

EMPLOYMENT EFFECTS AND IMPACT
OF
THE CRASH SCHEME FOR
RURAL EMPLOYMENT IN
THANA DISTRICT, MAHARASHTRA STATE

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INTRODUCTION

The Department of Community Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, vide its letter dated 14th January 1974 desired that during 1973-74 a research project to examine the employment effects of the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (henceforth referred to as CSRE) and to assess the impact of the scheme on the rural economy may be conducted in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Maharashtra. The study was to be carried out with the following broad objectives :

- (i) to study the characteristics of the labour force employed on CSRE projects;
- (ii) to analyse the employment effects of the CSRE; and
- (iii) to study the economic and social benefits resulting from the creation of assets under the CSRE.

It was stipulated that the study will be based on a sample survey of about 250 to 300 labourers working at one or a cluster of CSRE projects in a district where the total expenditure on the CSRE programme since its inception has been the highest. The Institute communicated vide its letter dated 22nd January 1974 its willingness to take up a research project in Maharashtra State for the proposed study and requested the Ministry to let us know if it proposed to have a common set of schedules to be canvassed in the three States. On the same day we also wrote to the Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra, to suggest any particular district/districts from the State for the proposed study. The Ministry sent along with its letter dated 18th February 1974 a copy of the note on the sample design and schedule and communicated that the Government of India desired that the study should be initiated during the year 1973-74. On 28th February 1974

I visited the State Sachivalaya to obtain information regarding the expenditure incurred on the CSRE in various districts in the State from April 1971 to January 1974. It was found that the expenditure was the maximum in Thana district. We, therefore, decided to select Thana district for the proposed study. I visited the same day the Thana District Zilla Parishad (henceforth referred to as Z.P.) to obtain information regarding the CSRE projects in progress in Thana district. The financial provision for the programme being upto 31-3-1974, the Z.P. had instructed the Block Development Officers (henceforth referred to as B.D.O.s) to close the work by 20th March 1974. As the works were likely to remain closed for a few days around the Holi festival, it was suggested that we may carry out the fieldwork between 12th and 20th March 1974. Taking into consideration the works in progress in different talukas in the district and time at our disposal for fieldwork we selected CSRE works from Bhiwandi taluka for the sample survey of labourers. On 12th March 1974 we visited the Panchayat Samiti's office, Bhiwandi, and selected a cluster of four road works. The field work was carried out in March 1974 and another visit was paid in June 1974 to fill in certain gaps in the schedules canvassed in March 1974. Due to Holi Festival and the marriage season, the attendance at the road works was rather low. We, therefore, canvassed the schedule in respect of all the workers at the four road works who were found at the road works at the time of the survey. In all 187 schedules were filled in which contained 227 labourers engaged at the 4 CSRE road works. The data from the records at the Panchayat Samiti's office, Bhiwandi taluka and Thana district Z. P. was obtained in a few visits between April and August 1974. The tabulation of data collected during the survey and drafting of the report was also carried out during this period.

There was considerable variation, both monthwise and talukawise, in the expenditure incurred on wages paid to the workers employed in the C.S.R.E. It was felt that data regarding monthwise employment may prove useful in assessing the impact of the scheme. In spite of our best efforts we could not get the required information in respect of three out of thirteen talukas. We have used in the present report whatever data we received from the Z. P. till 31st October 1974.

I must state that the staff of the Thana District Z. P. and the Panchayat Samiti, Bhiwandi, and particularly Shri Y. S. Desai, Executive Engineer (CSRE) Thana District extended full co-operation and made available the relevant information from the records of the Z.P. I am thankful to the officers of the Z.P. for their co-operation.

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1st November, 1974.

Chapter I

CSRE IN THANA DISTRICT - PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

The Government of India decided to introduce a programme for providing employment in rural areas under a scheme entitled "The Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE)". The Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation, (Dept. of Community Development), New Delhi, wrote to the Chief Secretaries of the State Governments and Union territories on 25th February 1971 giving the details of the scheme. It directed the State Governments to bring together and furnish as soon as possible all the projects formulated brought together in the form of a consolidated State Report and indicating in respect of each district the following :

- (i) the nature of the projects to be undertaken;
- (ii) the number of persons likely to be employed;
- (iii) the period likely to be taken for the completion of the projects;
- (iv) the manner in which the project is related to the district plan or to the overall development needs of the area;
- (v) the total cost of each project, and separately the labour component and the material component thereof;
- (vi) outlay that will be necessary for the projects and its phasing; and
- (vii) any other relevant details.

The Central Government informed the State Governments that it will provide for each district an amount of Rs.12.50 lakhs annually for 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74 to meet the wage bill Rs.10.00 lakhs at a maximum monthly wage of Rs.100 for 1000 persons for 10 months every year and to meet the cost of equipment, materials, etc. Rs. 2.50 lakhs. The Central Ministry further informed the State Governments that the funds required for the implementation of the programme during 1971-72 will be placed at the disposal of the State Governments in suitable instalments as soon as the projects were sanctioned.

Objectives of the Scheme :

The objectives of the scheme as stated in the outline circulated by the Ministry read 'to generate additional employment through additional rural works. The selected rural works shall be labour intensive and help to create productive and durable assets. The selected rural works should be located in areas of each district (i) where other special programmes such as the SFDA, MFAL, drought affected small holders etc. are not in operation, and (ii) where the percentage of landless labour and the incidence of unemployment is relatively large and which are relatively less developed.' The list of works recommended included percolation tanks, road construction, afforestation, soil conservation and such other works. It was also stated that 'the basic objective is to generate employment for 1000 persons in each district in productive works. In giving employment preference would be given to persons belonging to families where no adult is employed or which suffer from inadequate employment..... . The wages to be given should be equal to the prevailing wages in the locality in the off season subject to a maximum limit to Rs.100/- per head per month'.

CSRE in Maharashtra State :

The Secretary, Rural Development Department, Government of Maharashtra sent a letter on 30-3-1971 to all the Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of Z.P.s in the State together with a copy of the letter dated 25-2-1971 from the Secretary to the Government of India. In view of the urgency of the matter he suggested that if necessary the CEOs may send the required information and suggestions by special messengers.

There was considerable delay in starting the CSRE works during the year 1971-72 in most of the districts due

to the time required in formulating the proposals, obtaining sanction from the Central Government and creating the executive set up for implementing the programme.

We obtained from the State Sachivalaya on 28-2-1974 a statement showing the allocation of funds during the period April 1971 to November 1973 under the CSRE to various districts in the State. The information is given in Table 1.1. The total expenditure on the CSRE in 25 districts of Maharashtra State during the year 1971-72 came to Rs. 126.31 lakhs i.e. on an average Rs. 5,05,240 per district. The expenditure in Thana district was the maximum being Rs. 11.96 lakhs. During the year 1972-73, the works gathered momentum and the total expenditure for 25 districts came to Rs. 355.12 lakhs i.e. on an average Rs. 14,20,480 per district. During this year also the expenditure in Thana district was the maximum being Rs. 24.00 lakhs. Excepting Ratnagiri (Rs. 9.00 lakhs), Buldana (Rs. 11.00 lakhs) and Aurangabad and Chandrapur (Rs. 12.00 lakhs each) the expenditure in other districts in the State was Rs. 12.50 lakhs or more. It will be noted from the last column of the table that the total grants allotted for the period April 1971 to November 1973 came to Rs. 716.31 lakhs i.e. on an average Rs. 28,65,760 per district. Thana district received the maximum allocation of Rs. 45.96 lakhs. In all the districts except Thana district the expenditure was below the prescribed ceiling of Rs. 37.50 lakhs for the period April 1971 to January 1974.

The Government had originally communicated that the total expenditure on the CSRE in a district will be within the ceiling of Rs. 37.50 lakhs for the three years period beginning 1st April 1971. The officers had then stated that even if the Government released grant in excess of Rs. 12.50 lakhs in a particular year, the grant to be released in the following year will be adjusted so as to

Table 1.1 : Districtwise allocation of funds against the entitlement of Rs. 37.50 lakhs during the years 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74 (upto Nov. 1973)

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of District	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74 (upto Nov. '73)	Total
1. Thana	11.96	24.00	10.00	45.96
2. Kolaba	0.96	17.00	12.50	30.46
3. Ratnagiri	2.94	9.00	5.00	16.94
4. Nasik	6.63	17.50	10.00	34.13
5. Dhulia	4.13	14.50	11.00	29.63
6. Jalgaon	5.95	12.50	10.00	28.45
7. Poona	10.36	13.54	5.00	28.90
8. Ahmednagar	7.07	14.50	14.00	35.57
9. Satara	4.42	17.00	10.00	31.42
10. Sangli	5.76	14.00	8.00	27.76
11. Sholapur	6.18	13.00	11.00	30.18
12. Kolhapur	8.09	13.96	7.08	29.13
13. Aurangabad	3.74	12.00	10.00	25.74
14. Parbhani	5.06	14.50	11.00	30.56
15. Bhir	3.21	12.50	5.00	20.71
16. Nanded	6.17	14.00	11.00	31.17
17. Osmanabad	6.28	15.68	8.00	30.16
18. Buldhana	2.38	11.00	10.00	23.38
19. Akola	6.44	15.89	10.50	32.83
20. Amravati	3.97	16.00	10.50	30.47
21. Yeotmal	6.33	12.50	7.00	25.83
22. Wardha	3.88	13.00	5.00	21.88
23. Nagpur	0.54	12.35	11.00	24.29
24. Bhandara	2.50	13.00	11.00	26.50
25. Chanda (Chandrapur)	0.96	12.00	11.00	23.96
TOTAL :	126.31	355.12	234.58	716.01

keep the average at Rs. 12.50 lakhs per year; and if in an exceptional case a district was sanctioned grants exceeding Rs. 37.50 lakhs for the three years, the average grant per district for the whole state would be maintained at Rs. 37.50 lakhs per year. Hence we find a few districts receiving more than Rs. 12.50 lakhs per year on an average.

CSRE in Thana District :

Planning of the CSRE Works :

According to the directives given by the Government, a Committee for Thana district at the District level comprising of the following members was formed :- (1) Hon. Minister for

Revenue and Forest - Chairman, (2) President, Zilla Parishad, Thana - Member, (3) Chief Executive Officer, Zilla Parishad, Thana - Member, (4) Collector of Thana - Member, (5) Executive Engineer, Zilla Parishad, Thana - Secretary.

The proposals for works to be included in the Scheme were called from all the Panchayat Samitis. After scrutiny of these proposals, a programme of works was prepared and put up before the Committee for approval. While finalising the programme, the basic guideline viz., that the road works to be taken in this programme should as far as possible, form a part of the approved 1961-61 Road Development Plan was kept in view.

