The Ford Foundation Programs in India
1952-1992

Forty Years: A Learning Curve

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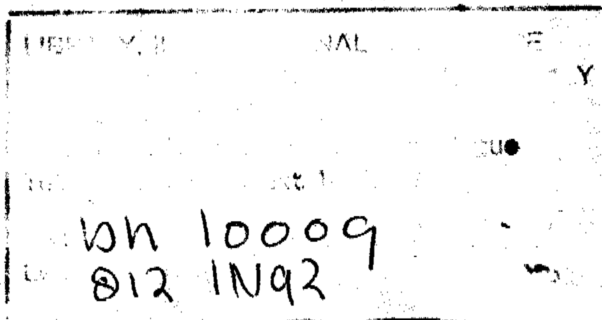

by
Eugene S. Staples

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The Ford Foundation in India, 1952-1992

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(From right) Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Ford Foundation Board Chairman J.A. Stratton, and Ford Foundation Representative Douglas Ensminger at 1970 dedication of Memorial Plaza for Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

PREFACE

In February 1952 Dr. Douglas Ensminger, the first Representative of the Ford Foundation to be based in India, opened a small office in the Ambassador Hotel in New Delhi. This marked the beginning of a long association between the Foundation and the many individuals and institutions who have been responsible for India's development since Independence.

To celebrate these four decades of association the Foundation commissioned Mr. Eugene S. Staples to write a brief history of the Foundation's work in India. We have given him a free hand to comment on and discuss our policies and programs, from his vantage as a former Representative of the Foundation in New Delhi from 1976 to 1981. He has consulted our archives and visited New Delhi to talk with our current program staff and with many present and former grantees. The book he has written is informative and thought-provoking and, we believe, will be of interest to the many colleagues with whom we have worked over these past 40 years. The book is not an official Foundation history, however; the views expressed are those of Mr. Staples.

Our association with India has been a happy one and we are pleased that we have been able to contribute, albeit modestly, to finding solutions to many of the problems that India has faced in its development struggle. We have been privileged to be able to support the work of numerous individuals who have exhibited remarkable creative talent and dedication to their work. It has been for us and for them a rewarding experience in mutual learning. We look forward to continuing this association in the years to come.

Gordon R. Conway
Representative for India, Nepal and Sri Lanka

Chapter 1

INDIA AND THE FORD FOUNDATION THE ORIGINS

Indian philosophy teaches us that progress is not linear, a wise thought to keep in mind when considering economic and social change. The Indian tradition also holds that lightness and good may arise from chaos and confusion — the "churning," as it is called in Hindu mythology.

Independent India, heiress to a wondrous and troubled past, was born in such a time amid the collapse of European imperialism and the trauma of the splitting of the subcontinent. As she bound up the wounds of partition, the new nation began in the 1950s to construct the economically strong and socially just society that inspired the fight for independence. The new society would wed the strengths and talents of the Indian people and the heritage of their great past to the science, technology and political systems of the modern world.

The vision was noble, the mood optimistic. India's leaders had seen that the power of an idea and the hard work and sweat of political organization could unite the diverse peoples of India in a common cause. They would use these same elements to build the new nation.

If the mood was optimistic, by any realistic measure the task was sobering. Indian civilization had produced literature, philosophy, sculpture, architecture, painting, music and dance of great beauty and universal value. Yet the web of cultural and religious tradition underlying these achievements promised deep resistance to change and modernization. Gandhi was murdered by Hindu fanatics who rejected that extraordinary man's vision of brotherhood. The partition riots and killings offered tragic evidence of the passion and hate contained within the diversity of the traditional society.

Most of all, the new country was poor in both economic and modern institutional terms. The food situation was precarious. In 1943 1.5 million Indians had perished in the great Bengal famine, and by 1950 India produced only 51.0 million tons of food grains annually for the large (361 million people in 1951), rapidly growing population. Indian industry had performed admirably in supplying the British military effort during the Second World War, but by any international comparison it was grossly underdeveloped. India's total annual steel production, for example, was slightly more than 1.0 million tons, less than one month's production at a single U.S. mill.

Literacy was less than 25 percent among males and eight percent among females. Life expectancy averaged 32 years. The health situation cried out for improvement, although at Independence mortality rates were slowly falling and population growth rates increasing. The traditional killers smallpox (now eradicated) and cholera periodically, if less frequently, ravaged the population. The main killer in the 1950s, as it remains today, was the indeterminate lump of

illnesses combining malnutrition, diarrheas and respiratory infections.

Mass education was mostly conspicuous by its absence, particularly in the countryside. A small system of colleges offered good education to the children of the elites, and a few medical and engineering colleges provided professional training to doctors and irrigation and civil works engineers. There were three major universities at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Only a few institutions of science and technology had been created. The Tata Institute of Science in Bangalore was a noble exception. Other than for a small number of first rate, foreign trained economists, the social sciences were largely undeveloped.

The British administration had introduced agriculture, health, irrigation and forestry departments in the 19th century, but the main British concerns were law, order and revenue. Agricultural productivity was extremely low. There was not a single fertilizer factory in India. The once-vast Indian forests had shrunk markedly under the impact of commercial logging and reliance on the forests to provide ties for construction of the railroad networks.

In governance, however, the new nation was by no means bereft of institutions. In the Indian National Congress it possessed a political instrument of vast and proven potential. The Indian bureaucracy, deeply rooted in the colonial civil services, took pride in its reputation for leadership and service. The private industrial sector, in spite of the colonial restrictions on the growth of indigenous industry, had demonstrated an ability to compete and grow. And underlying the modern face of newly independent India were a host of traditional institutions that could be used in development: village council systems, institutions for land and water management, and community and family-based systems of social conflict resolution.

Mahatma Gandhi thought these institutions should be the basic building blocks. He believed in the perfectability of the Indian village and traditional ways. Jawaharlal Nehru, who became the Prime Minister, was a modernist, with little sympathy for traditional village ways. In a famous exchange in 1945, Gandhi wrote Nehru: "I am convinced that if India is to attain true freedom, and through India the world also, then sooner or later the fact must be recognized that people will have to live in villages, not in towns; in huts, not in palaces. Crores (tens of millions) of people will never be able to live at peace with each other in towns and palaces. They will then have no recourse but to resort to both violence and untruth."

Nehru replied: "I do not understand why a village should necessarily embody truth and non-violence. A village, normally speaking, is backward intellectually and culturally and no progress can be made from a backward environment.

Narrow minded people are much more likely to be untruthful and violent."[1]

At an even earlier date, in a letter from a British jail, a not unaccustomed if never welcome residence (Nehru spent nine years of his life in prison), Nehru wrote: "Old as we are, with memories stretching back to the early dawns of human history and endeavor, we have to grow young again, in tune with our present time, with the irrepressible spirit and joy of youth in the present and its faith in the future." Nehru said, many times and in many ways, that only the "scientific method offers hope to mankind and an ending to the agony of the world."[2]

Nehru was unequivocally a socialist, albeit not of the authoritarian variety. The Soviet model of centralized economic planning fascinated Nehru, and he installed a version of it in the form of the National Planning Commission. Nehru was greatly impressed by Soviet accomplishments in state-managed heavy industrial development in a once-poor and backward peasant society. The first Five Year Plan of 1951 said: ...One comes inevitably to the conclusion that a rapid expansion of the economic and social responsibilities of the State will alone be capable of satisfying the legitimate expectations of the people. This need not involve complete nationalization of the means of production or elimination of private agencies in agriculture or business or industry. It does mean, however, a progressive widening of the public sector and a reorientation of the private sector to the needs of a planned economy."[3]

The theory that underlay these views was simple. In economic terms, it envisioned a transfer of resources from a rapidly growing agriculture sector to capitalize the growth of the industrial sector. The new modern industrial sector would develop behind a barrier of tariffs and regulations in pursuit of the economic policy known as "import substitution," the objective of which was self-reliance. The "commanding heights" of the industrial sector in the form of public sector corporations were to be directly responsible to the Government. This was the cornerstone of Nehru's economic beliefs. (The "commanding heights" strategy was translated into reality with such thoroughness that forty years later the eight largest Indian corporations are all in the public sector. Two thirds of all workers in the organized industrial sector are employed in public sector enterprises. Three-fourths of the public sector corporations are managed by officials of the elite Indian Administrative Service. Most recent Indian governments have tried to reduce the overwhelming dominance of the public sector, much of which must be subsidized, and to increase private sector investment.)

In the early years, it was generally thought, except by Gandhians who usually constituted a minority in positions of real power, that technology transfer from the outside world was needed and desirable in virtually every sector of the economy.

It was assumed that new institutions to reflect the complexity of the economy and the society must be built, and that good models existed abroad suitable for replication in India. Nehru and his colleagues believed the government in a socialist society should be a change agent, a view warmly embraced by the bureaucracy. It was also obvious that very real institutional deficiencies and gaps characterized the non-governmental sector.

Like the Soviet Union, the United States, the other super power to emerge victorious from the devastation of the war, clearly had much to offer the world's newest democracy in economic and political ideas and potential institutional models. Both official and private America were eager to help.

In 1951, the year in which India launched the First Five-Year Plan, a newly transformed American organization dedicated to new thinking about great problems came into being. The Ford Foundation had been incorporated in 1936 as a small philanthrophy to make grants primarily in the state of Michigan, Henry Ford's home and the heartland of his automobile making enterprises. The great industrialist died in 1947. His oldest son, Edsel, had died three years earlier. In order to preserve family control of the motor corporation, their wills provided that the majority of the company's stock, held by Henry and Edsel in the form of non-voting shares, would pass on their death to the foundation. When their estates were settled the Ford Foundation received 90 percent of the stock of the motor company as non-voting shares. Overnight it became the world's largest private foundation. Its charter dedicated the foundation to use its income "to advance human welfare."

The modern American foundation, whose roots go back to the 19th century and such philanthropists as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, is an instrument of great flexibility. By U.S. law, it must be privately incorporated, make its funds available only to non-profit organizations or for non-profit purposes (it can, if it wishes, make grants for such purposes to governments), and spend annually an amount roughly equal to at least five percent of its investment assets. (The five percent requirement was added to the basic legislation by the U.S. tax reform act of 1969.) A foundation's board is self-sustaining and autonomous in managing the foundation's asset holdings.

U.S. law does not dictate the choice of subject matter by foundations. Within the boundaries of their non-profit nature, trustees and officers have the freedom to choose programs, staff and style of operating. If its governing body so decides, a Foundation may enjoy a degree of experimentation and risk-taking difficult to achieve in institutions like the World Bank, the UN agencies or bilateral governmental development agencies like U.S. AID. Unlike most non-governmental

organizations — OXFAM or Save The Children, as examples, which work (with great effectiveness) on specified and limited agendas, a foundation may work across a broad horizon of problems. On the other hand, even a large foundation like Ford possesses limited resources by comparison with governmental institutions. A foundation should be, to use an overloaded word, a catalyst.

The Foundation's trustees, a small group of distinguished private citizens under the chairmanship of Henry Ford II, had anticipated the transformation of the Foundation's resources that would occur with the final settlement of the Ford estate. In 1948, the trustees appointed an eight-member study committee, headed by Rowan Gaither, to chart the future of the organization. Gaither was a San Francisco lawyer who served in the Farm Credit Administration in the New Deal period of President Franklin Roosevelt and was one of the top managers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Radiation Laboratory during World War II. Gaither was the first Chairman of the Rand Corporation when that powerful research institution moved out of the Defense Department in 1948. He knew and believed in the uses and potential of scientific research. Gaither eventually served as President of the Ford Foundation from 1953 to 1956.

The Gaither committee study, entitled *Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program,* was adopted by the trustees in 1950. They committed the Foundation to a grant-making program aimed at strengthening peace, democracy and economic and social development as organically related objectives. The report generally got favorable reviews from the U.S. press, although one writer later described it as a "work of awesome earnestness, composed in the most stately foundationese, where meaning, such as it is, decently drapes itself in Latin-rooted polysyllables."[4]

A significant recommendation was the eventual separation of the Foundation and the Ford Motor Company and family interests. After his father's death, Henry Ford had taken on the task of personally leading the reconstruction of the Ford Motor Company's industrial empire. The young industrialist and the Ford family thought it neither prudent nor desirable that the Foundation be closely linked to the needs and fortunes of a particular enterprise. Francis Sutton, in an unpublished manuscript on the history of the Foundation's international work, quotes from a paper prepared by the Gaither staff in October 1950: "It is the decided policy of the Foundation, concurred in by the Ford family, that the Foundation should liquidate its holdings of Ford Motor Company stock at the earliest date consistent with the maximum financial realization."[5] The Foundation today owns no Ford Motor Company stock.

The trustees chose an internationally known statesman as the first President

of the vastly enlarged foundation. Paul Hoffman had been president of the Studebaker Motor Company, a car maker noted for engineering excellence and elegant design, from 1935 to 1948. He had operated at high levels of Washington politics as a member of the Business Advisory Council and as an organizer of the Committee for Economic Development during the war years. In 1948 President Truman appointed Hoffman the first Administrator of the Marshall Plan. Hoffman directed the historic American contribution to the reconstruction of war-devastated Europe with distinction. (After serving as the Foundation's President from 1951 to 1953 Hoffman became an Under Secretary of the United Nations and Administrator of the United Nations Development Program, in which capacity he served for more than a decade.)

In January 1951, as one of his first actions in office, Hoffman asked Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador to Washington, if he might visit India to discuss with Prime Minister Nehru the possibility of Ford Foundation assistance in building democracy in India. The record of discussions of the Gaither report in January 1950 shows clearly that the Foundation's trustees were deeply concerned about the Communist takeover in China and the broadening of the still new conflict between Soviet-led communism and the Western democracies that was already being called the "cold war". Hoffman believed that world peace "might well be determined by what happened in India".[6] Chester Bowles, soon to become the American Ambassador to New Delhi, had reported to Hoffman his own enthusiastic views about India's plans for development and the Indian Government's receptivity to new ideas and technology.

The Prime Minister welcomed the proposal for a Hoffman visit. In August 1951 Hoffman and a small group of associates travelled to India where they met with Nehru three times. On other occasions the group met with Finance Minister C. D. Deshmukh, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission V.T. Krishnamachari and private sector leaders including the industrialists J.R.D. Tata and G. D. Birla.

Deshmukh is reported to have said at a dinner in New Delhi that he could "not remember receiving a mission with any greater enthusiasm." This was not, Deshmukh said, because of the prospect of financial help, which was clearly limited by the Foundation's size and India's needs, but because of the spontaneity of the mission's visit and the new and imaginative ideas proposed by Paul Hoffman.[7] For his part Hoffman noted that the resources of the Foundation were indeed minute in comparison with the resources of governments and the needs of India for development. He spoke of the Foundation's interest in multiplier effects and the value of demonstration and training projects.

In this and a subsequent visit in November and December of 1951 by a group of Foundation officers including the newly appointed Representative, Douglas Ensminger, it was agreed that the Foundation would provide funds and expert assistance to expand and improve the new Community Development Program, on which the Government of India placed high hopes for village-level social and economic development. Chester Davis, a senior member of the Foundation group who served briefly as a Foundation Vice President, had been an agricultural credit administrator and a President of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis in the heartland of American farming. He believed agricultural development was fundamental.

The community development program was designed to encourage village self-help. It was expected, on the basis of three pilot projects already in existence, to increase food production and improve soil and water management. It was to be strongly involved in village health and sanitation. It was to give particular attention to the role of women in rural development.

The Foundation's first grants in India were approved in December 1951. They totalled $3,725,000 over three years to support the Community Development Program and to strengthen Allahabad Agricultural Institute and other institutions as centers for training agricultural leaders. Ensminger returned to India in January 1952 and established a small office in the Ambassador Hotel in New Delhi. The uninterrupted 40-year period of grant making that followed is the oldest overseas program of the Ford Foundation. During this time the Foundation has committed about $275 million to Indian development.

In opening the India office in 1952 the Foundation became the largest although not the first American foundation to establish an overseas program. In the 1920s and 1930s the Rockefeller Foundation had carried out admirable work in the education and health fields in China. The early Rockefeller-supported research in plant genetics in Mexico in the 1940s and 1950s prepared the ground for the high yielding wheat varieties that revolutionized agricultural production in the 1960s.

Ford was, however, the first major American foundation to set up an international program of multi-purpose grant-making offices overseas focussing on problems rather than disciplinary subjects. Reflecting the vision and confidence of its trustees, who as Americans of their times viewed most problems as solvable, the Foundation chose from the start to work both domestically and overseas on a broad agenda of major problems. Its management urged visionary thinking and was comfortable with large grants. The trustees delegated a high degree of authority to the Foundation's officers in the United States and to its representatives overseas. The staff was encouraged to be innovative and to take risks. For a private,

grant-making institution, the Foundation possessed a lot of money and a small staff, many of whom brought distinguished records of achievement from other careers. It did not propagate a common theory or ideology of economic or social development other than its belief in democracy, its commitment to peace, and its intention to work with good people and promising ideas and to build and strengthen useful institutions.

In spite of the obvious differences in the backgrounds, experiences and beliefs of the leaders of the new India and the men who represented the Ford Foundation in these first conversations, they shared some remarkably similar views of the world. Both groups saw hope and opportunity arising out of the bloodshed, chaos and confusion of the post-war period. Escott Reid, Canada's Ambassador to India in the early 1950s, recalled a conversation with Morarji Desai, a senior Congress leader who became Prime Minister in the late 1970s. According to Reid, Morarji remarked in 1955 that the Americans never realized how akin Nehru was to them. Like the Americans, Nehru had never known defeat; he, too, had always fought his wars to virtually unconditional surrender. (M. J. Akbar, who notes this conversation in his biography of Nehru, comments that both were subsequently to taste defeat: Nehru at the hands of the Chinese, the Americans in the Vietnam war.[9])

Nehru and Hoffman were confirmed internationalists. They believed in the power of the people in a democratic society. Perhaps most pertinently for a discussion of patterns of development, Nehru and his American visitors shared strong, positive views about the power of government.

Hoffman had participated in the New Deal reconstruction of American society under Franklin Roosevelt in which government played a powerful role. He had wielded the levers of U.S. government power to revitalize the economies of war-shattered Europe.

Ensminger, who was to direct the Foundation's work in India for 19 years, was a rural sociologist trained in the extension service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. By temperament and experience, the Foundation's first Representative was an activist who believed that governments should be organizers and leaders of development programs. Ensminger needed no urging to think big. Although a few foundation trustees were concerned initially about the India program's rapid growth, Ensminger's personality, drive and vision soon produced a strong and tenacious body of supporters on the board in New York.

Within a decade the Foundation's program covered village development, education and vocational training, industrial and business management, public administration, economic and social research and training, and support for legal

training and research. It had given support to the preparation of the Delhi Master Plan, trained 500 Indian steel engineers in the United States and funded the writing and publication of textbooks in the Southern Indian languages.

Ensminger saw his job as being both responsive to Indian ideas and leadership and as an initiator and facilitator of new ideas for development programs and institutions. He developed a warm personal rapport with Prime Minister Nehru, Finance Minister Deshmukh, V. T. Krishnamachari and a host of senior civil servants, as well as with large numbers of private sector leaders and ordinary citizens.

In many ways, Nehru expected the Indian government to formalize and incarnate the drive and spirit of sacrifice of the Indian National Congress, which had led the independence struggle (Nehru was both Prime Minister and Congress Party President until 1954). The new Indian government was the obvious and natural leader of national development.

