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REPORT
of the
**TEAM FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS
AND NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE**

Vol. II

COMMITTEE ON PLAN PROJECTS
New Delhi

November 1957

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	
I. Local Government in Rural Areas—the present position	1
II. Local Government in some foreign countries	13
III. Studies on Certain Aspects of Community Development—	
Introductory	34
Section 1. Block characteristics and Block staff	37
Section 2. The Block Development Officers	41
Section 3. People's Participation	53
Section 4. Community Centres and Social Education Programmes	68
Section 5. Community Projects and Harijans	77
Section 6. The Block Advisory Committee	89
Section 7. People's Attitudes to Community Projects	96
IV. Note on the Development of Organic Manures	117
V. Note on the spread of Improved Seeds	123
VI. Work-study of a few typical Blocks	126

INTRODUCTION

THIS Volume brings together the various studies that were organised by the Team. They relate to important subjects which are relevant to some of the points discussed in the main Report.

2. The Secretariat of the Team organised studies on Local Government and rural areas. These studies summarise the present position of Panchayats, Janpad Sabhas and District Boards. This is followed by studies in local government organisations in Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. These countries have been selected as they offer different methods of democratic decentralisation in local administration.

3. The next series of studies were made by the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission at the instance of the Team and on its behalf. They relate to certain aspects of the community development activity and we consider that they merit studies by all persons interested in rural welfare.

4. The next paper in this volume is by Shri M. S. Sivaraman, I.C.S., Programme Adviser to the Planning Commission and Adviser on Agriculture to our Team. With the increasing urgency for raising our food production and the shortage of available chemical fertilizers it has become essential that we should exploit other manurial resources. This paper indicates how much can be done in this direction without much demand on public funds. Shri Sivaraman has also made useful observations on the simple inexpensive, and effective machinery for distribution of seed, in operation in certain areas which we expect will be of interest to the public and the administrations in other regions and States.

5. The last pages of this volume contain a work-study conducted by the Secretariat of the Committee on Plan Projects. This not merely provides useful information but also indicates that similar studies can be fruitfully conducted in other branches of our administrative activities.

BALVANTRAY G. MEHTA
Leader,

*Team on Community Projects
and*

NEW DELHI :

the 11th December, 1957.

National Extension Service

I. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RURAL AREAS—THE PRESENT POSITION

(i) PANCHAYATS

At the end of March 1956 there were some 1,23,670 Gram Panchayats covering more than half the total number of villages in the country. The second Five-Year Plan envisaged that according to the tentative programmes drawn up, the number of village panchayats will increase to 2,44,564 to cover almost the entire countryside, by the end of 1960-61. All the States except Tripura have legislation to establish statutory panchayats in the rural areas. The progress measured purely in quantitative terms has been more pronounced in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Mysore, Kerala and the erstwhile States of Madhya Bharat and Saurashtra, where almost all villages are served by panchayats. The pace has been somewhat slow in Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, Rajasthan and Andhra, while other States have made steady progress towards the goal. But it would be obviously erroneous to judge the progress made merely by the number of panchayats in relation to the total number of villages in any State, or in terms of their physical achievements. There are the intangible factors also which should be taken into consideration, for instance, it would be worthwhile to know to what extent panchayats have helped to provide effective leadership to the local community. Despite the fact that the general picture is one of progress in all States and signs of healthy growth are noticeable here and there, there are yet substantial elements of instability and weakness present in a majority of panchayats. The available information indicates that possibly not more than 10 per cent of the total number of panchayats are functioning effectively, roughly one-half are average and the remaining about 40 per cent are working unsatisfactorily.

Structure

2. The pattern of organisation, constitution and jurisdiction of panchayats vary in different States. The interplay of needs, resources available and administrative convenience have produced a variety of policies under given local conditions. In the areas covered by the former States of Saurashtra and Madhya Bharat, there are three tiers of panchayats. Assam has primary village panchayats which act as agents of the Rural Panchayats constituted by indirect election and comprising a number of primary panchayats. West Bengal, which had the system of purely elected Union Boards, proposes by the Panchayat Act, 1956, to establish a two-tier system, *i.e.*, gram panchayats and anchal panchayats, the latter comprising a number of gram sabhas. The pyramidal structure of panchayats in Madhya Bharat has gram panchayats as the base, kendra panchayats above them at the Block level and mandal panchayats at the district level. The three layers are organically inter-linked. In Saurashtra there are gram panchayats at the

bottom, a Gram Panchayat Mandal whose functions are mainly advisory at the district level and the Gram Panchayat Madhyastha Mandal which is the apex body whose main functions relate to the encouragement, supervision and co-ordination of the work of gram panchayats. In some States, for example, Madras and Madhya Pradesh, panchayats are classified into two or three categories on the basis of population and revenue.

Constitution

3. The membership of a panchayat varies in different States. The number generally ranges from 5 to 15 depending on the total population of the villages included in a panchayat. Provision exists for reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes/Tribes and depressed classes for a period of ten years. In certain States, for example, Saurashtra and Bombay seats are also reserved for women. In some States the Sarpanch is elected by the Panchas from among their own number; in others he is elected by the general body or the whole electorate of the village or a number of villages, as the case may be. In Bihar the Mukhiya after he is elected is competent to appoint the members of his executive committee in the prescribed manner. The Mukhiya's right to select his own team gives him a powerful hand to shape the policies of the panchayat. The system is said to be conducive to the smooth working of the body. The term of office of panchayats runs from three to five years in different States.

Elections

4. Elections to gram panchayats are on the basis of adult suffrage, by secret ballot in most States and by show of hands in others. In one State in case of about half of the total number of gram sabhas, the candidates including some harijans were returned unopposed in the last elections. It was observed that in most of the States, in the first elections, the persons elected were usually the elderly and conservative type (45—60 years) who were generally averse to change. It appears that in the second and later elections the composition has in many cases changed in favour of the age-group, 25—40 years. Often the panchayats consisted mostly of the wealthy and influential persons. It has been observed that in spite of the provisions contained in the Panchayat Acts for fixation of the number of seats for each ward and reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes/Tribes and Harijans, in general panchayats cannot be said to command the loyalty of all sections of the community especially the poorer tenants, the landless, the artisans and the backward classes; in practice the economically weaker sections have as yet little voice in the affairs of panchayat. In some cases they are in debt to the Sarpanch who is often a man of substance.

