URBAN BASIC SERVICES PROGRAMME IN INDIA: A CRITICAL EVALUATION

D. RAVINDRA PRASAD

(unpublished paper, 1993)

REGIONAL CENTRE FOR URBAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD.
URBAN BASIC SERVICES PROGRAMME IN INDIA:
A CRITICAL EVALUATION

By
D. Ravindra Prasad*

India's urbanisation presents a picture of contrasts and complexities in terms of size, pace, pattern and consequences to overall development. In terms of size, the urban population in India is around 217 millions constituting 25.72 per cent of the total population in 1991. According to one estimate, by 2001, the urban population of India would be of the order of 320 to 338 millions; in other words, doubling of the population in a span of two decades. By 2021, the population is estimated to be between 524 to 642 millions. If the higher scale is accepted, it implies another doubling in the following two decades. According to UN's projections, India's urban population by the turn of the century would be 330 millions and by 2025 658 millions constituting 34.2 and 53.6 per cent respectively. In absolute numbers, India's urban population in 1990 was estimated at slightly less than that of China (240 millions) and more than U.S.A. (183 millions) and U.S.S.R (197 millions).

Such a rapid growth leads to economic, social, and ecological disruptions having an adverse impact on the living conditions of the urban dwellers. The socio-economic conditions of these urban people are much worse than those of the rural poor because of overcrowding, congestion, dirt, pollution, etc., resulting in poor health and living conditions. Urban growth puts heavy pressure on civic amenities and services like water, shelter, electricity, employment opportunities, and recreational facilities.

The urban poor living under a variety of deprivations are the worst victims of this situation. Urban poverty manifests itself in many forms. Most visible of these are: proliferation of slums; fast growth of informal sector; increasing casualisation and underemployment of labour; crushing pressure on civic services; deprivation of educational and health contingencies; retarded growth and a growing sense of helplessness leading to crime and violence.

According to official estimates, approximately 27.7 per cent of the urban population, i.e., about 5.7 crore people were below the poverty line in 1987-88. The estimates of slum population in urban areas vary from state to state and city to city. Identified slum population in 1981 in India was about 30 millions. One estimate, in 1983, put it at 40 millions and by 1990, it was expected to be 51 millions. The Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, in its report estimated that by 2000 AD, India's slum population would be 78 millions or about 25 per cent of India's urban population. Of these, 78 millions, the Task Force noted, that 36 millions would be living in the slums of metropolitan cities alone. The distribution of slum population among the different classes of cities and towns is considerably skewed. For example, in metropolitan cities, they vary between 38 to 65 per cent of cities' population and these cities account for a major share of slum population of the states in which they are located. Class I cities account for more than one-third of the slum population. An important aspect of urban poverty is that the larger the size of the city, the greater is the concentration of its urban poor in its slums.

* Professor of Public Administration, and Director, Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.
Basic Amenities and the Urban Poor

Rapid growth of urban population has its own consequences, viz., formation of slums and squatter settlements where the poor migrants live, and heavy pressure on basic civic amenities and social services. All those who live in slums and squatter settlements have to do so under constant deprivation of these services which are fundamental to human living. No doubt, there is no clear definition of what constitutes the basic amenities and services. They may be interpreted objectively in terms of provision of minimum quality of food, clothing, shelter, water, sanitation facilities, etc., or subjectively as satisfaction of wants as perceived by the people themselves. Thus, there are variations - to ILO, it is employment which is likely to take care of physiological needs and to Sidney Webb, it is leisure. But there appears to be no controversy on the core basic needs like shelter, water, education, sanitation and health. Non-provision of these basic needs has serious consequences to the health of the community. According to one study, about 10 million people die each year due to water borne intestinal diseases, and about 80 percent of all human diseases are linked to unsafe water, poor sanitation and lack of basic knowledge of hygiene and disease mechanisms. Women in developing nations, who traditionally are responsible for collecting and carrying water from long distances, suffer the worst. It is estimated that this back breaking task consumes about one-fourth of a women's daily caloric intake. In urban areas, about one-tenth of the earnings of the poor have to be spent to purchase water. In India, it was estimated that about 73 million mandays are lost every year due to water borne diseases. It's costs in terms of loss of production and expenditure on medicare was estimated at roughly one billion dollars every year.