Staff for Execution of the CSRE Works :

A separate sub-division was sanctioned by the Government for implementing the CSRE. In addition, the normal supervisory staff of the Z.P. at the Block level was utilized. Muster clerks and Mukadams (supervisors) were appointed at the road works. The Muster Clerks maintained daily attendance of workers on nominal muster roll and submitted daily report of work done. The Mukadams controlled the labour gangs. The staff worked under the Deputy Engineer at each block and the Deputy Engineers worked under the Executive Engineer, CSRE at the district level.

Payment of Wages :

In Thana district, the daily wage rate as reported by the Z.P. varied between Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3.00 in Dahanu, Shahapur, Murbad, Mokhada and Talasari talukas, between Rs. 3.00 and Rs. 3.50 in Jawahar and Wada talukas, and between Rs. 3.50 and Rs. 4.00 in Bassein, Bhivandi and Palghar talukas. In Ulhasnagar taluka it varied between Rs. 4.00 and Rs. 4.50 and was the maximum in Thana taluka being Rs. 4.50 to Rs. 5.00 per day per worker. The Z.P. fixed the ceiling of daily wage rate of Rs. 3.35 for both the male and female workers subject to

the proportionate outturn based on the schedule estimated rates.

In the initial period the payment of wages was made every month. In the circular letter from the Government of Maharashtra addressed to the Z.P.s dated 31-10-1973, it was observed that the wages were paid on a monthly basis. The Government directed the Z.P.s to pay the wages on a weekly basis particularly because of the draught conditions in many districts. The circular also stated that 'it has been already made clear that the objective of the CSRE is to provide employment to 1000 persons per month for 10 months does not imply that the same body of persons need to be employed at any point of time. Since there are different employment schemes operating in each district, attendance on any single work is likely to be discontinuous and the danger is that labour shifting from one work to another executed under different programmes is likely to remain unpaid for a long time.'

As regards the actual outturn and rate of payment of wages the CEO wrote to the Deputy Engineers on 12-5-1972 observing that the work done by the labourers is not checked up and tallied with the expenses incurred and outturn achieved. He directed the Deputy Engineers and overseers to inspect the works every now and then and verify the rates of payment with the outturn. He observed that the payment made was more than the outturn and warned the Deputy Engineers and overseers that they will be held responsible for the excess payment.

A scrutiny of the musters for the months of February and March 1974 in respect of the four road works selected for the study revealed that the wage rate varied between Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3.35 depending upon the outturn of work in the relevant fortnight.

Selection of Persons for Employment in the CSRE :

As regards the selection of persons for employment it was stated that 'as far as possible persons belonging to the families where no adult member is employed should derive the maximum benefit from this scheme. Selection of persons has to be made carefully with regard to the possibility of their finding alternative employment any where Preference should be given to the persons belonging to the families where no adult member is employed. There is, therefore, no bar in employing other persons also, depending on the requirements of the particular work concerned, provided preference is given to such persons from families where no adult member is employed if such persons are available. It is further clarified that there is no bar for employing more than one person from the same family, if preference to persons from families have^{ing} no adult member in employment, is given. The income limit of Rs. 100 per month is per worker and not per family. It may also be clarified here that it is not necessary to employ only persons from those villages, where the work is taken up. In addition to these people from the villages where works are taken up, people from other nearby villages/areas can be employed. There need not be a very rigid definition of the term 'local' labour. All that is necessary, is to ensure that no imported labour or contractor's labour is allowed under this scheme. If this condition is satisfied any number of persons residing in the local area (the extent of which need not be defined) can be given employment under the CSRE.'

The CEO, Thana District Z.P., informed the B.D.O.s on 12-4-1971 that 10 blocks ~~is~~ had been approved for implementation to provide employment to such families where no adult member is employed. He directed the B.D.O.s that note should also be taken of employment needs of other persons

keeping in view the severity of underemployment and seasonal employment. He informed that the works may be taken up on receipt of the approval and orders from the Government regarding the works suggested in the district.

The B.D.O.s were instructed to maintain a record of persons seeking employment. It was stated by the Z.P. that while selecting the labourers the directives from the Government were mostly followed viz., employment to be given to those persons in whose families not a single person has a regular employment. It was told that before starting works under the CSRE a survey of the areas in respect of unemployed persons seeking employment as unskilled labourers was made in the respective blocks by the B.D.O.s. with the help of Sarpanch and Gramsevak and lists of such persons were prepared. While selecting the persons priority was given to persons from families who had no adult members employed any where else and no labourers were imported for CSRE works.

Planning and Implementation :

Under the CSRE, a programme of constructing 40 roads, length 210 kms at an estimated cost of Rs. 440.5 lakhs and 34 tanks at an estimated cost of Rs. 5.95 lakhs was sanctioned by the Government in December 1971. The programme covered the following eight talukas from out of 13 talukas in Thana district : Dahannu, Talasari, Jawhar, Mokhada, Palghar, Wada, Shahapur and Murbad. Subsequently, due to increased demand from unskilled workers and failure of monsoon in 1972-73 additional programme of 50 road works (length 196 kms. and estimated cost Rs. 61.60 lakhs) in 8 of the above-mentioned talukas and also in the remaining 5 talukas in the district viz., Thana, Kalyan, Ulhasnagar, Bassein and Ehiwandi was proposed and taken up in August 1972. Thus the total programme in the district included a total length of 406 kms.

of roads. In Table 1.2 is given information regarding the original and revised programme and estimated cost of works included in CSRE in Thana district.

The Z.P. emphasized the need to start the CSRE works in the entire district stating that the CSRE though basically designed to provide employment to unskilled workers, the scope to absorb such labourers in other schemes viz., the SFDA and Paga Yojana is very limited in Thana district. The SFDA was being implemented in 6 talukas, viz., Dahanu, Talasari, Palghar, Wada, Jawhar and Mokhada and Paga Yojana in 2 talukas viz. Shahapur and Murbad. The Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) was introduced in May 1972 and Test Scarcity Works with effect from October 1971 in Thana district.

In selecting the works under the CSRE care was taken to cover the hilly, inaccessible and less developed pockets in each taluka inhabited by the (tribal) Adivasis. In the conference of the Presidents and C.E.O.s of the Z.P.s and District Collectors called by the State Sachivalaya on 22-4-1971, the C.E.O. Thana emphasized that the CSRE should be made applicable to the Adivasi areas in the district although the SFDA and MFAL schemes are in force in these areas. The C.E.O. also wrote to the State Government on 15-5-1971 a letter stating therein that Thana district has got heavy rains every year and that road works can be taken up for a period of 8 months only as most of the labour is busy in agricultural operations during the remaining period. In view of this fact the labour in this district would be engaged for 8 months only by increasing the number to the extent of 120 to 150 per block but not exceeding the average of 1000 for the district and requested to release the funds by the first week of October 1971.

The C.E.O. informed the B.D.O.s on 12-7-1971 that it had been decided to implement the CSRE in Thana district from

Table 1.2 : Original and Revised Programme of Road Works and Percolation Tanks and Estimated Cost of Works Included in the Programme of CSRS in Thana District

Taluka	Original Programme			Revised Programme			Total Programme		
	No. of roads	Length in kms.	Estimated cost (in lakhs of Rs.)	No. of roads	Length in kms.	Estimated cost (in lakhs of Rs.)	No. of roads	Length in kms.	Estimated cost (in lakhs of Rs.)
1. Dahann	6	52.6	10.14	2	9.0	2.70	8	61.6	12.84
2. Talasari	4	20.3	4.01	2	10.0	3.00	6	30.3	7.01
3. Jawahar	5	25.4	6.34	3	11.0	3.45	8	36.4	9.79
4. Makhada	4	15.2	4.39	3	15.0	4.50	7	34.2	8.89
5. Palghar	6	23.8	6.73	5	26.0	7.95	11	49.8	14.68
6. Wada	4	14.0	2.80	3	14.0	4.60	7	28.0	7.40
7. Shahapur	5	22.0	4.37	4	15.0	4.20	9	37.0	8.57
8. Murbad	6	25.9	5.18	3	13.0	4.20	9	38.9	9.38
9. Thana	-	-	-	5	10.0	3.55	5	10.0	3.55
10. Kalyan	-	-	-	5	11.0	3.55	5	11.0	3.55
11. Ulhasnagar	-	-	-	4	21.0	6.85	4	21.0	6.85
12. Bassein	-	-	-	5	15.7	4.80	5	15.7	4.80
13. Bhiwandi	-	-	-	6	27.0	8.20	6	27.0	8.20
Total									
Road works	40	23.2	42.96	50	197.7	61.55	90	400.9	105.51
Tank works	34		5.95						

2-10-1971 and that the Government had approved the works to be included. The C.E.O. directed the B.D.O.s to take up two works in each taluka and appoint unemployed labour on a priority basis. On each work at least 50 labourers, including a Mukadam (supervisor), were to be engaged. The C.E.O. directed that on no account there should be any fall in the total number of labourers at any time of the year in future.

The Executive Engineer informed on 7-9-1971 the Deputy Engineers that in view of the pressing demand from the public the work should be started from 10-9-1971. The C.E.O. also informed the State Government that the total working months during the 3 years will be 6 months in the first year and 8 months in each of the second and the third year i.e. 22 months in all. In view of 22 months of work during the three year period, the C.E.O. requested the Government to keep the ceiling of 1000 persons flexible and allow to rise to 2000 persons.

The Deputy Secretary, Finance Department, Government of Maharashtra requested the Z.P. vide his letter dated 7-12-71 to start more works or to intensify the works already taken up during the year. He observed that in Thana district in the estimates of CSRE works submitted by the Z.P. the wage rate per man day worked out to Rs. 4, against the maximum of Rs. 3.33 prescribed by the Government and hence suggested that it be lowered by increasing suitably the estimate of man-days. The C.E.O. submitted to the State Government on 21-12-1971 a revised programme for 8 talukas for an estimated expenditure of Rs. 50 lakhs to be spent as follows :

1971-72	Rs. 12.50 lakhs
1972-73	Rs. 18.75 "
1973-74	Rs. 18.75 "

	Rs. 50.00 "

The Government informed the Thana Z.P. in December 1971 that Rs. 10 lakhs will be available for the year 1971-72. The C.E.O. subsequently informed the B.D.O.s that since the programme was started late i.e. in September 1971 the Government has permitted a proportionate increase in the number of labourers in relaxation of the basic stipulation of 1000 numbers for the district as a whole. The B.D.O.s and the Dy. Engineers were, therefore, directed to ensure increase in labour strength with immediate effect so as to utilise the allotment of Rs. 1.25 lakhs on an average in each taluka towards payment of wages before 31-3-1972. The C.E.O. observed that many of the B.D.O.s and the Dy. Engineers had not until then been able to employ even 200 labourers permitted earlier at each works. He directed the B.D.O.s and the Dy. Engineers to pay personal attention to this important matter and to ensure that no delay is allowed to occur in implementation of the above instructions. He also asked them to send a report of compliance of their instructions, the details of action taken, actual labourers employed on each work and for the taluka as a whole as so as to reach his office by 1st January 1972.

