and anger for immediate relief and rehabilitation effort from government. The promised 0.4 acre of land from government also did not showed up. The humanitarian agencies works is laudable which had to focus on saving lives. The monsoons brought rain and diseases for the Kamaiyas, their only shelter of bamboo thatch could not hold the powerful forces of rain. The rain was over but the epidemic of water borne diseases were rampant. The presence of state was never felt by Kamaiyas and the development agencies and humanitarians were their sole saviors. The Kamaiyas launched new movement and agitation for rehabilitation equipped with rights based information transferred by the NGOs. The movement ushered some happiness in 2002 when government finally allocated land to some of the landless Kamaiyas. The Ministry of Land Reform and Management identified 4 categories of Kamaiyas, group A included landless 8022 Kamaiyas, group B 5428 Kamaiyas with house but no land, group C 1877 Kamaiyas with house and land upto 0.068 hectare and group D 3073 family with home and land more than 0.068 hectare. For most of the landless Kamaiyas they were able to get registration certificate of their land but the land was nowhere to be seen.

The Kamaiyas who owned land received support from NGO's in constructing their houses. A small village can be seen in middle of nowhere concrete houses with corrugated sheets in its top. To provide sustainable livelihood the NGO came up with various programs and project including livelihood, education, sanitation, advocacy, capacity building etc. The case study will analyze

Kamaiya involvement in the development works with a closer look at development intervention, sustainability and conflict.

5.2 Development Program for Kamaiyas

The development program for Kamaiyas followed two approaches a software part and the hardware part. The hardware part included material transfer; it included construction of houses, water and sanitation program, livelihood opportunities, farm and off farm activities etc. The software included uniting Kamaiyas in group, advocacy, education, skill transfer etc. The software part focused on sustainability while the hardware part mostly focused on livelihood and well being.

5.3 Organizing Grassroots

The empowerment process for the Kamaiyas initiates with the group formation process. Almost all development intervention from NGO starts with organizing people in groups. It is noted that the development actors works on different strategic approaches for the group process, some work for Kamaiyas who are able to get land and other works for landless. This study hovers around Kamaiyas group which were able to get land from the state. The group formation usually involves an average of 15 to 25 households per group and several groups per settlement depending on the settlement size. The group meets once in a month for their group meeting, the meeting is a formal one which discusses issues relating to group. Most of the group meetings focus on saving credit issues, fund collection, education and campaign. The NGO's offers some seed money to the group as a grant. This fund is found to create cohesion in the group as petty saving credits immediately kicks off and the needs for individual are catered through this scheme. Loans are usually granted upon mutual agreement in the group and group members are eligible to take loan for livelihood opportunities and in case of emergency. A very significant combined impact of the savings activities and provision of seed money is the fact that the freed kamaiya groups are now capable of providing loans to their members. Thus the villagers no longer need to borrow money from the former landlord or other village moneylenders. The loan defaulters are not a problem for these groups as the fear of rejection and a platform for the group member can be lost.

The groups are the lowest association of community in the grassroots at a higher VDC level a central committee comprising members from each group is established. The central committee initiates dialogues with stakeholders and monitors the group functioning. The central committee has power to settle disputes and acts as a liaison between NGO and the grassroots. The central committee also meets monthly to discuss on diverse issues and plans and prioritizes trainings and other requirements for the group. The constant support and capacity development for institutionalization for groups is the major modus operandi for the central committee.

The groups have come up with few achievements they have been able to assert their rights and demand services from state functionaries. The groups has also facilitated and organized several programs on advocacy, health issues and sanitation program. The adult literacy program within the group has enabled its group member to read and write. The networking with other groups and alliance is a highlight for few groups, though it is not seen in every single group. This joint membership for income generation activities, forest conservation etc has taken group to strive for excellence. Two groups encountered were able to confederate with the cooperatives for saving credit and agricultural production.

The women in the groups claim that the group has been a vehicle for them to develop themselves. Most of the women in the group claim that being in group has helped them to develop confidence and seek opportunities. Trainings like knitting and sewing has helped them to equip with skill to look for alternative livelihoods and the education program has allowed them to be literate.

I am able to Speak to outsiders

Manju Tharu, group member of *Sayaptri Group* says, "*if you had been here few years back then most of us tharu women would not dare to speak*'. She adds, *'We used to live with inhibition and fear when it came to speaking with an outsider, but now things have changed'.* She thanks to the group initiatives in changing lives of women who were always reluctant to public speaking. The group has equipped self esteem to these women and transformed them to speak their mind. *Manju* adds*, 'We have really transformed ourselves out of fear and shyness, we can now even go to the VDC and ask secretary about our works and when someone like you, an outsider, comes to inquire about our lives, we can share them our success stories and the transformation that we have'.* Scores of other women agrees what Manju shared. The development

efforts of empowering women has ushered hopes for Kamaiya women who are now able to voice their concerns and speak their mind.

5.4 The Days at Kamaiya Camp

The road leading to 'Freed bonded labor camp' was an assessable road to development workers and donor communities any time of season. I had travelled through this road quite a time but this time it felt different. My previous encounters with this place and people around were always obligatory, at the back of my head I always had list of prioritized questions and time was always scarce. As I enter to one of these many camps, I am informed that the access road was an effort of community. It is not asphalt or a black topped road; I had left it in the highway 6 kilometers away as I drove left from *Raniyapur*. The road was similar to any other roads of terai in Nepal, 10-15 feet wide and graveled. I was lucky to be there in the dry season, winter was approaching, had it been during the monsoons I would have hard time in the roads. The tell- tale signs of that struggle was visible with signs of tires making ditch in the roads at a regular interval. Looking at horizon I can see plain fertile land everywhere, some rice crops still standing and most of them already harvested. I would have been happy to see the land crisscrossed by irrigation canal, but the land did not have that to offer to me. As we get off our loyal *Toyota Hilux* stopped at the entrance of the camp, I see the setting where I will be spending few weeks of my researching time. *Toyota Hilux*, synonymous to development vehicle in Nepal and the sight of this development vehicle plying on the road spreading dust as it moved forward was not hidden from miles, we already had a small team of host waiting for our arrival.

Namaste! (greetings) I hear with palms clenched together. Five men completely dressed differently two in western trousers and three in Indian style trousers. Three people had Indian shawls covering their torsos while two of them had cheap Chinese jackets, I see spread of globalizations as I greet them back Namaste.

From the corner of my eyes I can see herds of children with their quizzical pair of eyes and fascinated with my camera hanging around my neck. All the children were dressed similar, sky blue shirt and deep blue shorts/pants, I knew what it meant. School uniform provided free of cost by NGO supporting an education program in nearby school. The lucky ones had school bags behind their shoulders, while most of them were carrying sponsored books and notebooks in their hand.

One 6-7 years old kid who was not interested in any of activities going around him was playing alone. He had a worn out bicycle tire and a stick in his hand; he kept on rolling the tire by providing momentum with the stick and seemed never tired of running after it. The thing that really struck me was this piece of small cloth hanging around their neck called tie, all of them had it but when I looked down to their feet, lucky ones had open rubber slippers and few bare footed.

I have been informed and I know that these people were bonded labors who were freed six years back but when I see them here at this moment they are not really free, they are bonded to expectation, dependency and fear of unsecured future. I pray they prove me wrong.