In India, urbanisation has put heavy pressure on the delivery of basic needs. For example, one-fifth of urban population have no access to water supply and only two-fifths have access to sanitation services. The National Buildings Organisation has estimated that by 2001, the housing gap in urban areas would be 15.5 million houses. Another study estimated that by 2001, between 19.81 to 23.91 million houses are required and this would cost about Rs.300 to 360 billions. The housing gap would increase to 142.51 to 173.63 millions by 2021 and the same would cost Rs.2137 to Rs.2604 billions. Similar provision for education and health care, which are the basic needs also requires enormous resources.

To mitigate the problems of the poor and to make provision for basic amenities to improve their quality of life, several policy interventions were made and several programmes were launched. Among them, Urban Community Development Programme (1958); Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (1972), IDSMT, and Integrated Child Development Services are important. The National Commission on Urbanisation has noted that there are a few effective and innovative programmes as well like the Sites and Services and Slum Improvement Projects in Madras, Small Loan Programme and Community Health Scheme of Calcutta, Low Cost Sanitation Schemes in Patna and other cities, and the Urban Community Development of Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam. But these schemes could not make desired impact mainly because of sectoral approaches and neglect of community involvement. The impact of these programmes was examined by the National Commission on Urbanisation. It concluded that the "reach of the programmes is limited; there is high degree of inflexibility; there is lack of convergence of programmes; even the main targets are often missed; (and with a few exceptions) the programmes are still working on a laboratory scale."
Urban Basic Services Programme

It is in this context that the Urban Basic Services Programme launched during the seventh five year plan period with the support of the UNICEF, and Central and State Governments, gains importance. Urban Basic Services Programme was launched in 1985 to cover over 200 towns. By the end of 1989, it was under implementation in about 168 towns. The broad objectives of the programme are similar in all the states. There are, however, variations in implementation of the programme from state to state. In this paper, we will examine the implementation of the programme with special reference to Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.

Basic aim of the UBS programme is to upgrade the quality of the life of the urban poor, especially the most vulnerable sections like women, children and other economically weaker sections. The programme envisages development of urban slums by making provision of basic services like water, health and sanitation, education, environmental upgradation, etc. Its guiding principles are community initiative and participation, convergence, cost effectiveness and continuity. The strategy is to bring awareness and to promote collective action. It envisages organising the community to encourage community management. In tune with its nomenclature, the programme aims at providing the basic amenities and services to the identified slum communities. The activities include provision of water, health care, education, nutrition, economic activities, environmental sanitation, recreation, and shelter. Each slum community based on local needs and resources prepares a mini-plan and implements it after approval by appropriate bodies. By integrating the mini-plans of all the slums Town Action Plan is formulated. The UBS programme is aimed at utilising the human resource potential. Participation, therefore, is emphasised in the programme. An important feature of the programme is, instead of seeking people’s participation in government sponsored programmes, government departments and agencies participate in people’s programmes. As such the community organisers, project officers and other programme staff act as motivators and catalysts in people’s programme than officers implementing the government programmes.

Central to the UBS programme is the Neighbourhood Committee (NHC), constituted for every 200 families. The committee as a whole identifies the needs of the community, prioritises them keeping in view the resources, prepare an action plan and after their approval by the town management committee, implements it. The decision-making is thus, based on collective wisdom of the community. The NHC assumes leadership as well as responsibility on a self-help basis for the well being of the community. One representative, called Resident Community Volunteer (RCV), from every 15 to 20 families represents them in the Neighbourhood Committee. Each member of the committee apart from taking responsibility for all aspects of the twenty families whom she/he represents, would also look after an important activity like health, education, and try to articulate the problems of the community and ensure the proper implementation of action plans. The programme thus aims at community participation and self-management as well as building the capacity of slum communities to organise themselves to implement development programmes.