Extent of Jurisdiction

5. The Panchayat Acts in most States provide that a panchayat be constituted for every village, provided that the Government may, if it thinks fit, establish a panchayat for a group of contiguous villages or more than one

panchayat for a big village. A number of States including Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Saurashtra have shown a preference for single village panchayats while some others including Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Bharat, Kerala have decided in favour of group panchayats as far as possible. In Uttar Pradesh, with the creation of Gaon Samaj, a parallel body at the village level, under the provisions of the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, it became necessary to co-ordinate their territorial jurisdiction and functions with the panchayats and consequently now there is a panchayat for every revenue village with a minimum population of 250.

6. The chief merit of a single village panchayat is that it satisfies the elementary instinct of local inhabitants whose psychology can be summed up in the phrase, 'a poor thing but my own'. A multi-village organization is generally lacking in the emotional unity and, therefore, is likely to evoke less response by the people inhabiting more than one village in development work. It is, however, apparent that a group panchayat has greater chances of becoming a viable unit. Experience has shown that the group panchayat finds it relatively easier to push through schemes benefiting more than one village, such as inter-village communications. Little panchayats constituted for small villages are generally swayed by narrower considerations and sometimes dominated by caste interests which are toned down in a bigger body, comprising a number of villages inhabited by practically all castes. Membership of such a body infuses a wider outlook and a sense of responsibility which transcends narrow and parochial considerations. The group panchayats have found support on grounds of expediency also. The cost of field staff required for supervision and guidance would be enormous if panchayats were to be constituted for each village.

7. It is admitted that the working of some group panchayats is not smooth and misunderstandings arise over allotment of funds or such matters as location of a school or a dispensary. The delimitation of jurisdiction of group panchayats presents serious problems in some parts, for example, in Puri District in Orissa which is notorious in this respect. The attendance at meetings of a group panchayat is also thin. But by and large, however, the group panchayats are reported to be functioning satisfactorily and small differences are ironed out by tactful handling of the situation by the Sarpanch and the staff of the Panchayat Department. The real trouble arises where there are factions and feuds born of old rivalries between certain villages or leading persons in a village. Factions, however, are not peculiar to group panchayats and exist even in villages which have a panchayat of its own. There are whole villages torn by factions and squabbles in almost all States.

Functions

8. The functions of the panchayats are generally divided in two categories, obligatory and discretionary. They cover a wide range, including municipal, administrative, cultural, social and development activities from sanitation, conservancy, crop experiments, promotion of cottage industries, to

registration of births and deaths. In a few States such as Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Saurashtra, the Panchayats are also required to make arrangements for watch and ward. There is a provision in the legislation in most States that besides the listed functions, the State Government may authorise any panchayat to exercise any other functions or duties. In some States this is made conditional to necessary funds being placed at the disposal of the village body. The Taxation Enquiry Commission was of the opinion that it was very necessary that instead of the multifarious functions which now figure in the enactments, a few well chosen and clearly defined duties should be assigned to the panchayats and that these should be co-ordinated with similar functions assigned to District Boards or other rural Boards. The Second Five-Year Plan emphasises the role of panchayats in the work of preparation and implementation of local development programmes. The object is that the panchayats should be closely associated with specific functions such as framing programmes of production in the village, organising voluntary labour for community work, promotion of small savings, rendering assistance in the implementation of land reforms and acting as a channel through which an increasing proportion of Government assistance reaches the village. It would appear that there is bound to be a considerable time-lag before the panchayats will be in a position to undertake these additional functions.

9. The actual performance of panchayats is generally limited to making arrangements for sanitation, conservancy, construction and repair of fair-weather roads, provision of domestic water supply and street lighting. Even these simple and elementary civic functions are not being performed with a degree of efficiency over large areas. Some of the panchayats also maintain reading rooms and libraries and have installed community wireless sets. Only a small number of panchayats, particularly those situated within or near the Block areas, have shown a zeal for development activities on any appreciable scale.

Panchayat Finance

10. The panchayats are generally handicapped for want of adequate financial resources to meet the growing expenditures on local programmes of development. It is evident that without financial assistance from the State Government many panchayats cannot continue their existence. It would appear from the available data that the majority of working panchayats over large areas have an annual income not exceeding Rs. 500 from all sources, including Government subsidy. In Uttar Pradesh, the average annual income of a panchayat is now less than Rs. 200; but it was around Rs. 350 when the limit of population for constituting a *gaon sabha* was 1,000. The figure for Madhya Pradesh is below Rs. 250 and in Mysore by far the large majority of the panchayats have an annual income below Rs. 300. In Madras the average income of each of the 4,313 Class II panchayats from all sources was Rs. 1,437 in 1952-53. Class I panchayats numbering

291 in the same year reported a substantially higher figure at Rs. 31,753, excluding receipts on Capital Account. The financial position of panchayats in the pre-reorganisation Bombay State and Saurashtra appears to have been better than obtaining in most other States. The majority of panchayats in Bombay had an average income of over Rs. 3,600 in 1954-55 and in Saurashtra of over Rs. 2,000 in 1951-52. But these larger incomes are mainly explained by substantial grants given by the State Government. For example, in Bombay, financial assistance to village panchayats from State sources rose from less than Rs. 7 lakhs in 1947-48 to Rs. 159 lakhs (R.E.) in 1956-57 which amount was shared by a larger number of panchayats. Deducting the cost of small establishments maintained by the panchayats, on account of pay of the Secretary who is whole-time or part-time in many cases, conservancy staff, contingencies and contributions for the upkeep of *nyaya* (judicial) panchayats, very little is left for constructive and welfare activities.