Ensminger, who knew Nehru well and greatly admired him, writes in his 1971 memoir that "When I went to India in 1951, Nehru was India...Nehru told the people of India what he expected them to do, and the people looked to Nehru to tell them what he wanted them to do. When disputes between the states arose, Nehru called in the concerned Chief Ministers and settled their differences...Nehru had great faith in the people of India. He believed they had the capacity to work together to build a new India, as they had worked and sacrificed to gain independence."[10]

The conviction that government should be the lead change agent dominated the entire early course of economic and social development in India. The Community Development Program, in spite of a few critics and doubters who believed that a government-run program wouldn't work (the doubters included Laxmi Jain, J. R. D. Tata and G. D. Birla), was carried out essentially as a government project and finally incorporated into the cabinet as a Ministry (later abolished when the official program fell into disfavor). Although internal Foundation discussions had anticipated that considerable support should go to Indian private agencies, all the major grants were in fact made to the Government of India.

On the subject of Ford Foundation support to the Indian Government, Ensminger wrote in 1971: "The Foundation's approach was to assist India develop its institutional infrastructure essential to success in developing a viable economy and a viable democratic form of government. The Foundation therefore had no bias either for or against the involvement of government in India's nation-building program. To me it was logical and a matter of commonsense to accept the wisdom

of the government of free India in early recognizing their need for developing, within the government, the needed infrastructure to involve the people in development and for the government to effectively serve the people... I saw the necessity of supporting a wide range of new innovative institutional infrastructures within the government of India."[11]

In broad terms, the Foundation's grants during the first two decades of its work in India mostly supported government programs. The second two decades represent a decline in direct support of government programs, although some remains today, along with a search for alternative paths of development. Today the largest portion of Foundation grants in India goes to non-governmental organizations.

As for the substance of the grant program, in spite of large changes in focus, style and grant recipients over a 40-year period, major commitments can be grouped in four rough categories: food production, rural poverty and sustainable agriculture; family planning and population, child survival and reproductive health; education and culture, rights and governance; and planning and management.

Some important threads of continuity run through the four decades. Concern for the rural poor, food and health, and improving management at all levels, for example, have always been important. Even such a seemingly recent and contemporary concern as the role of women in the development process appears in the record of the first community development grants, in which training programs were organized for women extension workers.

The Foundation has employed a variety of methodologies in its development work in India. It has trained thousands of Indians, commissioned studies and reports, funded innovative projects, helped build institutions and supported networks of people and institutions working on common problems. Frequently it has combined all these methods in pursuit of a given objective. Grant funds have been used for research, training, fellowships, buildings, laboratory equipment, staff support, foreign expatriate costs, logistical support, publications and, in fairly rare cases, endowment.

The four decades of the Foundation's experience in India offer a treasury of material for students of development. The history is perhaps particularly pertinent today as the world uncertainly enters a period which on all sides demands reform, reconstruction and the building of new institutions. It is not unlike the years after the Second World War when Independent India began to build a nation.

Inside India as the 1990s begin, citizens at all levels of the society loudly and often violently demand faster progress toward the economic and social justice

promised since Independence. Externally, the Cold War has abruptly ended with the stunning collapse of the Soviet empire and the discrediting of Soviet communism as a model for development. Potent and as yet poorly understood revolutions in international communications, science, technology and capital markets rock the world.

The short history that follows does not presume to be a report card of successes and failures. It is designed rather to see how people and institutions learn from the experience of a huge, diverse and still very new nation moving in its own complex ways to seek political democracy and economic justice. The account focuses on how a small private institution, the Ford Foundation, which has the luxury of making its own decisions about grant programs without having to fulfill governmental or commercial requirements, has tried to understand and help these processes. Since development is a serious and passionate business, the book tries to report honestly the major arguments, debates and disagreements out of which program decisions arose.

Chapter 2

FOOD PRODUCTION, RURAL POVERTY AND SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE

To this day, the majority of Indians live in the rural areas. Most of India's poor are rural. Most human rights violations take place in the countryside. The cultural traditions that are disappearing are primarily those of the village. Most of the environmental destruction occurs in the countryside. India's viability as a society depends not only on improving the economic and social lot of the poor but also on the conservation, restoration and better management of the extraordinary natural resource systems which feed and power the nation. From the beginning, the Foundation's major focus has been on the human, biological and natural resource problems of the countryside.

The community development program

The first program the Foundation supported in India, stemming from the conversations between Prime Minister Nehru and Paul Hoffman, was a brave attempt to deal with large parts of this challenge. India launched the Community Development (CD) Program as a project in 1952 with high expectations of transforming village life. S. K. Dey, the first Administrator and subsequent cabinet Minister for Community Development in 1956, was born in poverty in Bengal. He fought his way up the ladder of success and eventually moved to the United States and became a manager in the General Electric Corporation.

As a private sector manager Dey returned to India before Independence "to live in riches and luxury," as Ambassador Abid Hussain has written. But at partition, Hussain goes on, "Caught in this great drama of an epic size human tragedy, with an act of boldness, unique by any standard, he (Dey) broke from the security of a comfortable life and plunged himself into high risk and high anxiety efforts to rehabilitate people...crushed by the partition and...utterly devastated...He set up a camp at Nilokheri to raise the victims of the partition out of ashes, nurtured in them a spirit of self-help and stimulated in them an irrepressible desire not to meekly submit to their personal tragedy...He infused in them the spirit of community development..."[1]

The national Community Development program was designed to work like the pilot projects at Nilokheri and two other centers at Faridabad and Etawah. Democracy, self-help and development were to enforce each other. According to the early project documents, "Scientific agriculture is the core of the entire program — the foundation on which it rests." The "entire rural community should be associated actively. There should be strong women's and youth movements in villages."[2]

By training village-level workers, known as *gram sevaks*, who were then to take their knowledge back to the villages, the program was expected to increase

agricultural production through better seeds, livestock and fertilizer; to improve soil and water management, and to improve public health and build elementary schools. A major part of the outside funding came from the newly established official U.S. technical cooperation program. The Ford Foundation funded the training of thousands of project supervisors and their staffs at 30 centers throughout India. Ensminger thought evaluation was important and the Foundation helped set up a unit which subsequently became the Program Evaluation Office of the Planning Commission.

The CD program soon gave birth to a large, slow-moving bureaucracy which, since the program cut across various ministerial lines of authority, became involved in turf wars with other bureaucracies. The non-government agencies expected to participate were either non-existent or never came forward. In 1957 the government appointed a team of distinguished Indians to evaluate the community development program. They wrote a scathing report.[3]

The team, headed by Balwantrai Mehta, found that the program concentrated excessively on welfare and paid far too little attention to agriculture. It had failed "to evoke popular initiatives." It was therefore necessary to devolve power to the village level and to decentralize the machinery of power which should be "exercised and controlled and directed by popularly chosen representatives of the local area." "There has to be an act of faith," the Balwantrai Mehta committee said, "faith in democracy." In his memoirs written years later, deploring the bureaucratization of the program, Dey wrote succintly: "The Government fails to deliver the goods."[4] He noted that in the later days of the official program a village-level worker was required to fill out 286 reports on his activities. The Ministry for Community Development was finally abolished in 1966 and the program incorporated into the Ministry for Food and Agriculture.

The Balwantrai Mehta report was the first shot fired in a national Indian debate which thrives to this day as to the proper locus of governmental decisions about development and the roles of local level institutions. Largely as a result of the recommendations of the report, starting in Rajasthan in 1959 some of the Indian states began to experiment with what is called *panchayati raj*. This means government by locally elected councils at the grass roots level with some control over financial resources and decision-making. In parts of India, a concern that village elites and high caste groups would capture locally elected councils and use funds for personal or political advantage inhibited the advance of the new idea. Some observers like Laxmi Jain believe the experiment was simply stifled at birth by political leaders and bureaucrats who did not want to see their own powers of patronage and control diminished.

The subject of decentralization and local responsibility did not disappear, however. In 1990, three decades after the Balwantrai Mehta report, the National Development Council, consisting of the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers of all the states, examined the issues anew in the May 1990 approach paper to the Eighth Five-Year Plan and in September 1991 the government proposed a constitutional amendment, mandating *panchayati raj* system in all states.

The approach paper, prepared by the Planning Commission, said: "A considerable amount of public resources is ...being spent on a variety of rural development and anti-poverty programmes. But their impact and effectiveness are seriously compromised by the fragmentation of programmes...; the almost exclusive reliance on Central and State bureaucracies... the pre-emption (of programs) by entrenched elites; and the pervasive leakages." The approach paper went on: "Many of the deficiencies of the existing programmes can be corrected by transferring a substantial part of the responsibility for planning and implementation of economic and social development programmes...to elected, representative institutions of the local government. The necessary financial resources and the staff should be brought under their jurisdiction. Each village or block panchayat and district-level institution will then have direct command over a sizeable volume of finance and the freedom and flexibility to decide how best it can be used for local development..."[5]

Referring to the decline in official support for the community development program, Abid Hussain writes: "...India's rural development effort, and particularly its agricultural planning, took a sharp turn in the 1960s when threatened with a food crisis of the severest magnitude... India shifted gears and went in for a technological model. What has been forgotten by most commentators is that this technological model would not have successfully diffused in the country were it not for the infrastructure built so carefully by S. K. Dey and his dedicated band of followers in the 1950s. It is this village and block-level infrastructure built up under the community development program that has served as a delivery system over a broad spectrum of areas."[6]

Increasing food production: the Intensive Agricultural Districts Program

The major factor in the eclipse of the Community Development Program in the mid-1950s was the alarming failure of agricultural production to feed the burgeoning population. By the second half of the 1950s, food riots were exploding in parts of India. Rumors of famine, that word of dread significance in India, began to be heard. India was becoming intolerably addicted to U.S. excess agricultural commodity (PL 480) imports. Throughout the late 1950s India was forced to import

an average of 3.0 million tons of wheat annually. By 1966, after a devastating drought and just before the new high yielding varieties began to transform production, imports reached a high of 10.0 million tons. In the late 1950s, the major part of government investments under the Second Five-Year Plan were continuing to flow into infrastructure building for the state's heavy industry sector.

In 1957 Ensminger spent three months touring the Indian countryside to look first-hand at the agricultural crisis. On his return to New Delhi Ensminger reported to Prime Minister Nehru his conviction that village cultivators would respond with greater agricultural production if the government improved price support policies, provided more fertilizer and credit and organized its services better at the block level. The Planning Commission subsequently asked the Foundation to help frame a national program to improve agricultural production.

The Foundation assembled a team of 12 American agricultural scientists headed by Dr. Sherman Johnson, former chief economist of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and composed of senior scientists and extension experts covering the gamut of agricultural disciplines. Working with a counterpart group of Indian experts and officials, they toured the country to identify problems and strategies. The chief Indian actors were Dr. S. R. Sen, then chief economic advisor to the Minister of Food and Agriculture, and J. V. A. Nehemiah, Secretary of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

Their April 1959 report, entitled "Report on India's Food Crisis and Steps to Meet It," predicted that by 1965 the food grain deficit, at 1959 rates of production, could reach 28 million tons.[7] The report recommended an all-out emergency food production program. It listed ten critical points: 1. Improved agricultural prices; 2. Land tenure, land reform and land consolidation measures; 3. Expanded public works to support agricultural infrastructure; 4. Cooperatives for credit, marketing and supply; 5. Extension improvement; 6. More attention to soil and water conservation; 7. Improving production and supply of fertilizer; 8. Undertaking a major program of research on cereal grains; 9. Improved seeds; 10. Improved livestock management.

During the summer of 1959, after extensive discussions of the report between the government and the Foundation, the Foundation asked Johnson to return in October to design a program to carry out the recommendations. Johnson and two other economists, Professors Carl Malone of Iowa State College and Dorris Brown of the University of Missouri, working with Dr. Sen and his colleagues, in November submitted a report called "Suggestions for a 10-point pilot program to increase food production." The 10 points were roughly similar to those identified in the earlier report, although the November report dropped cereal grain research

(at least as part of the action plan) and added village-level and farm-level production planning. The emphasis was on immediate, intensive measures.

The planning group recommended a program to be called the Intensive Agricultural Districts Program (IADP) in seven districts chosen as likely to achieve early grain production increases. (The district is the key administrative point in the Indian public management system: there are more than 300 districts in India, the largest encompassing a population of two to three million people. Each district contains a number of administrative blocks, with a population of 100,000-plus, which in turn incorporate villages into their jurisdiction for development purposes.) The districts recommended were Thanjavur (Tamil Nadu), West Godavari (Andhra Pradesh), Shahbad (Bihar), Raipur (Madhya Pradesh), Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh), Ludhiana (Punjab) and Pali (Rajasthan). These districts included 161 blocks, 140 of which were to be covered by the proposed IADP with 100 receiving financial assistance from the Foundation. Four districts predominantly grew wheat, two rice, and one millet. In March 1960 the Cabinet approved the program and the Foundation established a $10.5 million special appropriation to fund the IADP. The program was expected to last at least five years. It lasted ten, and cost nearly $15.0 million.

In order to respond to the food crisis with maximum speed, the IADP strategy was to concentrate money, expert staff and agricultural inputs in a few well-endowed agricultural districts. Production was the goal: equity was not a major consideration. This caused consternation among those Indians who believed this violated the tenets of Indian social democracy. V. K. R. V. Rao, the agriculture member of the Planning Commission, opposed the program on these grounds, although some years later he said publicly that as an economist he accepted the need to concentrate resources and had come round to supporting the program.[8]

The Foundation funded the expatriate adviser staff (about 50 percent of the overall costs), Indian staff support, fertilizers and pesticides, transport and storage facilities, seed treatment and soil testing laboratories. It also supported adaptive research on problems identified in the field, education and information programs and program evaluation.

The program was to be managed by a senior Indian civil servant at the center. Nehemiah, who helped design the program and according to Ensminger's history was a person of great prestige, was to fill this key position. But Nehemiah left India for an assignment with the Food and Agricultural Organization. The vacuum in intellectual, as opposed to administrative, leadership at the center was to cripple the program in its early years. IADP officials, extension specialists and advisers were stationed at the district level and worked through the block development

officers put in place by the community development program. In the later years of the program the Agriculture Minister, C. Subramanian, gave the program strong leadership.

In spite of the agreement to concentrate on pilot projects in a manageable number of districts suitable for intensification of production, political pressures almost immediately forced an increase in the number of districts. The government added eight new districts to the program in 1961-62, including some by no means particularly suited to rapid intensification of cultivation. Even the original districts presented difficulties in terms of intensive production. The Rajasthan district was semi-arid. The district in Aligarh had major drainage problems. The Raipur district in Madhya Pradesh was essentially rainfed with only minimal controlled irrigation.

The program management design required that routine bureaucratic rotation patterns be suspended so that trained project officers could remain on the job long enough to make a difference. But project officers continued to be transferred routinely after a year or so of service even after Ensminger personally appealed to Prime Minister Nehru to intervene. Neither the planned concentration on a small number of favorable districts nor continuity in project management was ever achieved.[9]

Frequently evaluated during and after its life, the IADP program produced limited and mixed results. Some of its objectives proved unrealistic. It was never possible, for example, to prepare individual farm plans for the tens of thousands of farmers involved; and many experts thought the fertilizer recommendations were far too high and too expensive. In some districts, like Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu, with strong and enthusiastic management from the District Collector, T. V. Antony, the project increased production dramatically. It made a major contribution to wiping out the rice deficit in a state where food riots had occurred a few years before. In other districts, the program produced no better results than in neighboring districts where no special effort was mounted.

A 1966 evaluation report by the Expert Committee of Assessment and Evaluation of the IADP commented: "One of the important lessons that one can draw from the implementation of the IADP is that the administrative system is not adequate for the job and has to be geared to the needs of the programs. In fact, one of the most serious obstacles that the IADP has had to face is the archaic administrative system that obtains in the country. This system, based essentially on checks and balances, evolved in a different time and for different purposes, has proved woefully inadequate for any operation, the aim of which is not to maintain the status quo, but to change it. The IADP has thus been a square peg in a round hole."[10]

In spite of the IADP's spotty record in achieving production increases, some of the program's critics believe that it was worthwhile as a risk-taking enterprise. The distinguished Indian economist Vijay Vyas led an evaluation of the IADP by the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad in 1974 which concluded, as have most evaluations, that the optimization approach was theoretically sound but that the IADP failed to demonstrate consistent production increases. Vyas has commented recently that "what the Foundation did, both in the Food Crisis Report and by being prepared to risk its money and prestige in the IADP, was to shock a government concentrating almost solely on industrialization to realize that the fundamentally important agricultural sector was in deep trouble and that a systemic approach to its problems was required. The idea of a package approach for the delivery of inputs to farmers remains basically important."

Other evaluators have drawn from the IADP the lesson that India's diversity in soils, climates and people requires that effective programs concentrate on specific problems of particular regions rather than standardized all-India solutions.

Dr. S. R. Sen's evaluation saw the program's great contribution as providing "laboratories" for a wide range of learning about agricultural production problems.[11]

Beyond the IADP: education and research

As the Foundation accumulated experience in agriculture in the 1960s, largely through the gaps in knowledge and technology observed in the IADP, it began an effort to improve education and research in a number of the recently established agricultural universities and technology institutes. The first of these major grants went in 1963 to the G. B. Pant University in Uttar Pradesh to develop its department of agricultural economics. The largest, slightly more than $1.0 million, was made in 1971 to the Punjab Agricultural University (PAU) to strengthen its agricultural engineering department with the assistance of Ohio State University, a major U.S. center of engineering research and education. The Punjab Agricultural University became one of the strongest of the new agricultural universities founded in India in the postwar period, modelled after the U.S. agricultural universities and receiving major assistance from the official U.S. foreign aid program. PAU's research and extension programs are generally regarded as having played an important part in achieving the dramatic agricultural successes of the Punjab.

In 1966 the University of Agricultural Sciences in Bangalore expanded its teaching and research activities in plant protection with Foundation help. Still another set of grants beginning that year went to the Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur to support research and training programs in rice processing. Later in

the decade the Foundation made the first of a series of grants to the newly created Water Technology Center at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa.

In the Foundation headquarters in New York, the Delhi office decision to make a major commitment to the IADP represented one side of a debate about "what and how" that raged for a decade. The argument was about the relative priority of extension vs. research, not just in the IADP but in other programs as well. The IADP was unequivocally an extension program, designed to prove that if more and better services and inputs were delivered to farmers they would grow more food. Ensminger, its chief proponent, had been an extension officer before he joined the Ford Foundation.

The Vice President for overseas development in the Foundation's headquarters was an agricultural economist named Francis Forrest Hill, a former Provost at Cornell University, known to most people as "Frosty" Hill. Hill believed that the research base — reliable high yielding seeds and other proven technology — simply did not exist to support the extension effort envisioned by the IADP. (In the last stage of the IADP at the end of the 1960s the new high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice, the missing technology, began to sweep into Indian agriculture in what promptly became known as "the green revolution".) But such was the strength of decentralization within the Foundation that neither Hill nor the Foundation's President, Henry Heald, chose to block the IADP program. Heald thought it would be all right if it were limited to a single pilot district. At one stage in this long-distance war of ideas, Ensminger enlisted the direct support of John McCloy, the Chairman of the Foundation's board of trustees, who fortuitously had come to India for a tiger hunt. After shooting a tiger, McCloy spent three days touring the countryside with Ensminger to look at IADP at work.[12] New York continued to support the IADP. As it grew throughout the 1960s the IADP became with a total cost of $14.3 million the largest single project the Foundation ever funded overseas.

Towards the end of the 1960s, as it fully digested the lessons learned in the IADP, the Delhi office undertook significant revisions in its agricultural programming. It began to provide large-scale support for scientific research in agriculture (and other subjects like reproductive biology as well). The Delhi program became — and remains today — an important supporter of Indian research on rice, soil and water management and non-commercial forestry. It has also been the leading foreign supporter of the development of the rural social sciences in India.