The administrative organisation at state, district and town levels varies from state to state. At these levels, there are committees for coordinating and monitoring the programme regularly. There are, however, wide variations in the nature, composition as well as working of these committees. Experience of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa; Andhra Pradesh and Orissa are the two important states which have given considerable importance for the implementation of the UBS Programme from the beginning. Sixteen towns of Andhra Pradesh and 24 towns of Orissa, where the programme is being implemented, constitute roughly 25 per cent of the
towns in the country. Though in other states, equal or more number of towns were selected, the programme could not be implemented in all the towns for different reasons.

The urban

Population of Andhra Pradesh, according to 1991 census is 17.8 millions while that of Orissa is 4.2 millions. The estimated slum population in these two states stands at 38.07 and 10.60 lakhs constituting 25 and 20 per cent of the total urban population of these states respectively. Between these two states, there are wide variations in terms of urban areas which were selected for implementing UBSP towns. In Orissa, they are very small and are less urbanised whereas, in most cases in Andhra Pradesh, towns are of medium size with more urban population. According to National Sample Survey Organisation in 1987-88, about 25.82 per cent and 21.97 per cent urban people were living below the poverty line in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa respectively. Notwithstanding these dissimilarities, there are few similarities in terms of implementation of the programme.

Both states have set up administrative institutions at various levels to supervise, monitor and implement the programme. For example, in Andhra Pradesh, at the Secretariat level, a full-time senior officer of the rank of the Joint or Additional Secretary was made exclusively incharge of the programme. Similarly, in Orissa, Director (UBS) of the rank of Deputy Secretary was given full charge of looking after the UBSP programme under the overall supervision of the Director of Municipal Administration. No doubt, these functionaries have weak administrative support to effectively undertake their functions. Similarly, at the district level, Joint Collector in Andhra Pradesh and Additional District Magistrate in Orissa were made responsible for supervising the programme. While in Andhra Pradesh, there are full-time Assistant District Coordinators, there is no such institution in Orissa to coordinate the programme at the district level. At the town level, there are town management committees in both the states under the chairmanship of the Municipal Chairman in which the NGOs, social workers, apart from councillors and senior officers of the municipality are the members (See Chart 1 and 2 appended to this paper).

At the cutting-edge level, as per the broad guidelines of the Government of India, Neighbourhood Committees (NHCs) were formed for every 200 families and there are about 350 NHCs in Andhra Pradesh and more than 3000 Resident Community Volunteers (RCVs) in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa respectively.

One important feature of the Neighbourhood Committees is that they are constituted with women members of the community. This was a conscious decision taken and the assumptions behind the decision are:

- Women constitute about 50 percent of the population. But their involvement in development process is marginal. Women together with children constitute 68 percent of the urban poor;
- The problems of women and children are better understood and better managed by women themselves;
- If a woman is educated, the whole family is educated while if a man is educated, he alone is educated;
- Housewife as a homemaker is more affected and concerned by the absence of basic social services like health, education and physical amenities like water, sanitation and proper shelter;
- As a mother, woman is more attached to the upbringing of child who is the future citizen;
Women are the poorest of the poor at the family level as they are subjected to exploitation dominated by men in the poor families due to their lack of education and freedom;

Planning issues would express women's needs if they are based on the basis of involvement of women;

Women are considered the best educators of other women on personal and domestic hygiene, sanitation and other facilities;

Women are the most frequent users of household units and normally it is they who encourage, teach and supervise young children about their use;

The status of women can be improved or raised effectively by empowering them and they can join the mainstream of society and come out of backwardness only by shouldering the responsibility.