Main Sources of Income

11. The main sources of income of panchayats are a tax on property, cess on land revenue or rent, a tax on animals and vehicles and profession tax. These three or four taxes are generally compulsory. There are about a dozen optional taxes and fees such as octroi, taxes on shops, bazars and markets, a pilgrim tax, fees on goods exposed for sale, fees for the use of *serais*, *dharamsalas*, rest houses, a drainage fee and lighting rate, water rate etc., where such services are provided by the panchayats. In most States only three or four taxes including the compulsory and optional ones are utilised by the panchayats, and even these do not appear to be fully exploited. The income derived from non-tax sources such as markets, cattle pounds, tanks, pisciculture, management of waste lands, etc., is negligible in most cases. There are a few panchayats in Orissa and elsewhere which are getting a net income of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 yearly from pisciculture alone. The Punjab Government made a provision of Rs. 10 lakhs in 1956-57 budget for assisting panchayats in creating revenue-yielding assets. Advantage was taken of consolidation of holdings operations to carve out a plot for the benefit of panchayats which could be utilised to set up an orchard or a model farm etc.

12. The potentialities of a labour tax have not yet been fully realised in most of the States. This tax is optional in most States; in Bihar where it is compulsory it also operates as a voluntary levy since the provisions in the Act regarding its recovery by distraint and sale of property are not enforced. Shramdan, which is another name of voluntary labour tax, is reported to have produced good results particularly in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. In Saurashtra it is open to an assessee to pay the panchayat taxes in cash or by way of labour or partly in cash and partly in the form of labour.

13. In about half a dozen States including Bombay, Madras, Andhra, Mysore, Punjab, Madhya Bharat and Saurashtra, panchayats are given a

share of land revenue varying from 5 per cent to 33-1/3 per cent of the previous year's collections. The Bombay Government since 1954-55 gives a statutory grant equivalent to 30 per cent of the ordinary land revenue which accounts for about a third of the total income of the panchayats. Since the introduction of this grant (formerly the panchayats were allotted 15 per cent share of land revenue) the special grant towards the pay and allowance of Panchayat Secretaries and all other grants for specific purposes (except for water supply) have been discontinued. In Bihar, Government grants account for more than half the total income of the panchayats. In several States, for example, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Saurashtra, the State Government meets the expenditure on account of the salary bill of Panchayat Secretaries either in full or in part. In some States, for example, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam every newly established panchayat is given a lump sum grant of Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 to enable it to develop its own sources of income. Loan assistance for production schemes and to finance schemes on Capital Account is also provided in a few States, for instance, Madras, Andhra and Orissa. Incidentally, one of the objects of such assistance is increasing the income of panchayats from non-tax sources.

Limitations

14. Despite the multiplication of the number of panchayats, their achievements on the whole are modest and unevenly distributed among the States and within the States these are confined to relatively small areas. There is a wide gap between the legislative framework and the actual working. The limitations are partly administrative and financial and partly temperamental and these again are interlinked. The administrative limitations mainly relate to deficiencies in trained personnel for working as panchayat executives and lack of co-ordination and of adequate guidance and supervision. Good progress has been made during the past few years to provide either whole-time or part-time secretaries to village panchayats and arrangements for their training, howsoever, inadequate, have been made by the State Governments. In some States training camps and conferences are organised from time to time to reorientate the minds of Sarpanchas, Panchas and Panchayat Secretaries. All these efforts, however, represent only a beginning and will have to be stepped up to meet the future requirements. The major problem is to make adequate provision for guidance to panchayat personnel and this aspect has received little attention so far in most of the States. There is not enough of competent trained men for field work or their charge is so heavy that they are not able to devote much attention to this side. The emphasis of inspection continues to be on occasional routine visits for check-up of registers maintained or required to be maintained by the panchayats as against trying to solve their difficulties and stimulating them into constructive activity through persuasion and sympathetic understanding of the problems facing them, which is the prime need. In a few States commendable

progress has been made in this direction mainly through the efforts of non-official workers. In some States, it is alleged, that the control exercised by official agencies both from outside as well as inside, has curbed the initiative of the panchayats. General powers of control and supervision are vested in the State Government who can delegate these to the "prescribed authorities". The prescribed authority in most States is the Collector and the Inspector of Local Bodies as in Madras. In Bombay, District Boards are given limited powers of control and in Madhya Pradesh (Mahakoshal) the *Janapada Sabhas*. The supervision exercised by District Boards and *Janapadas* over the work of panchayats is scanty and ineffective in actual practice.

15. There are three major aspects of the problem relating to finance: inadequate resources allotted to panchayats under the Acts, a general reluctance to make use of the existing resources and general inefficiency in tax administration. In the sphere of finance, some of the difficulties are partly administrative and even temperamental. Although the financial position of panchayats shows a slight improvement as a result of various steps recently taken by the State Governments, it cannot be said that the panchayat finances have been placed on a sound basis. Not all panchayats levy even the compulsory taxes and fewer still collect them with any degree of efficiency. There are heavy arrears almost in all States. For example, in Uttar Pradesh only about 45 per cent of the taxes imposed during the last eight years were realised and arrears at the end of 1956-57 were estimated at Rs. 4.65 crores. In Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, it is reliably learnt that the collections do not exceed 25—30 per cent. In many cases the Sarpanch and Panchas are among the defaulters. The complaints of discrimination in assessment are fairly common and in a few cases of deliberate victimisation. The assessment lists are not generally revised periodically. There is a general aversion to adopt coercive measures, which it is feared, will make the panchayats unpopular. It is expected that the heavy arrears may have to be written off on such grounds as drought, famine or floods but such a step without making effective arrangements for the future will only spell permanent failure. It is well to bear in mind that the general failure to assess and collect the various taxes and fees has wider repercussions. It creates an atmosphere unfavourable to the growth of panchayats.