For the first few days, I am still an outsider to them. The line of separation of them and us is clearly visible with their inhibition. I utilized this time visiting school, commercial agricultural fields, visiting different groups and group members of community based organizations and a brief meeting with the secretary of village development committee. To familiarize myself and get an insight on life of free bonded labors I used to go to the tea stall joint, a regular place for *tharu men*. I used this bait as I know tharus don't prepare tea at home but are fond of drinking it. Let's not call it a tea but sugary syrup boiled with tea leaves and milk for long in a kerosene stove that has to be pumped at regular intervals. After a brief of chit chat and enlightening them about my purpose, I stumble upon *Raudi*, a man at his mid fifties. I remember him; I had interviewed him previously three years back when I was on a short evaluation for a NGO. I had clicked with him then and I was trying my luck for this time as well. He recognized me when I briefed him about our previous encounter. The funny thing about previous encounter was that I used to understand *tharu* language but could not speak and for *Raudi* he did understand *Nepali* but couldn't speak properly, so communication had never been a problem for us.

For me *Raudi* was the representative of *tharu* community or the free bonded labor people. Although he was in his mid fifties but he looked old to his age and had history of drinking problem. To my surprise, I did meet different *Raudi* this time, he had completely given his drinking habit and had turned strict vegetarian since last year. I inquired him for this transformation and he informed me that it was an effort to sustain his family and to provide future for them; I was taken by his answer and his thoughtfulness for his family. I asked him for his assistance for letting me in with the tharu people, blending with them and understanding more of them. He agreed to let me stay at his place and for 22 days I was a part of his family.

Raudi a really proud father of seven children was unhappy as he could not educate his children. He shared me the hard and good times of a bonded labor life and the 'transformation'? in the past six year time. Bonded labor was a practice that had been gifted to him by his predecessors and all it starts with poverty. The plain areas of mid western and far western region of Nepal was annexed to Nepal in 1815 by then British India which had its own political and economic motives for letting Nepal have this low land. The practice of feudalism and land lordship also traversed to Nepal with this treaty. The practice of bonded labor started when an individual accepts loan from feudal/landlords and cannot pay it back, the interest keeps on increasing every year and the poor individual is not able to repay. The wise condition that comes from this situation to landlords is having an opportunity of free labor for their fields for generation. The male members of the family are called '*Kamaiya*' who will work in the fields and the female are called '*Kamalari*' who will have to work at the house of these landlords. And any child even in the womb of its mother regardless of sex will grow up to be bonded labors; their future was predestined before birth.

Almost after four generation of exploitation and hardship, the political movement of 90's in Nepal showered some hope for '*Kamaiyas*'. The political transformation from autocratic ruling of King to multiparty democracy opened new vista of transformation and development emerged in the name of NGO. The first 5 years of NGO existence in Nepal really didn't prove much of help to the bonded labor. The escalation of the Maoist revolution and their political motives of increasing grassroots cadres and a functional revolutionary army helped bonded labor to find a political platform to fight for their freedom. The burrowed information of communist ideas from the Maoists and capacity building program of the NGO, mainly rights based ones helped the bonded labor to unite, struggle and be free. Almost after a half a decade of struggle, they were declared free and the debts were cancelled by the government. The Kamaiyas were freed in the year 2000 with the promise of 0.4 acres of land for each family and life with dignity.

The new breathe of freedom was a hard to cope with for most of the Kamaiyas, they found themselves stripped off and hunger was the first thought that came to their mind. The immediate humanitarian efforts of reestablishing them didn't come handy to all of liberated Kamaiyas. The unlucky ones had to remain stranded with a sheet of tarpaulin and rice enough to feed for weeks. The freedom was granted but services were deprived. The central government was busy with armed confrontation with the Maoists and the short term vision of immediate relief and support packages didn't reach to all needy Kamaiyas. The lack of coordination and ineffective policies at local and

central level was the sole blame for the problem. By then NGOs humanitarian efforts had infiltrated, apart from rehabilitating Kamaiyas, programs directed to capacity building, skill transfer, livelihood etc were found to be operational at each Kamaiya clusters. The first benchmark of this effort came to existence when small huts were constructed by NGOs for the Kamaiyas who had received land from the government. The major hurdle for Kamaiyas in validating their freedom was claiming ownership of land and most of them were not successful. The advocacy efforts of NGOs and land rights movement enabled them to look for an alternative option and the best they could do was the easy job of capturing land. The airport at *Tikapur* which hardly gets to see any airplane was captured by the *Kamaiyas* and soon fallow lands and the niche of the forest line were also under control of the *Kamaiyas*. The *Kamaiyas* spread across five districts namely, *Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, Dang* and *Kanchanpur* share similar fate and story. The story of Raudi ended, and I could observe fighting spirit and a will to survive for a dignified life in his eyes.

During the daytime, my research of interacting with people, observing them and recording events were limited to formal and informal group meetings and the tea stalls. But I could largely rely on presence of male member during an evening session of fire. Tharus, the Kamaiyas ethnic group has this practice of gathering and building fire with twigs, hay and dried litters and discuss. This was a kind of socializing thing for them. To an outsider, it feels as if people are gathering around a plume of smoke but upon close observation, this is a time for informal social meeting. During one of these sessions, *Pashupati Rana Tharu*, shared his idea of development going around the Kamaiya community. To his notion of development I asked him to explain what Kamaiya community meant to him, he replied, *'We, the ex-Kamaiya identify ourselves as Dharti-Putra (Son of the land), we are the one who engage extensively in agriculture and make a living out of it'*. He added, *'Our community involves people who are tharu and lives within the stretch of five different adjoining districts and share similar cultural traits'*. He narrated me a story about how they received this title of Rana tharu, he explained that during Rana regime, Rana prime ministers and ministers of Nepal used to come for hunting in the thick forest of Bardiya and were amazed to see bravery of local tharus who used serve in camp and during hunting. This helped them earn the family name of Rana royalty and few swaths of lands.

His version on recent development initiative was not different from what I had heard, he confirmed that the efforts of NGO had helped them to reestablish in the society. He added, "*The efforts of NGO has helped us to own and construct a house, they have taught us the real meaning of remaining united and has increased our capacity in being partners of development'*. Speaking of the development programme, he adds,

'We receive training on different themes, mostly related to skill based trainings to increase livelihood opportunities, literacy classes and institutional strengthening trainings. He continues, *'I am surprised to see the advancement of our women, until few years back they would run away if they had to speak with outsiders, but today they have evolved to well functioning of their groups, maintaining books and record keeping of meetings and negotiate with authorities for general well being'.*

There is a marked change in the daily lives of these free bonded labors. They have acquired skills to sustain their life and are in a position to demand and work for their own development. The example of on and off farm agricultural activities including commercial scale vegetable farming, mint cultivation, animal husbandry speaks for the transformation. The skill acquired from training like fixing small machineries, barber training, carpentry, knitting and sewing, motorbike repair has equipped them to sustain their livelihoods. But I ask to myself, is this process a sustainable one and try to dig in more deeper. I observe and find that only handful of people who had received these trainings are actually living by it. The reason for this was based on multitudes of factors. All the training recipients were not able to get enough funds to start their own business; the crunch of capital was the foremost reason and the one who managed to seek capital has to face tougher competition from closely located urban centre. The story of *Parvati Tharu*, is the one which defines this situation. *Parvati* upon receiving training of knitting and sewing managed to seek loan to establish her own little tailoring shop in her home. The only reality of owning a sewing machine and a spirit to start a business on own required her to find petty cost for other tools required in the process. She made an oral publicity of her business despite of that very few people came to her for cloth stitching. She lost her nerves to discover that most of the people came for mending jobs than for new cloth stitching. She blames readily available garments and fancy tailors in the *Nepalgunj* to ruin her business. *Parvati* now solely relies on her job of manual agricultural labor for her livelihood but do mend cloths for her regular costumers.