As part of the programme, both the states have taken up all the programme components like health, education, income generation activities, low cost sanitation, skill development, etc. Hand-pumps or public stand-posts, individual or community latrines, and dustbins were provided, drains were formed and smokeless chullas were distributed. Loans were given to the women to undertake income generation activities. This enabled some families to augment their income. Balwadies and creches, sewing centres and adult literacy centres were established in the slums. They opened the doors of education to the poor and illiterate and provided scope and opportunity to increase the literacy levels. The table indicating performance of the programme in terms of asset formation as well as the number of beneficiaries is given in the table appended to the paper. Officials like the District Coordinators, Municipal Commissioners and Community Organisers, non-officials like Municipal Chairmen and Councillors, Members of the Neighbourhood Committees, Health Workers were trained and oriented in the concept and philosophy, its guiding principles, methods and implementation. The focus was on the participatory processes and community involvement. These apart, the balwadi teachers were trained in organising the creches and balwadies focussing on encouraging the creative talents of the children. Training programmes were also organised for the formation or upgradation of skills to enable the urban poor to augment their income. The Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad, has played a very significant role in organising the training programmes. The Centre has organised 65 training programmes both in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa from 1987-92 in which 1,437 participants were participated. Similarly, 437 orientation programmes were organised for the community leaders and members of NHCs in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa in which 17,532 participants were trained. The actual impact of the programme is difficult to quantify as this is not a capital intensive programme but emphasises on human development. Change of attitudes, and conscious involvement in development programmes are qualitative aspects and the programme has made considerable impact in these areas.

A Critical Evaluation

The programme, though has marked a niche in the minds of both the planners and people about its need and significance, there are many problems and weaknesses which cannot be lost sight of. The programme was initiated by the Government of India to be implemented in 250 towns in the country dispersed in several states on an experimental basis. Either because of absence of political will or procedural problems, or for other reasons, the programme could be implemented only in 168 towns. Even in these towns, there are wide variations in administrative structures, programme focus, participatory processes as well as
the impact. It is difficult, therefore, to hazardous generalisations either on strengths or weaknesses of the programme. In what follows a critical evaluation of the programme based on the experience of implementation and evaluation studies - undertaken on the subject particularly in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa is presented.\(^{33}\)

**Positive Aspects**

The Urban Basic Services Programme has struck roots and gained acceptance as an important programme for the provision of basic services in the urban slums. The urban poor, the local bodies and the state and central governments have become aware of its significance as well as potentialities to provide basic services. In particular, the municipalities of small and medium towns have accepted the need and significance of the programme.

Urban poor appreciated the concept and philosophy of UBS and are participating in the programme implementation actively and effectively. The programme provided an opportunity to harness the hidden potentialities of the community, particularly, the women in improving the quality of life and provision of basic services. Community is ready and willing to contribute in cash, kind and labour wherever possible and necessary. Though initially there was reluctance, it has given way to positive appreciation of the need and significance of their contributions to implement the programme. Community leaders and volunteers began to take pride in the ownership of the assets created and also are keen to protect the 'assets from misuse and exploitation'. There is readiness on the part of the community to sustain the assets created through proper maintenance. Neighbourhood committees in several towns began to take active interest in articulating their needs, preparing mini-plans and implementing the programme components. Empowerment of women has led to realisation that they too are partners in the process of development. Members and conveners of the neighbourhood committees are now shouldering greater development responsibilities.

The neighbourhood committees have learned to manage the revolving fund on their own or with the help of community organisers, wherever necessary.

In a majority of the towns where the programme is under implementation, a part of the fund is being spent for giving small loans to the needy members of the neighbourhood to organise income generating activities like starting a new business or petty trade or to expand the existing business. The loan scheme has helped many to supplement their incomes, though the additional income is limited to Rs.50/- to Rs.75/- per month. It enabled a few to get out of the clutches of the moneylenders and developed the habit of thrift and saving among the poor. It also instilled interest among the poor to demand skill training to invest the loan properly and to take maximum advantage. Above all, the scheme has brought out community solidarity which is evident from prompt repayment of loans to enable other members of the community to take advantage of the scheme.