Abroad, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, led by "Frosty" Hill of Ford and Rockefeller Foundation President George Harrar, an agricultural scientist,

joined forces at the beginning of the 1960s to design and raise funds for a new international network of agricultural research centers. The first of these, the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the Philippines, was chartered in 1960 and began its work in 1962. IRRI's contributions to research and the new technology of high-yielding rice varieties began to appear almost immediately, the first products being the famous short-strawed, high yielding varieties, IR-5 and IR-8. There are now 13 (soon to become 19) international agricultural centers, with an annual total budget of $250.0 million, supported by the World Bank and a wide range of governments (including India) and private institutions, including the Ford Foundation. They provide basic and applied research on food and cash crops, soil and water management, forestry and food and research policy questions to the world at large.

The Delhi office played an important negotiating and funding role in the establishment of one of these international centers which is located in India, the International Center for Research in the Semi-arid Tropics (ICRISAT) at Hyderabad. In the critically important food grain sector, India both benefits from and contributes greatly to the international rice (IRRI) and wheat and corn (CIMMYT) research centers in the Philippines and Mexico. Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, the distinguished geneticist, has served as Director General of IRRI. Indian scientists occupy a number of senior positions at that center, which serves the rice farmers of the world, and at several of the other centers as well.

Rice: the problem grain

The Foundation's support for rice research, both Indian and international, dates back to the late 1960s. In recent years the Delhi office has concentrated on the problems of rice cultivation in Eastern India. (Eastern India is defined for these purposes as Assam, Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh, eastern Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal.) Of the two miracle grains widely grown and eaten in India, rice has been the more temperamental performer.

Rice production and productivity are relatively high in the Punjab and in the river deltas of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, where soil conditions are favorable and irrigation can be controlled. Eastern India, constituting 60 percent of the country's rice growing area, currently produces only half of the 65-70 million ton annual harvest. Most of India's future production increases must come from this region. It is both a dream in terms of its potential and at the same time a rice scientist's nightmare. The region is flood and drought-prone, frequently suffering from both within one growing season. Soils are deficient in minerals and micro-nutrients, and these deficiencies vary widely from one area to the next.

Landholdings are extremely small — marginal and small farm holdings (less than two hectares), for example, constitute 74 percent of the land in Orissa and over 90 percent in West Bengal. Share-cropping with absentee landlordism prevails in all the States.

A leading Indian rice scientist, Dr. E. A. Siddiq, Project Director of the Directorate of Rice Research, Hyderabad, sees two options for improving productivity in such complex environments. The first is to try to improve the environment itself by better soil and water management both in the lowlands and the rainfed uplands, simultaneously seeking solutions to the daunting socio-economic problems of the region. The second is to try to tailor varietal and crop management technologies to work better in the existing environment while seeking longer-term solutions to the basic infrastructure, biological and socio-economic problems.

The Foundation first became involved in rice research in the final stages of the Intensive Agricultural Districts Program (IADP) in the late 1960s. Much of its subsequent support for rice research has been designed to take advantage of the Foundation's ability to fund related activities at different institutions and to connect them through research and communications networks. Early research concentrated on analysis of district level and aggregate data on the performance of new rice technology.

Beginning in 1968 the Foundation provided support for adaptive research and on-farm trials of new rice varieties including what were called mini-kit trials (a small package of seed and fertilizer), followed by studies on fertilizer use, plant protection and water management. Foundation-supported scientists, both expatriate and Indian, were located at the headquarters of the All-India Coordinated Rice Improvement Project (AICRIP) at Hyderabad. The Foundation subsequently provided AICRIP with both a greenhouse and a communications and training center for scientists and extension workers. The greenhouse is India's central facility for screening resistance to pests and diseases of the germ-plasm and breeding lines developed at the Hyderabad facility, elsewhere in Indian and at international research facilities.

In the late 1970s a Foundation agricultural scientist participated with Indian scientists in the field investigations which led to the establishment of the Special Rice Production Program for the Eastern States. This program, relying on the varietal work being conducted at Hyderabad, the Central Rice Research Institute in Cuttack, and at agricultural universities and research institutes throughout eastern India, concentrates on spreading improved rice production technology through farmers' training, improvement of irrigation and drainage, land

development and input sales facilities.

More recently, the Foundation, recognizing the limitations of the top-down technological approach to the environmentally and socially heterogeneous and risk-prone lands of eastern India, has funded a program of rice-based farming systems research. Funds have been granted to eight university and research institutes to help reorient research and extension workers toward a more interdisciplinary approach to farmers' problems. Central to the approach is the participation of the farmers themselves in diagnosing problems and in the processes of innovation and experimentation. A committee organizes frequent research and training workshops and the Ramakrishna Mission, a non-university member, serves as the center distributing a newsletter and research literature.

In addition to local consultants the network incorporates farming systems experts from the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia under a grant to the Institute of International Education in New York. A companion grant has enabled the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the Philippines to collaborate with the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. Progress is inevitably slow; fostering cross-disciplinary links, imbuing researchers with a holistic perspective and, most important, getting research and extension workers to listen productively to farmers takes time and patience.

The total Foundation funds involved in supporting the various components of this network are modest — on the order of $1.0 million per year — by comparison with the very large investment of Indian capital and manpower in this critical national program. But the farming systems network serves a unique function in connecting the agendas of national and international research scientists, extension experts and voluntary agencies working on the challenges of increasing rice production and farm income in eastern India. Miracles are not expected, but reoriented research and extension should bring about significant long-term change. In the last few years both gross production and productivity have increased in Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. If these upward trends continue, eastern India's contribution to national rice production may finally become proportionate to its area.

Resource management and sustainable agriculture

As with rice, the lines of grant making concerned with the improvement of resource management extend back nearly two decades. They began with an effort to resolve management problems identified in the large-scale irrigation systems which are so centrally important in food grain production. The productivity of these systems, and of the crops grown on the land they serve, is low by

international comparisons and in terms of India's needs. Water is not only wasted; frequently it is used in damaging ways by over-irrigating on the part of landowners at the head of the system. This reduces the efficiency of plant growth and deprives tailenders of desperately needed water.

In the early 1970s, the Foundation made a series of grants totalling about $3.0 million to support research and training on large irrigation systems to the Water Technology Center at Pusa, to Harvard University for collaborative research and training with Indian institutions, to the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur and to Roorkee University. The grants produced a body of important research on systemic problems in large-scale irrigation systems, improved training programs and a sizable upswing in technological competence. Generally they were much less successful in sustaining an emphasis on applied field-level research activities.

In an effort to move the focus closer to field problems, the Foundation also funded a series of experimental projects aimed at improving management of the Command Area Development Administrations (CADA). The CADAs represent an attempt to unite departmental staffs, planning and implementation of irrigation and agricultural production activities within the limits of a specific project area. Numbers of CADAs still exist but line authority generally remains with the ministry or agency concerned. The Foundation's efforts to help improve planning and performance evaluation were essentially fruitless, in part because a system of structural incentives that rewards attention to planning and performance within the agencies has yet to evolve. The Foundation's programming did help alert other donors to the management problems of large irrigation systems.

In the mid-1980s the Foundation began to concentrate on experimental work on smaller systems, particularly as concerns the management and exploitation of groundwater. In Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, for example, a major task in improving the rural economy is to rehabilitate and improve irrigation tanks (relatively small village-level reservoirs) and their associated watersheds and distribution systems. The conventional approach involves the hiring of contractors to undertake the rehabilitation work, often with little or no engagement of the people in the project. Under an alternative approach funded by the Foundation in Tamil Nadu, village water users' associations receive the funds directly and are responsible for the design and execution of tank rehabilitation. A working group comprising Anna University, the state irrigation department and consultants from NGOs and universities, is monitoring and analyzing the process. In Karnataka a similar experiment on smaller tanks takes the approach a step further, first by requiring villages to contribute to costs and second by extending the rehabilitation to the larger watershed. Working out procedures and mechanisms whereby the

lessons from these experimental projects can be incorporated into larger, routine programs remains a major challenge.

The most recent grant in the long series concerned with water questions was to the Patna University Bihar College of Engineering towards the development of a new Center for Water Resource Studies. Bihar and eastern India are the focus of a number of Foundation activities in farming systems and community management of forestry resources.

The relationship between forests and the people, usually poor and frequently tribal, who derive their livelihood from a combination of agricultural and forest-based activities, is a second critical issue in Indian resource management. For over two decades the Foundation has taken a keen interest in the subject. Forest and vegetative cover is essential to the long-term health of the Indian rural (and national) economy. Forests have been shrinking for more than a century, with increasingly rapid rates of disappearance in the post-war years of high population growth.

In the late 1970s, a variety of experiments in "community" or "social" forestry began to be tested in India. The purpose was to change the institutional cultures of both forestry departments, accustomed to viewing their roles as guardians of the forests, and villagers, usually tribal people, who traditionally had enjoyed free access to forest lands for their livelihood. The Foundation's first grant in this field went to the Madhya Pradesh state government in 1977 to establish a new social forestry wing to work with villagers on common approaches. As the program developed in the early 1980s the Foundation began making grants to voluntary agencies for training and research activities. One such grant went to the Ranchi (Bihar) Consortium of Community Forestry to support that group's work with tribal communities and the Bihar state forestry department.

By the 1980s, environmental degradation was becoming a national political issue in India, and the roots of a national environmental movement began to emerge. The destruction of forests, the breaking down of the environmental systems of the Himalayan foothills, increasing desertification, and the degradation of both rural and industrial environments caused citizens' movements to spring up throughout the country. Some of them, like the CHIPKO movement of villagers to protect forests in the Himalayas, attracted international attention.

In 1983, the Foundation, already involved in community forestry and water management activities, helped a group of concerned private citizens and public officials to establish the Society for Promotion of Wastelands Development. This serves as a national information and clearing house center for private and public efforts to restore degraded lands. The Foundation subsequently made a $1.0

million endowment grant to the Society. The central government created a National Wasteland Development Board. The Society's work now includes a wide range of restoration projects in twelve states working in collaboration with community based organizations and private and public corporations.

Legal and policy issues relating to natural resource systems in India have remained relatively unexplored in the national awakening to the dimensions of India's environmental problems. The Foundation recently made a grant to the Indian Law Institute to support research on laws and policies affecting the use, productivity and conservation of natural resources.

A further contribution to beefing up the national analytical base for resource management was the establishment of a program in resource economics at ICRISAT in Hyderabad. Although the Foundation in the late 1970s had provided fellowships in forest economics to a few Indian forestry officials, the resource economics specialization has remained extremely weak in the Indian social and management sciences. The Hyderabad program organized a network of resource economists working on common problems throughout India and helped connect this network to international research in the field. The Foundation supports overseas training for Indian scholars and officials in various specializations of resource economics.

At the field level in recent years, the Foundation has funded a promising program in West Bengal which brings together forestry department officials, non-government agencies and tribal leaders in collaborative forest resource management. Two NGOs, the Indian Institute of Bio-social Research and the Ramakrishna Mission, have used Foundation funds to expand their training and evaluation work with the West Bengal Forestry Department and village communities. In Haryana, the Tata Energy Research Institute is helping the Forestry Department and the National Ministry of Forests and the Environment to develop participatory management systems on degraded lands.

These endeavors offer great promise for improving the livelihood of villagers and the health of the natural environment. In one district of West Bengal, after several years of community management, forest destruction has come to a halt and the forest cover has increased from 11 to 20 percent of the land. The villagers enjoy officially guaranteed access to the sal forests for their livelihood but they also bear responsibility for maintaining and guarding the forests.

A 1990 Foundation discussion paper notes that "sustainable development is crucially related to the participatory nature of the process. People will conserve forests, maintain irrigation systems and innovate in farming systems if they are actively involved and have full rights to the product of their labors."

A central emphasis in virtually all current Foundation grants in the agriculture and resource management field is improving understanding of technology adaptation. The startling success of the high-yielding varieties (HYVs) of wheat and rice introduced in the late 1960s masked the difficulties of adapting and widely applying better technology that works in the hands of farmers. The HYVs were on balance a wildly successful new techology that most farmers eagerly embraced (more successfully with wheat than with rice). But in the history of modern agriculture the rapid and relatively easy adaptation of the HYVs may turn out to be a unique event.

Indian agricultural science faces two great challenges. One is to sustain and improve the performance of the HYVs on the best irrigated farm lands. The second, even more difficult, is to begin something like a green revolution in the much larger portion of Indian agricultural lands less favored by rainfall and lacking easily controlled surface or ground water and good soils. Both challenges require more intimate knowledge on the part of scientists, engineers and bureaucrats of the biological, social and economic factors that motivate farmers to make the decisions they do.

Current Foundation projects in agriculture and resource management therefore focus on the quality of communications between villagers, frequently assisted by NGOs, and scientists, engineers and forestry officials who can be trained to listen and understand better at the grass roots level. Foundation staff members are actively involved in experimentation with new techniques of community-level analysis. These are known generically as "rapid rural appraisal." They enable a trained visitor in a brief time to understand with reasonable accuracy a village's own perceptions of its problems and opportunities. Villagers are encouraged by outsiders to construct, with little or no aid, their own maps of their villages and a variety of other diagrams, such as seasonal calendars. These turn out to be remarkably rich in information and form the basis of intensive dialogue between the villagers and the outsiders, pinpointing needs and opportunities for development. This approach was developed in India by Robert Chambers of the Institute for Development Studies at Sussex University, England, working with other brilliant innovators in several Indian NGOs, notably MYRADA, Action Aid and the Aga Khan Rural Support Program. These organizations are now teaching these techniques to citizens and officials concerned with rural development.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

As it has experimented with ways to make development programs work better, the Foundation increasingly has found many non-governmental

organizations (NGOs) to be wellsprings of ideas. The first two decades of development in India showed that national approaches like the IADP, or indeed most centralized, nation-wide development schemes, run into difficulties as they confront specific problems of local populations. NGOs often can demonstrate how best to organize people and deploy funds for poverty alleviation and resource management in the complexity and diversity of the Indian countryside.

Working with or through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has become the dominant mode of Foundation programming in both the rural and urban sectors. Grants to NGOs address a variety of problems — the economic production activities of poor people, both rural and urban; land, water and forestry conservation and management; employment — particularly as it involves women; education; reproductive health; child welfare; legal rights, and cultural identity.

The growth of NGO funding by the Foundation, itself a non-governmental organization, reflects a marked shift in Indian and Foundation perceptions about the roles of government and the usefulness of voluntary action in development processes. For most of the early decades of Indian development the government's view of NGOs ranged from tolerance to open hostility. Government leaders often accused NGOs of using foreign funds for political activities. Many bureaucrats did not welcome what they regarded as NGO competition in development work.

The Foundation began making experimental grants to NGOs in the late 1970s to help community groups manage forest resources and to organize poor women for employment generating activities. One of the early small grants, in 1979, went to the now world-renowned Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in Ahmedabad. Founded by Ela Bhatt, SEWA used Ford Foundation funds to help organize and train female street vendors and artisans in that industrial city and subsequently to work with rural women. Another early grant went to a group of voluntary agencies in Ranchi in South Bihar to organize and evaluate village-level community forestry projects.

The prior governmental view of the role of NGOs in development is well illustrated by a dialogue between the Foundation and the government which took place over a period of several months in 1980. It involved a land and water management project at a village called Sukhomajri, located in the Shivalik Hills in Haryana State. The Shivaliks are a long, relatively low range of badly degraded hills populated by poor villagers who earn their living from rainfed agriculture and livestock grazing. Governmental efforts to control grazing on lands nominally under the control of the forestry department were generally futile.

Under a Foundation grant for field research, the Central Soil and Water Conservation Research and Training Institute at Dehra Dun worked with the

Haryana State Forestry Department. They discovered that small check dams built at the top of the watersheds at very low cost — usually for about $10,000 — produced astonishing results in controlling erosion. In addition, water impounded in the small reservoirs could be used for both irrigation, which dramatically increased the agricultural production of the villagers, and village water supply. To obtain the full benefits of the water the villagers had to control livestock grazing in the watershed (this is known in the development business as "social fencing") to avoid excessive runoff, erosion and siltation. Controlled grazing created new sources of fodder for village livestock. One of the innovations at Sukhomajri was the decision to give every village household a right and a share in the water, whether the family owned land or not.

On analysis, the villagers' economic behaviour appears rational both before the check-dam development and after it. Attempts at legally or forcibly controlling economic behavior damaging to natural environments seldom work. The Sukhomajri experiment showed how important it is for resource management programs to find solutions in which the local populations benefit from and participate in management. This concept has become basic today in a variety of experimental programs to improve management of natural resource systems.

The success of a number of these first small-scale dam projects at Sukhomajri led the Foundation to propose a next-stage, larger experiment. This would be managed by a voluntary agency, or group of agencies, which would supply technical help to villagers in designing, building and maintaining the earthen check dams. The agency would also manage the watersheds and water distribution systems so that both equity and production goals could be met. A self-sustaining, self-financing, locally managed system covering a large number of village watersheds was the goal. A big, experienced Indian NGO, headed by Manibhai Desai, a well-known disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, organized a staff unit to undertake this task. The Foundation and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) were prepared to finance the expanded phase.

The Foundation discussed these plans for expanding the Sukhomajri experiment at various levels of the government. Eventually, a senior government official informed the Foundation's Representative, at that time Eugene Staples, that the government would not approve major funding of any Indian NGO because it would raise "political problems" with other NGOs. In any case, the official said, if the "work is important the Government must do it." (Work to experiment with and expand the Sukhomajri model continues to date under the auspices of the Haryana Forestry Department. There is no major non-governmental management instrumentality.)

Today, a decade later, that government decision might be different. Both the central and state governments now recognize that NGOs do some things better than the government. In some cases, government agencies even transfer funds and administrative responsibility to NGOs to carry out essentially government programs in such areas as health. A healthy spirit of cooperation between government development agencies and NGOs exists in many parts of India, and Foundation funding of NGOs aims to increase the synergism of public-private cooperation. The new climate of cooperation raises new questions: under what circumstances, for example, should NGOs act over the long term as direct contractors in carrying out what are essentially government programs? Some NGO leaders question whether in such cases NGOs can maintain their autonomy and flexibility of action.

The NGO sector is still tiny by comparison with government resources and programs. But its growth in the past decade is encouraging in a society where most development has been dominated by governmental initiative. The number of NGOs registered as private societies with the government is now approximately 100,000. About 18,000 of these are development groups, ranging in size from such well established groups as SEWA, which now counts 50,000 members across India, to two or three people working as activists in a village or an urban slum. Some NGOs are so confident of their value and their rights that they have successfully sued the Government of India to obtain reversals of government decisions. A recent case brought by a group of NGOs produced the reversal of a central government ruling that foreign funds could not be used to support human and legal rights activities aimed at preventing bonded labor or violations of tribal land rights. A recent Foundation report comments that "The dynamism of this voluntary sector and the variety of experiences, skills and ideas it represents are probably without equal elsewhere in the world."

Two necessary next steps in Indian NGO development are to improve the financial and managerial sustainability of a number of important intermediate-level NGO institutions, which assist smaller organizations in management and fundraising, and to identify private Indian sources of funding to replace NGO reliance on foreign donors and government programs. The Foundation has made five grants for such purposes in recent years. It has helped PRADAN (Professional Assistance for Development Action) and MYRADA (Mysore Resettlement and Development Agency) to begin to build capital funds to underwrite the costs of their core professional staff on a self-sustaining basis. PRADAN has a professional staff of some 50 engineers, economists and rural development specialists; MYRADA a professional staff of some 500 persons. The Foundation's grant funds

must be matched on a one-to-one basis and invested in bank certificates of deposit and central and state government bonds to provide a continuing flow of funding for staff development, project identification and design, and fund-raising.