5.5 Conflict

Conflict in Nepalese context is generally understood as over-a-decade long armed conflict between the State and the Maoists. The blame is put squarely on exclusion and endemic poverty as conflict breeding elements. Hordes of Dalit, Janjati, Tharu (ethnic communities) and poverty-ridden youth and adolescents joining the Maoists ranks buttress this theory. They were attracted to the violent method to cure their woes as they lost patience with peaceful means, and also their frustration with the system made them highly susceptible to radical ideas. To the Maoists, as they see it, the armed conflict brought home the bacon. They gained legitimacy, share in power and parliament. The armed conflict however left pernicious influence in Nepalese society which is aiding and abetting a culture of violence.

The Kamaiyas who gained freedom from ages of bonded labor and the lucky ones who received land from state started a new living in a different setting. The change of location and a fear of rejection from neighbors were always in the back of their mind. The neighbor also included poor population, dalits, ethnic communities and other vulnerable and marginalized communities who were not lucky to receive preferential treatments that Kamaiyas received. The fuel for conflict was already there, the needs of Kamaiyas and their neighbor were similar but the neighbors were deprived of services and facilities that Kamaiyas were entitled.

Relations have soured

Yam Jit Ghimire, Secretary to the *Jan Kalyan Samaaj Sudhar Sanstha (CBO)*, Main Committee, Uddarapur VDC, thinks that development intervention has soured the relations between groups.

He says, *"I understand that most of the program focused towards Kamaiyas followed some criterion which possibly limits its territorial coverage and that some impoverished groups are far off the ex-Kamaiya camps and therefore left out, but how you make poor people understand it."*

He asks, *"Is it the fault of poor and vulnerable to live in land far off the ex-Kamaiya camp and therefore be punished? How could they possibly know that they would be at disadvantageous point choosing to live in place where they live today? He further says," We don't say that NGO working for Kamaiyas has made bad choice. The people it has chosen to serve are indeed poor but there are even poorer people in many groups which are left out. This has soured*

the relations between the having and not-having groups. But these interventions shouldn't have upset the smooth relations."

The decade long armed conflict also triggered internal migration from hills of Nepal to the plains and most of these migrants also started their life fresh as the Kamaiyas did. There are mixed reaction over Kamaiyas settlement by these migrants. Since either of the community have been new arrivals, one freed bonded labor and the other hill migrants forced to flee their homes, neither community is at odds with the other. Both the community has been resource-less, poor, unskilled and uneducated. Neither seems to enjoy an edge over the other in terms of skill, resource, assets etc. So, they see no reason to be envious against the other. Despite all these, the hill migrants who suffered at the hands of Maoists or State forces and left their homes to seek safe refuge harbored some grudges against the ex-Kamaiyas for being loved by the I/NGOs and they being snubbed. They argue that they faced more suffering and tribulation by being victim of the conflict. But, the State and I/NGOs eyes fall on ex-Kamaiyas only.

We are in the same Boat

Khusi Lal Choudhary (a Tharu), a resident of Bankatuwa VDC, living on the fringes of ex-Kamaiya camp, has occupied some 2 bigah of unclaimed land on the fringes of the forest and lives off it. He had been one of the users of the land which the State later gave for rehabilitating ex-Kamaiays. He began to see the ex-Kamaiays as his enemy who he thought usurped his means of livelihood.

Khusi Lal says, "*After the development program came to our village and helped us and neighboring ex-Kamaiyas with several development packages, we came close to each other. Gradually it occurred to me that my hatred towards ex-Kamaiyas was unfounded. They like us are poor and exploited folks. We share the same plight. They have as much right to have safe and secured shelter and livelihood means as we. In fact we are in the same boat. It is the State that should arrange right to life and livelihood to its citizens. Therefore, I have stopped being angry at them. Now, we both (vulnerable and ex-Kamaiyas) hold the State responsible for our sorrow and distress.*"

In few clusters, there has been simmering discontent between ex-Kamaiays who have received 5 kattha (0.4 Acre) of land and vulnerable squatters who have been landless. Either community is made of Tharus, the aboriginals. (One is ex-Kamaiays and the other non-Kamaiyas). This makes the non Kamaiyas feel excluded from the development run. The level of poverty remains equal but the

fruits of development are mostly targeted to the Kamaiyas. Though the vulnerable appreciate development program's equal and non-discriminatory treatment, they are angry at State's what they call discriminatory treatment in land distribution. And since ex-Kamaiyas have been given the land that the vulnerable earlier used as means of survival, the ex-Kamaiyas become the target of their anger and resentment.

> ### Absence of distributive justice is sore point
>
> *Lila Bika* 18 has one kid to look after and no asset or resource of any kind for life support. She has been the conflict victim. Her husband went to India and left her and her kid to stay back. She earns her living through farm-laboring.
>
> Though she had been to the village for 5 years, no I/NGO or State agency ever brought any relief or rehabilitation scheme to her. She struggled to survive on her own.
>
> She says," *We could see that I/NGOs frequenting the ex-Kamaiya camp and distributing development packages. That made me envious of the ex-Kamaiyas. At one point I cursed God for not making me Kamaiya. I had even lost trust on God.*
>
> And then came a development project to cater our needs along with Kamaiyas. Like others, I initially thought they would too lavish all love on ex-Kamaiays and snub us. But to my surprise they came to our cluster also, and proposed to help us. Now, I have no grudge or complain against ex-Kamaiyas because they share the same plight as us. Either of us has received support like goat-keeping, toilets, drinking water, seed for farming etc. We share problems and exchange skills and information. The project has bridged the gulf of trust.

One striking fact noticed during field study is that the vulnerable communities are not really against ex-Kamaiyas but against the development packages, relief and rehabilitations the latter have received at the expense of vulnerable communities. This has been the key bone of contention. Also, the State and I/NGOs have eyes only for ex-Kamaiyas and the other poor and vulnerable are ignored perpetually. This has aggravated their anger and frustration.

Ex-Kamaiyas are boon not bane

Vishnu Dutta Joshi, from living in the periphery of ex-Kamaiya camp simply says *"Kamaiyas are boon and not bane."* How? He explains, *"Neither the State nor I/NGOs ever came to us though we have been here for over 7 years. So, it is the ex-Kamaiyas who made it possible for us to receive support from INGO."*

He says, *"You see, I have failed to understand how ex-Kamaiyas qualify for national/international support, and other poverty-ridden, conflict victims don't."*

"*Any way, they are here and therefore we have gravel road, school, on and off farm activities, skill transfers, livestock keeping and so"*, he says.