16. The temperamental limitations of panchayats as constituted at present arise mainly due to two or three causes. One is that panchayats in general do not truly represent all the elements in village life including the haves and have-nots. This aspect is tied with land reforms and other measures for solving the problems of unemployment and under-employment in rural areas. Secondly, there are internal factions and feuds which are sometimes of old standing and continue to mar the smooth working of this institution. The number of panchayats which are torn by factions or in which squabbles are rampant is large. In fact in some States they are in a majority. Factions are baneful to the growth of community spirit but they

have not proved to be an unmixed evil. Experience has shown that sometimes they are a spur to action when rival groups vie with each other to win the confidence of the electorate through various measures to promote general welfare. The question of removing factions assumes special importance in the case of group panchayats which are prominent in some States. Great care has to be taken in selecting the constituent units so that the Panchas should be able to work as a team. The main factors taken into consideration for the purpose of grouping at present are contiguity, distance between the constituent villages and homogeneity. At the same time grouping of villages to form one panchayat has sometimes led to the softening of village dissensions. It is of utmost importance for the success of this institution that grouping should not be forced against the expressed wishes of the people. There are no short remedies to remove or overcome old factions and feuds.

(ii) JANAPADA SABHAS

17. *Janapada Sabhas*, confined to Mahakoshal area, were established under the Central Provinces and Berar Local Government Act, 1948. The jurisdiction of *Janapada Sabhas* was made co-extensive with tehsils or taluks and following their creation the District Councils and Local Boards were abolished.

Constitution

18. A *Janapada* is divided into rural and urban circles, the urban circle comprising municipal and notified areas and the rural circle the remainder area of a tehsil. The rural circle is divided into electoral divisions, each division returning one councillor. A certain number, not exceeding one-sixth of the total number as may be prescribed, are elected by the Municipal Committees and Notified Area Committees. Besides, a few representatives of backward classes and of women are specially selected by the elected councillors. A *Sabha* consists of a minimum of 28 and a maximum of 40 councillors, depending on the population of the *Janapada*. The term of office of a *Sabha* and every councillor is five years. A *Sabha* at its first meeting elects a chairman from its own body or from other persons residing in the *Janapada* area who holds office for the term of the *Sabha*. Each *Sabha* appoints out of its body five Standing Committees for finance, public health, public works, education and agriculture. The chairman of a Standing Committee is either elected from among the councillors or from other persons residing in the *Janapada* area. Besides each *Sabha* has to constitute an Administrative Committee consisting of the chairman of each Standing Committee and the chairman and deputy chairman of the *Sabha*. The State Government appoints a servant of the Government as part-time Chief Executive Officer of the *Sabha* who may be assisted by one or more deputies, if necessary. The salaries of these officers are chargeable to State revenues. The policies are laid down by the *Janapada Sabha* and are to be executed by the Chief Executive Officer.

Functions

19. The functions of *Janapada Sabha* cover a wide range and include all measures likely to promote the health, education, welfare and convenience of the people living in the rural areas. There is a small list of things which a *Janapada* must do and a somewhat longer list of things which it may do at its discretion. The Sabhas have also got powers of inspection, supervision and control over panchayats and less powers in respect of Municipal and Notified Area Committees situated within their areas.

Main sources of Income

20. The main sources of income of *Janapada Sabhas* are (a) compulsory cess on land revenue at the rate of 30 pies in the rupee; (b) 5 per cent. share of land revenue; (c) fees and charges from cattle pounds and (d) Government grants. Other sources of income cover fees from markets, licence fees of various kinds, rents and profits accruing from nazul property and half per cent surcharge on stamp duty on the transfer of certain immovable property, the proceeds of which are to be distributed among village panchayats, municipalities and notified area committees.

Causes of Failure

21. The main object of establishing *Janapada Sabha* was the decentralisation of administration with *Janapada* as unit of administration. The scheme has had a fair trial for over eight years and the results are admittedly disappointing. The main activities of the *Janapada* are related to running of primary schools and a few dispensaries, management of cattle pounds and maintenance of roads. The record of work even in these limited fields is not satisfactory. In most of the *Janapadas* the salaries of school teachers are not regularly paid and the maintenance of cattle pounds, roads and buildings in their charge is badly neglected. There are dispensaries and maternity homes but the newly constructed buildings are not always manned by doctors and trained nurses. The majority of *Janapadas* cannot afford to employ a qualified engineer and a Public Health Officer. All the technical departments except the public works which has an overseer are manned by clerks who do not possess even a rudimentary knowledge of subjects like agriculture and public health. The appointment and transfer of teachers and cattle pounds constitute the main trouble-spots, which engage the attention of most of the *Janapadas*. The work in connection with panchayats is neglected as the *Janapadas* have no field staff for the purpose of inspection, supervision and guidance. Moreover there is dual control in this field by the *Janapadas* and the Directorate of Panchayats and Social Welfare.

22. The difficulties of *Janapadas* are at least in part due to their poor financial resources which are inelastic. To this factor may be added the failure to collect even the land revenue cess in full which is an important source of their income. They mainly depend upon Government grants which

represent about 55 per cent of their total income. Among other causes of failure of *Janapadas* may be mentioned the internal factions, the position of the Chief Executive Officer *vis-a-vis* the *Janapada* and the independent status of the Chief Executive Officer as the sub-divisional officer. The vacuum created after the abolition of District Councils nine years back has remained unfilled. The position of the Chief Executive Officer in the present set-up is unenviable. The responsibility for executing the decisions of the *Janapadas* and co-ordinating the work of Standing Committees rests on him. As he has other important duties to perform as sub-divisional officer he can spare little time for the work of the *Janapadas*. In the performance of his delicate duties the Chief Executive Officer sometimes appears to have received inadequate guidance from the busy Collector or the State Government. The powers of dismissal and to take other disciplinary action are vested in the Administrative Committee. The staff, therefore, generally do not owe allegiance to the Executive Officer who might be transferred at any time but the chairman of the *Janapada* or at least the party to which he belongs will continue for the full term.

(iii) KENDRA PANCHAYATS

23. Kendra Panchayats, which are intermediary bodies between Gram Panchayats and Mandal Panchayats at the district level, were established in Madhya Bharat under the Panchayat Act, 1949. Originally this body was created for every Revenue Inspector's (Kanungo's) circle but after the second elections, they were re-established at the block level. Each of them consists on the average of 32 members of whom 30 are elected by secret ballot from among the Panchas of the Gram Panchayats and one representative each of backward classes and women. The functions of this body cover among other things, adult education, development of agriculture, cottage industries, trade, watch and ward and assisting Gram Panchayats generally. The tax powers of the three types of panchayats are not clearly demarcated. The annual income of Kendra Panchayat is roughly between Rs. 5000-6000, which goes into establishment costs and to meet the deficits of Nyaya Panchayats. The balance left is so little that the Kendra Panchayats cannot undertake any original works nor they are in a position to render material technical assistance and guidance to the Gram Panchayats.