In the two states referred above, a clear and close-knit administrative organisation was established at various levels to plan, programme, implement and monitor the programme. For example, in Andhra Pradesh, a senior officer of the rank of Joint/Additional Secretary was made incharge of the programme in the Secretariat. Similarly, in Orissa, an officer of the rank of Deputy Secretary under the supervision of the Director of Municipal Administration, was established. Despite very limited institutional support, these nodal officers provided the much needed guidance and supervision in the implementation of the programme, through frequent visits and periodic meetings. In several districts, the Joint Collectors/Additional District Magistrates in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa respectively did play a pivotal role in providing the
much needed impetus in the formative years of this experimental programme. At the town level, the Community Organisers who were directly recruited from the graduates and post-graduates in Social Sciences, particularly, Sociology, Social Work and Home Sciences, worked with zeal and commitment. The youthful exuberance supplemented by periodic training and guidance from senior officers motivated them sufficiently - atleast in the early years - to show results in this essentially participatory programme.

The support and keen interest shown by the State Government and the UNICEF has given the much needed impetus and has contributed for effective implementation of the programme. Finally, the training and orientation programmes to the officials and non-officials as well as community leaders has brought awareness about the problems of urban poor, need and significance of participatory processes as well as implementation methodologies. Training has played a very significant role in accelerating the process of implementation. Further, concentration in capacity building at various levels would ensure consolidation of the gains as well as increased community participation.

Weaknesses

In the beginning, baseline surveys were undertaken hastily, and neighbourhood committees were constituted with disinterested and unmotivated RCVs. In the absence of full complement of trained personnel in the municipalities, no efforts were made to explain the concept and philosophy to the slum communities to enlist their support and participation. The mini-plans prepared, as a result, did not reflect the felt-needs of the community but, were formulated by the project staff based on their individual perception of the felt-needs of the community. No doubt, some of these basic weaknesses were overcome with the appointment of project staff, with training and orientation and increased awareness about the nature and scope of the programme.

The Administrative structures at the state, district and town levels need much to be desired. Though the senior officers like Joint and Additional Secretaries at the state level and Joint Collectors at the district level were made nodal functionaries to guide, supervise and monitor the programme, they were not provided with adequate support to enable them to play their role effectively. In particular, to the Joint Collectors, to whom UBS is one of the many functions, it created serious problem in allocating sufficient time and attention to the programmes. In Andhra Pradesh, though the Assistant District Coordinators (of the rank of District Collectors) were appointed to assist the Joint Collectors, their revenue background and experience in regulatory administration came in the way of their guiding and supervising an essentially community oriented and participation-based programme like the Urban Basic Services.

There appears to be reluctance on the part of some key functionaries to appreciate the concept and philosophy of UBS. To some, it is a low key priority because of low budget and to some others, it is an avoidable burden on their time and therefore, consider it as unwelcome. Revenue culture which characterises Indian administration has its own suffocating affect on programme implementation which is based on participatory processes. One of the guiding principles of the UBS is convergence, but this appears to be the weakest spot in implementation of the programme. Inter-departmental coordination and cooperation was very weak both at the state, district and local levels. As a result of team spirit, which is sin qua non in any development programme, where several agencies, individuals and groups are involved, could not be forged because of overemphasis on narrow departmentalism. The
problem was accentuated by the frequent transfers of officials - particularly those who were trained.

The UBS programme in some places was implemented as any other government programme rather than as a development programme with people's participation. Another problem was the implementation of UBS as a separate programme rather than as an integral part of town development plan of poverty alleviation. Thus, there was no proper integration of UBS with other municipal services at the town level. Added to this, the municipal bodies, with their very weak financial resources, quite often, found it difficult to contribute 20 per cent of their share. At every review and monitoring committee meeting at state and district levels, this problem prominently figured consuming considerable time.