Until yesterday, *"We honestly hated the sight of ex-Kamaiyas. And it was not without reason. Our access to water source has been curtailed with the coming of ex-Kamaiays. "We who until yesterday were not in talking terms are negotiating solution to the problem. The program targeted to Kamaiyas has been immensely instrumental in making it happen"*

Few NGOs targeted programs to host communities of the Kamaiyas, the main reason was to reduce conflicts and let communities integrate socially. Evidences suggest that it is a mixed reaction for both communities involved. The host communities sees Kamaiyas as the privileged group receiving support from all and categorize themselves as scavengers feeding on development left over.

The recent political development in Nepal has agendas of federalism state based on ethnicity, if this holds to be true the ethnic population of mid and far-western region of Nepal including the Kamaiyas will reap benefit. This also foretells that the spark of conflict could rise as the local ethnic communities will have legitimate rights that the outsiders living in the area will not have. The preliminary draft from federalism based on state provides rights to the locals on various grounds including employment, access to services etc. The revision of this program has been dead lined only after 10 years and meanwhile if not planned and executed correctly the federalism could produce serious conflicting grounds.

5.6 Sustainability:

The issue of sustainability of development projects targeted to Kamaiyas might need to be seen from two angles. Firstly, the institutional angle which has direct bearing on the current capabilities of

grassroots group and central committee and secondly the sustainability of entrepreneurial skills, alliances and self reliance

When seen from the institutional angle, the capabilities of CBOs are less than matching against the challenges they are required to face. The challenges include sustainable operation of community assets built, re-built and renovated by development projects. They include roads, health posts, schools, water taps, and community houses and so on. At the community level, they have attempted to raise funds and set up repairing funds but they are good for low cost maintenance and are barely enough for care and maintenance of larger community assets like roads, schools, and health posts. They lack information on resourceful agencies operating in the district including the State agencies and their thematic engagements which handicap them from knowing who they should approach for what issues/problems. They lack strategic know-how, procedures and ways and means to effectively approach, explore, tap and mobilize resources in their interest. So, seen from institutional angle, the institutions set up at the community level are less than capable for self-initiation for sustainability.

14 teachers to teach 1350 students

The Janata Adrasha Secondary School based in Naubasta VDC is the only secondary school for a population of 8 thousands living in the VDC. Students from across the VDC are also enrolled here in lack of viable alternatives. The school has a total student population of 1350. It has 14 teachers to teach them. This means nearly 100 students crammed in a classroom are taught by one teacher. The government has a policy to provide 1 teacher for every 55 students. However, the policy has remained in paper only with respect to this school. This means the teachers' force is nearly half of what it supposed to have been.

The development project has built two rooms block to facilitate accommodation of students. The school authority and School Management Committee are thankful to such intervention. But, has it contributed to quality teaching/learning or made the facility truly functional? The school headmaster responds*," We have at least all-weather blocks. Surely, the woes of school resulting from inadequate number of teachers remain unaddressed. Obviously, the quality of teaching has been stagnant or even gone down with increasing number of students.*" He further says," *Poor students have no option. This is the only school in the vicinity. They can go nowhere."*

The community assets that development program helped built, re-built and renovate may require substantial help from the state functionaries for their effective operation, meaningful collaboration is absolutely imperative to make them functional and operational. It was observed that development program has resource to build school rooms, but it can't pay for the teachers' monthly salary to keep it operational and to ensure quality teaching/learning. Similarly, intervention may build health posts but the supply of key health commodities is the State responsibility.

With the community asset improvement and functionality major problem faced by the service users is sustaining them. The community assets which cost little or affordable resource, the community has explored ways and means to do that, or roped in other users to pay for service. The method includes funds generation from users group for regular maintenance and repair works. Here too, the organized, empowered, informed and assertive community organizations can hold the State accountable for sustainability or extract commitment and resource from State agencies. However, the grassroots organizations mainly the CBOs haven't developed that administrative, managerial, organizational and strategic power to make this happen. There have been clear evidences for the fact that community assets like schools and health posts cannot be effectively functional leading to quality teaching/learning by development project input alone and that some other actors and factors must work synchronically. Projects can provide leak-proof, secured and safe roofs and walls but still the schools will fall short of serving its purposes

The development program has been able to install entrepreneurial skill to the locals. It is observed that better socio-economic conditions is achieved through skill transfer and enabling entrepreneurship has high potential for sustainability. The focused groups acquiring new skills have experimented with them and found profitable. Since the skills barring few have high market prospects, and they promise good returns, the individuals have greater zeal and commitment for them. Since sustainability depends on viability of the scheme yielding personal profits, the skills transferred by development project to the focused groups have already started giving good returns, hence they appear to be sustainable.

Kitchen garden produced shop

Purna Lal Choudhary is the Chairperson of ex-Kamaiya Main Committee of Bhagatpur ex-Kamaiya camp. Like other ex-Kamaiyas he is provided with support for on and off-season vegetable production in a small kitchen garden in backyard.

He is running a grocery shop inside the camp. He proudly says, "*My kitchen garden produced this shop*". Upon asked how, he explains*," Money doesn't stay with you forever. So, I sought ways to make it stay with me. I don't spend a single penny earned from vegetable produce; they all go into this shop."*

Where did he get the initial investment? Purna explains*," I put not a single penny from my house nor borrowed from anyone. Right from day one of my earning from vegetable, I made up my mind to open and run a shop. The shop didn't grow this big overnight. It is gradually expanded.* He says, "*When the shop self sustains, then I will think of other ventures".* For now, my planning is to build and strengthen this shop"

But everyone is not as luck as Purna Lal, few individuals who received trainings has to rely on conventional sources of income. It gives development practitioners room to think about suitability of trainings offered and their impact at the grassroots. One similar story has been described as under.

The barber has few clients

Bipat Tharu, ex-Kamaiya from Bhagatpur ex-Kamaiya camp, received hair-cutting training. It was his choice to become a barber as there had been none in the camp and its periphery. He owns tools and skill. He wants to optimally utilize it and make it means of sustainable livelihood. But, there are very few buyers of his skill. Says he, *"The Kamaiyas and people around don't have their hair cuts. They do it occasionally by themselves. They are yet to cultivate this habit of having hair-cut."* So, what he plans to do with his newly acquired skill? He answers*" I normally have one or two clients a day and sometimes none. I haven't set up a saloon or hair-cutting shop yet. I earn my living by farm laboring. For me, the fear is that if I don't put into practice the skill, I may forget them in course of time. So, I still practice even for little money."*

5.7 Elitism in the eyes of elite[1]

The area with the history of elitism and feudalism cannot remain without its renaissance. The mid and far western plains of Nepal are not an exceptional in this regards. I had heard stories of elitism and read papers and articles on this topic. For this research, before I even reached the site, a constant reminder was at the back of my head. I had to meet elite and see how this contested or much talked about issue was perceived by the real elites. Getting an access to this world was almost difficult for an outsider like me. A casual conversation had been easier but recording and inquiring

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[1] The story is based on the interview and personal communication

about development intervention and their role and much hyped issue of elitism was not an easy task. I was lucky enough to find a positively shrewd NGO worker who had some family relation with the elite class. He managed to fix an appointment for me to discuss on issues that I felt pertinent for my research. I was lucky to meet Mr. Jeetendra Singh Rathour, a young man in his mid thirties and educated with a master's degree in the capital city, Kathmandu. Unlike conventional elites I thought and as I was briefed, I found him open in conversation and was helpful in shading lights on some pertinent issues of my inquiry.