(iv) DISTRICT BOARDS

Composition

24. There are some 206 District Boards or District Local Boards spread over all the States except Assam, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh (Maha Koshal). In Orissa, District Boards were dissolved and taken over by Government in 1954 as a preliminary step to introduce Anchal Sasans. The District Boards consist of a prescribed number of members, elected on the basis of adult franchise, reservation of seats being provided for Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes and in a few States for minorities and

women also. The term of office varies from three to four years but may be extended to an aggregate of five years. The President and Vice-President are generally elected by the Board from among its own members. In Uttar Pradesh, the Chairman of the District Board is elected by the entire electorate while the Vice-Chairman is elected by the Board Members. In some States there is a provision to co-opt a number of members in proportion to the total elected strength. In most States the State Government can authorize certain officials of development Department at the district level to attend meetings and to participate in the deliberations of the Boards without having the right to vote.

Powers and Duties

25. The functions of District Boards like those of the panchayats cover an extensive field and relates mainly to education, medical, sanitation and public works. In some States the Boards maintain primary, middle and in some cases high schools and give grants-in-aid to other schools in the district. They also run hospitals and veterinary dispensaries. In Bombay and Bihar the District Boards are also required to supervise and co-ordinate the work of panchayats and in West Bengal of Union Boards, and the burden of audit of accounts of the panchayats in a few States also falls on them.

Finance

26. The main sources of income of District Boards are Government grants which alone account for 40—55 per cent of their total income, land cess and educational receipts. The Bombay Government gives a statutory grant to District Local Boards, equivalent to 15 per cent of the land revenue collections. The District Boards also get some income from profession tax or the tax on circumstances and property (as it is called in Uttar Pradesh), entertainment tax, surcharge on stamp duty and licence fees. Besides the general grants-in-aid, the State Governments usually meet a percentage of the dearness allowance given to the staff and in a few States for example, Bombay, the salary bill of the Chief Officer or Engineer also.

Quality of Work

27. With few exceptions here and there the quality of work performed by the District Boards is not encouraging. While their financial resources are inadequate and on the decrease partly as a result of the establishment of panchayats, the scope of their activities has gradually expanded and the cost of establishment has gone up due to the rise in general price level. In sum, the Boards have somehow managed to keep going mainly through increased financial assistance by the State Governments in the form of larger grants and loans. In a few States, of late primary education has been transferred to an independent *ad hoc* body, the District School Board or vested in the District Superintendent of Education, who is appointed by the State Government and dispensaries and intra-district roads have been taken over by the State Government. The changeover has been motivated in part by an

anxiety to secure uniform standards of services but mainly because the District Boards were not able to manage such activities up to a standard of efficiency.

Reasons for Failure

28. The gradual eclipse of District Boards from the social polity is due to several factors both internal and extraneous. The internal factors relate to their deteriorating finances and enlargement in the scope of their functions under pressure of social and economic changes. There is a general reluctance to levy fresh taxes and enforce existing ones effectively. Illustratively one District Board with annual income of Rs. 12.6 lakhs (of which Government grants accounted for 7.6 lakhs or three-fifths) had a sum of about Rs. 2½ lakhs as outstanding arrears on the 31st March, 1957 which formed about half of its annual income from taxes and fees. The complaints of under-assessment and interference by elected members are common. The District Boards vary greatly in size and population and some of them are manifestly unwieldy. The present position under which policy-making as well as executive functions are vested with the President and the Standing Committees, consisting of elected members has had an adverse effect on the efficiency of working of these bodies. The reduced powers and transfer of certain important functions have also undermined the importance of this body. To this may be added the multiplicity of committees, both statutory and *ad hoc*, appointed at the district level. For instance, the constitution of District Planning Committees practically in all States has had a weakening effect on the powers of District Boards.

II. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOME FOREIGN COUNTRIES

(i) SWEDEN

In Sweden the traditions of local self-government are very old but the organisation of local self-government in its present form has existed for hardly a century. The local bodies comprise rural and urban Communes which are primary units and the provincial Communes. The last-mentioned correspond to the 24 provinces in which Sweden is divided plus one for Stockholm. In recent years, the distinction between the rural and urban Communes which was never a sharp one has begun to fade away further. Many 'cities' cover rural areas also and there are rural Communes with large urban areas. The urban areas account for about 70 per cent of the total population whereas population of the cities forms 48 per cent of the total. Many rural Communes were too small and poor to be able to provide anything like efficient services in their areas, particularly in the field of social welfare and this led to the reorganization of boundaries of rural Communes (districts). Until 1952 Sweden had between 2,000—3,000 rural Communes with an average population of 1,500 persons. In 1946 a law was passed which aimed at a fresh division of the country into rural Communes and the process of re-distribution of areas was begun six years later. The number of rural Communes was reduced to 904 and the average population rose to over 4,000.

Constitution

2. The organisation and work of the Communes is governed by Communal laws and by special legislation, each type of Commune having its own particular Communal law. The Communes are administered through a Council consisting of 15 to 20 members in the case of rural Communes and 20 to 60 for cities and Provincial Communes. The members who are called delegates are elected for four years by citizens above the age of 21 years, who are not under some form of guardianship. The elections are held on a proportional representation basis, almost always on party lines. Experience has shown that political differences have not prevented the members from co-operating in most local matters for common good. The Chairman of the Council is elected by the members from amongst themselves. He is assisted by one or two deputies who are elected annually.

Executive Committee

3. For administrative purposes, an executive committee, elected by the Council is a common feature of local government institutions in the Scandinavian countries. The main role of the executive committee is to prepare and present matters for consideration by the Council and to carry out its decisions. The Executive Committee is also responsible for the management of local property, the preparation of the budget and other current business. There are other committees constituted in accordance

with the Communal laws for subjects like ports, roads, markets, poor relief, child welfare etc. With the great increase in the local government work and enlargement of districts it has become difficult for the elected members to deal with details of administration themselves. The Communes have therefore begun to employ a growing number of technicians, official and clerks; the majority of the latter are trained in social work and public administration.