In the circular letter dated 15th January 1972 issued to the C.E.O.s by the Deputy Secretary, Finance Department, Government of Maharashtra, it was stated as follows :

"In para 3 of the Guidelines forwarded under this Department letter dated the 30th April 1971, target for generation of new employment has been indicated, the basic consideration being to create employment for additional 1000 landless agricultural labourers for 10 months in a year over the next three years, i.e. 1971-74. The period of 10 months is, however, a flexible idea and where agricultural labour is otherwise employed in normal agricultural operations for 3 or 4 months in a year,

employment under the CSRE may be provided for 8-9 months. It has also been made clear in this para, that the practical approach is to aim at providing employment for 3 lakhs mandays (300 working days into 1,000 workers). If the period of employment is less than 10 months, the number of persons to be employed on the jobs would be greater so as to reach the man-days target. It is noticed that there is still some confusion in the minds of some officers regarding the concept of providing employment. They are under the impression that employment to be provided in each district is to be restricted to 1000 persons per month. As has already been clarified in para 3 of the guidelines mentioned above, the number of persons employed and the total number of months of employment in a year may vary depending upon geographical and climatic conditions and such other factors. The aim is, therefore, to provide employment totalling at least 2,62,500 man-days (because of the revised ratio of 70 : 30 on wages : others). There is, therefore, no restriction on the maximum number of persons to be employed as well as the total number of months for which employment is to be offered. In other words, for reaching the target of man-days in the remaining working period of the current year, a large number of labourers will have to be employed. The guiding principle is 'man-days' and not the number of persons employed per year per month. What is important is that out of Rs. 12.50 lakhs per annum per District for the CSRE not less than 70% of this amount is spent on wages. (Original proportion was wages : others = 80 : 20. This was revised to 60 : 40 in respect of not more than 50% of the total funds. Therefore, the net effect is wages : others = 70 : 30)."

During 1971-72 in all 32 road works were started and till March 1972 earth work of 95 kms. and metal collection for 17 kms at an expenditure of Rs. 12.21 lakhs was completed.

The Executive Engineer directed the Dy. Engineers in the meetings held on 10th and 15th April 1972 that the strength of the labourers should be reduced to have a steady and continuous programme for the remaining eight months. He observed that inspite of the directive some of the Dy. Engineers had employed labourers over and above the normal strength resulting in disproportionate expenditure in the months of April and May 1972.

On 13-10-1972 the State Government, referring to the CEO's letter dated 9-10-1972, stated that as the additional programme being undertaken by the district involved a commitment of Rs. 36 lakhs over and above the approved programme of Rs. 50 lakhs for the 4th Plan under the CSRE, there was no likelihood of the Government of India approving such a large programme for a single district.

The CEO wrote to the E.E. on 1-12-1972 that the State Government had informed that no fresh funds beyond Rs. 18 lakhs for 1972-73 would be made available by the Planning Department for works under the CSRE and as such there was no alternative but to stop works under the CSRE. He suggested that the 1000 workers employed under the CSRE should be given alternative employment under the EGS or Test Scarcity Works, and requested the E.E. to formulate proposals to start new works under the EGS or to propose the incomplete works under the CSRE to be undertaken in the EGS. It was hoped that this would facilitate absorption of the labourers who would be out of work due to the closure of the CSRE works. On 4-12-1972 the E.E. instructed the Dy. Engineers to stop the works with immediate effect due to paucity of funds. He also sent to the Collector, Thanavur district, on

15-12-1972 statements regarding works in progress, attendance and recommendations for continuing incomplete works under the CSRE and taking up new works where justified under either Test Scarcity or EGS.

On 15-12-1973 the E.E. wrote to the Dy. Engineers to employ the maximum labour force to the tune of 400 to 450 workers per day per taluka. He directed that maximum number of labour should be employed to the tune of 400 to 450 labourers per day per taluka. The number of labourers may be reduced if steam road-rollers are available. If the steam road-rollers are not available then road-rollers pulled by bullocks may be used. He also directed them to fix the K chainage stones and hump pipes within two weeks and warned that failure to utilise the funds will be viewed seriously.

The CEO and the E.E. informed in April 1974 the Collector, Thana district that "in view of the additional grants received under the CSRE, the incomplete works were converted under CSRE from 5-3-1973. The additional allotment has been fully utilised by 31-3-1973. At present the labour strength is 15,000 and the expenditure for one month will be Rs. 9 lakhs. Since for 1973-74, only Rs. 12.5 lakhs are available, CSRE works should be confined within that limit, i.e. minimum number of 100 workers per taluka."

The Government of Maharashtra informed the Z.P.s vide its resolution dated 10-4-1974 that the Government of India had sanctioned an increase in the allocation to the State from Rs. 2,85,50,000 to Rs. 3,14,18,000 for the year 1973-74 and had permitted to utilise the unspent balance as on 31-3-1974 upto 31-10-1974. The Central Government further informed as follows :

- (1) As 1973-74 is the last year of the CSRE, expenditure should be incurred within the grant released and excess, if any, should be met by the State Government from its

own resources;

(2) The CSRE works should be brought upto a satisfactory stage and steps should be taken to complete the works from the State Government's own resources;

(3) Assets created under the CSRE should be maintained by the State Government from its own resources.'

Hence the Government of Maharashtra directed the Z.P.s to continue the CSRE programme upto 31-10-1974 keeping in view the above mentioned directives from the Government of India.

The C.E.O. informed the B.D.O.s on 16-4-1974 that Rs. 8 to 10 thousand will be made available for each taluka under the above-mentioned Government Resolution and requested them to submit proposals before 18-4-1974. The E.E. requested the B.D.O.s on 30-4-1974 to communicate information in respect of the incomplete works and estimated amount required. He also informed that separate funds shall be placed at their disposal and the expenditure be booked under Community Development Rural Works Programme Schemes in the 3 Five Year Plan.

Continuity in Works included in the CSRE :

As stated earlier the CSRE works in Thana district were started in September 1971, that is five months after the introduction of the CSRE. Between September 1971 and March 1974, the works were often suspended for want of funds or other reasons. It was not possible to know from the Z.P. the precise periods during which the works were in progress. In Table 1.3 is given whatever information we could obtain from the Z.P. regarding the date of commencement of road works in different talukas during the years 1971-72, 1973 and 1973-74. In the case of some road works such dates are available for each of the three years. However, information in such cases was not available as to dates from

Table 1.3 : Date of Commencement of Road Works during the years 1971-72 to 1973-74

Sr. No.	Name of work	Date of Commencement in		
		1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
<u>Dehara Taluka</u>				
1.	Ahhagad Janshet Dhamangaon Road	1-10-71	1-4-72	3-11-73
2.	Varor Vadhavan Road	N.S.		
3.	Badapokharan Vadade Chandigaon Asangaon Vangaon Road	11-11-71	1-4-72	30-11-73
4.	Vaghadi Vivalvedha Nagzari Ambesari Road	-	22-9-72	28-12-73
5.	Ranshet Sarani Urse Road	N.S.	-	-
6.	Vangaon Savata Road	-	22-9-72	29-12-73
<u>Additional Programme</u>				
7.	Chikhala Kosbad Road	N.S.		
8.	Khunvada Aswali Borigaon Road	N.S.		
TALASARI TALUKA	9.	Kawada Savane Vadovali Road	4-10-71	-
	10.	Zari Angaon Sambha Road	23-9-71	-
	11.	Talasari Mandalpada Road	-	20-9-72
	12.	Girgaon Dongari Road	N.S.	-
<u>Additional Programme</u>				
	13.	Sutrakar Anvire Road	-	27-9-72
	14.	Sambha Aashad Road	-	5-3-73
	15.	Nandgaon Bhuritek Road	23-9-71	-
	16.	Khand Malvada Road	13-9-71	-
	17.	Jawhar Adkhadak Road	13-9-71	-
	18.	Fathardi Dongarpada Road	20-10-72	-
	19.	Talawali Kharonda Road	12-11-71	-
<u>Additional Programme</u>				
	20.	Sakhare Patilpada Road	-	28-10-72
	21.	Keede Gorthan Dehare Savarpada Road	-	28-10-72
	22.	Vasuri Utavali Road	-	20-10-72
<u>MOKHADA TALUKA</u>				
	23.	Ase Dhamani Road	17-12-71	-
	24.	Kerthan Savarpada Road	15-9-71	-
	25.	Kayeri Dhaberi Road	12-1-72	-
	26.	Neelmati Dhanval Road	-	17-12-72
<u>Additional Programme</u>				
	27.	Savarpada Daskod Road	-	27-8-72
	28.	Charanvadi Matkyachimet Chappalpada Road	-	21-8-72
	29.	Kogde Pelsin Akre Road	-	3-10-72

Table 1.3 : (Contd.)

Sr. No.	Name of work	Date of Commencement in		
		1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
<u>PALGHAR TALUKA</u>				
30.	Dahisar Darshet Umbarpada Rd.	18-10-71	18-9-72	10-12-73
31.	Nihe Ravate Road	30-10-71	-	10-12-73
32.	Palghar Kelvar Road	N.S.	-	-
33.	Manivali Ambade Road	9-1-72	-	10-12-73
34.	Mandare Man Road	21-1-72	-	-
35.	Palgaon Tandulwadi Road	21-1-72	18-9-72	3-12-73
<u>Additional Programme</u>				
36.	Varai Dhekale Ganje Jayshet Road	-	25-9-72	10-12-73
37.	Chande Tandulwadi Road	-	30-9-72	-
38.	Saphala Navaghar Road	-	25-9-72	5-12-73
39.	Boisar Vangaon Road	N.S.	-	-
40.	Shirgaon Wadrai Road	-	-	3-12-73
41.	Tank	-	24-3-72	-
<u>WADA TALUKA</u>				
42.	Peshari Pimpas Road	N.S.		
43.	Dongaste Budhawali Rd.	N.S.		
44.	Mandava Gargaon Road	N.S.		
45.	Khanivali Gaurapur Road	N.S.		
46.	Manda Kharivali Road	N.S.		
47.	Khanivali Gates Road	N.S.		
48.	Leoli Manivali Shilettar Road	N.S.		
<u>SHAHAPUR TALUKA</u>				
49.	Changyachapada Sakadbae Road	N.S.		
50.	Vehaloli Chariv Takipathar Road	N.S.		
51.	Sarangpuri Kothare Road	N.S.		
52.	Alyani Sahadrun Road	N.S.		
53.	Kinhawali Asnoli Road	N.S.		
<u>Additional Programme</u>				
54.	Khutghar Andad Road	N.S.		
55.	Shirol Ajnup Road	N.S.		
56.	Birvadi Atgaon Road	N.S.		
57.	Musai to Musai Wadi Rd.	N.S.		
58.	Dolkhamb Sakadbae Road	N.S.		
<u>MURBAD TALUKA</u>				
59.	Talegaon Nyahadi Road	16-9-71	-	-
60.	Vaishakhare Palu Road	16-9-71	-	-
61.	Bursunge Shai Vivar Road	16-9-71	-	-

Table 1.1 (Contd.)