The Foundation has also made grants to the Manipal Industrial Trust in Karnataka and to the Anand Niketan Ashram Trust in Gujarat to strengthen their technical and managerial capabilities. Harivallabhi Parikh, the Gandhian disciple who established the Gujarat organization 35 years ago and has presided over its growth to the 3,000-village outreach system it now manages, sees the Trust's future as a facilitator of programs rather than as a direct implementer. The Ashram Trust has used Foundation funds to establish a research, training and extension cell composed of professionals in resource management and community development skills. The cell trains young tribal boys and girls, provides them with technical assistance as needed when they return to their villages, facilitates access to banks and other resource institutions, and provides follow-up services.

Women's employment

Indian women are a greatly neglected resource for national development. They are less literate than men, in worse health and usually outside the reach of development programs. The vast majority of women workers (93 percent) are in the unorganized sector. It is estimated that 30 percent of all households are sustained by primary economic contributions from women, although women's work, particularly in the rural household, is but poorly recognized in official labor force statistics.

In 1960, a Foundation grant helped establish the home economics department at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. This program, with strong support from the university, has become a major national center for research and teaching about the household and economic roles of women.

In the late 1970s, responding to the growing activism about women's roles in India and the increasing evidence that improving women's economic and social status generated profoundly beneficial effects in development, the Foundation made a series of small experimental grants aimed at increasing women's employment in the cash economy in both the rural and urban sectors. The grants sought to identify and recognize women's economic roles and to provide circumstances in which women could receive — and give — training in technical and organizational matters. The Foundation funded much of the path-breaking research on this topic at institutions like the Center for Women's Development Studies in New Delhi and other centers for women's studies.

Two sizable programs emerged. The first was in the dairy sector. Rural women

are responsible for the care and milking of the household dairy animals and usually for marketing the milk as well. Working with the National Dairy Development Board, state-level cooperative federations and a number of NGOs the Foundation has funded programs in various parts of India to help women organize and manage dairy cooperatives and to gain employment as dairy extension agents. In Andhra Pradesh, the A. P. Dairy Development Cooperative Federation has successfully organized 280 all-women cooperatives (the overall membership of the cooperative federation is 500,000, of whom women constitute 80,000). The Federation now has 50 female extension workers. Its goal is 400. A comparable project is under way in Bihar.

The Foundation has also funded projects designed to open the way to greater responsibilities for women in the sericulture industry. Traditionally women care for the trees and the silkworms and are responsible for much of the processing. One Foundation project in eastern India has supported the cooperative production of tasar silk by groups of poor women. A larger endeavor in Tamil Nadu and Karnakata has attempted to introduce women extension workers into the government sericulture programs.

An important lesson emerging from these programs is that women must gain greater control over the resources they create, and that thrift and credit schemes must be encouraged. A recent grant to Samakhya, an NGO in Hyderabad, supports its work with the state dairy cooperative federation in organizing and training women in credit management. Much of its work is with and through NGOs.

By simplifying and condensing, the lines of progression represented above in the Foundation's grant making in the rural sector appear roughly this way:

1. From community development in the 1950s to a concern in the 1960s for national agricultural production — primarily of food grains. In the 1970s and 1980s, the equity concerns of disadvantaged regions and people, particularly women, received increasing attention, as has the emphasis on participatory management of natural resource systems and sustainability of agriculture.

2. From the reliance in the 1950s and 1960s on the organizational approach (as in the community development program and the IADP), to a scientific and technical phase (rice research, water management and forestry research) in the 1970s and 1980s; and in the 1970s and 1980s institutional improvements in education at the agricultural universities. In the latter part of the 1980s and today, the focus is on integrating natural and social science research in participatory approaches to rural development. The program emphasizes the role of women in the rural economy and the improvement of grass roots-level research methodologies.

Chapter 3

EDUCATION AND CULTURE, RIGHTS AND GOVERNANCE

Of the impressions of India recorded by Douglas Ensminger, the first Representative, few are more piquant than his view of Indian education in the early 1950s. Ensminger wrote in 1971 that "India's first twenty-five years of development (would have been very different) if the nation's political leaders had been as strongly motivated to throwing out the British pattern of education as they were in throwing out English as a language along with the British."[1] Ensminger was fascinated by the fact that the new Indian nation took over the British system of colonial education lock, stock and barrel. Most of the elites, most of the top political leaders (both Gandhi and Nehru) and most of the 500-member Indian Civil Service, had received at least part of their education in England. Many people further down the social ladder looked on a university degree as the necessary ticket to a government job. Most of the poor found it necessary to keep children at home to work to earn money.

Ensminger, a product of a midwestern U.S. agricultural university, and his education adviser, F. Champion Ward, who was Dean of Faculties at the University of Chicago before coming to India, quickly found like-minded potential reformers in the government and the education field interested in improving the quality and spread of the system. Humayun Kabir, an early Education Secretary, was a prominent ally. Over the years the Foundation was to become involved with most parts of the education system with the single and notable exception of primary education.

Secondary teacher training

Kabir and the Foundation chose secondary education teacher training institutions as their point of entry for reform. Here, it was thought improvements in quality would exercise influence up and down the educational ladder. The program which resulted, funded in 1953 with a major commitment of $1.8 million, established extension training departments in a select number of teacher training institutions. The idea was that these extension departments, suitably trained and equipped with materials and transport, would form a new high-quality link between the training institutions and the secondary schools themselves. It was understood that the training institutions knew very little about practical teaching problems.

In order to carry out this program of national significance rapidly it was decided to set up a Council of Secondary Education outside the formal government structure. According to Ensminger's notes, the Council immediately drew into its ranks a number of outstanding educational leaders. It tackled such problems as examination reform, science teaching and language instruction. The Foundation

supported both the Council and the establishment of 31 extension departments in secondary teacher training institutions.

The program went well in its first year. The Government committed itself to providing funds in the second Five-Year Plan to add extension departments to the remaining training institutions. At about the same time, however, the Deputy Minister of Education, who was also Chairman of the Council of Secondary Education, decided to move the Council directly into the Ministry. The reason, according to Ensminger, was to obtain greater political control over the activities and decisions of the Council. The national program continued as planned but, Ensminger has commented, "at a much lower level of effectiveness than would have been the case if the Council had been allowed to function outside the Ministry."[2] The Council eventually was transformed into the Central Board of Secondary Education and an autonomous National Council of Education Research and Training was established as a center of educational research and development activities. The two bodies collaborate in such areas as curriculum development and textbook preparation.

Rural universities

A second major experiment in the 1950s was an attempt to develop a system of "rural universities." In most cases, these were private rural development institutions, located in villages, founded by followers of Gandhi in accordance with the Gandhian traditions of dedication and simplicity of living. With encouragement from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, then Vice President of India, who had headed an education committee that recommended special attention to rural higher education, the Foundation surveyed the field with an international rural higher education team. The group included both American specialists and a British expert who had worked with Rabindranath Tagore's rural development programs at Shantiniketan. The Foundation then provided funds for staff development and general support at ten selected institutions. The original plan was that there should be one rural university — also called *vidyapeeths* — in each of India's 300-odd districts. They would offer post-secondary training in disciplines useful in rural service: education, engineering, agriculture, health.

The program encountered severe problems. All funds had to pass through the Central Ministry of Education, which distributed them uniformly. There was conflict between the Gandhian world view of some of the institute leaders and the idea of professional education. Problems in qualifications dogged the program. Institute graduates received diplomas, not degrees, and found diplomas not much help in getting jobs. Eventually three of the stronger rural higher institutes were

designated as degree granting institutions and the other seven affiliated to them.

Over the years some of these institutions have prospered. The Foundation has worked from time to time with one of the most successful, the Gandhigram Institute of Rural Health and Family Welfare Trust in Tamil Nadu, which mounts health and family planning programs, conducts research and training activities, and is affiliated for postgraduate diploma education with two universities. The Foundation trained nine of the original Gandhigram staff members in the United States.

Dealing with the language issue

The emotionally and politically charged subject of language became an early strong focus of Foundation attention. Although language issues are never absent from the political arena in India, probably at no time has language been as intense a subject of national argument as it was in the 1950s and 1960s. The passion and anger generated are hard to imagine today.

The role of English was one of the most conflicted of the issues. But regardless of its eventual role in the internal political and governmental arenas, there was wide agreement that the country would be well-advised to maintain the quality of English language instruction in a world where English was an essential international medium of science and commerce.

One of the recommendations of the government experts, education specialists and foreign consultants — British and American — who worked on this problem in the 1950s was that a national research and training institution in the English language be established. In 1957, the Foundation made the first of a series of grants totalling more than $1.5 million in two different stages to the Central Institute of English (now the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages) at Hyderabad for staff development, equipment and foreign consultants. The Institute has become an internationally recognized resource in English language teaching.

Impressed with the importance of the language issue, the Foundation decided to expand support for language and linguistics research and teaching. It granted $835,000 in 1970 for the early development of the Central Institute for Indian Languages at Mysore which, like its colleague center in the English language, enjoys international prestige for its language research and teaching. The Foundation also helped establish the linguistics program at Delhi University, with collaboration from Cornell University. In the 1970s it funded a large and generally successful experimental language teaching program in the Bombay municipal school system, where schools routinely must manage education in five or more

languages. The most recent Foundation grant in the language field was to the Mozhi Trust in Tamil Nadu to develop a contemporary Tamil dictionary.

Other early experiments

The Foundation has supported a variety of experimental projects in education improvement. It made a number of grants in the 1950s to help reform the curriculum in university undergraduate education by introducing "general education" teaching in the humanities, natural sciences and the social sciences. In the early 1960s the Foundation funded technical assistance for planning experiments with educational television in the Delhi schools. More than a decade later, it provided support to the UNESCO-government project in using satellite television broadcasts for rural development.

The universities

The Foundation's extensive efforts in general university-level education began almost fortuitously in the 1960s when the Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University, N. K. Siddharta, asked Dr. Lew Morrill, the recently retired president of the University of Minnesota visiting India on a State Department speaking tour, how he might get help in revising the "organic act" which governed the administration of Calcutta University. Vice Chancellor Siddharta told Morrill that Calcutta was the world's largest degree granting university but that the structure of the existing act limited his powers to function effectively as the top manager.

Morrill reported this conversation to Ensminger, who flew to Calcutta for informal discussions with Siddharta. The upshot was an agreement that the Foundation would provide two or three consultants to assist the Vice Chancellor in drafting a new organic act, which would require approval by the West Bengal legislature. Ensminger wrote in 1971: "While I felt at that time we were accepting a complex and difficult assignment, as events will show, I did not have any way of knowing the many many problems we were to encounter."[3]

The consultants arrived in Calcutta in the midst of student riots. The Bengal political environment was extremely unstable, the Congress Party having lost its traditional hold. The Communists in the 1967 elections announced that when they took over the government they would get rid of "all the CIA spies" in West Bengal. When a Congress-Communist coalition government was formed, a Communist legislator read an indictment of the Ford Foundation on the floor of the assembly for sponsoring CIA spies at Calcutta University and in the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization. Ensminger demanded a meeting with the West Bengal Cabinet and flew to Calcutta for three days of meetings and discussions with the

government. On the third day, according to Ensminger's memoirs, the cabinet leaked a story to the press saying that "The Ford Foundation has no linkage with the CIA."[4] The new organic act was finally drafted and approved.

The Foundation subsequently provided consultants to help C. D. Deshmukh, the former Finance Minister who in the late 1960s had become the Vice Chancellor of Delhi University, work with a faculty committee on a ten-year plan for the university. Eventually, the University and the Foundation agreed on a major development plan under which the Foundation would commit $5.0 million for library, laboratory equipment and faculty development. The Delhi University program, which concentrated on postgraduate education, at various times involved such distinguished American educators as Dr. Robert Goheen, former President of Princeton University and subsequently American Ambassador to India, and Dr. Ernest Watson of the California Institute of Technology, who served on the spot as procurement adviser for laboratory research equipment.

Earlier in the 1960s, Ensminger had talked with J. R. D. Tata and other private sector leaders about the possibility of Foundation help for a new, high quality private university to be named after Nehru. These prospects evaporated in the wake of the war with China in 1962 and Nehru's death in 1964.

The Foundation did serve as the major partner, however, in helping build an outstanding private sector technology institution, the Birla Institute of Technology and Science (BITS) at Pilani in Rajasthan. The Birla Educational Trust (the Birlas are one of India's largest industrial groups) believed that while the Indian government was establishing five new technology institutes it was important for the private sector to respond as well to the national demand for better trained engineers and technicians. In 1964, the Birla Trust founded the new technology institute on the base of three existing colleges and asked the Foundation to help turn it into a premier private sector institution.

The Foundation supported a multi-year collaborative arrangement between BITS and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the world's great science and technology universities. The purpose was to make BITS an innovator in science and technology education. BITS has been a leader in curriculum reform, teaching and examination systems and establishing links with industry. The faculty at BITS numbers 200; the graduate and undergraduate student population is about 3,000. All undergraduate students are required to spend at least six months in an industrial setting as part of their work/study experience. Graduates are much in demand.

Women's studies

The most rapidly growing specialized field of humanistic and social science research and education in India is women's studies, a subject virtually non-existent fifteen years ago. Its growth reflects both widespread awareness that women suffer many social and economic injustices and the conviction that improvements in the status of women can greatly and positively influence national development. The Foundation helped set up the first Women's Studies Research Center at the SNDT University in Bombay in 1974 under the leadership of Dr. Neera Desai. In 1977, the ICSSR started a special program of research on poor women designed to generate new and better data and to develop new perspectives and concepts on such questions as the household economy, women's economic activity and productivity.

By the early 1980s, several more centers had developed, all of them with some degree of Foundation support. The movement enjoyed the leadership of such remarkable women as Veena Mazumdar and Devaki Jain. The Center for Women's Development Studies in Delhi was established in 1980. The Institute for Social Studies Trust began a program of research on women's work and job access. The Tata Institute of Social Sciences organized a teaching program in women's studies. Some of these centers received support, in addition to the Foundation's, from the University Grants Commission, itself supported by the Foundation for these purposes. An increasing number of universities established women's studies centers, and women's studies became incorporated into the 1986 National Policy of Education. By 1991, the UGC recognized 49 centers of women's studies.

This is remarkable growth, and as might be expected the rapidity of the growth process created problems. Incorporation of women's concerns in teaching curricula was poor. Many centers remained research or library centers having only limited relationships with other parts of their universities. Wide differences in philosophical and political views existed as to what women's studies centers should be and do. A major question is the "empowerment" of women, itself a term interpreted differently by different people.

Almost certainly women's studies will survive as a "new and exciting but not unproblematic field," as a recent Foundation evaluator put it.[5] It has already produced some extremely interesting research, ranging from a history and sampling of two thousand years of writing by Indian women (written by members of a group called Anveshi in Hyderabad) to books on women's legal rights and microeconomic studies of women's roles in agricultural production. Some of the social science research has helped stimulate more effective planning in action programs aimed at women's economic and social development, an increasing number of which are conducted by NGOs managed by women.

Culture

In the past two decades, the Foundation has become a sizable grant maker in the cultural field in India. The field was generally absent or inconspicuous in the Foundation's overseas grant agenda of the 1950s and 1960s, although in the U.S. domestic program by the early 1960s the arts and humanities constituted one of the largest program categories. This absence was not by choice of the Delhi office, which early argued that support for the cultural heritage in a country like India should be an integral part of the program.

The view of those who opposed any concentrated cultural programming in developing countries was that the Foundation's limited funds should be spent on problems directly affecting the poor — food, population, health and employment. Culture was seen as a "soft" area.

The position of the proponents was also simple: cultural resources, whether these are manuscripts, archaeological sites, or dance, music or theater forms, embody the creative spirit of the society and cannot be ignored in the development process. Their preservation, transmission and transformation in countries like India receive inadequate funding (virtually none from foreign donors). Many valuable cultural artifacts and forms simply disintegrate as the pressures of modern society overpower traditional training and education. In a society in which the guru-disciple relationship was paramount, when old artists and performers die their knowledge often dies with them. In the case of India, one of the most profound of the world's old civilizations, these losses are of potentially universal meaning. A multipurpose foundation like Ford, concerned with overall development, has no business ignoring culture.

In 1970, the Asia office in New York presented to the senior officers a careful, region-wide analysis of the serious deterioration of Asian cultural resources and the social and economic cases for undertaking selective cultural programming. The officers agreed that the field offices could undertake grant programs at relatively modest levels where they seemed appropriate. The Chairman of the board of trustees, Dr. Alexander Heard, helped argue the case for cultural programming. In an August 25, 1972 letter to Vice President David Bell, Heard wrote: "...I must confess I would find the preservation of irreplacable aspects of such (cultural) heritage...to be a worthy goal in itself." Beyond that, Heard went on, there is "the value of a deep route of orientation in time and place in the affairs of men, an identification with cultural characteristics and cultural heritage that are significant and praiseworthy and breed pride and self-confidence."

The first grants in the early 1970s supported such institutions as the Triveni Kala Sangam in New Delhi. A grant went to the National Center for the Performing

Arts in Bombay, a Tata-created institution, to provide the services of the American architect Philip Johnson for the design of their auditorium and arts complex. A number of small grants were also made in manuscript conservation research. The Foundation began to explore the possibility of making grants in archaeology, creative writing and the theater.

As the program developed in the 1980s it has concentrated on four components: 1. Preservation of the material culture; 2. Transmission of the cultural heritage; 3. Analysis and development of folklore; and 4. Vitalization of contemporary theater.

Recognizing the central role of archaeology in understanding and managing the cultural materials of the past, the Foundation has helped a number of important Indian institutions strengthen archaeological research and training. Grants to the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute helped establish the country's first computer facility in archaeological research to handle the enormous masses of data generated in on-site work. The College has developed software packages for analyzing excavation data at digging sites and radiocarbon dating.

At Benares Hindu University, the Foundation supported faculty development and fellowships as part of the university's program in Ancient Indian History and Culture. A major emphasis is urbanization in the Gangetic plains and exploration of proto-historic economic and subsistence practices around Benares. The Foundation has funded faculty development at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda as well as improvements in the library and archaeological museum. The Foundation also has helped the Indira Gandhi National Center for Arts to strengthen its manuscript conservation program.

A practical issue related to archaeology came to the Foundation's attention at the beginning of the 1980s in a request from a young civil service officer, Dr. B. K. Bawa, then serving as Vice-Chairman of the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority. In response to his request, the Foundation made the first of a series of grants to support studies in urban conservation of historic areas. In this case, the study involved the fascinating complex of houses, mosques and temples surrounding an old marketplace in the *Charminar* district of Hyderabad. Similar grants went to the Jaipur Development Authority and the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, as well as a grant to INTACH (the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage) for a training course in the conservation of cultural property at the Indian Conservation Institute. The training emphasizes diagnostic and treatment skills for works on paper and for painting; it is the first course of its kind in South Asia.

In supporting the transmission of the cultural heritage, the Foundation has made grants to the Sangeet Research Academy for pedagogical development in North Indian classical music and to the Nalanda Dance Research Center for development of teaching methods in Indian classical dance. A grant went to the Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music and Culture Amongst Youth to help the Society achieve financial and administrative stability. Although Tibet is not, of course, a part of India, large numbers of Tibetan refugees reside in India and the headquarters of the Dalai Lama are located at Dharamsala. The Foundation has made a number of small grants to help preserve and transmit Tibetan culture. The two most recent are to the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts and to the Orient Foundation, in the latter case to provide a database cataloging over 30,000 hours of audio-visual materials on Tibetan culture located in 256 collections worldwide.