Function

4. The main functions of rural and urban Communes are the maintenance of a police system, poor relief, child welfare, public welfare assistance and unemployment relief. These functions are obligatory under the law. Elementary Education too falls to their share although in small rural Communes it is still to a large extent under church administration. The rural and urban Communes are also entrusted with certain agency functions in various fields by the Government. Large urban Communes undertake public utility enterprises such as gas and electric works, transport and housing construction. It is, however, realised that such functions as education, poor relief and relief of the unemployed can be more effectively performed not by one Commune but through the cooperation of several Communes. Medical care and certain other functions (details not available) are the responsibility of the Provincial Communes. They are charged with economic and administrative authority in the fields within their jurisdiction. For instance it is for the Administrative or Executive Committee of a Provincial Commune to decide whether a drunkard will have to be put into an institution for alcoholics or not. Such decisions are subject to appeal to the Supreme Administrative Court.

Finance

5. The principal source of income of the Communes is the general Communal tax levied on the basis of income and the real property of a person. It is independent of a similar tax levied by the Central Government but it is based on the assessment of the central tax. To ensure economy and efficiency of collection, the two taxes are jointly administered by the Central Government and proceeds of the local tax transferred to the Communes. The amount of rates of the Communal tax are determined by the Commune itself at the time of adoption of its annual budget and need not be submitted to the Central Government. Government grants form an important source of revenue for the rural Communes and in 1952 covered about 30 per cent of their expenditures. The grants are mostly in aid of salaries of teachers and police officials and towards the cost of school buildings and other public works, hospitals, child welfare, poor relief and equipment for fire brigades, etc. Those Communes where the burden of taxation has reached a high level may receive a general subsidy, the main factors to be taken into account being the level of local taxation and population in relation to the total income tax returns. A particular feature of the revenue system of local bodies in Sweden is that land or real estate is not looked upon as a primary subject for taxation.

Control and Supervision

6. The local authorities in Sweden enjoy wider autonomy than in most European countries. The right of local self-Government is embedded in the Constitution itself. Neither the Provincial Communes nor a State authority has the right to challenge or modify or alter any resolution passed by the Communal Council. However, an inhabitant of the Commune can apply to the court even if a resolution in question does not directly affect him. It is only in very few cases that a resolution passed by a Commune requires the approval of a high authority. One such instance is the raising of a loan, repayable over a period longer than five years; this is subject to approval of the Government. Technical supervision is provided by the Central agencies, for example, the Medical Board which supervises medical care and health, activities which absorb the major part of the budget of the Provincial Communes.

(ii) UNITED KINGDOM

In England, Wales and Northern Ireland with the exception of the Metropolitan area to which a different set of laws apply in many fields of local government in the rest of the country, (except Scotland) the local authorities are—

- (a) Parish Meetings (4,100)
- (b) Parish Councils (7,000)
- (c) Rural District Councils (508)
- (d) Urban District Councils (599)
- (e) Non-County Borough Councils (317)
- (f) County Borough Council (85)
- (g) County Councils (67)

One remarkable feature of the local Government in England and Wales is the absence of any organic link between the various units. Each Council is directly elected and has its own rating power except the Parish Council. The areas of Counties, Rural Districts and Parishes overlap. The County Boroughs are however complete units by themselves. The Administrative Counties have to share some of their functions with Boroughs, Urban Districts and Rural Districts which are secondary units. There is no clear distinction between what may be described as urban or rural local bodies in some other countries.*

*"The Boroughs represent towns of large size, the Urban Districts contain small towns with often a ring of rural surroundings; the Rural Districts, as their name implies, represent collection of villages, spread over areas... there are many borderline cases; some very small towns boast the superior dignity of the title of Borough on account of their historic past, some Urban Districts are mainly rural in character; some Rural Districts contain market towns of fair size. The rural character of many urban Districts has been increased considerably in recent years by the great revision of district boundaries... the tendency being to place as many rural parts of the County as can conveniently be managed within reach of the more efficient services supplied by the wealthier urban aggregations."

Parish

2. The Parish stands at the bottom of the structure of local government in England and Wales. Those with a population over 300 must have a Council, for those between 200-300 it is optional to have a Council, those with a population of less than 200 can have one if the County Council agrees. Every Parish must hold a Meeting to which all those on the election register have a right to attend. A Parish Council may undertake the cleansing of ponds and ditches, provide water supply from local sources besides street lighting, baths, wash-houses, fire-engines, parks, recreation grounds, libraries and maintain footpaths. It may, subject to permission from the Rural District Council, also undertake some of the sanitary duties usually performed by the latter and pay the salary of a clerk with the consent of the County Council. In actual practice the functions of a Parish Council consist largely of those which do not cost money. "The real use of the Parish Council is in calling the attention of other bodies to things which want doing". A Parish Council is not empowered to levy any rate or fees independently. The expenditure is met by demands on the Rural District Council which is a Rating Authority. General expenditure exceeding a 4*d* rate must be referred to a Parish Meeting. Besides special sanctions from the Ministry of Health, a Parish Council may spend up to a rate of 8*d* in the £ on general purposes, an equal amount on parks and recreation grounds (if the population exceeds 500) and a further amount regulated by various laws, on other functions.

Urban/Rural Districts

3. The District Council is composed of a Chairman and Councillors. The Councillors are elected for three years, one-third of the number retiring every year, unless otherwise directed by the County Council. The Chairman is elected at the annual meeting from amongst the Councillors or from outside. The business of District Councils is transacted mainly through Committees consisting of some of the Councillors and a few co-opted members. The decisions of the Committees are generally to be submitted to the Council for approval.