After a formal round of introduction and sharing him reality of my presence, I asked him how the things have been changing in realm to development in his vicinity. He answered that the process of change and efforts of making life better for common people had been handled well by the recent development intervention. Recalling the history of elitism, he answers that, "*Elitism was a mode of governance which helped to maintain law and order*". The local elites had the history of role playing of tax collectors and also settling local disputes of all kinds. The power for this capacity was enshrined by the autocratic central rulers who had family ties and kinship with these local elites. Community governance is particularly vulnerable to elite capture because participants enter the process from unequal positions of power: they have asymmetrical social positions, disparate access to economic resources, varying levels of knowledge of political protocols and procedures and different literacy rates. There are different types of elites at the community level, such as social, political and economic elites. Sources of elite power may include land holdings, kinship, lineage, employment, political party affiliation, educational attainment, religious affiliation, or tenure in the community (Dasgupta 2007)

Mr. Rathour recalls that after the Kamaiyas were freed by the government, they had enthusiasm and higher hopes for tomorrow. But as the relief and rehabilitation support came late the Kamaiyas had to panic for a while also he shared that most of the development programs could not cater the needs of the Kamaiyas that few of them had to return to landlords for securing livelihood again. This remark of Rahtour has been buttressed by a research report which states that bonded laborers were urged to come out and settle in temporary camps because facilities, including food and shelter, did not meet subsistence needs. There was no systematic distribution of support materials to the former bonded laborers and when they were being settled permanently, job market access and land fertility were not taken into consideration in determining their location. In many cases land allocated to them was distant from their homes or the farmland was far away from urban centers and so meant

poor access to schools, hospitals or health centers. In some cases, the land they received was infertile and thus inadequate for making a living. Some former bonded laborers were given driving lessons even when they could not have access to vehicles, and training as electricians in areas without access to electricity, and in other nonagricultural related occupations. This prompted many to leave their original homes, hoping to free themselves but many subsequently found it very difficult to compete in the formal market and ended up in poverty or bank in bondage. (Upadhyaya 2008)

Rathour believes that the political transition and statelessness has helped to spread anarchy to a maximum level. He condemns land grabbing incidences raised by the Maoists cadres. He explains land grabbing phenomenon as a political propaganda of the Maoists which has the hidden motives of gaining populism. He explains that the Maoists themselves had two factions of leadership firstly the one which wanted to adhere with the political positions and secondly the other fractions which wanted to hold grassroots. The second groups of Maoists were responsible for this land grabbing movement. Rathour recalls incidents when the Maoists won constitutional seats and their cadres went to rampage looting properties of the landlords. He along with other landlords had to evacuate their ancestral land for the fear of life. He explains that unless political unrest prevails in country the development intervention will not succeed as desired. Speaking about the political unrest and development at the local level he says, '*During the yester years of absolute monarchy, the elites were pivotal to local development as they were politically appointed to look after development issues both at local and central level. The local level development revolved around village level in the form of Panchyat – A form of local administration in monarchy regime- and at the central level through election where mostly elites hold the position. Even after the dawn of multiparty democracy elites were still functional in development planning at the local level and approaching the centre for resources and funds'*. He added that the changes in political situations have left elites in a rather dormant stage but still they have a significant role in acting as a bridge between local and centre.

When inquired about elitism and development capture, Rathour denies its presence. He added, '*The development programs these days are in operation by grassroots and NGO, we just support them with advices and using our connection when appropriate, after all the development works are focused in our areas and it will help to prosper communities and elites alike, when we have infrastructures and informed population everyone is benefiting from it*. Rathour added that some NGOs seek elite's favor when they are at the start phase of development programs, as the NGOs are unaware of social dynamics and need influential people around them to establish their grounds. He adds that it is an irony that the same NGO which firmed

its footing with elite's help often runs program where elite's are portrayed as villains of development and people's freedom.

Rathour claims that the NGO have started development as a business where funds are channeled through donors on the name of needy but larger sum of money are spend on administration and salary than the program itself. He argues that the NGO's which preaches on accountability and transparency to the communities lacks it when it comes to practice. Rathour hopes development works to be devoid of political influences and the communities need to believe that NGO are not their ultimate savior or a messiah but the key for development lies in progressive ideas and ability to change, that rests upon every individual.

5.8 Conclusion

The rehabilitation efforts targeted to the Kamaiyas with a vision of creating self sustaining community has a long way to go. If we view this development intervention with the lens of CDD the major aspect of planning for development works is rather incomplete. The development agencies must empower, equip, inform community-based organizations and arm them with needful tools, instruments and strategic know-how to launch self-initiatives for gaining rights and resources from the State and other agencies once they are out from the scene. The issue of participation feels like limited to passive head counting rather than an active involvement process. Ex-Kamaiyas suffer from dependency syndrome. They have been spoon-fed right from their liberation. This has crippled them. They have become passive recipients and expect others/outsiders mend their woes. In these lights of realities the development works are not able to bear fruit of success for the Kamaiyas.

The networking and alliance building measures is a prerequisite for the Kamaiyas for that the group empowerment process must be speeded up. The groups then will be able to link up with existing state and non state actors for opportunities other than livelihood and services. The rehabilitation of the Kamaiyas is still incomplete and suitable measures of advocacy and lobbying are required to speed up the process.

The development agencies must focus in building overall capacity of the community-level organizations to enable them fight for rights and resources in an organized way in future when they will be absent. The development intervention must seek to arm and equip Kamaiyas communities with required tools and instruments to wage battle against poverty, seclusion and institutionalizing

them right from the grassroots level. The communal assets must be used wisely and the community needs to be well equipped, capable to monitor and sufficiently informed about sustainability issues. The dependency shown by the Kamaiyas requires empowerment thorough software engagement and lessening hardware support. The intervention should also focus on engaging the demand and supply side, the supply side here refers to the duty bearers and the service providers. It has to be understood that the development agencies can act like a state for a while but on the long run the communities has to rely on state for services to claim and enjoy rights and resources. The bridging act of development program between the supply side and the demand side would foster environment for sustainability.

CHAPTER 6-Case Study 3

6. Community Bio-Diesel Program- Jatropha

6.1 Background:

Nepal has a huge hydropower potential. In fact, the perennial nature of Nepali rivers and the steep gradient of the country's topography provide ideal conditions for the development of some of the world's largest hydroelectric projects in Nepal. Current estimates are that Nepal has approximately 40,000 MW of economically feasible hydropower potential. However, the present situation is that Nepal has developed only approximately 600 MW of hydropower. Although bestowed with tremendous hydropower resources, only about 40% of Nepal's population has access to electricity. Most of the power plants in Nepal are run-of-river type with energy available in excess of the in-country demand during the monsoon season and deficit during the dry season.[2]

The need of bio fuel has emerged as an issue to combat electricity crisis and for economic and environmentally sustainability. Jatropha has been around human since ages but recently it has been proved to be a substitute for fossil fuel. Openshaw (2000) highlights that the use of Jatropha has been initiated by two principle objectives of using oil plants and their products for economic and environmentally sustainable rural development and to make rural areas self sufficient in energy, especially liquid fuels. Citing references from countries like Brazil, Nepal and Zimbabwe he suggests that the use of this plant can be achieved without displacing other agricultural crops or competing for land that has a higher opportunity in other applications. The projects for Jatropha cultivation aim to promote plant oil as a fuel in stationary or mobile engines and as a viable renewable energy option for cooking, lighting and heating. It also promotes reduction of poverty by stimulating economic activities in rural areas by using the products of such plants for the manufacture of soap, medicines, lubricants, chemicals, fertilizers, insecticides and it helps to improve the environment through land reclamation, erosion control, enhanced soil fertility, a better microclimate and greenhouse gas (GHG) mitigation.