Sr. No.	Name of work	Date of Commencement in		
		1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
62.	Kochare Sogaon Road	1-10-71	-	-
63.	Sasane Tondale Road	2-10-71	-	-
64.	Murbad Pawale Kolthan Rd.	16-9-71	-	-
<u>Additional Programme</u>				
65.	Kolthan Khandpe Badane Rd.	-	26-9-72	-
66.	Dhanivali Brahmangaon Rd.	-	26-9-72	-
67.	Mhasa Chirad Ainyachivadi Road	-	26-9-72	-
68.	Deepening Tank at Asowali	-	21-4-72	-
<u>THANA TALUKA</u>				
69.	Dahisar Nighu Road	N.S.	-	-
70.	Ovale Mongharpada	N.S.	-	-
71.	Uttan Corai Road	N.S.	-	-
72.	Shivar Mandir Mira Rd.	N.S.	-	-
73.	Uttan Bhate Bunder Rd.	N.S.	-	-
<u>KALYAN TALUKA</u>				
74.	Nandgaon Phalegaon Rd.	-	13-10-72	13-12-73
75.	Ghesar Vadeval Road	-	30-10-72	27-12-73
76.	Runde Titawala Road	-	12-10-72	8-1-74
77.	Dahagaon Ambeshiv Road	-	9-10-72	6-12-73
78.	Nandivali Bhopar Road	-	9-10-72	24-12-73
<u>ULHASNAGAR TALUKA</u>				
79.	Wadi Karvele Narhen Shil Road	N.S.	-	-
80.	Badalapur Jambul Deololi Savar Road	N.S.	-	-
81.	Charangaon Dons Road	N.S.	-	-
82.	Sonivali Karand Road	N.S.	-	-
<u>BASSEIN TALUKA</u>				
83.	Rajivali Gokhivare Rd.	-	4-10-72	-
84.	Virar Naringi Chickal Dongari Road	N.S.	-	-
85.	Dahisar Vaitarna St. Rd.	-	25-9-72	-
86.	Virar Tulinj Gokhivare Rd. Sec. from Tulinj To Gokhivare	N.S.	-	-
87.	Khalivali Bhatane Adns Rd.	N.S.	-	-
<u>BHIWANDI TALUKA</u>				
88.	Awala Paechapur Road	-	26-5-72	-
89.	Padgha Paechapur Rd.	-	25-9-72	5-12-73
90.	Mahapoli Lap. Road	-	9-10-72	16-1-74
91.	Mankoli Vehale Rd.	-	-	11-1-74
92.	Tembhurli Kharbao Rd.	-	29-5-72	9-1-74
93.	Khanbale Vadvali Khanivali Washind Road	-	30-9-72	10-12-73

N.S. = Not stated.

which the works were suspended.

In the case of Bhivandi taluka we noted the following information from the records :

<u>Road works</u>	<u>Remarks re. date of commencement</u>
1) Awala-Pachapur Road	The remark appeared as 'Not started' during 1972-73 and 1973-74 though from the statement of expenditure it appears that about Rs.16,300 and Rs.19,100 were spent during the two years respectively.
2) Padghe-Pachapur Road	25-9-72 to 29-10-72 and then under E.G.S. 5-12-73 to 26-3-74.
3) Mahapoli-Lap Road	11-10-72 to 29-10-72 and then under E.G.S. 16-1-74 to 28-3-74.
4) Mankoli-Vehale Road	11-1-74 to 22-3-74
5) Tembhuri-Kharbae Road	30-9-72 to 29-10-72 and then under E.G.S. 9-1-74 to 27-3-74.
6) Khombala-Vashim Road	7-10-72 to 29-10-72 and then under E.G.S. 17-12-73 to 23-3-74.

It appears from this information that during 1972-73 the works in Bhivandi taluka were in progress under the CSRE for only about a month and were then transferred under the E.G.S. During 1973-74 also the works under the CSRE were in progress for about four months. Thus the works under the CSRE in Thana district were in progress for only some months during the period of three years.

Planning and Implementation of the CSRE :

To conclude, we may recapitulate that for the purposes of the CSRE in Thana district, the Z.P. mainly included the road & construction works from the 1961-1981 Plan of Road Works in the district. The CSRE was originally confined to 8 out of the 13 talukas in the district but subsequently it was taken up in the remaining 5 talukas also. The programme in its first year could not be started until September 1971 due to difficulties of working during monsoon as well as the preliminaries that had to be completed to obtain the

Government's sanction and start the works. The Z.P. made it clear to the Government that it was not possible to continue the works in monsoon due to heavy rains and as such the works would be confined to only about 22 months between April 1971 to March 1974. There was also another factor to be considered, namely, the demand for agricultural labour during the course of the year which could prevent the workers to work uninterrupted in the CSRE. Besides these two factors, there was the third important factor, namely, non-availability of funds for carrying out the works. The Government had taken up the E.G.S. and scarcity works in the district. During 1972-73 the Government had to take up a number of road construction works as relief works due to conditions of severe scarcity in Maharashtra State including Thana district. As a result while implementing the CSRE the Z.P. had to suspend the works due to natural factors like monsoon and scarcity and administrative difficulties such as non-availability of funds at some times during the course of the three years. To keep the works going the Z.P. transferred many of the CSRE works to the E.G.S. and retransferred them to the CSRE when funds permitted. However, it was not possible to know the total period during which the roadworks were in progress during the three year period, whether under the CSRE, the E.G.S. and any other scheme.

Further we may consider another factor, namely, the selection of the road works under the CSRE. To fulfil the original objectives of the scheme namely, employment for 1000 persons in a district for 10 months every year for a period of three years, it would have been useful to examine whether the works included in the CSRE were so located from one another as to enable the 1000 persons to work there for three years without being required to commute long distances or migrate from their place of work and whether the selected works and had

a potential to provide continuous employment for 3 years to 1000 persons. The Z.P. had selected about 90 works in 13 talukas under the CSRE. We could not ascertain whether the selected works met the conditions stated above. With this background information we shall proceed to examine in the next chapter data regarding employment provided and the expenditure incurred under the CSRE during the years 1971-72 to 1973-74.

Chapter II

CSRE IN THANA DISTRICT - EMPLOYMENT AND EXPENDITURE

Employment in the CSRE :

When the Central Government introduced the Scheme it decided to provide for each district a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for 1000 persons for 10 months every year at Rs. 100 per month. The objective of the CSRE, it may be recalled, was 'to generate employment for 1000 persons in each district.' It, therefore, appears that the original idea was that the Z.P.s would plan the CSRE works within certain blocks in a district in such a manner that 1000 persons would get continuous employment, 10 months a year, for a period of three years without being required to migrate, but commuting to the place of work daily from their permanent place of residence. In that case the CSRE would have certainly made an impact on a few hundred families in a district from which came the 1000 persons. This would have resulted in bringing an income of at least Rs. 1000 per annum per family thereby bringing about an increase in their standard of living.

The clarifications and directives given in the course of implementation of the CSRE, however, diluted the limit of 1000 persons. We have already referred in the first chapter to the circular letter dated 15th January 1972 issued by the Deputy Secretary, Finance Department, Government of Maharashtra, which stated that 'the practical approach is to aim at providing employment for 3 lakhs mandays (300 working days x 1000 workers).' There was, therefore, no restriction on the maximum number of persons to be employed as well as the total number of months for which employment ^{was} to be provided. This raises a question as to whether the Government had changed its original policy of focussing its programme on 1000 workers and was now interested only in getting the work done and spending the

sanctioned amount within the prescribed period, no matter whether the impact was watered down as a result of spreading out thinly the wage payment over a large number of labourers. If that was the objective, one may question whether the machinery set up and the method of implementation of the CSRE programme was the most efficient or whether the objective of creating durable assets could have been better achieved through some other agency.

The directives issued by the State Government and the Z.P. from time to time laid emphasis on spending the amount sanctioned for a particular year before the end of the financial year by employing as many labourers as possible. We may examine the expenditure on the CSRE during the three years of its operation to see if the monthly expenditure on wage payment in each taluka was more or less stable or was subject to erratic fluctuations. We may also examine the expenditure on the E.G.S. and scarcity works which were being simultaneously implemented in Thana district by the Z.P.

CSRE : Monthwise-Talukawise Expenditure during 1971-72 to 1973-74

In Table 2.1 is given information regarding monthwise percentage distribution of the total expenditure on wages paid under the CSRE during the years 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74 in different talukas from Thana district. It will be noted from the Table that during the first year the CSRE works were taken up only in 8 out of the 13 talukas. For the years 1972-73 and 1973-74, though the works were taken up in all the talukas, we could not get details of monthwise expenditure in respect of Mokhada, Wada, and Shahapur talukas. As such we could not arrive at the aggregate figures for the district as a whole. The Z.P. also could not furnish independently a statement of monthwise expenditure for the district for the three years.