Grants in folklore have aimed to open new perspectives in regional cultural studies. The emphasis is on research and development of new knowledge. The grants provide funds to train qualified staff specialists for archival centers who can develop research and teaching programs, and to attract researchers whose perspectives motivate them to use the varied materials collected by these archives. The Foundation has funded three centers in southern India: Telegu University, the University of Hyderabad, St. Xaviers College at Palayamkottai and the MGM College at Udupi. A recent evaluation of the Udupi center describes what these grants aim to help attain: "The Regional Resource Center is very close to being a model...It is an archive of regional culture, with a stress on folk culture, both broadly defined and with a particular emphasis on folk theater forms. It is...a cultural center serving the communities in the surrounding area as a venue for meetings, workshops and seminars....The RRC undertakes deep responsibilities to preserve a record of the region's folk cultures and to present them accurately to the people of the state and elsewhere."

The Foundation's support for contemporary theater began in 1985 by encouraging individual innovation in writing, performance and actor training. To inform individual theater people about what was happening nationally, the Foundation made a grant four years ago to the Seagull Foundation for the Arts for a publications program. The program makes English translations of significant plays and textual reconstructions of major productions available to theater practitioners and researchers throughout India.

A new program, launched in 1991 and totalling $800,000, supports the development of a national theater laboratory network. Twelve theater organizations, selected by a national committee of Indian theater experts, are

receiving long-term support to undertake theater and experimental productions. The program places special emphasis on promising younger directors. The participating groups are expected to form a network through which innovations can be shared among the companies and with other theater groups. The long-term purpose is to enable experimental drama to function under stable, professional conditions of work. The Foundation is simultaneously supporting efforts to find low-cost approaches to the design, management and use of performance spaces and other facilities. The Foundation is also helping grantees to explore the possible creation of a new indigenous foundation for the arts.

Law, rights and governance

In recent years, the Foundation has become increasingly active in grant-making in the human rights and social justice field. While the emphasis is relatively recent, the general subject of law and justice is by no means new to the Foundation. In 1958, the Foundation was the first major foreign supporter of the development of the library and research facilities of the Indian Law Institute. Several years later, it assisted two leading law departments at Delhi and Benares Hindu Universities to develop modern case study teaching methods as part of their legal education programs.

In related grants in the general field of law and governance, the Foundation in 1967 supported the newly founded Institute for Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies. The Institute developed a research and conference program on the processes of government. The Foundation funded some of the early activities of the Center for Applied Politics.

In the wake of the Emergency (Prime Minister Gandhi declared a national emergency and suspended civil liberties on June 26, 1975; the emergency lasted until January 18, 1977), the Foundation looked for ways to strengthen private groups concerned about human and civil rights questions. The program in rights and justice, as it has grown in the past decade, has focussed on two objectives: achieving better access to justice for disadvantaged groups and improving the knowledge and practical experience of professionals engaged in issues of social justice.

An example of these grants is a project funded in 1983, recently renewed, with Action for Welfare and Awakening in Rural Environment (AWARE). As part of its overall large-scale rural development work, AWARE runs legal education camps in Andhra Pradesh. Founded in 1975 by P.K.Madhavan, a former government official trained as an anthropologist, AWARE reaches more than 3,000 villages with its programs. Assisted by Foundation funding, AWARE assigns para-legal workers to

work at the village level to increase awareness of rights. Social investigators help villagers to secure copies of land records, prepare certificates for bank loans, and establish better communications with the police. Where necessary, legal assistance officers are available to prepare court cases.

Another grant, to the Banwasi Seva Ashram, a Gandhian rural development agency working in depressed areas of Uttar Pradesh, funded expansion of the Ashram's public interest law program. The Ashram established a "rural entitlement unit" with assistance from the National Committee on the Implementation of Legal Aid Schemes (CILAS), headed by former Supreme Court Chief Justice P. N. Bhagwati. The unit works with autonomous local social action groups in U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The first step is to establish workshops to identify entitlements in regard to such subjects as schools (a recent study of a backward district of eastern India revealed that of a supposed 65 government schools, 12 had never opened and 27 had no teachers), legally mandated nutrition programs for the poor, enforcement of legislation in regard to bonded labor and titles to tribal land. The Ashram trains para-legal workers in the local groups and helps the groups in negotiations with government agencies. CILAS stands ready to assist with higher levels of litigation if that is required.

Another grant in public interest law supported the establishment of the Public Interest Legal Support and Research Center, a pioneering institution for public interest litigation which provides strategic legal advice to social action groups. The Consumer Education and Research Center in Ahmedabad, a national resource in consumer protection and environmental safety issues, has used Foundation funds to establish an industrial and environmental safety resource unit. The Foundation has also funded a number of experiments in community-based conflict resolution.

At the national level, the most recent grant in legal education to the new National Law School at Bangalore has supported its innovative program in legal education, which includes clinical work for students in public interest law. The School represents the most ambitious attempt to date to reform Indian legal education.

As of 1991 the Foundation had made more than 20 grants to NGOs working in the rights and justice field. The subject is expected to remain an important part of the Foundation's programming in the 1990s.

Sorting out the 40-year progression of Foundation grants in the education, culture and rights field is an uneasy exercise. The category itself is largely artificial, used primarily in this small book as a convenience for organizational purposes. It is obvious that the Foundation's grants, particularly in education, have addressed a wide variety of subjects. An accurate conclusion is that over four decades the

most vexing challenge the Foundation has faced is working in education.

A rough, overall progression, however, ranges from the early concern for secondary education to university development; a period of great attention to language problems; development of the social sciences; an early interest in law followed years later by a burst of activities in the field of rights; and a late but vigorous entry into grant-making in the cultural field. In education, Foundation support for central government programs ceased at a relatively early date. Virtually all its grant-making in the fields of culture and rights has been with non-governmental agencies.

Chapter 4

PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

India inherited from the colonial period a strong, if small, cadre of experienced government administrators and a long-established administrative system. The system was designed for law and order, tax collection and general administration, not the requirements of rapid development of a modern nation-state. It rapidly became overloaded with the multitudinous tasks of social and economic nation building.[1]

Enterprise management was similarly underdeveloped. It was extremely rare for Indians to serve in top positions in British multinational enterprises. Prakash Tandon, the industrialist and writer, recalls in his autobiography the breakthrough represented by his appointment as the first Indian chairman of Hindustan Lever in 1961.[2] There were, of course, a few large Indian-owned and managed industrial houses, of which the Tatas and the Birlas were the best known. Generally, Indian businesses were run as family enterprises, not by professionally trained managers.

Administration and management became subjects of early discussion between the Indians and the Ford Foundation. These included, according to Douglas Ensminger's memoirs, several conversations between the Prime Minister and Ensminger. One of the earliest of these had to do with public administration. Nehru wanted an"honest appraisal" of how the government could make "the adjustments from a regulatory tradition function to giving leadership to change and development."[3]

Public administration

In 1952, at Nehru's request Professor Paul H. Appleby made the first of several visits to India as a Foundation consultant. Appleby had been the Under Secretary of Agriculture in the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, the Deputy Head of the U.S. Budget Bureau, and in 1952 was Dean of the Maxwell School of Public Administration at Syracuse University. His assignment was to survey the state of Indian public administration and to make recommendations for improving the functioning of government.

Appleby's final report is clearly and elegantly written. Appleby did not challenge the inherited concept of the generalist administrator. On balance he thought India was rather well administered in 1952. He foresaw that the already overloaded bureaucracy, as it grew to meet the tasks of development, would need administrative reform units within government ministries to evaluate and correct performance. He also recommended the establishment of an independent Institute of Public Administration to function as a professional society and give leadership and broad guidance in questions of administrative reform.[4]

Both of Appleby's recommendations were adopted. Organization and

Methods units were set up in center and state governments. Their original mandate included policy matters but the units generally have concentrated on improving filing systems and other routine tasks.

In 1954, with assistance from the Foundation, the government established the Indian Institute of Public Administration. The Institute was organized as a professional society, its membership open to individuals in government, universities, private business, state and national legislatures. Its program was to cover research, publications, workshops and seminars, and it was to offer diploma courses for younger government officers and university lecturers. Most importantly, it was to give leadership and broad policy guidance in the field of administrative reform.

Customarily, the Institute has been headed by a senior civil service officer (on occasion a retired officer). It is an important training center for government officers. The Institute has an excellent library collection on public administration issues. Many of its faculty members conduct valuable research on public management issues and the IIPA publishes a first-rate journal. The Institute has not, however, functioned as the powerful autonomous instrument providing leadership in administrative reform that the Appleby report envisioned.

During the 1960s the Foundation also supported the efforts of the H. C. Mathur State Institute of Public Administration in Jaipur to establish innovative research and training programs. It made a grant to the National Academy of Administration, which trains entrance-level elite civil service officers, to teach development subjects in addition to its standard curriculum. In the late 1950s the Foundation began to provide individual fellowships for Indian government officers for training abroad in economic development and administration at Harvard University and Williams College. Under this and similar programs in later decades several hundred IAS officers have been trained abroad in the United States and elsewhere in economic and social development disciplines. Not infrequently, they stand at the top of their classes.

The analytical bases: The social sciences

At Independence India could count on a small group of highly competent economists, mostly trained in Britain, for analysis and advice on problems of national development. The planners who worked with the government in those early days and the scholars who led the universities and research institutes believed that strengthening the discipline of economics, and beyond economics the social sciences generally, was essential in a nation as complicated as India.

In 1955, at the request of the Planning Commission the Foundation financed

grants to introduce specialized training in applied social science research at six institutions — the Delhi School of Economics, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, and the Universities of Bombay, Madras, Punjab and Utkal. Both the research and the scholars trained were expected to contribute to the overall resource bases in economics and social studies relied on by the Planning Commission. Post-graduate courses were introduced in statistics, economic development, sociology and research methodology. A year later, the Foundation made the first in a series of grants to the National Council of Applied Economic Research. NCAER was set up as an independent institute on the Stanford Research Institute model to provide advice to government and business on practical industrial economics problems. NCAER was designed to be largely self-financing; in practice it has found this difficult to achieve.

In 1958 the Foundation made a second round of grants to several of the same institutions. It also funded a new program enabling five of India's leading economic research centers (Delhi, Gokhale, Bombay, NCAER and the Indian Statistical Institute) to participate with the Planning Commission and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in a cooperative program addressed to government planning needs. Involved as heads of the Indian institutions were such famous Indian economists as V. K. R. V. Rao, D. R. Gadgil, M. L. Dantwala, P. S. Lokanathan, P. C. Mahalanobis and Tarlok Singh. Some of India's best young economists participated as research leaders — S. Chakravarty, T. N. Srinivasan, K. Parikh, A. M. Khusro, M. Datta Chaudhuri, Raj Krishna, A. Rudra, P. N. Dhar and J. Bhagwati.

An impressive array of Western policy-oriented economists came to India to do research under the MIT grant, and MIT provided graduate training for Indians at MIT. The MIT group's main point of liaison was with Pitamber Pant, who was both head of the Delhi branch of the Indian Statistical Institute and the perspective planning division of the Planning Commission. The project produced a substantial body of policy-oriented research on a wide range of development problems. (The history of the MIT economics project with India is described in detail in Dr. George Rosen's book, *Western Economists and Eastern Societies*.)

In the early 1960s, a further effort was made to improve the cooperation between university economic departments, research institutes and government planning agencies. In this case grants were made directly to the Planning Commission and to five research institutions. The intended close working relationship did not come to fruition. Planners found it difficult to frame precise research needs; researchers resisted having their priorities set by the Commission.

In 1970, largely at the urging of the Gandhian disciple and remarkable

educationist J. P. Naik, the Foundation agreed to help India develop an institutional system for funding social science research on issues of national and regional significance. The central funding institution was to be the Indian Council of Social Science Research, founded in 1969.

Starting in 1970 and for a period of 15 years the Foundation provided $1.115 million to assist the Council. In addition the Foundation made grants totalling $1.845 million to help the early-stage building of six of the 20 regional social science research institutes created with central and state funding as part of the national system. (The six supported by the Foundation are the Institute for Economic and Social Research in Bangalore, the Institute of Economic Growth and the Center for Policy Research in New Delhi, the Indian Institute of Education at Pune, the A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna, and the Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow.)

A 1970 Delhi office memorandum describes the rationale: "During the remainder of this century the problems faced by Indian society are almost certainly going to become increasingly complex and difficult. Many of them will be, at least in terms of scale, unprecedented in human experience...In such circumstances there will be need for both better data and better conceptual and methodological tools with which to assess the implications of these data. Yet, with a few exceptions, India does not have the skilled social scientists, research institutions, data processing facilities, survey research capacity, or computers needed to generate timely and reliable data. Nor does it have sufficient professional talent needed to undertake the analysis..."

The Foundation's 1987 internal evaluation of the overall ICSSR/regional institute program, written by a staff member who is also a well-known historian (Dr. Thomas Kessinger, currently President of Haverford College), concluded that: "...The record is quite positive. In quantitative terms, the number of social scientists, social science research centers, and research resources...have grown impressively. Particularly noteworthy has been the development of the research institutes, which now number 20. While not without some general problems...and recognizing that the effectiveness of them vary considerably, a few have developed into first-rate centers of research focusing on their particular state on a range of substantive concerns." In discussing ICSSR's leadership during the formative period, the evaluation recalls that J. P. Naik, who was both the architect and the first Director of the ICSSR, was so dedicated to the Institute's development that he actually lived at the Institute, eating in the cafeteria and sleeping behind a curtain on a cot in his modest office.[5]

Pai Panandikar, one of India's leading political scientists (and founder of the

Center for Policy Research), has recently commented that "the social sciences have become an important element in problem and policy analysis and are increasingly focussed on indigenous problems. Economics and political science are strong, sociology and the others are not. The ICSSR and its regional institutions by and large have worked out. The Foundation's relatively small grants were timely, crucial and catalytic..."[6]

In more recent years, the Foundation has given particular attention to problems of natural resource economics and various aspects of finance and fiscal policy. It was the first major outside supporter of the National Institute for Public and Finance Policy, which has become a highly respected research and training center. It has funded a number of new training and research programs in international economics as India becomes more deeply dependent on exports and engaged in international trade, investment and technology.

Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Finance Minister and himself a world-famous economist, commented in 1991 that the state of Indian economics is "generally good," although it is not, he noted, "very empirical."[7]

Management

As it endeavoured to play a useful part in improving public administration, the Foundation, starting in the mid-1950s, also became an important supporter of institution building in the management field. The rapid growth of industrial and commercial enterprises in the 1950s in both the public and private sectors produced a demand for more and better trained managers. Public sector enterprises were being run by civil servants (a pattern persisting to this day). Most private sector industrial houses were either family firms or subsidiaries of foreign companies with usually expatriate managers.

The first steps in what turned into a process of major institution building took place in the late 1950s when the Foundation funded visits by groups of industrialists and senior civil servants to business schools and management training centers in Europe and the United States. Consultants came to India to look at ways of improving training. The Foundation made grants to strengthen the All-India Management Association (AIMA) and underwrote a series of advanced management programs in India organized by the AIMA with the collaboration of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Sloan School of Management.

During this same period, the Foundation was asked by the government to arrange a crash program for in-service training of Indian engineers who were to help manage three new public sector steel plants being built with assistance from the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and Great Britain. The

Foundation provided about $2.0 million in 1957-58 to finance training in management and production methods in American steel plants and technological institutes. The Carnegie Institute managed the consortium of five institutes. The American Iron and Steel Institute and United Steel Workers of America arranged for in-plant training in seven major steel companies. The U.S. government picked up the direct training costs for subsequent groups. Some 500 Indian engineers participated in the program.

The major phase of management institution-building began in 1959. It concentrated on three institutions: the Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad and the Indian Institutes of Management in Ahmedabad and Calcutta (a fourth, the Indian Institute of Management at Bangalore, was added in 1975). The Staff College (ASCI) had been created in 1957 with support from both the government and private industry to provide short-term residential courses for senior business executives and government administrators. Patterned on Britain's Administrative Staff College at Henley-on-Thames, the College for several years relied exclusively on the syndicate method: small groups of experienced managers shared their experiences with minimal involvement of academic faculty. The ASCI used Foundation grants in the early 1960s to introduce the case study method of instruction, to concentrate on applied research services and to develop an active consulting role with industry and government. Its goal was financial self-sufficiency and generally it has achieved this.

In 1959, the Foundation broadened its institution building efforts in response to what it perceived as the growing concern about the quality of management education. One of the most persuasive advocates of new approaches to Indian management education was Vikram Sarabhai, the Ahmedabad industrialist and civic leader, who thought India simply had to manage better for her own internal development and in order to compete in the world.

In consultation with Sarabhai, the Foundation sent a study team to look at the leading business schools in the United States. The team's report stressed the importance of a liberal undergraduate education as preparation for management studies and recommended the creation of master's degree courses in management. A second study, by George Robbins of the Graduate School of Business at the University of California Los Angeles, argued against trying to reform the existing commerce education curriculum in the traditional universities. Robbins suggested the government consider establishing one or more autonomous national centers in business management.

In 1961, the government chartered two national institutes of management — one in Ahmedabad, the other in Calcutta. Support came from the central

government, the two state governments concerned and private business. The Foundation was the major external source of support. In the early years, the Foundation's funds financed collaboration, including staff training and library development, between the Harvard Business School and the IIM Ahmedabad and between the MIT Sloan School of Management and IIM Calcutta. Both institutes began by offering executive development programs. In 1964, they organized and offered two-year master's level programs in business administration. A few years later, both began to offer doctoral programs in management.

In addition to the original two IIMs, the IIM Bangalore received Foundation support beginning in 1975 to develop programs concerned with public sector management, initially in the fields of transportation and energy systems. Still another major national management education resource came into being in 1979 when the Foundation assisted the National Dairy Development Board, under the leadership of Verghese Kurien, to establish the Institute of Rural Management at Anand.

Anand is the center of the widespread system of cooperative enterprises built up under Dr. Kurien's leadership from the modest beginnings of a dairy cooperative in Kaira District in Gujarat State. The new Institute was designed to produce managers for essentially rural enterprises —initially to help expand the dairying cooperative movement and other rural production enterprises. It has achieved broad recognition as a first-rate center for management research and education.

Together with the Indian Institutes of Technology, which provide international quality graduate-level training in engineering, the Indian Institutes of Management provide India with a "techno-managerial" corps of world-class engineers and managers. Their graduates are in demand both by Indian industry and overseas enterprises. Their role will be critical as India competes in the rapidly transforming world of science, technology and enterprise finance and management.

All the management institutes find themselves today under pressure to provide research and consulting advice on a wide horizon of national problems — probably more in fact than they can reasonably handle. Their social science and public policy programs are internationally respected.

Small industries

Ensminger's memoirs report a number of conversations with Prime Minister Nehru in the early 1950s about small industries and the handloom and cottage industry sector. Nehru and his development planners foresaw a special place in

the industrial sphere for the private small industries sector. Certain kinds of production would be exclusively reserved to it. The government public industrial sector was to build the "commanding heights" of heavy industry. Private industrialists and capitalists were to develop the rest of the large-scale, organized industrial sector.

Nehru was not sure this design would provide enough employment to take care of the millions of traditional artisans and workers who could not be absorbed in the organized sectors. He was concerned, according to Ensminger, about "idle hands," and asked the Foundation if it could look into the problem.[8]

The Foundation tried to be helpful on all fronts except heavy industry (the single exception in heavy industry was the steel engineers' training project). To look at the cottage industries and handloom field, the Foundation invited Mr. Leo Martinuzzi, a vice-president of Macy's, the huge New York department store, to consult with the Cottage Industries Emporium on marketing. (The first advice Martinuzzi offered was to buy only things that could be sold.) The Foundation then supported a young expert recruited by Martinuzzi for a year's work in purchasing and marketing at the Emporium (the young expert, John Bissell, stayed in India, married an Indian woman and owns and manages a highly successful private sector garment export business). The Foundation recruited French handbag designers to work at the Okhla industrial estate, a French dress designer team, and a Danish doll designer whose dolls were sold for many years in handicraft emporiums throughout India. Another team, in this case American, worked with Indians on improving the yardage raw silk industry.