Bio-fuel cultivation is especially relevant for developing countries for a number of reasons. Many developing countries are net importers of petroleum products and imported fuel comprises a large

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[2] Based on Independent Power Producer Association Nepal (IPPAN) http://www.ippan.org.np/HPinNepal.html

portion of their national budget. Rising fossil fuel prices place an economic burden on countries already heavily weighed down by foreign debt. The consequences are likely to be a shortage of available funds for development, and higher costs of production and food, affecting the poorest sectors of the population. Therefore, the capacity for a country to meet, in part, national demand for fuel through cultivation of bio-fuel crops has a number of positive implications. Furthermore, Western demand for alternative sources of energy also presents an opportunity for developing countries since there is insufficient land in many industrialized nations to produce biofuel crops to meet the current blending targets (Mitchell 2008) In Mozambique and Mali, Jatropha was planted in fences that would otherwise have been established with other less valuable species. Therefore, no competition for land with food crops occurred.(Jan de J. 2011) The controversy of food security and bio fuel cultivation has emerged in recent time

The uses of Jatropha are immense. Jatropha is easy to establish, grows relatively quickly and is hardy, being drought tolerant. It is not browsed, for its leaves and stems are toxic to animals, but after treatment, the seeds or seed cake could be used as an animal feed. Various parts of the plant are of medicinal value, its bark contains tannin, the flowers attract bees and thus the plant has a honey production potential; its wood and fruit can be used for numerous purposes including fuel. Of particular importance, the fruit of Jatropha contain viscous oil that can be used for soap making, in the cosmetics industry and as a diesel/kerosene substitute or extender (Openshaw 2000)

6.2 The Process

In Nepal, Jatropha is found widely in the wild in over 70 of the 75 districts of Nepal. High oil yielding Jatropha is found in all tropical and subtropical districts up to 1200 m. Oil from Jatropha seeds can be used to produce biodiesel locally using simple small-scale biodiesel plant. Rural communities can cultivate their own Jatropha plants in the community wastelands or as hedges in their private land. The biodiesel can be used to operate irrigation pumps and the oil cake can be used as organic fertilizer replacing the currently used chemical fertilizer. (Pradhan 2009)

This community involved project is a research based project in identifying possibilities for high quality Jatropha production in Okhaldhunga district. Creating alternative means of livelihood for the disadvantage people is the main purpose of this project. The project is aimed at generating cash from unused and barren land by cultivating jatropha. Primarily, this project focused on increasing

livelihood option for the poor and disadvantaged. Secondarily, it is targeted at supplying bio-fuel to Okhaldhunga Community Hospital. In the long term, this project targets at replacing the diesel by bio-fuel at least by some extent within the district. The community involvement is ensured with mobilizing community facilitator who briefs about the project and helps in forming groups at the primary stage. The groups were formed to establish cooperatives on the long run. Two cooperatives have been formed which facilitates farming, oil extraction and finds potential market. The local farmers were encouraged to cultivate Jatropha in range land and in their own land as commercial crops. The seed and vegetative propagation methods were used. The NGO has also established nursery in the district which is managed by communities themselves under technical supervision of NGO.

It is not an easy ride

Pawan Thapa, local NGO staff believes that organizing farmers was not an easy ride during the initial stage. He says, '*The farmers had conventional ways of farming and making a shift in agriculture type and crop was difficult.*' The farmers were harvesting staple crops and making them choose plants that have been growing around their farmland did not attract them. The only motivation came from demonstration of bio-diesel extraction and running generators for electricity production. He adds, '*The communities were already involved in groups of different development projects, but the plan of saving credit and formation of a cooperative worked*'. The communities were actually lured to be the part of this development program during initial stage. Thapa adds, '*The communities often demand to have other agricultural trainings besides Jatropha cultivation and we were able to come up with few in coordination with District Agriculture Office and other NGOs*'. The project has been able to build nexus with government line agencies and like minded organization but has not been able to come up with substantial results.

Thapa highlighting inefficient coordination from government line agencies recalls events, '*The farmers mostly face problems with pest management and diseases and with the limited resources we have. We are not able to address all pest problems and when we go to government line agencies together with communities we all get assurance but not solution to problems*'

6.3 Immediate answer to a long problem, but is this sustainable?

There is no doubt that Jatropha has enabled local communities to harness backup electricity when power fails to come from the main grids. The communities are poverty ridden to own a generator

for their personal use but have been fuelling hospital generator. Apart from saving credit and cooperatives the community has not been able to ensure sustainability when the project is phased out. Some pertinent issues of sustainability and leadership for cooperatives have already emerged and some farmers have reached to a conclusion that they did not choose rightly.

I should have grown Potato

Raghubir Rai, a part time Jatropha farmer planted hedges in his inherited land three years ago. Inspired by dreams of creating own fuel for the community he invested some of his land, a few resource and his labor. He found his dreams shattered when his trees started bearing fruits. He was never informed about the price that he would get from the harvest. He says, *'The seed price has been allocated to be Rs 15 (0.15 Euro cents) per kilogram, a tree is able to produce equivalent to 3.5 kg of seeds per season and a simple mathematics says that we will be in loss in terms of use of time and labor'. I would have been in profit if I had opted for potato cultivation rather than Jatropha*, adds Rai.

The views shared by Rai represent realities of few well off Jatropha farmers who owned larger swath of lands. Speaking about the project he believes that the project had been substantial in creating cohesion between the community and the groups were functional in other community development activities but has not been economically fruitful and sustainable.

The project has focused on just extracting bio-diesel from Jatropha seed and the research for economic viability of producing soap, fertilizers, briquettes etc has not been undertaken. The NGO claims that the project was only designed to research possibilities of providing alternative fuel to the community hospital and it has no resources for alternative approaches. It was sensed that a blaming game is on where the community feels that the NGO should be able to provide a platform for sustainability while the NGO feels that the community should be able to utilize its existing nexus with other service providers.

The nursery established by the NGO seems to be harboring major problems, although it has been successful in producing the saplings but still majority of it is transported from a bigger nursery stationed at *Butwal*, Western Nepal. The NGO has a bigger nursery in the plains of Nepal which actually meets the demand of local communities. The local nursery has issues of nonexistent technical support and the communities are not in position to help them. The plantation time of Jathropha June/July also coincides with paddy cultivation time and the communities are naturally

more inclined towards producing their major harvest than planting Jatropha which has lesser importance than rice.