Table 2.1 : Monthwise Percentage distribution of Total Expenditure on Wages in Different Talukas in Thana District during the years 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74

Name of the Taluka	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Total 100% = Rs.	
1971-72														
Dahanu							1	1	12	10	10	66	1,11,807	
Talaseri							2	7	13	-	16	62	1,23,765	
Jawahar							1	3	4	17	10	65	1,37,339	
Mokhada							2	1	6	9	10	72	1,27,935	
Falghar							-	1	5	2	21	71	1,48,056	
Wada							-	3	7	8	16	66	1,39,371	
Shahapur							1	3	7	9	11	69	1,41,322	
Murbad							3	7	6	7	27	50	1,31,742	
Thana														
Kalyan														
Ulhasnagar														
Bassein														
Bhivandi														
1972-73														
Dahanu	25	16	20	-	-	4	7	5	-	-	-	23	1,24,613	
Talaseri	13	19	24	13	-	-	14	2	-	-	-	15	99,263	
Jawahar	22	18	8	-	-	5	9	1	1	-	-	36	1,93,551	
Mokhada													2,23,744	
Falghar	-	20	9	-	-	-	31	15	-	13	-	12	89,202	
Wada													2,78,193	
Shahapur													3,06,058	
Murbad					18							82	1,76,366	
Thana	-	-	-	-	-	-	51	12	5	-	2	30	47,675	
Kalyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	88	6	6	-	-	-	30,936	
Ulhasnagar	-	-	-	-	-	8	74	13	5	-	-	-	32,794	
Bassein	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	73	27	-	1,092	
Bhivandi	-	-	-	-	-	3	54	-	-	-	-	43	2,24,265	
1973-74														
Dahanu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	20	35	36	1,04,126	
Talaseri													33,672	
Jawahar										6	34	60	1,46,995	
Mokhada													93,000	
Falghar									6	1	50	43	1,11,881	
Wada													1,61,111	
Shahapur													1,10,000	
Murbad	5	2	1	-	1	-	4	3	11	11	21	41	98,722	
Thana	20	10	9	6	7	1	-	2	4	4	18	19	67,291	
Kalyan	1									3	19	13	64	72,848
Ulhasnagar										12	35	53	32,946	
Bassein	-	-	-	-	-	7	79	14	-	-	-	-	8,020	
Bhivandi	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	4	21	35	29	1,04,612	

* Including the material component
 Monthwise break up not furnished by the Z.P.

The monthwise distribution of expenditure shows that in most of the cases more than 75% of the total expenditure on wages during the a particular year was incurred within a span of two to three months. In the year 1971-72, nearly two-thirds of the total expenditure on wages was incurred in a single month, namely, March 1972. The expenditure in monsoon was low. The table also shows that there was no gradual increase or decrease in expenditure over a span of period nor was it evenly spread over the year even if we exclude the period of monsoon. We have no data to comment as to whether even within a particular month such expenditure was spread evenly or whether it was concentrated in a few weeks or on a few days in a week. The expenditure data thus shows that the CSRE resulted in thinly disbursing a large amount on account of wages.

In effect even though the expenditure in Thana district was the maximum under the CSRE in Maharashtra State, it could not make an impact on a selected group of families. It is possible that in some other districts, where the expenditure on the CSRE was within the prescribed ceiling of Rs. 37.50 lakhs during the three years, the CSRE might have made a better impact provided the Z.P.s had confined to about 1000 persons and the work evenly spread over the three year period.

Average Number of Persons Employed and
Average Monthly Labour Force :

We were able to obtain from the records of the Z.P. some information for a part of the three-year period, which the Z.P. had prepared for furnishing to the Central Government or its committees. The information regarding the average number of persons employed daily in each month as also the monthly average labour force from October 1971 to November 1972 is given in Table 2.2. The data shows wide fluctuations in the average daily attendance from 103

in August 1972 to 4,674 in February 1972. The monthly average labour force varied between 914 in August 1972 to 2,74,582 in October 1972. There was not much variation in the composition of the labour force, the female labour force forming the major portion being about 65 to 71 per cent during this period. It was stated that children were not employed under the CSRE.

Table 2.2 : Average no. of persons employed daily in each month, monthly labour force employed and proportion of the male and female labour employed under the CSRE in Thana district

		Average Labour Force		Male labour	Female labour
		Daily	Monthly	%	%
October	1971	293	7,798	30	70
November	"	488	11,270	31	69
December	"	904	19,333	32	68
January	1972	1,811	48,600	30	70
February	"	4,674	1,20,905	35	65
March	"	3,832	97,610	33	67
April	"	3,694	84,387	35	65
May	"	2,229	51,689	30	70
June	"	1,293	23,184	30	70
July	"	184	2,284	31	69
August	"	103	914	33	67
September	"	1,738	8,585	32	68
October	"	4,013	2,74,582	32	68
November	"	1,911	20,801	29	71

Attendance at Selected Road Works :

In order to find out whether the workers were regular in attendance at road works we recorded information from a few fortnightly attendance musters for the period falling between 26th January to 26th March 1974 in respect of the labourers employed at 4 road works in Bhivandi taluka selected for the Survey of labourers. The data is presented in Table 2.3.

It will be noted from Table 2.3 that even within the short span of about two months the number of persons employed at a road work varied considerably, for instance, between

Table 2.3 : Number of Labourers classified according to the number of days they worked at the selected road works in February-March 1974

Road works	Period		No. of working days	No. of labourers classified according to no. of days they worked (No. of days)														Watchmen bullock-cart drivers etc. who worked for more days	Total labour days	Total wages paid Rs.	Total labourers
	From	To		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14				
1) Tembhurli-Kharbao	4-2-74	16-2-74	12								3	1	1	21	69		1102	3,306	95		
	18-2-74	4-3-74	12									1	5	6	98		1301	3,903	110		
	4-3-74	16-3-74	11											20	96		1256	3,781	116		
	18-3-74	23-3-74	6			11	38	26	6									370	1,110	81	
2) Mankoli-Vehole	26-1-74	9-2-74	14					1			1	3	17	4	3	1	3		378	1,881	33
	11-2-74	24-2-74	12			3	12									9			226	1,159	24
	27-2-74	13-3-74	12		2	4	1	10	9	35	12	16	8	11	32				1250	3,596	140
	14-3-74	22-3-74	9							1	20	65							752	2,283	86
3) Padgha-Pacchapur	1-2-74	17-2-74	12					5	8		3	6	11	24	76			2	1507	6,781	135
	18-2-74	28-2-74	12	1	1	1	6	4	24	4	5	2	6	52	55			6	1531	10,126	167
	4-3-74	26-3-74	14	3		1			1	4		1	4	2	8	2	84	35	1424	12,053	146
4) Mahapoli-Lap	11-2-74	23-2-74	12		1	1			1	1		1	1	19	28			4	647	4,447	57
	25-2-74	10-3-74	5	1		2	26	9										5	156	1,518	43
	11-3-74	23-3-74	10			2	2	15	2	3		6	20					5	500	1,962	55

Source : Fortnightly Masters of Attendance

81 to 116 labourers on muster at the first road works, and 24 to 140 labourers on muster at the second road works. As regards the regularity in attendance, it will be noted from the Table that there were many labourers who were absent for some days during the period when work was in progress. It was not possible to find out whether employment was not available for the full duration of the reference period to such persons or whether the workers did not report for work even though employment was available.

Excepting 2 instances of fortnightly wage bills at Rs. 3.35 per day and one of Rs. 2.50 per day in all other fortnightly wage bills the wage rate came to Rs. 3 per day. The total wage payment in consecutive fortnightly periods showed considerable variation. For instance at Fadgha-Pachapur road it was Rs. 6,781 during the period of 17 days from 1-2-1974 to 17-2-1974 and shot up to Rs. 12,053 during the period of 23 days from 4-3-1974 to 26-3-1974 including Sundays and holidays. At Mahapoli map road it dropped from Rs. 4,447/- for the period 11-2-1974 to 23-2-1974 to Rs. 1,518/- for the following fortnight. The variation in employment is also reflected in the labour days. For instance at Mankoli-vehele road the total labour days for 3 fortnightly periods between 26-1-1974 to 13-3-1974 recorded 378, 226 and 1250 labour days respectively. It will be thus noted that the total labour days and consequent wage payment showed considerable variation in the consecutive fortnightly periods.

Information from the Z.P. was available talukawise for 8 talukas in respect of average daily attendance during the first year of the CSRE, that is between October 1971 to March 1972. The information is presented in Table 2.4. The average daily attendance was the maximum towards the close of the financial year in February and March 1972.

**Table 2.4 : CSRS Zilla Parishad, Thana :
Average Daily attendance for the year 1971-72**

Sr. No.	Name of Taluka	Oct. 1971	Nov. 1971	Dec. 1971	Jan. 1972	Feb. 1972	March 1972	Total
1.	Dahanu	21	55	55	227	152	216	726
2.	Talasari	60	59	229	274	456	278	1396
3.	Jawahar	25	67	62	193	754	630	1731
4.	Mokhada	37	22	142	295	556	409	1461
5.	Falghar	35	42	87	210	758	860	1992
6.	Wada	21	92	113	215	572	632	1645
7.	Sahapur	29	68	115	244	711	508	1678
8.	Murbad	65	83	101	150	675	299	1373
Total :		293	488	904	1811	4674	3832	12002

We could not get any additional data. We, therefore, conclude by observing that the Z.P. implemented the CSRE programme in Thana district by spending a sum of Rs.46.88 lakhs on account of wage payment and assuming the average wage rate of Rs. 3/- per day, providing employment for about 15,63,000 labour days during the three years and Rs. 4.33 lakhs on purchasing pipes and other material. It is not possible to know the total number of labourers who worked in the CSRE or to find out their distribution according to the total wages received during the three year period.

Expenditure incurred under other schemes :

In Table 2.5 is given information regarding monthwise expenditure incurred during the years 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74 on road construction works in Thana district under the EGS, Famine Relief (Scarcity) and CSRE. From whatever data we were able to obtain and which we have presented in the Table it will be noted that in none of the programmes the expenditure during the year was evenly incurred over a twelve-months period. For instance, in the EGS 75% of the total expenditure for the year 1972-73 was incurred in the last quarter of the financial year while during 1973-74 82% of the total expenditure was incurred in the first quarter of the financial year. In the Famine Relief also the expenditure was concentrated between February and June 1973. In respect of the CSRE we could not get from the Z.P. the required information for the whole district. However, from whatever data we have presented in Table 2.1 we have noted that under the CSRE also the expenditure was concentrated in a period of 2 to 4 months in a year. Apart from the two factors, namely monsoon and demand for labour during agricultural operations, the most important factor appears to be the availability of funds. The Z.P. seems to have continued road works under the three schemes whenever the funds permitted.

Table 2.5 : Monthwise expenditure incurred during the years 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74 on road construction works in Thana district under the E.G.S., Famine Relief and CSRE

Month	E.G.S.			Famine Relief			CSRE		
	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
April	-	-	24.1	-	-	19.9	-	-	-
May	-	2.0	39.4	-	-	40.5	-	-	-
June	-	2.2	19.6	-	-	25.9	-	-	-
July	-	0.2	2.9	-	-	4.3	-	-	-
August	-	0.5	0.7	-	-	2.2	-	-	-
Sept.	-	5.0	0.3	-	-	5.1	-	-	-
October	-	7.4	2.5	-	-	1.8	2.3	-	-
November	-	4.5	0.0	-	3.7	0.1	3.2	-	-
December	-	13.5	0.5	-	8.9	0.2	6.6	-	-
January	-	25.5	1.0	-	11.9	0.0	7.6	-	-
February	-	17.7	2.4	-	29.2	0.0	14.1	-	-
March	-	21.5	6.6	-	46.3	0.0	66.2	-	-
Total	-	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	Monthwise breakup not supplied by the Z.P.	
= Rs.		3164881	3731169*		7705321	2255745	1207028		

* Excluding Rs. 6,89,803 credited to District Fund on account of 10% supervision charges in Sept. & Oct. 1973 and March 1974.