As the Foundation pursued this set of interests with direct encouragement from the Prime Minister, it also brought Charles and Ray Eames to India for discussions on design and marketing, with a particular emphasis on developing Indian exports. The Eames were possibly the best known designers in the United States: their work appears today in leading modern art and design museums throughout the world. The Eames met Nehru, Gautam Sarabhai, an Ahmedabad industrialist and brother of Vikram, and Pupul Jayakar, then as now one of India's great figures in the arts and cultural world. Out of their discussions came plans for the National Institute of Design (NID).

A set of grants beginning in 1961 helped the Ministry of Industry to establish the National Institute of Design (NID) in Ahmedabad. The Institute was founded to offer training, research and services in the field of design so that Indian manufacturers could compete more effectively in world markets. Generally the NID has performed admirably, although it is periodically criticized as "elitist" and "western". NID offers a variety of services to small industries, is highly in demand

as an educational institute whose graduates easily find well paying jobs, and increasingly is involved in grass roots work with voluntary organizations.

As Ensminger and his staff began to plan for a Foundation role in small industries development, he thought it politic to discuss the subject with a number of Gandhian disciples both in and out of the government. Ensminger feared that Gandhians might oppose the introduction of industrial technology. Satisfied that there was no significant opposition on this point, Ensminger proceeded to visit Scandinavia and the United States to see how the Scandinavians handled small industry as a matter of policy and sectoral structure and to recruit an international team of consultants on small industries.

In 1953, the Foundation brought an international team of specialists to India, headed by a Swedish expert, which consulted widely throughout India and eventually made a presentation to the Planning Commission. Their recommendations led to the establishment of the National Small Industries Corporation and regional Small Industries Service Institutes in Delhi, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. In addition, the government with Foundation help established a number of specialized training centers in the manufacture of footwear, leather goods, metallurgy, chemicals and clock making. In 1961 the Foundation made grants to help set up a semi-autonomous Small Industry Extension Training Institute at Hyderabad, which today serves as the central government-sponsored research and training center for the sector.

The critics of the program supported by the Foundation make two points. The first is that government-controlled research and training institutions cannot stay abreast of the rapidly changing technological requirements of small industries. The second is that credit and technical assistance programs have inadequately served the smaller entrepreneurs. In general, however, the small industries sector has thrived in India, and continues to play an extremely important role in employment generation.

Urban and regional planning

As the Indian population and the economy grew, already large cities began to push their boundaries outward into huge metropolitan regions, and small towns grew into small and then big cities. As a profession, urban planning was in its infancy in India, while a growing body of experience was available to be tapped in the developed countries.

In 1958, the government asked the Foundation to organize a group of experienced western consultants to help prepare a spatial Master Plan for the development of the National Capital Region of Delhi. The project was at the time

the largest and most comprehensive urban and regional planning project in the region. It established a number of "firsts" for Asia in survey and planning work on transportation, housing and land use. The work contributed to the realization in India of the importance of urban and regional planning and the need for permanent planning organizations. The Foundation helped both Delhi and Ahmedabad to establish departments of urban community development.

In 1961 the Chief Minister of West Bengal, B. C. Roy, one of India's most dynamic political leaders, asked the Foundation to help Calcutta find its way out of the swamp of disasters in which this proud city found itself. (Unfortunately, Roy died unexpectedly in 1962. His leadership in Calcutta and Bengal proved to be irreplacable.) In some ways, Calcutta at Independence had never really recovered from the blow suffered 30 years earlier when the British moved the imperial capital from Calcutta to New Delhi. The great Bengal famine of 1943 was hardly ended when Calcutta suffered the traumatic riots preceding and accompanying Independence. And immediately following Independence, Calcutta and its environs staggered under the impact of the millions fleeing from what had just become East Pakistan (today Bangladesh). The great city's harbors were silting up, its businesses slack, its health problems so threatening that the World Health Organization in essence pronounced Calcutta a world health menace.

The Foundation agreed to help the West Bengal and Calcutta authorities establish a Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization (CMPO). CMPO was to undertake the task of planning for a better Calcutta and to enlist the support of Indian and outside agencies to fund the large-scale programs of physical and human infrastructure that would be needed. The newly established CMPO included a regional planning unit within CMPO, and planning organizations in Asansol and Siliguri for the northern and western parts of West Bengal.

The Foundation supported the CMPO from 1961 until 1969. There was a large expatriate advisory staff, 50 persons at its peak — too large, some thought, and a 600-person Indian staff. The expatriates came from a number of different countries, and included some of the world's outstanding experts in urban planning.

In 1966 the CMPO produced a Basic Development Plan which provided a 20-year framework for the social, economic and physical development of the greater Calcutta region. In addition, there were shorter-term sectoral plans and investment programs for water, sewage and drainage, traffic and transportation and slum improvement.

The CMPO project in retrospect is regarded by many observers as an occasionally brilliant, sometimes flawed, but important venture in the field of urban and regional planning. Many of CMPO's plans still form the basis for current

development projects in Calcutta. The CMPO planners are often criticized for neglecting the financial and administrative aspects of implementation. One Indian expert who worked in the project has commented that the CMPO was more interested in writing elegant plans than in the gritty but essential subjects of finance and administration.[9]

The most important roadblock to mounting a timely rescue of Calcutta was the long period of political warfare following B. C. Roy's death between the Marxist-dominated coalition governments of West Bengal and Indira Gandhi's Congress Party central government. Political strife, often very violent, lasted from 1967 to 1970. It effectively stalled the implementation phase of CMPO planning by cutting off the flow of central government financial resources into Calcutta.

In 1970, with West Bengal under central government rule, a new development agency, the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority, was created. The central government quadrupled the allocation for development programs in Calcutta. During the early 1970s the Foundation worked with CMDA on economic and social issues in Calcutta's development. Arthur Row, who had been the chief adviser to the CMPO, helped to draft the statute for the new CMDA, and the Foundation took an active part in persuading the World Bank to bring its financial muscle to bear on Calcutta's rebuilding.

A Foundation employee who worked for many years in Calcutta and was committed to the metropolis, the late C. Preston Andrade, commented in a 1974 note on the criticism that there were too many expatriate advisers: "...In fact there were more advisers than were needed or useful...(But) in 1959-60 there were no more than a handful of professional planners in India, most of whom would not have dreamt of leaving Delhi. Even in 1963 it was estimated that there were hardly more than twenty with good qualifications and all were employed. India's economists were (and still mostly are) interested in national planning and macro-economics. The sociologists were interested at the micro-level but had no experience in planning. I think it is safe to say that, without a heavy dose of expatriate work in the early years of the project, the Basic Development Plan, the Transportation Plan, the Bustee (slum) Program and the plans for water, sewerage and drainage and consequently the CMDA program would not exist. Add to this the fact that West Bengal was unwilling to employ non-Bengali Indians and even very generous efforts to stimulate and assist the repatriation of Indians from abroad failed miserably..."[10]

Urbanization as a phenomenon in rural development was the subject in the early 1970s of the Foundation-supported Pilot Research Project in Growth Centers, an ambitious attempt to devise and test new planning methodologies at the block

and district levels. The project was one of a number of activities undertaken by the Indian government during the Fourth Plan period (1969-74) to create infrastructure — roads, schools, clinics, market facilities — for agricultural and rural development and to stimulate planning below the national level. It attempted to introduce spatial considerations into economic and social planning. At the end of the Fourth Plan, when responsibility for micro-area planning was delegated to the states, the Foundation made a number of grants to institutions at the regional and state levels to continue the research in planning methodologies carried out under the Growth Centers project. A center which has particularly distinguished itself in these activities is the Gujarat Institute of Area Planning. In a later phase, a number of regional social science institutions received grants for research and training programs to support the state planning processes. Still another grant went to a district planning cell in the Indian Institute of Public Administration to work with state-level units on district planning methodologies.

India is generally far more sophisticated today about the subject of planning. At the State level, some State Planning Boards routinely include a variety of professional and disciplinary skills in their staffs. Most of the organizational and bureaucratic barriers to planning and successful implementation, however, remain in place. The coordination of physical and human infrastructure investment programs is particularly weak at the lower levels of implementation.

The most recent Foundation grants in planning and management reflect the shift in the Foundation's overall program toward working more with non-government agencies and at lower levels of the development pyramid. The Foundation, following on a recent round of studies of experience with decentralized planning, is about to launch a training and demonstration program focussed on the rejuvenated *panchayati raj* programs of local government in Karnataka. It has funded the Institute of Rural Management at Anand for a program of fellowships in rural management. It is making grants to larger, intermediate-level non-government organizations like PRADAN and MYRADA to help capitalize their central funds and to improve their management systems so that they may service smaller organizations better. It is working with the Society for Participatory Research in Asia and two non-Indian institutions to build support networks for NGOs throughout South and Southeast Asia and to help train NGO leaders.

A related undertaking is to develop the knowledge and practice of philanthropy for economic and social development purposes. Philanthropy has a long and honorable tradition in India. In the traditional society wealth was used to establish charitable and educational activities in connection with temples and

mosques. In the nineteenth century pioneering Indian industrialists like Jamshedji Tata set up foundations along modern lines. The Ford Foundation and the Tatas have collaborated extensively in the independence period in creating such institutions as the Family Planning Foundation of India and the Homi Bhaba Fellowship Program; and the Foundation assisted the Birla Educational Trust to help build the Birla Institute of Technology and Science.

But modern philanthropy remains relatively neglected in India, particularly in light of the opportunities and demands created by the robust growth of the voluntary sector in economic and social development. The Foundation has joined with a number of Indian philanthropists and other private sector groups to help establish a Center for Advancement of Philanthropy at Bombay. The center provides information about philanthropy, advice on how to organize and manage philanthropic institutions and help for those seeking assistance from them. The Foundation is also actively engaged in discussions with Indian private sector leaders about the possible creation of a "National Foundation for India" similar in style to the Ford Foundation but having an exclusively Indian board of trustees and professional staff.

The progression of planning and management grant-making over the first quarter-century ranges from the early consultant groups of the 1950s which explored public administration, small industries and management to a period of large-scale institution building in the 1960s and 1970s. The 1970s were a period of major support for urban and regional planning. The program in the 1980s has focussed on rural management problems. Most recently, the program has endeavoured to strengthen management in local government and the non-governmental sectors and encouraged the professionalization of Indian philanthropy.

Chapter 5

POPULATION, CHILD SURVIVAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

By the 1950s, the health and morbidity patterns of Indian life were beginning to shift rapidly. The traditional ways of birth, life and death of what historically had always been a large population actually started to change in the 1930s, according to historical demographers. The slow accumulation of advances in public health meant that some of the ancient diseases were beginning to lose their deadly grip on the population. Mortality fell far more rapidly than the birth rate. Concepts about desirable family size were also beginning to change, if very slowly for most. The consequence was that by Independence the size of the population was growing rapidly.

Population

The records of the 1951 conversations between various members of the visiting Ford Foundation delegations and their Indian hosts reflect widespread Indian concern over this prospect. The Planning Commission did not ask the Foundation for assistance but reported that the Health Ministry had sought advice from the World Health Organization on methods of population control and assistance in carrying out a survey and experimental project. The Commission was recommending that "the State provide facilities for sterilization or giving advice on contraception on medical grounds and that such help and advice should not be withheld from others who seek and need it on social and economic grounds. Consideration of the raising of the age of marriage of girls is also urged." In his conversations with the Foundation visitors, J. R. D. Tata urged the Foundation to help finance a High Commission to be appointed by the Government for the study of the population. Chester Davis, the senior Foundation person present at that meeting, said he thought "leadership in such a delicate matter must be taken by Indians."[1]

Ensminger, reporting on the operations of the Delhi office in 1952, said that WHO pilot projects were underway in "natural" family planning methods, which use the natural rhythms of the female reproductive system to schedule intercourse and abstinence. He did not think this likely to work. But Ensminger thought that this at least demonstrated a positive approach by the government to what was clearly a national problem. The Gandhian view was that artificial contraception was wrong — the right way being abstinence.

Ensminger observed in his 1971 memoir that "I went to India with an interest in India's population problem and therefore the need for early program attention to family planning. On more than one occasion I talked to Nehru about population and family planning. Nehru always made clear to me he was concerned about India's population growth. But Nehru always said his government could not do

anything in the field of family planning until and unless his Minister of Health presented the Government with a proposal. And he said, 'You know as well as I do she has major reservations about the Government moving into the field of family planning.'"[2]

Ensminger further commented that "assuming India...(in 1951) had asked for help in deciding on appropriate methods, one had to ask the question then and now, what did the world community of medical science have to offer India? The answer is, precious little." He went on to describe the complex nature of Indian village society, its poverty and illiteracy, and concluded that "at most a few of the urban elite could apply the Western methods. India's needs were for methods that were biologically safe, cheap, easily communicated, and capable of use under Indian living conditions."[3]

The subject would not go away. The Foundation was frequently asked by Western visitors, according to Ensminger, why an institution dedicated to innovation and risk-taking was not involved in this immensely significant field. The reticence was at least as much on the Foundation side as on the Indian. Henry Ford, the Chairman of the board of trustees, had married a Catholic and converted to Catholicism; and the subject of family planning and contraception in the United States in the 1950s was far more controversial than it is today — in spite of today's bitter disputes over the issue of abortion. President Eisenhower told the American people in 1959 that his administration would not have "anything to do with birth control."[4]

By the late 1950s, it was clear from the WHO pilot projects that the "natural" method of family planning was not likely to produce the desired results. Ensminger had continued to explore the possibilities of assistance with the central government and with Foundation headquarters. On the latter, he received the assurance that whatever Henry Ford's personal views might be about family planning he viewed the Foundation as a separate institution. Ford was quoted as saying to Donald David, a personal friend and fellow trustee, that "What I do as an individual is strictly my business; and what I do as a Trustee of the Ford Foundation is also my business; but the two need not be related." Ford said that if the Foundation possessed the courage of its convictions a possible family planning grant in India should be put on the agenda and "let the trustees make a decision."[5]

The Indian side was rather more complicated. Although the Prime Minister and his colleagues in Finance and the Planning Commission wanted an active and comprehensive national approach to population issues, the Health Ministers in the early and mid-1950s were staunch Gandhians. Finally in 1955, the Health Minister,

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, clearly under pressure from the Planning Commission, asked Ensminger if the Foundation could bring two experts to India in an informal advisory capacity to help her think through a policy approach to family planning. Dr. Frank Notestein, a distinguished demographer from Princeton University, and Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Director of Public Health Services for the City of New York, visited India for a series of informal discussions with the government and private citizens.

The Notestein-Baumgartner report to the Health Minister made one central point: the future of India depended on the quality of its youth. "Few activities," they said, "are more important to the people and government than those directed toward improving the quality of child care."

After recounting the tremendous health problems that confronted women and children, the report said: "Indian humanitarian objectives cannot be achieved until every family has an opportunity to give adequate attention to the care and development of each child, and until the fruits of modern knowledge about the care of mothers and children can be brought to all the people...A reduction of the birth rate would greatly assist in improving the quality of child care...There is abundant evidence that a significant proportion of parents throughout the villages and cities of the nation are ready for and, indeed, seeking aid in family planning. There is, therefore, every reason to think that a vigorous, but economically and technically feasible, program to foster family planning would hasten the decline of the birth rate to an important extent, and contribute significantly thereby to the quality of child care. It is to the problems of improving the quality of child care through strengthened medical service and family planning that this report is directed."[6]

The report made specific suggestions as to the improvement of maternal and child health services. It recommended a program of field trials of existing contraceptive technologies that might be suitable to Indian conditions (the ones suggested were rhythm, coitus interruptus and the foam tablet); the training of a cadre of professional family planning workers; contraceptive testing and eventual manufacture; a start on medical, biological and social science research; and the creation of a family planning board to formulate policies and implement programs. The board, they suggested, should be autonomous but supported by the government.

The government established a board based on an already existing advisory committee. This soon turned into a Commission, which at first possessed considerable autonomy. The Commission produced plans for what were intended to be two autonomous institutions, the Central Family Planning Institute (CFPI)

and the National Institute of Health Administration and Education (NIHAE). Both Institutes eventually were incorporated into the Ministry and merged into the National Institute of Health and Family Welfare.

The Commissioner of Family Planning, Col. B. L. Raina, asked the Foundation in 1958 to help him set up a system of experimental centers that would study knowledge, attitude and practices (KAP) about family planning at the several hundred clinics already established, and to fund university and medical school-based research and training. The trustees in New York approved the grant with no objections. The program produced an important body of baseline and diagnostic studies.

That same year, the Foundation made a grant to the Gandhigram Institute in Tamil Nadu to support its innovative work in public health which had begun to incorporate family planning. The Institute developed a comprehensive vital registration scheme and enlisted local leaders in its family planning campaigns. Gandhigram's extension work became a national model.

As the first decade came to an end, the government asked the Foundation for assistance in communications research relevant to family planning. The Foundation funded a group of Indian and expatriate experts who worked for several years on this subject and produced most of the early information campaigns aimed at the mass public. These campaigns designed and published the posters with drawings of happy couples and children and the phrases "*Do ya teen bacche bus*" ("Stop after two or three children") and "*Hum do, humare do*" ("We are two; our two"); as well as the red inverted triangle as the symbol of family planning, used to indicate clinics and other establishments where services were available.

The Foundation funded research and marketing efforts in the early 1960s to broaden the availability of condoms (the product was known as Nirodh) through commercial outlets, basing the work on a series of studies done at the Calcutta Institute of Management. It made a sizable grant to the government to increase and improve the flow of national statistics related to population.

The Foundation's largest involvement in the implementation and delivery side of the family planning program began in 1962 in the so-called Intensive Districts Program. The 1961 census had revealed that the country's population had outpaced earlier estimates by 30.0 million people. The government raised the family planning budget tenfold under the Third Five-Year Plan, vowed to lower the national crude birth rate to 25 per 1,000 by 1975 and announced its intentions to reduce its "stifling dependency on the clinic" for a more inclusive extension education approach.

The Intensive Districts Program (IDS) was to cover 19 intensive health and family planning districts for testing delivery and administrative techniques. One district was to be selected in each state, plus four in major cities. The Central family Planning Institute bore major responsibility for technical aspects of the family planning program. The National Institute of Health Administration and Education was to develop manpower resources and coordinate work on the ground in the intensive districts. Ensminger requested a special appropriation of $12.0 million for the program from the Foundation's trustees. He received $5.0 million, and this failure to deliver the amount originally discussed with Indian officials plagued the program from its inception. The rural projects were cut back from 15 to four, the urban projects eliminated.

By 1965, the CFPI and NIHAE components were in operation, and the Foundation had recruited and stationed expatriate consultants in West Bengal, Mysore, the Punjab and Gujarat, and at the CFPI and NIHAE headquarters, waiting for the central government's signal to proceed. According to Ensminger, the states were anxious to move ahead, goading the Central Ministry with letters, cables, telephone calls and personal visits by well-placed officials, but to no avail. By the late 1960s it became obvious that the program as designed was not working. The government had created a new Department of Family Planning, and CFPI and NIHAE were in the process of losing their autonomy. New government policies emphasized vasectomies and use of a newly arrived technology, the intra-uterine device (IUD). In the midst of considerable confusion and hostility the government suggested that the Foundation withdraw its consultants, and this was done beginning in 1968. The program's difficulties were compounded by the growingly sour Indo-U.S. political relationship following the revelation of CIA activities along the Chinese border. Its demise marked the end of the period of large-scale Foundation expatriate technical assistance in the population field.[7]

Research on the economic and social causes and consequences of high rates of population growth was relatively weak in this earlier period (it is not terribly strong even today), although India boasted of a number of distinguished Indian demographers. The subject in its full-blown complexity was not popular with most government policy-makers or most Indian intellectuals. But as the 1960s ended and the limitations of family planning programs began to be evident, numbers of scholars and experts began to talk about "beyond family planning," inspired in part by Kingsley Davis' essay on "Population Policy" which appeared in 1967. Davis, a renowned anthropologist and population expert, questioned the efficacy of family planning programs that ignored the fundamental socio-economic shifts underlying fertility decline. He suggested that policy-makers had tended to treat

overpopulation like a "disease," prescribing pills and coils rather than addressing more fundamental social reforms.[8]

In the mid-1970s, in consultation with a number of private and government experts, the Delhi office commissioned a series of studies to address the far-ranging consequences of the effects of population growth within one policy framework. The *Second India* books[9], written by such scholars as Hannan Ezekiel, F. A. Mehta, V. M. Rao, Jaipal Ambannavar and Kirit Parikh, analyzed the overall economy, agriculture, industry, employment, energy, transport, urbanization, water and population growth in order to pose a number of alternative scenarios for Indian development, depending on low, medium and high rates of economic and population growth, up to the year 2000.