The plant can produce seeds from the first year but the seeds are not harvested from the first year itself, it was found that the trees are left for three years until the seeds are harvested for diesel. For poor communities three years of waiting is long. The communities require something fast and concrete and the group activities of saving and credit helps for facilitate the long wait of earning petty amount from the harvest. It was observed that a tree produced around 4 kg of seed and a liter of diesel can extracted from the total harvest of single year from the tree. It shows that for a viable production of diesel more and more plants need to be grown which means displacing the crop cover by Jatropha which the local community will likely do.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions

7.1   Bonded Labor:

The history of bonded labor dates back to 800AD and was first reported by anthropologist during 1960's. It is a kind of agricultural slavery system that passes from generation to generation. The labor works on the field of landlords (elites) compensating cash or kind burrowed from the landlord. Abolition movement gained momentum after political movement of 90's and after both national and international pressure, the labors were declared free in year 2000. Development initiatives for freed labor increased, government allocated 5 katthas of land (0.4 acres) to every single freed labor, but not all freed labors were lucky to get this land. NGO's worked on need based, rights based, CDD and integrated community development approach in increasing capacity of freed labors. Their access to health, education and other services were taken care of. The dependency syndrome increased in the bonded labors and with the onset of the Maoists movements, the bonded labor who were devoid of their promised land started to capture lands from landlords. The labors living in NGO funded camps have all the services compared to the counter parts that live in isolation. There is a cleared distinction between the freed labors inside the camp and one who lives in isolation; most of these labors that are in isolation have started working again in the farms of landlords for their livelihood.

7.2 CDD Practice and Bonded Labor

The projects and program for freed labors are mostly top down, the projects are sanctioned at the central level and the community becomes a part of this project. It is a hybridity where the participation ensures further planning of the development program. The participation in most of the cases is limited to passive participation where influential and clever bonded labors are always in the driver's seat in development projects and program. There is also a marked significance of hierarchy among the bonded labor based on caste, ethnicity, education and resource access. The capacity building initiatives on governance and ensuring transparency and accountability is not adequate, the possible reason could be absence of local level government, and however the participatory reflection and review process implemented by few NGO ensures better vigilance of development projects targeted to the Kamaiyas. The established linkages and networking with

other development agencies and state functionaries has a mixed results, some CBOs have been able to reap benefits from this connection while few CBOs still remain passive and on mercy of service providers.

7.3 Elitism, Bonded labor and CDD

It was perceived that although the bonded labors were set free from their debts and had a free life to live on but there are incidences where the labors have returned back to their landlords to meet daily ends. This cannot be generalized to all Kamaiyas population but lack of livelihood opportunities and few misfortune Kamaiyas not holding any promised lands by state are vulnerable to start the ended relationship. The formation of neo-elites, that is the Maoists and the elites created by politics are in contestation for power. The elites were functional until recent times and the new emerging elites are struggling to get that space of social recognition and power bearing. The incidences of elite capture and elite control were noticed. Elite capture referred to using development programs for self benefit while the control referred to a sort of mentor ship where the existing and emerging elites directed the development programs for communal benefits but under their supervision. The elites were able to build rapport with the state and NGOs and get few development projects for the communities, the reason behind this altruistic behavior lied in maintaining the social status and regaining power controls of the society. The NGOs on the other hands have been using elites to mark their entry and function themselves in the development arena; the elites are the one who provides the NGO with safe passage to help and prosper NGOs using their influential power within the society. In return the NGO repays this favor by hiring local staffs as suggested and recommend by the elites. The contestation for power struggle is widely observed with the vacuum of local electives at the village level. The grass roots planning for getting a million rupees per year from government under village development budget are mostly discussed, planned and executed with the consultation of local elites, local state enforces and NGO staffs. The passive participation of local community often has to give a final nod and feel empowered on the decisions of plan made by consultation of afore mentioned.

7.4 Conflict and CDD

The decade long armed conflicts of the Maoists have sown the seed of conflict in Nepalese soil. The constant volatility and threat of insecurity have also percolated to the development sector.

The Maoists agendas of ethnicity based federalism have increased sourness within the community and a predominant community often tends to take control over the minorities. The conflict has triggered to give rise to scattered armed groups all across Nepal which seeks benefits from development projects either using or abusing it. It has to be understood the social fabric of life for people in Nepal has been dismantled and a threat can emerge without any cause or references. Given this scenario the development projects functional in Nepal often tends to look for no harm policy, the development projects were an easy prey during the Maoists war where the funds and physical resources were looted from these NGOs and most of the NGOs are fully aware of the rampage and potential consequences if they have sour relationship with any extremists or social groups.

The issues of conflict are also seen within the communities, the emergence of Kamaiyas and non-Kamaiyas conflict revolves around selective participation where one group receives development support while the others are devoid of it. This creates a separation within the disadvantageous and marginalized communities and creates a tag of them and us.

The conflict issues were also observed in the other study site as well, the Jatropha case marks conflict amongst population on the project itself. Some individual perceives project to be beneficial in sustaining livelihoods while the well to do farmer considers Jatropha farming to be uneconomical for the local context. The issues of conflict resonate largely to political issues and often development agenda are also often politicized. It is an irony in Nepal that almost all group of population tries to label them with political parties and this includes farmers, students alike, so at every level the political inclination and contestation is seen.

It was observed that the conflict also creates an opportunities for the local population. The contestation for creating better lives for one's community was observed in Lamjung. The homogenous communities tend to have fewer conflicts compared to heterogeneous one. The group comprising of Dalits, the untouchable, had this drive of competition of proving themselves better than other groups.

7.5 CDD and Governance

The CDD focuses on empowering communities for effective governance and aims at increasing transparency, accountability and adhered to democratic participation at all levels. It was observed

that participation has never been a problem in the study sites but effective participation is always an issue. The communities are involved in group activities but under supervision and as directed by the local development actors. Effective participation was limited to few sporadic communities; the reason for their thriving more was based on history of exclusion and denial. The ability to makeover and shift the way of working were largely determined in preparedness and risk taking behavior by communities. It was observed that if communities have this preparedness and rely on active participation rather than on head counting, governance automatically seems to be thriving in such communities and groups.

Few development projects have an inbuilt mechanism of transparency and accountability, like social audit and review of every single activity. The community involved in these projects seems to be empowered and are able to facilitate good governance where as the communities which are passive recipient of development activities fail to harness concept of self-governance. It was observed that the issue of governance was a major issue for Kamaiyas compared to other communities from other study site, the possible reason and explanation for their inability to demand for governance and actively involved in development works could be the history of slavery that they carry on. They were always directed and someone always had to decide for their future, this still looms large at the Kamaiyas community where they tend to work as directed under others supervision. The basic component of CDD fails to thrive at most of the Kamaiyas community.

The factors promoting good governance is also determined by political will and a motive to distributive justice. In present scenario Nepal lacks effective grassroots coordination as well as coordination at the central level and the absence of local electives has significant role to play, as accountability of the duty bearers are not set clear. The political appointed local duty bearers are not seen to be obliged with their duties which provide room for misappropriation and chaos. This political environment also shapes development projects, the Jatropha case study shows that the project has been in operation for meeting its goal where NGO is not obliged to cater and work for local needs rather than focusing on achieving its project objectives.

7.6 CDD and Sustainability

CDD projects always aims for achieving sustainability of the development works as it believes in community's ability and learning in managing development projects/program for themselves.