Political pressures and interventions and treating the project staff unkindly was another problem. From the beginning, there have been efforts, though, unintentional, to keep elected councils outside the UBS programme. The only link between the UBS and the municipal council is the municipal chairman. This created a feeling that the councillors are being deliberately overlooked, particularly, when the council contributes 20 per cent of the programme costs. This has led to the feeling on the part of the councilors that it is an infringement of their legitimate right to administer civic programmes. Some of the municipal councillors perceived that neighbourhood committees are a threat to their leadership and as well as to their sphere of influence. The clash of leadership and vested interests in some places dampened the initiative of the neighbourhood committees and even the programme staff.

Despite efforts made by the training institutions, particularly, the Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, training efforts remained inadequate. This is more apparent in the case of functionaries at the grass-root levels, i.e., the community volunteers, community health volunteers and political functionaries like municipal chairmen and municipal councillors. As a result, full potentialities of these functionaries could not be harnessed. A closely connected is the training programmes at the community level for skill formation or upgradation of the existing skills. They were either inadequate or not commensurate with the expectations and aspirations in the slum communities. Similarly, the training and orientation to the district level functionaries, with whom UBS functionaries have to coordinate and converge their activities is a neglected area. This created several problems to the project functionaries effecting the implementation process.

As is well known, UBS programme was the first development programme initiated in the country on the lines of rural community development programme with community initiative and participation. Through training and orientation, the community leaders and volunteers were explained about the concept, philosophy, guiding principles and the programme components. Despite these efforts, in some slums, the neighbourhood committees were reluctant to fully utilise the opportunities provided to them in implementing some of the programme components. Most important of them is extending small loans to the needy and deserving out of the revolving fund to undertake petty trades and to extricate them from the stranglehold of the moneylenders. Either due to conservatism or for fear of difficulties in recovery or due to inability to spare time to implement the programme, some NHCs were reluctant to extend the benefit to the people.

Involvement of NGOs in the implementation of the programme has been very limited. The UBS is based upon the principle of flexibility, but insistence on following the rules and procedures which is a characteristic of Indian bureaucracy has often came in the way of
implementation of the programme as also for effective people's participation. Often, the municipal officials fearing the prospects of criticism by the audit, insisted on following the accepted administrative norms, or insisted on instructions or guidelines from the government. Flexibility, therefore, existed only on paper in many places.

Finally, from the beginning of the programme, doubts and suspicions were raised about the continuity of the scheme after 1990. This has a demoralising affect on the project staff. A closely related issue is the absence of proper career patterns for the community organisers. They feel that they are underpaid, and over-worked and also work under less qualified and not so committed officials. These feelings and perceptions have created and widened the gulf between project staff and in some cases even threatened proper implementation of the programme.

Conclusions

The foregoing clearly brings out the strengths and weaknesses that underlie the implementation of UBS programme. During the last two years the programme has been reformulated as Urban Basic Services for the Poor and is being implemented with the financial support of the Government of India. The programme is integrated with the Nehru Rozgar Yojana and Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums under urban poverty alleviation package. The former is a programme aimed at providing employment opportunities and the latter aims at providing infrastructural facilities in the urban slums. Efforts are being made to associate Neighbourhood Committees in the identification of beneficiaries under these schemes. The emphasis under the revised Urban Basic Services for the Poor programme is also on the participatory processes. Implementation of Urban Basic Services Programme should be based on the experience gained in Urban Basic Services during the past five years. There is need to convert the weaknesses into strengths and opportunities.