The *Second India* studies attracted wide attention but their practical effects in terms of national policies or programs were insignificant. Indeed, the family planning program itself fell into a state of disrepute during the 1976-78 period of emergency rule from which it has not yet fully recovered. Before and during the Emergency, male vasectomization became the major method of population limitation in the villages.

Since the Emergency this method has virtually disappeared as a major factor. The national family planning program has come to rely heavily on female sterilization, which frequently takes place after the birth of several children, and to a lesser extent on the intra-uterine device (IUD). Use of the pill, condoms and injectables remains rare in the villages.

India's population growth rate is about 2.2 percent. The population by the year 2000 will reach nearly 1.0 billion people, which was the high-growth scenario predicted by the Registrar General's office nearly two decades ago (this would represent a medium-growth scenario in the Ambannavar projection). In recent years the economy has achieved a growth rate of five percent, which was Mehta's "mildly optimistic" scenario for the economy. But to achieve the improvement in the standard of living Mehta predicted, the five percent economic growth rate must have been established by 1975 and maintained until the year 2000.

In another attempt to improve understanding about population issues, the Foundation joined forces in 1971 with J. R. D. Tata, who with such foresight twenty years earlier predicted the awesome growth of the population, to establish the Family Planning Foundation (FPF) of India. The Ford Foundation's grants helped Mr. Tata, who raised over $1.0 million from private Indian donors, to launch this highly important non-governmental national resource of research and information activities.

The FPF, under the skillful leadership of Mr. Tata and J. C.Kavoori and thanks

to the imaginative public affairs work of Rami Chhabra, developed a surprising rapport with government family planning officials and the media. It has supported innovative projects in areas unavailable to foreign donors and encouraged research and discussion of population issues. One historian of the times credits the FPF with putting family planning back on the national agenda after the crash of the program during the Emergency.[10]

As they worked with their Indian colleagues in the late 1950s and early 1960s it was increasingly apparent to Ensminger and his staff that the state of the art of contraceptive technology was far from satisfactory. Adapting existing contraceptive technologies to Indian circumstances presented serious biological and cultural challenges. A Foundation adviser, Dr. Katherine Kuder, argued unsuccessfully, according to Ensminger's oral history, against widespread use of the Lippes loop in Indian women without adequate testing. (After many problems with recipients, the government program eventually withdrew the loop from its delivery programs.) With assistance from Dr. Sheldon Segal of the Population Council and Dr. Annie Southam of the New York headquarters, in 1962 the Delhi office made the first of a series of grants to Indian research institutions to explore fresh scientific approaches in biology and contraceptive technology. The overall $3.0 million program included ten grants to medical and biological research institutions, including Benares Hindu University, the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, the Central Drug Research Institute, the National Institute of Science, Topiwala National Medical College, the University of Kerala, the University of Rajasthan and the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR). The ICMR served as a national granting center for its own and other research institutions.

The reproductive biology research program is generally regarded as an admirable exercise in building institutional capacity. Dr. V. Ramalingaswamy, known internationally for his research and leadership in the medical sciences, has commented that "The most important thing a foundation can do is capacity building. This the Foundation did admirably in reproductive biology. Most of the institutions supported have flowered. The Foundation's support was timely, major and stopped after the real building process had rooted itself." Several of the programs have generated outstanding scientific research. A number of new indigenous contraceptive technologies which promise to be safe, simple to use and reliable in the Indian environment are currently being tested.[11]

Health and Nutrition

The multiple objectives of the Community Development program of the 1950s included several public health targets — village drinking water, sanitation,

improved nutrition and organization of women's groups. The forty years since that pioneering program was launched have witnessed the installation of an enormous infrastructure of health facilities and special programs aimed at improving the health of the masses. There are now 19,000 primary health centers and 122,000 subcenters in India. A number of special programs, including mass immunization campaigns, the Integrated Child Development Scheme and a variety of large nutrition programs aimed at women and children, have contributed to a general improvement in the state of health of the poor. The quality of care provided by the overall system, however, remains a serious concern.

Women and children are particularly at a disadvantage as concerns health, and Foundation programs since the late 1970s increasingly have focussed on this phenomenon (the central point of the Notestein-Baumgartner 1955 report to the Health Minister). Although the infant mortality rate nationwide decreased to 94 per 1000 live births in 1988, rural-urban, regional and sex differentials remain wide. Uttar Pradesh, for example, has an infant mortality rate of 127 as compared to 28 in Kerala. Over 300,000 more females than males die each year, and India's sex ratio — 935 females to 1000 males (1981 figures) is highly abnormal. Of the 25,000,000 births that occur each year, more than half are considered high risk. About 125,000 women die from childbirth each year and approximately 1.6 million suffer from illnesses related to pregnancy and childbirth.

In the general rethinking of the health/population/nutrition nexus that took place in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Foundation through grants to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) began to experiment with alternative strategies for reducing mortality and fertility. The King Edward Memorial hospital at Pune, for example, used Foundation funds to test out a program in which an NGO took on technical responsibility for service delivery at the block level, concentrating on maternal and child care problems.

In 1983 the India program put into place a three-fold strategy reflecting the Foundation's convictions about population and health as observed worldwide. In his 1984 review of the Foundation's programs, President Franklin Thomas wrote: "The success of population programs (will) depend on millions of individual decisions by men and women making personal choices about sexual activity, contraception and childbearing" that are "profoundly influenced by a woman's education and parental expectations of their children's life chances." The Foundation, he said, intended to emphasize child survival, women's needs and a renewed commitment to policy research. The first component of the new approach of the Delhi office was designed to build capacity for community epidemiology and health management in a number of important Indian institutions. As this

program developed it has turned into a national network of research and discussion about community health.

Two major Indian medical centers, the Christian Medical College at Vellore and the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, are leaders in research and teaching in community epidemiology. The Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad has contributed its skills in management to the development of these new programs, and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay has worked on social science analysis of health management. Two operating institutions — the King Edward Memorial hospital and the Child-in-Need Institute in Calcutta — are carrying out and monitoring experimental community-level programs. The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, one of the world's leading centers in health research, participates in the network through consultancies, training, study tours and workshops. The informal network expands to include additional participants as the subject matter requires.

The second part of the strategy has been experimentation with innovative programs. The focus has been on health providers at the community level, particularly organizations that involve women themselves in health care activities. The Foundation has made grants to a number of NGOs and has documented the experience of these and other community-level programs in a series of 12 case studies published under the title of ANUBHAV. The ANUBHAV series has been widely disseminated to practitioners, policy planners and researchers in India and abroad. The series is now being continued by the Voluntary Health Association of India.

The third component of the strategy has been policy-relevant research on child survival. The Foundation has supported a network of six research institutions in different parts of India examining the linkages between women's productive, reproductive and child care roles in poor households to determine how different types of women's work affect child welfare. The research also covers the relationship between women's education, or lack of it, and child survival. Several important publications have emerged from this research program, including a major book, "Infant Mortality in India: Differentials and Determinants", written by Anrudh Jain and Pravin Visaria and published in 1988.

Another important research component is the work currently being carried out on health financing by NGOs and social science research institutions. One of India's leading economics research institutes, the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, has established a new research and policy analysis program in health economics and health care financing with a Foundation grant.

In 1989 the Foundation assisted the Planning Commission in organizing state

and regional-level discussion and debates on the chapter on "Women and Development" for the Eighth Five-Year Plan. Out of these and other discussions the Foundation is developing a program that will concentrate on women's reproductive health. It includes components dealing with the social and economic development of women, improvement in the health status of poor women and children, and enhancement of women's rights. Research studies being carried out by a network of institutions are expected to produce better data on maternal morbidity, sexually transmitted diseases and reproductive health infections. The objectives include improved epidemiological data and better understanding of women's perceptions of illness, how women define their health problems, their health beliefs and attitudes and their health behavior. The program employs workshops, documentation and dissemination of information to involve practitioners, activists and policy planners in efforts to improve women's reproductive health.

In 1989, the Foundation began to support experiments in AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) prevention and treatment. HIV (Human Immune-deficiency Virus) infection is rising rapidly in India. In Bombay, the Foundation provided funds for a mobile education clinic among prostitutes and poor people who earn a livelihood by giving blood. It has funded information dissemination and counselling activities at the Christian Medical College at Vellore and efforts by the Voluntary Health Association of India and other intermediary organizations to establish networks of NGOs for AIDS prevention and control. Support has been provided for social marketing of condoms for prostitutes and their clients, AIDS education for target groups including youth and school children, and communications programs to increase public awareness through a variety of traditional and contemporary media.

The 40-year progression of grants in health, population and nutrition began with a concern for village-level health, as expressed in the Community Development program. It has returned to the same topic in recent years in a much more concentrated mode centering on the special problems of women and children. The large-scale direct support for national family planning programs that characterized the 1960s disappeared entirely in the 1970s, but interest in women's reproductive roles has remained central in subsequent health and nutrition funding (while women's social and economic activities became a major subject in other categories of Foundation funding). Although the Foundation no longer supports basic reproductive biology research, it funds innovations in improved health and family planning service delivery to women and applied research designed to improve access to health care.

Chapter 6

THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

The early Indian leaders looked on the Foundation as a window on the world — a source of ideas, innovations and risk taking. Nehru wanted the best of foreign thinking. Ensminger's memoir reports that Nehru showed up for meetings with Professor Appleby on public administration with his manuscript full of comments in the margin and many sentences underlined. It was not always so. Ensminger reports at least one occasion when Nehru groaned about the plethora of foreign advisers and their remarkable innocence, in some cases, of Indian ways.[1]

Understanding the world outside

The ideas and innovations that came into India in the first decades were largely entirely technical and organizational in nature. There is, of course, another set of ideas and international connections that relates to the social sciences and the humanities. These include such subjects as international economics and politics, the social sciences other than economics and politics, and the humanistic bases for the understanding of India at home and abroad as well as India's scholarly understanding of the world outside.

These two major streams of thought — the non-applied social sciences and humanistic studies on the one hand, and the technical and professional disciplines of development on the other — have remained remarkably separate in India, as indeed in most of the world. As the Foundation's India program grew, it attempted at various times to address the questions raised by this bifurcation in the nature of understanding. The Foundation itself contributed to the problem in the 1950s by splitting the New York management responsibilities and budgets for overseas development activities and international studies. The New Delhi office's support for social science institution building and its cultural programming, described in chapter three, were direct attempts to be responsive to this dichotomy in grants inside India.

Even in the first decades, the Delhi office found modest ways to help develop Indian capacities in international economics and politics. Some of the early university grants in economic research and training went to strengthen competence in international economics issues, and a grant in 1959 to the Indian Council of World Affairs and the Indian School of International Studies established two new chairs, one in American History and Civilization and the second in International Law. In 1964 the Foundation made a major commitment to the development of Chinese studies at Delhi University.

In the 1970s the Foundation helped the University Grants Commission to expand its new program of foreign area studies centers in Indian universities. Under this program, Foundation funds complemented Indian government funds

to support 15 foreign area study centers in Indian universities. In concept the program was not unlike the large foreign area studies program supported by the Foundation in the United States from 1952 to 1967. Another series of grants funded the expansion of the research activities of the Center for the Study of Developing Societies.

In the past decade international affairs broadly defined have grown as a subject in the Foundation's India program. A major stream has been grant-making in international economics. The Foundation helped establish the Indian Council for Research in International Economic Relations. More recently, the Foundation funded an expansion of the international economics program at the Gokhale Institute in Pune. In an attempt to strengthen capacities in a wide range of institutions, the Foundation recently began to fund a post-doctoral economics program which provides overseas research experience for Indian economists with indigenous Ph. D. training. The fellows are selected from an open competition by a committee of eminent economists chaired by Professor A. Bagchi of the National Institute of Public Finance and Administration. The Institute of International Education in New York administers the fellowships.

Resource economics is a vitally important specialization in environmental management questions which often transcend national borders. In 1989, the Foundation funded a new program in resource economics at the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) in Hyderabad which helped organize a network of resource economists in India. Together with the Foundation's Dhaka office, the New Delhi office is supporting a masters program in environmental economics at University College, London.

On a major international resource issue involving India, the Foundation has funded an interesting multinational research project managed by the Center for Policy Research which examines the touchy and important issues surrounding the sharing of the waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra rivers among Nepal, India and Bangladesh. The Center has worked with research institutions in Nepal and Sri Lanka in investigations of the subject. The Foundation has also supported the strengthening of the innovative international relations program at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.

In considering economic, political and resource issues that transcend national borders in South Asia, the Foundation is greatly aided by the historical fact that for much of the past four decades the Delhi office has been responsible for grant-making in Nepal and Sri Lanka as well as India. (A separate Dhaka office administers programs in Bangladesh.) The Delhi office stays abreast of developments and devotes a modest portion of its budget to grant-making

activities in Nepal and Sri Lanka. For the first year of the program in the subcontinent, the Delhi office also made grants in Pakistan, which then became a separate office (there is currently no Foundation office or program in Pakistan).

International training is in selected cases an obviously desirable way to increase competence in specifically international topics. For many years, the Foundation has supported fellowship programs for Indian scholars and civil and foreign service officers in international politics and economics at universities in the United States and England. A recent grant to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs funded fellowships in international relations and diplomacy for scholars and officials who are teachers at the Ministry's Foreign Service Institute. The Foundation also recently made grants to Wolfson College, Cambridge, and to Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, for fellowships for South Asians.

One of the most recent Foundation grants opened a new area for developing Indian expertise about the world. This was a grant to the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, one of Southeast Asia's most prestigious research institutions, to establish a South Asian Fellows program. The Foundation also provides funds to the International Strategic Studies institute in London and to the University of Illinois for South Asian fellowships in peace and security studies.

Understanding India abroad

From 1952, the date the Foundation opened its Delhi office, to 1967, the Foundation was the largest supporter in the United States of the development of Asian and other foreign area studies. The program was known as International Training and Research (ITR). The program greatly broadened and made stronger the institutional development of international studies begun by the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations in the 1930s.

The intellectual underpinnings of the Foundation program are to be found in a "Survey of Asian Studies," written by Dean Carl Spaeth and a group of his Stanford University colleagues in 1951 as a staff paper for the Gaither study committee. Two decades later, Robert Edwards (former Representative in Pakistan, now President of Bowdoin College) wrote in an evaluation of Asian studies that "the humor of the (Spaeth) report... is not strategic but a sanguine assumption of constructive American activity in Asia and the expression of a liberal, rational value — that a democratic electorate must be informed about matters which will deeply affect it; that scholarship on Asia by those who understand its languages and cultures is a prerequisite of an expanded public consciousness..."[2]

The ITR program rationale is further described in a summary written in 1969 by Cleon Swayze: "...In the wake of World War II, its impact on the balance of

power, and the emergence of new nations from colonial status, the United States found itself suddenly and for the first time thrust into a position of world leadership. This brought with it the responsibility for trying to understand and deal effectively with the three quarters of the earth's population of which we as a nation were almost completely ignorant... Except for offerings in the classics and antiquities, the areas of Asia, Africa and the Near East were scarcely mentioned in university curricula...A whole new international and foreign dimension needed to be added to a (educational) system heretofore inward looking and oriented almost exclusively to the western tradition."[3]

Over its 15-year life the Foundation committed $270 million to institution building in foreign area studies in the United States (a few, highly selective grants were made to institutions in Europe as well). About a third of this went into Asian studies. Of this amount (although the categories are imprecise) probably about a third — roughly $30 million — was dedicated to the study of South Asia, predominantly India. Most of the money went to university programs. Without exception, the major U.S. centers of Indian studies at such universities as Columbia, Chicago, Berkeley and Pennsylvania built their institutional staff and library resources with early support from the ITR program.

A significant portion of the funds — $31 million — supported the Foreign Area Fellowship Program (FAFP). The fellowships provided support to graduate students to improve their language competence and to conduct advanced degree research overseas. By 1970 the FAFP had made 1500 grants to give an Asian specialization to more than 800 graduate students — the preponderance in history, political science, and anthropology. About a fourth of these students specialized in South Asia, the overwhelming majority in Indian studies.

Since 1966, fellowships for study in India have been managed by the American Institute of Indian Studies, a unique consortium of 47 universities and colleges, which combines funds from a variety of public and private sources to further the scholarly study of India. The AIIS, with offices in New Delhi and Chicago, has made more than 1500 senior and junior research fellowship awards for study in India.

Edwards notes in his 1972 review that the most popular disciplines for FAFP students had no particular application in overseas development strategy. His comment underscores the virtually complete separation of the Foundation's own activities in overseas development, which as far as India was concerned were the responsibility of the Delhi office under the Overseas Development program of the Foundation, and the funding of Asian (and other international studies) by the separate ITR office of the Foundation. Edwards comments that the 1958

organizational clarification of these responsibilities in New York "left the Foundation a loose confederation of fiefs, each with a virtually autonomous program director." He goes on: "The (ITR's) program congruence with OD (Overseas Development) diminished as it clarified its own targets."[4]

The practical impact was that the New Delhi office managed the economic and social development programs of the Foundation on the ground in India, as well as any university or other contracts with American-based institutions to support development work in India (as, for example, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology groups which worked in economics and technology education). The Foundation's ITR office in New York managed Asian studies grants to universities and the FAFP which trained scholars on Asia. When a scholar came to India under these auspices, he or she had no direct relationship to the New Delhi office, nor did the New Delhi office bear management responsibilities as far as the scholar was concerned. This led to occasional irritations, particularly when scholars wished to investigate subjects the Indian government found sensitive.

As the Foundation's own concepts of policy and program began to change in the 1970s, Edwards commented that "the line betwen the academic and activist points of view has begun to blur." The change was reflected in a New York headquarters reorganization in the late 1960s which placed both international studies and overseas development under one head. A more recent modification made one vice president responsible for the management of all programs, domestic or overseas. As a matter of established policy, the Foundation now funds humanistic studies in India (and paradoxically rather rarely in the United States). Both the New York and the New Delhi offices are active funders of grants dealing with the international aspects of economics, politics, human rights and environmental subjects.

This blurring of the lines between activist development and social science and humanistic scholarship, and between research and experiment conducted in one country and that carried out in another, is likely to be the pattern for the future as environmental, economic, cultural and human rights issues increasingly transcend national borders. The Foundation's internal organization today attempts to reflect this pattern of universal interests among societies in different parts of the world, irrespective of their *per capita* GNP.

Chapter 7

A SUMMING UP: AN OUTLOOK

It is possible to look at India after 40 years and see only crisis. The violence of contemporary Indian life — the Punjab, Kashmir, caste-related killings and protests of all sorts — is what the world mostly sees about India on satellite television news or reads in its newspapers.

The truth is certainly more complicated. The violence of much of contemporary Indian political and social protest responds to the pent-up passions of people who, rightly or wrongly, believe they have been denied justice in the development of Indian society. But beyond the reach of the television cameras, far more than at any time in the past, thousands of private and public citizens, frequently very well organized, are working to try to resolve these grievances within the limits of law and policy before they reach the explosion point.