The CDD focuses on empowering community to drive development through nexus building, planning and execution, evaluation and resource controls. It was observed that the issue of sustainability has been overcome where community have users group in maintaining common pool resources like running water, roads etc. The user groups have mechanisms of generating funds and seek help from other service providers when it comes to ensuring sustainable use of development works. The case is not equally brighter for other communities, for example, the skill transfer trainings have not been able to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities to the training recipients. The skill has been transferred but the market remains to be explored, such skills transfers will not be able to justify itself as a sustainable approach to development.

The ability of community to build upon relations and networking with other development actors is a key to sustainability. The development projects have a time limit and they tend to phase out after a certain time but most of the communities under CDD have failed to build rapport and/or not able to think what will happen after the project is phased out. The exit strategy of development projects are also fails to provide communities with measure to take under once the project is gone. It was observed in few communities that a dependency has been created by development agencies as they need communities for their projects. Also if we view it from perspective of the communities, they have a clear idea that development NGO will come to their door and offer them help, cater their needs and henceforth. This idea often cripples communities when it comes to sustainability, the community enjoys services offered by NGOs and will go for fishing for other development actors.

7.7 CDD and Marginalized Population

The CDD projects under study advocated inclusion of marginalized, disadvantageous and women as an important component for the development projects. It was found that the representation of these populations was never an issue. Women participation was always found to be more than male and in most groups the women had some executive position. The Pro-Poor Hydropower Project had a mandatory 50 % female participation requirement in every single group. Likewise the representation of dalits and ethnic minorities was found in all groups that were viewed. The selective participation in case of Kamaiyas was a major issue, although the communities living adjacent to Kamaiyas were equally marginalized and in disadvantageous position but these communities were not involved in most of the projects directed to Kamaiyas.

This issue of predefined partners for development might be a constrain for NGO to help and organize other similar communities but this exclusion often results to conflict at the social level for the excluded communities.

CHAPTER 8

Discussion

CDD aims for attaining participation, empowerment and sustainability. The participation here refers that the individuals or the community are involved in identifying their needs and problem and come up with solution to overcome them. It requires communities to design realistic plans and finds way of achieving it. This relates to success of development endeavors where people work on their own issues rather than working on guidance and supervision imposed by an outsider.

The participation is believed to induce empowerment as it helps to increase self reliance and relies upon the effort that people make for improving their opportunities to seek dignity, hope and confidence. The empowerment requires some information and skills transfers which are provided by the supply side. The energy for this change however needs to be inside the communities they must have preparedness and willingness to change for achieving cherished life.

The participation and empowerment in the community ensures sustainability of the development projects. Sustainability here refers both to the process and result of development intervention. The issue of sustainability is an important aspect to development project and communities as it ensures capitalizing on available opportunities and build upon existing one.

This process of participation, empowerment and sustainability requires proper planning. ADB CDD Country profile has highlighted that the planning is a major issue in Nepalese perspective, it has identified that major problem of planning are lack of coordination and absence of monitoring and evaluation mechanism. The planning failure for Nepal includes the following as

- VDCs and municipalities do not strictly adhere to the prescribed planning process; there is weak coordination between Line Agencies and DDC in regard to the planning process and implementation. Often there is duplication in plans;
- Plans are of adhoc nature mainly due to inadequate information and databases;
- In the planning process prioritization criteria are overlooked;
- Local Programs and priorities are changed at the national level;
- Horizontal coordination is weak in all plans; and

- Monitoring and evaluation systems are very weak.

The issue of migration is also important in Nepalese context. The migrants leave there homeland in search of opportunity also internally displaced people are on rise due to the history and presence of conflict. This displaced population then becomes a part of development activities upon settlement in newer grounds. Migration for economic activities has been pivotal to Nepalese society and it is often both external and internal migration. Migration from rural areas to urban areas for economic opportunities has been a consistent demographic phenomenon in Nepal, a remittance economy where nearly one in 12 youth work outside the country. Whilst it is difficult to distinguish between economic migrants and those displaced by the conflict, the traditional migration pattern of working men returning to their villages of origin at the beginning of the rainy season has not been observed in recent years, suggesting a rapid rise in conflict-induced internal displacement(Singh, Sharma et al. 2007)The internally migrant population now becomes new partners for the development.

Nepal has been working on development issue with its development plan and with the change of international development discourse it has been updating as per required. Also the policies of big donor communities influence the development policy of Nepal. Despite availability of funds, periodic planning and its execution the development is still at the snail's pace. It has been fifty-four years since Nepal took its first steps on the path of development, but in that time little has been achieved in terms of poverty alleviation. Nepal's development is characterized by low incomes, increasing food deficit, increasing unemployment, persistent marginalization of women, widening gaps between rich and poor, growing dependency on foreign aid, persistent political instability and corruption. (Kernot 2006) Governmental lethargy and inaction have been permanent features in Nepali politics regardless of the nature of its polity. In fact, far from promoting transparency and accountability, such democracy as Nepal has experienced has only added to the systematic culture of greed, corruption and instability. Since its transition to democracy in 1990, Nepal has had continual changes of government. The ruling politicians have failed to generate respect among the people for the political process, or provide a functioning political environment. Nepali politics has become characterized by greed and grandeur, dominated by a few charismatic leaders who see the party system as a way of furthering their own interests. Politicians are widely regarded as being motivated by the single desire of capturing power at all costs(Kernot 2006)

Elite capture occurs when elites control, shape, or manipulate decision-making processes, institutions, or structures in ways that serve their self-interests and priorities, typically resulting in personal gain at the expense of non-elite and community interests and priorities. A political economy analysis focused on power and its social, economic, and cultural dimensions provides an ideal framework for studying elite capture. Because power is multi-dimensional, its effects on conflict transition settings help explain variability in peace building outcomes. This is especially the case where institutional arrangements are (re-)established or the influx of resources is significant but uneven, thereby creating contestation among elites (Labonte 2011) In case of Nepal the issue of elitism is based on hierarchal society and their influence on development projects are based on inabilities of local level capacities. External agents strongly influence project success but facilitators are poorly trained (Rao & Mansuri 2004). Also the contestation for this power position gives room for creation of new elites and the contestation for power struggle also produces newer opportunities and threats to a development intervention. Elitism is dynamic, based on political connection, money and power relationships it tends to get fluid and elitism tends to shift along with time (Bardhan and Mookherjee 2005).The emergence of the Maoists, local level influential people etc categorize themselves as neo elites who play a significant role in control and capture of development program.

Ferguson in his *Anti-Politics Machine Development Discourse* has identified the threat of selective participation and homogeneity of target population. This resonates to threat of exclusion, as most of the CDD projects tend to have a categorical or a predefined community group; it has high risk of excluding equally vulnerable and poor population. This was identified with the Kamaiyas development program, where the local communities had some sort of hostility towards Kamaiyas who were enjoying benefits of development program by just being Kamaiyas, though the other vulnerable communities equally needed support and services.

Li 2007, has identified that [*tackling only technical problems and by defining specific and localized issues and dissecting them the development projects did not recognize the structural conditions that created the troubles in the first place. Furthermore, whenever interventions failed, and problems became worse, there was always a need for more intervention.* This refers that most of the development intervention fails to achieve its objective and a cycle of development intervention continues to be in operation to deal with the short comings of previous intervention. This largely resonates to hordes of developmental activities that were observed in the field study. The example of intervention at Kamaiyas camp or in Jatropha case equally holds to be true.

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