4. The District Councils look after sanitation, water supply, public health, suppression of nuisances, cemeteries, maintenance of roads and lighting etc. The units, larger in size are also entrusted with functions relating to education, police and old age pensions. Although the constitution, functions and powers of the Urban and Rural Districts are more or less similar, the standards of efficiency expected of Urban Districts are higher mainly because of the concentration of population in urban areas which raises many social and economic problems. Also the resources available to finance local government activities are greater in the urban areas. After the passage of Local Government Act, 1929, specific steps were taken to enable the Rural Districts to obtain better sanitary services. Under the

1929 Act, the maintenance of public highways in Rural Districts was passed on to the Counties which incidentally helped to cheapen the cost of this service under a centralized administration. Further a County Council was allowed to take over from a Rural District Council the responsibility for the provision of any public health service and in case of sewerage and water supply to pay a contribution towards the expenses incurred by the Rural District Council.

Boroughs

5. The Borough is the most important unit of local government in urban areas. The Boroughs have certain minor rights which Urban District Councils do not possess, for example, it is competent to take over management of the local police but a clause is now inserted in the Charter that it has no legal claim in this direction. Up to the year 1931 a Borough had the option to run elementary schools under certain circumstances but the Education (Local Authorities) Act took away this right from all local authorities below a County Borough.

County Boroughs

6. The Administrative Counties and County Boroughs completely cover the map of England and Wales. The County Boroughs are separate units, in no way subordinate to the Administrative Counties. A town when it attained a population of 75,000 could apply to the Ministry of Health for County Borough status, subject to formal confirmation of the Parliament. The advanced status casts upon it new and important duties. The County Council is charged with the administration of poor-law system and increased functions in regard to insurance and pensions. It is the sole education authority in its area, from the nursery school to the technical college. It has to undertake comprehensive health services including those relating to tuberculosis, venereal disease, maternity and child welfare, care of the mentally deficient, maintenance of main roads and certain police functions.

County Councils

7. There are some 67 Administrative Counties in England and Wales and Northern Ireland. The functions entrusted to Counties are those appropriately related to a large area, e.g., principal roads, bridges, police, town and country planning, inspection of weights and measures, licensing of places of entertainment etc. These require the services of specially qualified and trained personnel which is normally beyond the resources of secondary units to employ and moreover there would not be whole-time work for such personnel in a small area. Education being of basic importance is also administered by the County Councils in collaboration with Rural and Urban District Councils.

Control and Supervision

8. The local government in England is "legal, not prerogative". No local body can exercise any power unless conferred by law and if the

Government Officials or any Department are allowed by a discretion, it must be strictly according to the rules of law which has to be interpreted by the ordinary courts. If a local authority exceeds its powers, the remedy lies in applying to the ordinary Court for an injunction or declaration of a right. If a local body has failed to perform a duty a "writ of mandamus" can be obtained from the Court against the defaulting authority. The control exercised by Government is flexible and designed to assist the local authorities in carrying out their functions effectively in accordance with the laws. They pass their own budgets and appoint their own staff, subject to the regulations regarding qualifications etc. laid down in an Act of Parliament and raise about two-thirds of their own resources. The Government has no powers under the law to dissolve a local authority. Local Authorities are competent to make bye-laws on a number of subjects which are to be confirmed by the Ministry of Health but ultimately it is for the Courts to decide whether such an approval is legal or illegal. In order to secure a measure of uniformity, the Ministry prepares and issues model laws and bye-laws known as adoptive Acts and it is open to the local authorities to follow any such laws. Inspectors of various Government Departments have no executive powers. Certain officers of the Ministries are required to attend meetings of the committees of local authorities but they have no right of vote. Their role is that of advisers with a wider experience than most of the local officials possess. Government has the right to call for information, of conducting enquiries into the affairs of local government units, publishing reports, auditing accounts and sanctioning loans. The growth of grants-in-aid in recent years has also meant increased control in relation to such schemes which are financed either wholly or partly from Government grants or loans. To sum up, the relationship between the Government and local authorities in England is one of partners and not that between an all-superior authority and a subordinate agency.*

Local Finance

9. The importance and range of local finance in the United Kingdom, may be appreciated from the fact that the services which local authorities administer (including capital construction) represent roughly one-tenth of the national product; further they account for about one-quarter of the gross fixed capital formation, that is more than either the share of fully nationalized industries or of the Central Government itself. The total expenditure of local authorities in England and Wales has risen from £169 million (including £21 million on Capital Account) in 1913-14 to about £1,266 million (including £384 million on Capital Account) in 1950-51.

*The Minister of Health stated in 1949 that the Government believed that 'the right approach to the relationship between central and local government must be found in the two principles that local authorities are responsible bodies competent to discharge their own functions... and that the controls necessary to secure the objectives of Government policy and financial administration should be concentrated at certain key points leaving as much as possible of the detailed administration of a scheme or service to the local authority'. *Local Government in Britain* [(Central Office Information (1954)].

The outstanding loan debt, mostly in respect of capital works, was £2,252 million as at the end of 1950-51.

10. Total current receipts of local authorities in England and Wales from rates, grants and other sources have risen from £105 million in 1913-14 to £900 million in 1950-51. A little over one-third of the revenue is derived from the local rate or general rate which is levied on the rateable value of occupied property, an equal proportion (34 per cent.) comes from grants from the Central Government and the balance (32 per cent.) from other sources such as rents, fees and trading services. The relative contribution of the main sources of local income has changed considerably during the last over forty years. In 1913-14, the rates accounted for as much as 68 per cent., grants 22 per cent. and other sources 10 per cent. of the total receipts on revenue account. A century and quarter ago there were no grants at all, in 1936-37 the Central grants totalled about £135 million, when £3 out of every £8 spent by the local authorities on revenue account was subscribed by the Central Government. The figure rose to £305 million in 1950-51. The great increase in subsidies merely reflects the growing partnership between the Central and local authorities towards building the 'welfare' state on the one hand and acceptance of the integrated conception of local government on the other. Local rate is of special importance in the U.K., since it is the only independent tax which Local Authorities can freely use. Its yield has steadily increased particularly since pre-war from £191 million in 1938-39 to £305 million in 1950-51. In contrast, the principal heads of revenue of the Central Government have expanded at much faster rate. In fact, the post-war taxation burden of local authorities appears almost negligible in comparison, with the heavy tax burden of the Central Government. The increase in expenditure of local authorities is counterbalanced to a large extent by an increase in grants from the Central Government. The slow growth of rateable value and, therefore, of the yield from local rates have been due mainly to two factors, (a) Government policy: Rent Restriction Acts froze the rents of most houses either at their 1914 or 1939 level and (b) grant of exemptions to certain classes of property. In 1929 factories and other industrial premises and property used for railways, docks and canals were exempted to the extent of 75 per cent. of their rateable value. At about the same time agricultural land and buildings also ceased to be subject to local rates. Another contributory factor was the absence of a general revaluation of property over a long period. The rating areas include County Boroughs, Boroughs and Urban and Rural Districts. The Counties and Parishes do not levy and collect rates. Under the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, provision was made for the establishment of a number of assessment areas. Under the Local Government Act, 1948, the Board of Inland Revenue has been entrusted with the task of valuing of property for rating purposes which is a great improvement over the old procedures. The burden of rates is not excessive by any standards;