Maintenance in future :

It was stated that during the implementation of the programme, no expenditure was incurred on maintenance of the road works except redoing rain-cuts and wash-out portion due to monsoon during construction. As on 31-3-1974 the road works taken up under the Scheme were reported to have been completed with earth work, six inches murum-topping and embankment and collection of metal had also been completed. After completion of the rolling work these roads will be fully utilised. The question of maintenance will arise after completion of the works. The E.S. stated that after completion of metalling for road surface there will be no danger of wash-out of the roads in general. The Z.P. proposed to request the Government to give the necessary funds for maintenance on the basis of the road length actually completed.

The Z.P. proposed to include the works on constructing 14 major and 46 minor bridges and 105 slab drains on the roads (completed under the CSRE) at a cost of Rs. 100 lakhs in the 5th Plan of the district. The construction of slab drains forms a major material component and cannot be fitted within the norm fixed by the Government for the CSRE viz. the ratio of wages and other charges to be 70:30. As such no slab-drain construction could be carried out under the CSRE. The Thanam Z.P. provided humepipes on small nullahs under the CSRE hoping that the fixing of humepipes will serve the purpose for all-weather roads. The entire road lengths taken up under the CSRE will be utilised partly as all-weather roads and partly as fair-weather roads. The E.S. stated that if this difficulty is to be solved, on an average one slab-drain per km. will have to be provided. 40% of the roads will be fair-weather roads if road length of 200 kms. is provided with slab-drains at an estimated cost of Rs. 40 lakhs.

Impact of the Scheme :

In the following is the classification of the roads taken up under the CSRE in Thana district according to the place to which they connect :

<u>No. of roads</u>	<u>Place to which they connect</u>
11	Market places
8	Block Headquarters
27	Main roads
2	Towns
8	Railway stations
115	Nearby villages.
Total :	<u>171</u>

The immediate benefit of the CSRE is the employment it provided which enabled the workers to earn wages. As stated earlier it is not possible to state the number of workers who secured employment and the average wages earned by them.

The other benefits as a result of the construction of roads will be apparent as the roads are used for economic and other purposes. The Z.P. reported that the bullock cart traffic and pedestrian traffic had already started establishing communication to villages for transporting agricultural and forest produce to market places, though only in fair weather.

Estimated expenditure for completion of incomplete works :

We obtained from the Z.P. information regarding the length tackled and the expenditure incurred on the road works taken up under the EGS, CSRE and Scarcity during the period 1-1-1971 to 31-3-1974. We also obtained the estimates of account required for completing the roads works taken up under the three programmes. The information is given in Table 2.6. We could not get information regarding the estimated expenditure and some other items in respect of

Table 2.6 : Length tackled and actual expenditure incurred during the years 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74* and amount required for completing the road length in respect of the road works taken under the E.G.S., CSRE and Scarcity in Thana District

Sr. Taluka No.	Length tackled (Kms)				Expenditure incurred (Rs.)				Amount required for completing the road length (in Rs.)			
	E.G.S.	CSRE	Scarcity	Total	E.G.S.	CSRE	Scarcity	Total	On earth work	On metal collection	On rolling	Total
1. Dahann	27.30	32.50	55.90	110.70	2.91	3.15	13.27	19.33	1.65	3.95	2.25	7.85
2. Talasari	0.90	9.90	3.00	13.80	0.22	2.40	1.53	4.15	0.67	1.12	0.49	2.28
3. Jawhar	27.00	32.50	52.00	112.60	3.32	8.77	15.34	27.83	3.35	1.22	5.51	10.08
4. Mokhada	10.00	23.50	50.11	89.61	1.00	5.91	10.97	16.58	3.39	3.09	5.00	11.48
5. Palghar	11.00	30.55	27.50	69.65	1.19	4.04	3.89	9.12	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
6. Wada	9.70	23.00	28.20	60.90	5.90	4.65	9.54	20.09	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
A.	86.50	151.95	223.31	461.76	14.54	28.92	54.44	97.40				
1. Shahapur	20.00	28.50	56.75	104.25	1.96	5.23	6.06	13.27	7.88	3.32	6.03	17.23
2. Murbad	24.90	26.31	21.50	72.71	2.33	3.75	3.44	9.52	2.61	2.38	2.98	7.97
B.	44.90	54.81	78.25	176.96	4.29	8.98	9.52	22.79	2.38	2.08	5.14	7.60
A+B	131.40	206.76	301.56	638.72	18.83	37.90	63.96	120.19				
1. Thana	3.65	2.60	2.00	8.25	0.34	0.97	0.80	1.41	0.46	0.42	0.80	0.98
2. Kalyan	12.20	5.70	2.70	20.60	1.65	0.95	1.17	3.77	0.50	1.93	0.65	3.48
3. Ulhasnagar	3.50	5.43	5.00	13.93	0.30	1.01	0.71	2.02	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
4. Bassein	-	4.50	-6.50	-6.50	11.00	-	-0.35	-	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
4. Bassein	-	4.50	6.50	11.00	-	0.35	1.38	1.73	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
5. Bhivandi	16.00	10.00	12.40	38.40	4.90	5.70	3.86	14.40	1.33*	1.08*	1.20*	3.61*
C.	35.35	28.23	28.60	92.18	7.19	8.98	7.22	23.39				
A+B+C.	166.75	234.99	330.16	730.90	26.02	46.88	71.18	143.58				
						4.33	*Purchasing Pipes and tools etc.					
					51.21		Total :		22.01	18.21	24.37	64.59

* Includes expenditure on improvement of roads.

N.S. = Not Stated.

Palghar, Wada, Ulhasnagar and Bassein talukas.

During the three years under the px three programmes in Thana district, road length of about 730 kms was tackled at an expenditure of Rs. 143.58 lakhs. The CSRS accounted for about one-third of the total road length tackled as also one-third of the total expenditure incurred under the three programmes.

Chapter III
A SOCIO-ECCNOMIC SURVEY OF LABOURERS

As stated in the Introduction a socio-economic survey was carried out in respect of labourers working at four road-works taken up in Bhivandi Taluka in Thana district under the CSRE. While considering the information obtained in the schedule canvassed to the labourer families during the course of field work, we may recapitulate the observations recorded in the opening paragraphs of preceding chapter.

The survey was conducted towards the end of the last year of the CSRE, that is in March 1974. The Z.P. had issued a directive that the works shall be closed by 20th March 1974. Because of this decision, as also due to Holi festival and the marriage season, the attendance in the month of March 1974 was considerably affected.

We had a very short time at our disposal, about 10 days, during which to carry out the field work. As such we had to confine the field work to the workers engaged at the four road-works in Bhivandi taluka selected for the survey. Because of the haste with which the field work had to be rushed through and also the fact that many of respondents were illiterate and came from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes we could not get satisfactory information in respect of many of the questions. In the following section is given whatever information was collected during the survey. The limitations of the data must be kept in mind while reading the following sections.

Road-works selected for the Study :

The following four road-works were selected for filling in the schedules in respect of the workers engaged at the road-works under the CSRE.

Road works	Distance from Bhivandi (Kms)	No. of labourers on muster at the time of fieldwork	No. of schedules filled in	No. of workers at road-works from these families
1. Tembhurli-Kharbao	11	81	73	98
2. Mankoli-Vehela	8	86	45	53
3. Padghe-Pachapur	30	187	41	40
4. Mahapoli-Lap	12	67	28	31
Total :	-	421	187	222

Our field staff contacted for filling in the schedule those workers who were present at the time of his visit at the road-works. The field staff was able to contact 53% of the labourers on the muster as many were absent for personal reasons while some had taken a job elsewhere as they had not received wages from CSRE for about a month. The labourers came from 24 villages situated near about the four road-works. Their distribution was as follows :

- 1) Tembhurli-Kharbao Road : Firangpada (36), Kharbao (14), Gane (10), Palivali (13); Total 73 schedules.
- 2) Mankoli-Vehela Road : Vehela 34, Pimpalas 9, Dapode 1, Vaholi 1; Total 45 schedules.
- 3) Padghe-Pachapur Road : Vandra 5, Bhandane 8, Mahap, 2, Mohondul 4, Bhokri 4, Padghe 4, Tulashi 2, Koshimbi 4, Devali 4, Vahuli 1, Karanjoti 2, Borivali Tarf Rahur 1; Total 41 schedules.
- 4) Mahapoli-Lap Road : Chave 21, Ehave 5, Vedhe 1, Vajreshwari 1; Total 28 schedules.

We have consolidated and presented data obtained from the family schedule for the labourers engaged at the four road-works together rather than presenting the data separately for each of the four road-works.

In Table 3.1 is given information regarding the number of schedules filled in in respect of the families from the

Table 3.1 : 1961 and 1971 Population, 1971 Number of householders and the number of family schedules filled in in respect of the villages from Bhivandi taluka, Thana district from where 182 families came at the four road-works

Village	No. of family schedules	Population		No. of households 1971
		1961	1971	
1. Kharbao	14	2,410	3,151	503
2. Firangpada	36	202	211	37
3. Gane	10	64	202	38
4. Palivali	13	395	474	95
5. Chave	21	624	822	138
6. Bhare	5	478	598	100
7. Vedhe	1	514	728	121
8. Vajreshwari	1	944	1,198	226
9. Vehelo	34	2,717	3,215	508
10. Pimpalas	9	2,713	2,773	438
11. Dapode	1	570	769	117
12. Vaholi	1	615	612	131
13. Vandre	5	432	626	94
14. Bhandane	8	926	1,178	200
15. Mahap	2	211	263	47
16. Mohondul	4	417	574	101
17. Bhokri	4	608	806	116
18. Padghe	4	2,451	2,717	477
19. Tulashi	2	83	138	24
20. Koshimbi	4	472	601	93
21. Devali	4	186	222	38
22. Vahuli	1	248	400	67
23. Karanjoti	2	343	470	83
24. Borivali Tarf Rahur	1	1,585	2,253	422
Total :	187	20,208	25,001	4,214

above mentioned villages engaged in the CSRE road-works, 1961 and 1971 population and 1971 number of households for the 24 villages. The population of the 24 villages had increased by about 25 per cent during the decade 1951-1961. There were 4,214 households in 1971 in the 24 villages. Our sample of 187 families comes to about 4.4 per cent of the households. This shows that only a small percentage of families from the 24 villages benefitted from the CSRE as far as the employment in March 1974 was concerned. The Ministry had suggested that we may present secondary data on important aspects of the economy such as land utilisation, cropping pattern, irrigation and yield and output of important crops for the villages from where the sample of labourers was selected for the survey. Because of the large number i.e. 24 villages and small proportion of families employed therefrom in the CSRE works, we feel that the presentation of such information will not help much in appreciating the results of the survey. We shall, therefore, note certain broad features of Bhivandi taluka in which the 24 villages are situated.