The society is rethinking a host of old policies. The macro-economic reform program launched by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Finance Minister Manmohan Singh in the summer of 1991, considered by many to be essentially irreversible, should change the dynamics of Indian industry and for the first time launch India as a true world market competitor. By political choice, India will doubtless continue to call itself a socialist state, but no longer is the state to be the principal motor of development.

Many Indians believe equally radical reforms must take place in the political and administrative systems. Here the process of reform will be much more difficult, human institutions being as thick-skulled as they are. It is encouraging, though, to observe the renewed vigor of the old Indian debate about *panchayati raj* and the decentralization of political and financial power. Surely the most powerful political wind blowing today through a world where old empires are falling apart is decentralization — the search for the right formulas for sharing power and responsibility between central governments, units lower in the hierarchy, and people at all levels. The growingly visible desire and intention of poor Indians to participate — to share in the benefits as well as the burden of being citizens — is potentially an enormously positive force for development.

The forty years from 1951 to 1992 have produced many accomplishments. With but one brief interruption during the Emergency, India has observed and practiced democracy, an idea that most of the world is only now coming to value. Indian scientific, technological and industrial potential is formidable. India has built a nuclear device, manufactures jet aircraft and rockets, exports cars and trucks, and builds and sends to sea one of the world's largest merchant navies. Its software engineers are becoming known around the world for their ingenuity and productivity, and the growing "techno-managerial class" emerging from the Institutes of Technology and the Institutes of Management suggests India could

compete well in the rapidly transforming world economy. India's institutional strength in terms of research centers and higher education is well developed — although less productive than many Indians think it should be. A growing middle class, possibly 100 million-plus people, enjoys a comfortable standard of living by any international definition; and growing evidence suggests the consumer revolution is spreading rapidly to the countryside.

Life expectancy has increased from the 32 years of 1950 to 59 (1989 figure). Food production for the enormous, and still rapidly growing, population has kept pace better than many experts thought possible a quarter-century ago, although experts are concerned about the recent leveling off of cereal grain yields. *Per capita* availabilities of cereals and pulses remain lower than desirable.

But many of the basic challenges of development India faced 40 years ago remain unchanged, particularly as concern education and health. Universal compulsory primary education is the most important of them all. In 1990 the Foundation supported the research of an American political scientist, Professor Myron Weiner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on the subject of education and child labor in India. Weiner's book, *The Child and the State in India: Child Labour and Education Policy in Comparative Perspective,* compares India's performance with that of a number of advanced and developing countries and finds it deficient. Weiner points out that literacy in most countries precedes rather than follows society-wide economic development and argues that primary education must be made genuinely compulsory. Weiner lays the blame for India's poor performance squarely on Indian elite attitudes towards popular mass education. Reviewing the book in the *Indian Express* of September 12, 1991, the journalist and scholar, B. G. Verghese, commented that the constitutional promises to provide free and compulsory education and to insure that children are protected from exploitation have been "cruelly betrayed". Nowhere, he said, is there a "stronger and more lucid indictment of this than by Myron Weiner."[2]

Such unfulfilled promises lie at the root of the protests that flicker and explode throughout India. The poverty in which so many Indians must live and try to survive remains a seemingly impregnable fortress. Twenty years ago, the Foundation funded the research and publication of a seminal book on poverty by Professors V. M. Dandekar and Nilkantha Rath, *Poverty in India*. Much of those two scholars' analysis remains valid today. They wrote of the "problem of low national income and its unequal distribution; the slow pace of development and the inequitable distribution of the small gains of development."[3] One of their strong recommendations was a guaranteed employment scheme for the rural poor, which has been translated first into a successful safety net scheme in Maharashtra and

more recently into a national program. But the transformation of the rural economy and the moving into the industrial sector of large numbers of the rural poor that Dandekar and Rath thought necessary have not occurred.

At least one third of the population is below the poverty line. Literacy is only 52%-64% among males, 40% among females. Most Indian public and private sector leaders believe population growth rates must be brought down rapidly if India is to survive into the 21st century as a viable political entity. (If the Indian population continues to grow at a 2.0-plus percent annual rate, it will reach 1.0 billion people by the start of the new century.) Pressures on land are high and increasing. Average landholdings are now only around 1.5 hectares, and 75 percent of India's farmers are classified as small or marginal. Landless labor has increased consistently as a component of the population. Closed forest cover has declined from about 40% at Independence to just over 10% today. By some classifications half of India's land is now considered degraded.

The characteristics of some of the old challenges have changed. In food grain production, for example, first-rate agricultural research institutions and elaborate research networks have been built. Many of the answers are known, or perhaps more accurately said, the institutional capacity exists to find the answers. The challenge in agriculture today is to build on this existing scientific and managerial strength to maintain the pace of growth in irrigated agriculture and simultaneously to find production solutions for resource-poor farmers in less favored regions.

A host of such transformed, and in some cases new, challenges exists. Production processes throughout the economy must be intensified and improved. Natural environments require better protection and, where possible, restoration. Improving soil, water and forestry management is critical. Alternative approaches to development less dependent on direct government intervention need to be tested and deployed. The linkages among science and technology, the financing and management of development, and resource-poor populations and regions must improve.

It has never been easy to keep research scientists concentrated on the farmer's field, and as the forward edge of Indian science and industry increasingly becomes engaged with high technology it may become even more difficult. In India the Brahmanical tradition has seen knowledge as flowing down rather than up. The managers of Indian scientific and technological research must spend much of their time fighting this top-down tendency. Sam Pitroda, the information systems entrepreneur who gave up a successful career in the United States to return to India to lead the government's efforts to revolutionize communications technology, has said: "India needs *shudra* (working caste) science, not Brahman science."[4]

New challenges, some of them formidable indeed, will inevitably join the list. The Foundation recently made a few experimental grants, for example, to help Indian institutions organize to deal with AIDS, a disease which carries the potential of inflicting enormous damage on the Indian fabric of life. Another recent grant to the Tata Energy Research Institute helped establish a center for the study of global warming as this process affects India.

Almost certainly the proper attitude towards Indian development as the 21st century approaches is neither pessimism nor optimism but realism. To the extent that realism means the recognition of problems and a search for better solutions Indian society today is probably performing rather well. Forging the political will to deal with difficult, deep-rooted problems is a more formidable task, as both Indians and Americans know.

In its grant-making work over the curve of the past four decades, the Foundation has learned a good deal about development. Among other lessons, it has learned to be more modest. In 1951, when Paul Hoffman sat down to talk with Jawaharlal Nehru, he noted that the resources of the Foundation were limited by comparison with the needs of India. In the optimistic air of the 1950s, though, the Foundation, with its own financial resources increasing at a rapid rate in the postwar stock market boom and under Ensminger's bold leadership in India, saw itself as a national actor in such activities as the IADP, the small industries sector and the first national family planning program. In 1992, in an India vastly more developed in institutional terms, the Foundation's role is obviously much more limited, although many Indians testify that on selected subjects its ability and willingness to innovate and to communicate are extremely useful.

The process of learning how the Foundation can work most productively entails questions about both the substance of the program and the style of operating. In the 1960s, coincident with the extension vs. research debate, a second major internal Foundation policy argument arose: At the heart of the matter was the question of whether the Foundation should be an operator and manager of development programs through the provision of expert technical assistance, usually foreign, or whether it primarily should make grants to support Indian answers to Indian problems.

By the 1960s the India program included both large technical assistance teams working with government programs and a number of institution building grants which also usually had foreign advisers attached to them. Sizable numbers of foreign experts were employed in such projects as the IADP, the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization, and in the Foundation's work in family planning with Indian Government agencies. In the peak year, 1968, the total

Foundation foreign staff, counting both direct Foundation managers and technical assistance consultants and advisers, numbered 102.

Three reasons led the Foundation to change this working style. First, foreign experts had become a very expensive item in budgets that could not indefinitely be expanded. Second, many existing Indian institutions had been strengthened and numbers of new ones built. Clearly a larger supply of talented and trained Indians should be available to be deployed in problems of development. The challenge was to make the system work so that they could be utilized. Continuing to bring in foreign experts to do jobs for which Indians were either available or could be trained seemed to evade the issue of expertise in development rather than help resolve it. The third reason was simply that as Indians felt increasingly self-reliant in managing their own development processes it was politically unacceptable to rely heavily on foreign consultants.

In 1970, the Foundation therefore began to change its style of doing business. It ceased to be an "operating" foundation, carrying out much of its programmatic work through technical assistance experts, and became almost entirely a grant making foundation. The Foundation would still bring in foreign experts if that expertise was genuinely needed, locally unavailable and strongly wanted by an Indian institution. The Foundation's overall staff numbers in the New Delhi office began to fall rapidly. By the mid-1970s, its professional staff in India numbered about 15 persons. It has remained at about that level ever since.

A 1975 internal staff review of the Foundation's work in planning and management provides an excellent summary of the reasoning: "During the 1950s and most of the 1960s the Foundation was concerned mainly with national problems, national programs and national institutions...Because Independent India had inherited a relatively competent and well-established government, we thought the Foundation with limited funds could benefit the largest number of people by working mainly through government agencies...Where the Foundation's priorities corresponded with Government's, the response was impressive, as for example in the rapid expanson in the national small industries organization. Where the Foundation was too far out ahead (or too far to the side) of Government, the outcome was a 'Foundation project', one that left little residue when the Foundation moved on to other concerns.

"We saw our principal role in helping 'to make available to leaders and planners the best and most pertinent foreign experience on the particular problem India faces.' Now our primary role has shifted from providing expatriate advisors to helping to develop Indian competence — from operational involvements with Indian government agencies to associations with Indian research and training

institutes. Also reflected is the judgement that the Foundation's efforts to help government directly through advisory services and training have been less effective than building capacities for analysis, planning and implementation in Indian institutions which are outside of, but serve, government...Competence building is what is most needed, and what the Foundation does best," the report said.[5]

Probably the most critical internal evaluation ever carried out of the Foundation's work in the subcontinent was written in 1971 by a young British staff member, Ian Martin, who had been assigned to the Foundation staff in Pakistan. In informal discussions with senior Foundation managers in the late 1960s, Martin (currently the Secretary General of Amnesty International) expressed his belief that the Foundation had failed to understand the cultural, social and economic context of life in the subcontinent and was imposing its own, Western standards in its development work. The Foundation asked Martin to take time out from his regular duties to carry out an internal evaluation of its work in India and Pakistan.

The Martin report claimed to find no discernible philosophy of development in which the Foundation's objectives were clearly stated. Martin observed "that types of grant reflect differing assumptions but that (by 1971) there has been a major shift away from the intended egalitarianism of early efforts towards a managerial approach emphasizing advice to policy-makers and training of leadership groups. This shift has, however, caused little change in the expenditure pattern of the two programs, which exhibits a striking consistency in the low levels of local currency support and the devotion of half of grant budgets to the maintenance of expatriate advisers. This analysis...suggests that the Foundation has proceeded on the assumption of the availability and applicability through foreign assistance of knowledge as to the objectives of 'development' and the ways in which it may be brought about in poor countries..." The report was highly critical of the deficiencies of foreign advisers, suggested that much foreign training produces negative results, and questioned the validity of attempts to transfer Western institutions and procedures to the South Asian context.

Martin argued that the Foundation should be "explicit as to its own values" and that it should support "experimentation on the prompting of local initiative...seeking approaches appropriate to diverse cultures rather than the international definition of problems and policies." He suggested the Foundation should support research in the arts, humanities and social sciences, the development of technology appropriate to particular poor countries, and experimentation with alternative solutions to problems important in the light of the Foundation's values.[6]

It would be wrong to attribute excessive importance to the Martin evaluation. Most Foundation staff members in both India and New York have never heard of it. But its theme and observations were not untypical of the internal and external discussions in India and New York that began in the late 1960s and have continued through the 1970s and 1980s.

These debates have produced a much changed grant-making program in India (Table 1). The Foundation has added grant-making in the cultural and human rights fields to its India program. It has changed the focus of its traditional program interests in agriculture, health and family planning and management from national approaches to efforts to deal with location-and-group specific problems of resource-poor groups. It works much more closely to the grass roots through its grants to NGOs. It has concentrated on improving the processes of communication and understanding between scientists and bureaucratic managers and poor people.

DELHI OFFICE
Table 1: Grants and Projects by Fields
(Four sample years)

Year	Food production, poverty & sustainable agriculture	Education, culture, human rights, governance	Planning & management	Population, child survival, reproductive health	International affairs
1960	77.3%	14.9%	6.3%	1.5%	–
1970	22.2%	28.3%	27.4%	11.9%	10.20%
1980	47.2%	28.7%	11.4%	11.8%	0.09%
1990	41.9%	22.0%	2.4%	23.9%	9.80%

The Foundation's Representatives have played an important part in making and carrying out the management decisions underlying these changes. The Foundation has had only six representatives in New Delhi between 1952 and 1992 — although the first, Douglas Ensminger, remained for 19 years. Each brought particular skills and experience to the job. Ensminger was a rural sociologist, director of the Office of International Exchanges at the U.S. Department of Agriculture before his 1951 appointment. His successors all had Foundation experience before their appointments, either as staff members or long-term consultants and advisers. They came from widely differing backgrounds before their Ford Foundation connections began. Harry Wilhelm was a government planning and budget manager before he joined the Foundation. Eugene Staples was a former journalist and diplomat, Lincoln Chen a medical scientist, Thomas Kessinger a historian. Gordon Conway, the current Representative, is a biological

scientist.

The most radical changes in Foundation program and style took place when Wilhelm came to India in 1970 and in essence the Foundation stopped being an operating foundation. Wilhelm launched the Foundation on a major program in institution building in the social sciences — although selective support to the social sciences had long been part of the Ensminger regime. The move towards NGOs and grant making in the cultural field began during the Staples period in the late 1970s, and has been accentuated during the management periods of Chen, Kessinger and Conway (Table 2). This is particuarly true in regard to women's employment, health, resource management, culture and legal rights.

Changes in New York management have been even less frequent but have obviously affected the Foundation's largest overseas program. The enlarged Foundation which began its work in 1951 has had only five Presidents in forty years. Hoffman established the early program directions, particularly the concern for the international and developmental dimensions, and the policy of decentralized management. The major shift in program and style that occurred in the New Delhi office in 1970 was a direct result of the assumption of the Foundation's presidency a few years earlier by McGeorge Bundy. The continuing turning toward grass-roots work, particularly the emphasis on women's roles in development, and concern for human rights are major features of Foundation programs worldwide under the management of the current President, Franklin Thomas, who assumed office in 1979. Without exception, the Foundation's top officers in New York have practiced a policy of management decentralization that has encouraged the Foundation's New Delhi office to think broadly and to be prepared to take risks in responding to Indian needs.

DELHI OFFICE

Table 2: Grants and Projects by Type of Organization and Programs

(Four sample years)

Year	Central or state govt. ministries or programs*	Semi-autonomous govt. institutions and programs	Universities, research institutes, management institutions	Non-governmental private agencies and programs
1960	81.5%	4.6%	13.2%	0.7%
1970	16.1%	22.2%	46.1%	15.6%
1980	21.6%	7.3%	21.5%	49.6%
1990	15.8%	1.1%	40.8%	42.3%

*Includes grants to collaborating international institutes

In spite of these changes in the Foundation's style and program focus and the

fads that come and go in development theory and practice, a considerable degree of real continuity in terms of subject matters characterizes four decades of Foundation grant making in India. A concern for the rural poor, food and health and a commitment to improving management at all levels of the development process, for example, have never been absent. An awareness of women's multiple roles in the development process was present in the very first grants, and it is notable that the first Foundation-sponsored report on population and family planning gave its highest priority to the improvement of maternal and child health.

Each new Representative has been able to build on the good works and good will towards the Foundation inherited from earlier management. Over four decades of its India work the Foundation has drawn ideas from a wide range of public and private leaders, scholars and grass roots development workers and citizens. The Indians whose wisdom and vision have inspired the Foundation's programs are an exceptional group of men and women.

The Foundation has always been the subject of suspicion and criticism on the part of some Indian politicians and intellectuals, ranging from charges that the Foundation is a CIA front to a simple dislike for an American, capitalist institution. After Nehru's death in 1965 and Ensminger's departure in 1970, no Foundation representative has enjoyed the access to the Prime Minister that Ensminger had in the early period. The official Indo-U.S. relationship, which over four decades has recorded more down periods than up, certainly has affected the climate in which the Foundation has worked. The Foundation itself was slow in recognizing the need to reduce the large expatriate staffs of the first two decades. But neither anti-Americanism, which is not a deeply based phenomenom in India, nor the worst periods of the official Indo-U.S. relationship have interfered significantly with the Foundation's program. The Indian government, at the highest levels, on a number of occasions has affirmed its continuing desire for the Foundation's presence in India. All Foundation grants are, as a matter of long-established practice, cleared by the central government.

An abbreviated summing up of important changes in Foundation policy, program and management over 40 years might look like this:

1. In regard to the theory of knowledge generation, the Foundation has largely moved from relying on knowledge gained elsewhere and perceived as sharable to a policy of generating knowledge and learning on the ground. Today's policy may perhaps best be described as one of encouraging a valuable two-way flow of knowledge and experience.

2. As concerns staff and grant making, the Foundation has moved from heavy reliance on technical assistance and from being largely an operating foundation, to

functioning as a grant-making foundation.

3. From an early position of working almost entirely with government ministries, the Foundation now deals mostly with non-governmental organizations and autonomous agencies funded but not directly controlled by the central government.

4. From having been a heavy supporter of national extension programs, the Foundation has moved to a policy of supporting important research on a selective basis and improving the validity and utility of research, both scientific and in the social sciences, through participatory programs at the village and urban slum level.

5. From working mostly with central government agencies, the Foundation has moved to a position of working mostly at the State and sub-state levels.

6. From general approaches aimed at all-India problems, the Foundation has concentrated on resource-poor groups of people with a particular emphasis on women.

The New Delhi office projects five goals in its program for the next several years:

1. To promote cultural diversity, social justice and respect for human rights.

2. To improve the livelihoods of the rural poor through participatory and sustainable development.

3. To enhance the health, economic and social status of women.

4. To foster informed public debate and dialogue on issues of pressing regional and international concern.

5. To promote the health and vitality of the private, voluntary sector.

The Foundation's grants to the non-governmental organization sector are designed to improve its financial and managerial capacities so that the sector can reduce its dependence on foreign and government funding. A related objective is to support the further development of Indian philanthropy. The Foundation has supported research on Indian philanthropy in such issues as taxation, legal status and financial management. It is working with a committee of distinguished civic leaders to explore the creation of a National Foundation for India — a private grant-making foundation with an Indian board of trustees and a professional staff. This would be an entirely separate organization from the Ford Foundation. Its creation would not mean that the Ford Foundation would cease its work in India.

As it did in 1952, the Foundation in 1992 believes in the importance of India both because of India's role in the world and the size and nature of the human challenge represented in its development. Because of its characteristics as an institution, and because it has learned a good deal about India in 40 years, the Foundation believes it can continue to be of help with some of India's problems.

As the Foundation has matured and changed, it has recognized the importance of continuity and perseverance.

In Chapter 3 of this book, Douglas Ensminger was quoted as saying in regard to the 1960s decision to help Calcutta University amend its organic act that "While I felt at the time we were accepting a complex and difficult assignment, as events will show, I did not have any way of knowing the many many problems we were to encounter." The remainder of that quotation from Ensminger's oral history is as follows: "This statement does not imply that had I known how difficult it would be to assist Calcutta University I would have backed away: not at all."

That, perhaps, epitomizes the way a foundation should regard its work.

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