The UBS programme is the first serious effort for the provision of basic services to the urban poor emphasising on the participatory processes. Fulfillment of basic needs as an objective is non-controversial though there may be differences on the approaches and the strategies adopted. UBSP should not be construed as only a programme for the provision of certain amenities. It should be construed as a philosophy, a process, a method and an approach. As the purpose of development is to develop the man and just not developing things, the UBSP aims at harnessing and developing human potential for the fulfillment and satisfaction of basic amenities. This becomes all the more imperative in the context of rapid urbanisation.
CHART: 1

Organisation Chart of UBS in Andhra Pradesh

SECRETARY (State Level Monitoring Committee)
ADDITIONAL SECRETARY AND DIRECTOR (UBS)
JT. COLLECTOR & DIST. COORDINATOR (Dist. Level Coordinating Committee)
ASSISTANT DISTRICT COORDINATOR
MUNICIPAL CHAIRMAN (Town Level Monitoring Committee)
MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONER
PROJECT OFFICER

CO CO CO CO CO
RCV RCV RCV RCV RCV
HH HH HH HH HH
CHART: 2

Organisation Chart of UBS in Orissa

SECRETARY (State Level Monitoring Committee)

ADDITIONAL SECRETARY/D.M.A.

DIRECTOR (UBS)

ADDL. DIST. MAGISTRATE (District Level Coordinating Committee)
(Dist.Coordinator, UBS)

EXECUTIVE OFFICER (Town Level Monitoring Committee)

PROJECT OFFICER

CO       CO       CO       CO

RCV      RCV      RCV      RCV

HH       HH       HH       HH
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>The Activity</th>
<th>Andhra Pradesh</th>
<th>Orissa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Neighbourhood committees formed</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Number of Resident Community Volunteers</td>
<td>3,224</td>
<td>3,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Community centres constructed</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Adult literacy centres/Number of beneficiaries</td>
<td>233/5,646</td>
<td>121/3,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sewing Centres/Number of beneficiaries</td>
<td>281/4,732</td>
<td>167/2,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Balwadi Centres/Number of children benefitted</td>
<td>321/12,871</td>
<td>337/10,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Non-formal education centres opened/ Number of</td>
<td>33/1,265</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sanitation education camps held/Number of participants</td>
<td>838/13,483</td>
<td>321/10,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Growth charts maintained</td>
<td>26,088</td>
<td>8,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Tube wells/handpumps installed</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Community/individual latrines constructed</td>
<td>3,028</td>
<td>2,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Smokeless chullahs provided</td>
<td>9,963</td>
<td>1,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Ventillators provided</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Women trained in income generation activities</td>
<td>6,403</td>
<td>1,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Number of women received loans for income generation activities</td>
<td>1,598</td>
<td>2,682</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES:

1. Census of India, 1991, Prof. Ashish Bose, however, estimates that the 'True' urban population of India in 1991 would be about 234 millions after adjusting for undercount in the 1991 census. See Ashish Bose's article "Urbanisation in India 1951-2001" (Unpublished).


3. Ibid.


7. Ibid., p.89.


11. Ibid.


14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p.159.

16. Ibid.


22. Ibid.


25. For details of the organisation and working of Neighbourhood Committees, see D.G. Rama Rau and D. Ravindra Prasad, “Neighbourhood Committee Approach in UBSP” Hyderabad, Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, (Unpublished).


28. Compiled from Children and Women in India, op.cit., Table 7.9, p.139.

29. For details of implementation of the Programme in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, see, N. Ganesan, Urban Basic Services Programme in Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, 1990, and N. Ganesan, Urban Basic Services Programme in Orissa, Hyderabad, Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, 1990.

30. Ibid.

31. See N. Ganesan, op. cit.

32. See D. Ravindra Prasad, Training Experiences in UBS, Hyderabad, Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Osmania University, 1990, (Unpublished).


34. For details of revenue culture, see G. Haragopal, “Revenue Vs Development Conflict Between Two Administrative Sub-cultures”, Journal of Administration Overseas, (UK), 1975.