As for the 1971 Census, 68 per cent of the population of Bhivandi taluka was classified as rural. 56 per cent of the male population and 20 per cent of the female population was classified as workers. Of the total male workers 25 per cent were cultivators and 20 per cent agricultural labourers. Among the females the corresponding proportion were 50 per cent and 42 per cent respectively. The rest of the workers were engaged in non-agricultural occupation. A large number of male workers, about 24 per cent of the total workers, were engaged in manufacturing industry.

Of the total geographical area of 69,038 hectares in Bhivandi taluka, 36 per cent was under forests, about 30 per cent was sown to crops during the year 1970-71; 13 per cent was not available for cultivation being barren, unculturable

or put to non-agricultural uses; another 12 per cent was culturable waste and other uncultivable land and the remaining about 9 per cent was classified as current fallow and other fallows. Thus, hardly one-third of the area of the total land in Eshivandi taluka was under cultivation. Out of the net sown area, 89 per cent was sown to paddy, about 8 per cent to other foodgrains and 3 per cent to other crops. With this brief background of the taluka we may proceed to consider the data collected during the survey.

Schedules Not Admitted for Tabulation :

On scrutiny of the schedules it was found that there were five schedules of persons who were working as annual farm servants. They received, from the cultivators who employed them, on account of wages a fixed payment in cash per annum and perquisites. It was reported that the cultivators asked these five persons to work in the CSRE and give to the cultivators whatever wages they earned during their employment at the CSRE works. Three of them were employed in transport of material by bullock-carts and two as casual labour. Hence the five schedules were not admitted for tabulation. We were then left with 182 family schedules which reported 222 persons employed at the CSRE works.

In Table 3.2 is given a distribution of 182 families according to caste and main and subsidiary occupation. Excepting the 37 families of Marathas and one of a Muslim, the remaining 144 families belonged to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. 92 per cent of the families reported labour as the main occupation. The remaining 8 per cent of the families reported agriculture and service as the main occupation. 54 per cent of the families reported a subsidiary occupation. In the families reporting subsidiary occupations, the distribution was as follows : cultivation, 58 families; selling firewood, 36 families; selling milk, 2 families and service, 3 families.

Table 3.2 : Distribution of 182 families according to Caste and Main and Subsidiary Occupation

Caste	Main Occupation				Total no. of families	Subsidiary Occupation				No. secon- dary occu- pation
	Labourers	Agricul- tural bourers	Cultiva- tion	Service families		Selling Firewood	Selling Milk	Cultiva- tion	Service	
----- No. of reporting families -----										
Koli	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-1	-	-
Agari	48	-	2	3	53	3	1	28	-	21
Son-Koli	9	-	-	-	9	-	-	1	-	8
Moar Koli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Malhar Koli	56	-	-	-	56	24	-	4	-	28
Harijan	12	-	-	5	17	5	-	1	-1	10
Maratha	33	-	3	1	37	3	-1	21	2	10
Boudha	4	-	-	-	4	-	-1	2	-	2
Katakari	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Muslims	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Warali	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Adivasi	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Total :	168	-	5	9	182	36	2	58	3	83

In Table 3.3 is given the distribution of families according to area cultivated and the total family income. Out of 152 families, 102 families did not own or cultivate land, and two land owning families had leased out their land. Of the remaining 78 families, 44 families cultivated less than an acre, 33 families cultivated between 1 and 4 acres and only one family cultivated about 6 acres of land. Thus, it will be noted that the cultivating families had very small holdings.

As regards the total family income, we had asked the income for the year 1973-74. About one-third of the families had annual income below Rs. 1,000, and another one-third of the families had income between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,500. About 25 per cent of the families had income between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 3,000 and only 4 per cent of the families had income above Rs. 3,000.

The 152 families had a population of 1,089 persons i.e. 6 persons per family, as follows : Male adults 331, Male non-adults 208, Female adults 348 and Female non-adults 202. The composition of the male/female population was about 50 : 50. The age-distribution of the population and marital status is shown in Tables 3.4 and 3.5. In Table 3.6 is given a distribution of Educands (that is those attending school at the time of the survey) and Non-educands. Of the total population, about 55 per cent were illiterate and about 15 per cent were too young to go to school. Only 7 per cent of the population was of educands, about three-fourths in primary school, about one-fifth in the middle school and only 5 per cent studying upto S.S.C. Among the non-educands, 60 per cent had studies upto the 4th standard, 25 per cent had studied upto the 7th standard and the remaining upto 11th standard.

Table 3.3 : Distribution of 182 families according to Total Cultivated Land and Total Family Income during the year 1973-74

Total cultivated land(group)	Upto Rs. 500	Rs. 501 to 750	Rs. 751 to 1000	Rs. 1001 to 1250	Rs. 1251 to 1500	Rs. 1501 to 2000	Rs. 2001 to 3000	Above Rs. 3000	Total No. of families
	No. of reporting families								
No land	6	8	32	23	14	14	5	-	102
Upto 1 Acre	-	-	6	17	7	7	5	2	44
1.1 to 2.0 Acres	-	-	3	4	2	10	4	2	25
2.1 to 3.0 "	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	5
3.1 to 4.0 "	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	3
4.1 to 5.0 "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.1 to 6.0 "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
All land leased out	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Total :	6	8	41	45	24	33	17	8	182

Table 3.4 : Age distribution of male/female, adult/non-adult population

Age	Male Adults	Male Non-Adults	Female Adults	Female Non-adults	Total
0 - 4 years	-	62	-	68	130
5 - 9 "	-	76	-	81	157
10 - 14 "	15	70	11	53	149
15 - 19 "	57	-	78	-	135
20 - 24 "	51	-	38	-	89
25 - 29 "	37	-	27	-	64
30 - 39 "	44	-	62	-	106
40 - 49 "	51	-	68	-	119
50 - 59 "	52	-	42	-	94
60 - 69 "	23	-	17	-	40
70 & above "	1	-	5	-	6
Total :	331	208	348	202	1089

Table 3.5 : Distribution of male/female, adult/non-adult population by Marital Status

Marital status	Male Adults	Male Non-Adults	Female Adults	Female Non-Adults	Total
1. Unmarried	105	208	74	202	589
2. Married	216	-	222	-	438
3. Widowed	10	-	52	-	62
4. Divorced or separated	-	-	-	-	-
Total :	331	208	348	202	1089

Of the 1089 persons, 558 persons, i.e. about 51 per cent of the total population were earners. Except for 3 male non-adults and one female non-adults, all were adults. The proportion of earners was higher among male adults being 86 per cent as against 71 per cent among female adults. The distribution of earners according to the main and subsidiary occupations followed by them is given in Table 3.7. It will be noted from the Table that 63 per cent were agricultural labourers, 23 per cent were labourers at road works, about 6 per cent were engaged in cultivation and the remaining 8 per cent in various other occupations which involved physical

Table 3.6 : Distribution of Educands and Non-Educands - male/female, adult-non-adult population according to Education

Education	Educands					Non-Educands				
	Male Adults	Male Non-Adults	Female Adults	Female Non-Adults	Total Educands	Male Adults	Male Non-Adults	Female Adults	Female Non-Adults	Total Non-Educands
Illiterate	-	-	-	-	-	207	83	326	93	709
Literate	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	4
Upto 4th Standard	2	36	1	18	57	69	6	14	-	89
Upto 7th Standard	6	8	-	3	17	28	1	6	1	36
Upto S.S.C.	4	-	-	-	4	12	-	-	-	12
Too young	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	-	87	161
Total :	12	44	1	21	78	319	164	347	181	1011

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Table 3.7 : Distribution of male/female, adult/non-adult earners according to their Main and Subsidiary Occupation

Occupation	Male Adults		Male Non-Adults		Female Adults		Female Non-Adults		Total No. of Earners	
	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S
Agriculture	10	19	-	-	20	41	-	-	30	60
Agricultural labour	179	53	-	-	175	64	-	-	354	117
Labour at road works	56	58	2	-	72	28	-	-	130	86
Dairy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cartmen	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Annual Pans Servants	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Engaged in collecting sand	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
Service	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Selling Firewood	-	5	-	2	2	17	-	-	2	22
Other labour	1	93	-	-	1	25	-	-	2	118
Rearing cattle	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	3	-
Total :	284	228	3	-	270	175	1	-	558	403

M = Main Occupation

S = Subsidiary Occupation

labour. They were not engaged in any trading activity except selling firewood from the neighbouring forests and milk.

Out of the 558 earners, 72 per cent reported a secondary occupation and a few of them a third occupation. The data regarding the secondary occupations is also presented in Table 3.7. It will be noted therefrom that the secondary occupations also included agriculture, agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour.

The labourers engaged at road works from the 182 families were in all 122, 130 reporting it as their main occupation, 86 reporting it as their second occupation and 6 reporting it as their third occupation. We shall consider further details regarding them in a subsequent section.

Of the 531 non-earners, 408 were non-adults, 23 were unable to work due to old age and 50 females were engaged in household work. The reasons for not earning in respect of the remaining 50 non-earners were as follows :

Physically disabled	6
Due to illness	2
Educands	13
Reasons not stated	29.

It may be noted that none of the non-earners reported 'unemployed' as the reason for not earning.

As regards the total family income and its composition in different groups the data is presented in Table 3.8. Before considering the composition of the total income, it may be noted that the total family income of Rs. 2,66,580 in respect of 182 families consisting of 1089 persons comes to Rs.1,465 per family and Rs. 245 per capita for the year 1973-74. About 65 per cent of the families had income below the average of Rs. 1,465. The composition of the total income was as follows :

Table 3.8 : Distribution of 182 families according to Income and Composition of Total Income, Income from Agricultural labour, Agriculture, wages from CSRE and other road works and Income from other sources

Income Group Rs.	Total Income		Agricultural labour		Agriculture		CSRE & other road works		Income from other sources	
	No.	Rs.	No.	Rs.	No.	Rs.	No.	Rs.	No.	Rs.
Upto 500	6	2,440	5	1,100	-	-	6	1,340	-	-
501 - 750	8	5,180	8	2,900	-	-	8	2,130	2	150
750 - 1000	41	37,330	41	21,650	7	2,450	41	9,760	28	3,470
1001 - 1250	45	51,760	44	28,550	16	5,100	45	11,850	33	6,260
1251 - 1500	24	33,350	22	18,500	8	3,030	24	7,070	21	4,750
1501 - 2000	33	57,550	30	23,300	17	12,100	33	13,020	27	9,130
2001 - 3000	17	40,440	15	9,170	10	9,550	17	5,390	16	16,330
3001 & above	8	38,530	6	5,030	8	15,850	8	2,850	6	14,800
Total :	182	2,66,580	171	1,10,200	66	48,080	182	53,410	133	54,890

No. = No. of families.

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	<u>No. of reporting families</u>	<u>Per cent of total families</u>	<u>Income Rs.</u>	<u>Per cent of total income</u>
1) From wages as agricultural labour	171	94	1,10,200	41.3
2) From cultivation	66	36	48,080	18.0
3) From wages on road works	182	100	53,410	20.0
4) Other sources	133	73	54,890	20.7
Total :	<u>182</u>		<u>2,66,580</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The wages on road works came to Rs. 293 per family for the year 1973-74 and formed only 20 per cent of the total family income for the year. It will be thus seen that this is very much below the expectation of Rs. 1,000, per earner stipulated under the CSRE programme. The low proportion of earnings is due to occasional break in work during the course of the year on the part of the Z.P., absenteeism on the part of workers as also thinning out of wage payment by employing a large number of workers in some months in a year.

To meet the expenses on some items, only 20 loans were reported by 19 families during the year 1973-74 for the following purposes :

<u>Purpose of Borrowing</u>	<u>No. of Loans</u>	<u>Rs.</u>
Household expenditure	11	1,320
Marriages	2	1,100
Illness	1	200
Construction of house	1	100
Cultivation	5	2,240
Total	<u>20</u>	<u>4,960</u>

Out of the sum of Rs. 4,960, 55 per cent was borrowed from cultivators, 45 per cent from society and 2 per cent from some Fund.

Employment at CSRE, 1972-73 and 1973-74 :

In Table 3.9 is given a distribution of 222 workers by age.

Table 3.9 : Distribution of 222 CSRE Workers by Age

Age	Males	Females	Total
10 - 14 years	2	1	3
15 - 19 years	24	29	53
20 - 24 years	25	8	33
25 - 29 years	11	10	21
30 - 39 years	11	22	33
40 - 49 years	21	21	42
50 - 59 years	21	9	30
Above 60 years	6	1	7
Total	121	101	222

It will be noted that the workers came from various age-groups between 15 to 59 years in the case of male and between 15 to 49 years in the case of females. Their employment at road-works during the years 1972-73 and 1973-74 was as follows :

No. of months at road works	No. of workers	
	1972-73	1973-74
1	6	22
2	30	18
3	2	48
4	3	30
5	2	74
6	124	24
Not stated	55	6
Total :	222	222

Wages Earned in February 1974 :

The wages earned in February 1974 by the 222 workers were as follows :

Rs. per worker	No. of workers
24	1
60	2
66	1
72	132
69	1
216	4
	141
Not employed in Feb. 1974	81
	222

It will be thus seen that most of them earned Rs. 72 during February 1974 except 4 persons who were bullock-cart drivers and hence received Rs. 216 at Rs. 9 per day as wages.

Only 7 workers stated that they could not work in February 1974 due to illness (2), 'work not offered', 'work not in progress', 'to attend a marriage' (1 each), and 'had been to some other village' (2). The remaining 74 did not state any reason.

Commuting to the Place of Work :

The information regarding the distance of the road work from the village of their residence showed that most of them were not required to commute longer distances.

The data is presented below :

<u>Distance from the village to the place of road works</u>	<u>No. of workers</u>
Upto 1 mile	137
Upto 2 miles	28
Upto 3 miles	12
Upto 4 miles	7
Upto 5 miles	18
Upto 6 miles	2
Not stated	18

Total :	<u>222</u>

None of the workers had migrated from his village but commuted daily to the place of work.

Knowledge About the CSRE Scheme :

The workers were asked to state as to how they came to know about the CSRE. We obtained the following information to the questions we had asked :

- 1) 'How did you get information about the CSRE?'

The respondents stated that they get information from the officer of the Panchayat Samiti who visited the village.

- 2) 'When did you get the information?'

September/October 1972 or later in respect of those who joined the works late.

3) 'From whom?'

From local leaders in the village, Sar-Pancha, Village Patil and then from people who had obtained the information from these people.

4) 'Were you in need of employment when you got the information?'

Yes.

5) 'Time gap between your getting knowledge about the scheme and your registration.'

Nil. (Many of the respondents did not know whether their name was included in the register.)

6) 'Reasons for the time gap'.

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7) 'Time gap between registration and getting employment.'

Nil.

8) 'Problems, if any, in working at the work site and how were these solved for you.'

No problem.

9) 'Are there any difficulties at present in working at the road works? What are they?'

Wages are not paid regularly. Arrangements be made to pay the wages regularly.

Impact of the CSRE :

As per the proforma proposed by the Ministry we had incorporated in our schedule some questions to obtain information about this item. It was, however, found at the time of field investigation that the respondents were unable to give the requisite information with any precision. They expressed that the wages earned at the CSRE works enabled them to buy foodgrains etc. but the CSRE did not help in raising the level of living to any significant extent. This information when considered along with the data regarding the income from wages from road works which formed only about 20 per cent of the total income and less than Rs.300 per family suggests that the CSRE did not cause any marked improvement in the material status in respect of the families selected for the survey.

EPILOGUE

The present study was taken up in March 1974 at the instance of the Department of Community Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India. The study was to be conducted in a district in Maharashtra State where the expenditure on the CSRE during the years 1971-72, 1972-73 and 1973-74 was the maximum. The objectives of the research project were to study the characteristics of the labour force employed on the CSRE projects, to analyse the employment effects of the CSRE and to study the economic and social benefits resulting from the creation of assets under the CSRE. We carried out the study in Thana district in Maharashtra State where the expenditure on the CSRE was the maximum.

It must be mentioned that the proposal to take up the study was made in third week of February 1974 when the programme of the CSRE was coming to a close. In Thana district the works were to be closed with effect from 20th March 1974. We were left with only a period of about 10 days in March 1974 during which to conduct the field work. The quality of data suffered as the field work had to be rushed through in a short time. As the attendance at the road works had dropped low it was not possible to select a sample of labourers and we had to fill in the schedule in respect of all the workers who were found at the selected road works.

It was not possible to collect information from the records of the Zilla Parishad before the field work was initiated. Later on it was found, as stated in Chapters I and II, that the CSRE programme was confined to certain months only during the three years period. Due to nonavailability of funds the CSRE works had to be transferred to other programmes like the E.G.S. or Scarcity Works. The workers could not tell the fieldmen whether the wage receipts were from the CSRE or any other works taken up by the Zilla Parishad. This created difficulties in

separately assessing the impact of the CSRE.

Further, when going through the correspondence and directives from the Government, it was discovered that the Government had shifted from its original objective of 'providing employment to 1000 persons for 3 years at Rs.100 p.m.' to 'aim of providing employment for 3 lakhs man-days (300 working days x 1000 workers)'. There was no restriction on the maximum number of persons to be employed or the total number of months for which employment was to be provided. It will be noted from Table No. 2.2, that the average monthly labour force suddenly shot up from 914 in August 1972 to 2,74,582 in October 1972. The data regarding the monthly average labour force between October 1971 and November 1972 presented in the Table very clearly brings out that the programme was not focussed on a selected number of workers, and the wage payment was thinly spread over a large number of workers. Under the circumstances the CSRE was not likely to cause any substantial benefits to the workers.

As regards the economic and social benefits resulting from the creation of assets, the roads were incomplete at the time of the survey. Unless the roads were put to use, it was felt that the economic and social benefits will not flow. As such we could not study the economic and social benefits resulting from the creation of assets under the CSRE.

The Socio-economic survey of labourers revealed that the average family income for the year 1973-74 was Rs.1465 and the income from wages on road works formed only 20% of the total income. As noted in Chapter II the CSRE in Bhiwandi taluka was in progress for about 4 months only during the year 1973-74. It was not possible to find out if the selected road works were transferred to the E.G.S. or Scarcity Works during 1973-74. Even assuming that the entire wage receipts were

from the CSRE, the CSRE contributed very little to the income of the labourers. The average wages from road works came to Rs.293 per family for the year 1973-74. The 182 families had 222 persons working at road works. The average earnings from wages at the CSRE works for the 222 labourers came to about Rs.240 per labourer for the year 1973-74.

Thus at the individual workers' level, the CSRE failed to create any impact. At the district level, the CSRE no doubt helped Thana district to create durable assets by constructing or improving roads (about 235 kms. in length). It also enabled the workers in the district to receive wages of about Rs.47 lakhs from over 15 lakh labour days during the three years' period under the CSRE.

Simultaneously with the CSRE, the E.G.S. and Scarcity Relief Works were also taken up in the district. The total expenditure on road works under the three programmes during the three years was about Rs.143.5 lakhs. The major contribution of the three programmes was to provide employment. If the three programmes had been ^{boiled} ~~pulled~~ together and the planning and implementation had been left to one agency the workers might have benefited more by securing continuous employment and the work executed with greater efficiency.

It is felt that it will be useful to conduct a survey by technical experts regarding the quality of road construction work to see if the output was commensurate with the wages paid. If the objective is to create durable assets, it will be necessary to see if the works were done in a scientific manner and according to engineering specifications, using appropriate material and method. The additional finances necessary for completing the roads and making them durable assets should be provided by the Central/State Government.

Finally we may observe that rather than thinly spreading out the wage payment over thousands of workers under such
employment?

schemes, it will be better to concentrate attention on a group of 1000 workers as originally envisaged under the CSRE. It will be also necessary to plan the works in such a manner that the selected workers will be able to participate in the programmes without being required to migrate from their permanent place of residence or without disturbing their routine, particularly in terms of their work on farms. This will require a systematic effort on the part of the Zilla Parishad to identify the needy labourers, to study their present employment pattern, estimate how many days, excluding monsoon and other natural factors they can work and to find out suitable works within the locality which can be included in the programme. Lastly, provision of adequate and timely finances will have to be assured by the State Government to the Zilla Parishad to enable the implementing authorities to get the works done without any interruption. The schemes for rural employment at present being implemented fail to create the necessary impact on the workers. Rather than introducing crash schemes under which the implementing authorities are under pressure to spend the funds when available and the guiding principle is the 'man-days' it will be better to have well-planned schemes which provide continuous employment to the rural population.