it represented about 3 to 4 per cent. of an average worker's income in the pre-war period and the incidence is now probably less on account of a relatively higher increase in money income than in rates. The greater part of the burden is borne by householders, who contributed roughly 60 per cent. of the receipts in 1948, the share of commercial establishments being only 15 per cent.

11. The grants to local authorities are of two categories, specific grants to meet the cost of particular services and general or block grants in aid of local expenditures. Examples of the former type are those for education, police, local health services, provision of housing, highways etc. As regards general grants, block grants which were distributed according to special formulae applicable to different activities were substituted in 1948 by Exchequer Equalization grants aimed at ensuring a measure of equality in the financial resources of local authorities. Unlike block grants these are not paid to all localities. The comparatively wealthy localities with a rateable value per head of population above the average normally are not entitled to receive any assistance beyond what they get towards the support of specific services. However, specific grants predominate; out of the total of £305 million grants disbursed to local authorities in 1950-51, £256 million were for specific purposes.

12. Some Local authorities derive a part of their revenue from trading services which are generally managed on commercial lines except that the object in most cases is not one of making a profit but to provide services on near-cost basis. They are mainly of the public utility type including water-supply, tramways, omnibuses, markets, restaurants, harbours, docks and piers, aerodromes and entertainments. Water supply, being in the nature of a health service, is in many cases subsidized from the local rates. Probably passenger transport provides the only example of a local trading service showing a sizeable net profit.

13. Of the revenue account expenditure of £743 million in 1950-51, education accounted for more than one-third (£269 million), and housing and health came next with a little over £100 million each. Between them the three services accounted for two-thirds of total local expenditures. Housing constitutes the major item of expenditure on capital account; its share in the total was 65 per cent. in 1950-51. The smaller units generally meet their requirements for a capital expenditure from the Public Works Loan Board and from the Local Loans Fund on comparatively cheap terms. The average rate of interest paid by local authorities on loans from the Board was a little over 3 per cent. in 1951-52. This has been raised since, with the change in monetary policy of Government. It is not unusual for the larger units to finance their needs from issues of stocks in the market. Another source of capital funds is the internal resources of the Local authorities themselves, mainly superannuation funds, sinking funds and reserve funds.

Summing up

14. Many of the units, both urban and rural, continue to be so small that they are not in a position to provide efficient services in their areas. The Royal Commission on Local Government (1923—29) reported that the Parish Councils were more often not aware of their legal powers. It was decided to make a thorough enquiry into the extent and boundaries of the county districts with a view to evolve more suitable areas for administrative work. The task of re-drawing the maps was entrusted to the County Councils who were asked to prepare a scheme not later than 1932. As a result, some changes were carried out but no substantial progress could be made as the redistribution of areas in many cases caused resentment. In 1945 a special commission was set up to review the areas of all local authorities except those in the London region. The report submitted in 1948 contains far-reaching recommendations. The problem is further complicated due to constant changes in the status and boundaries of local government areas. "A Parish or even a whole Rural District will aspire to become a Municipal Borough, a Municipal Borough to become a County Borough". In some countries where the local body, say communes are an "all purposes local authority" and have the same powers and duties, the question of changing the boundaries in order to gain in status does not arise.

(iii) UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the U.S.A., with a three-tier federal system of government, the local government structure is composed of counties, cities, towns, townships, villages, school districts and other special districts, approximately totalling to 116,700 different authorities. Roughly 36,000 of them are primary units consisting of 3,049 counties, 17,202 townships and towns and 16,778 municipalities. The majority of municipalities, about 13,000 are rural in character. Of the total number of local government units 79,665 or about 70 per cent. are special districts, the majority of them (67,346) being school districts and the remaining perform a variety of special functions. The weakness inherent in a multiplicity of small areas from the point of view of efficiency and economy is recognized. We shall revert to this problem later.

County

2. Every State (except Louisiana where sub-divisions are known as Parish) is divided into Counties. The population of Counties varies greatly, ranging from 300 to 4 million inhabitants; the average being 50,000. The County is a traditional unit of rural government, but there are many Counties with an urban element or covering urban municipalities within their areas. It is the basic unit of local government in the south and west while in the New England States the County is relatively less important than the town. In the north-west and north-Central States, towns and townships form an important supplement to the Counties. In those States where it is the primary unit of local government, the county usually serves as an election district and constituency for representation in the State legislature.

3. The functions of Counties vary considerably. They are generally concerned with administration of justice, maintenance of jails and reformatory schools, education, construction and maintenance of secondary highways and bridges, welfare work (poor relief) and promotion of public health. Other functions of the Counties which are not universal include collection of property taxes for the states (in addition for themselves) and such services as facilities, fire protection, provision of water and electricity etc.

4. In most States at the head of the County there is a Board either directly elected for a term of two or four years or composed of representatives of the subordinate divisions of the County, *i.e.*, towns or townships. Generally the Board members elect their own chairman, in some States the County judge or some other official acts as *ex-officio* chairman. Over a dozen counties have adopted the "manager system". The County Board which is the policy making body, elects a manager for an indefinite period who serves as the chief executive and has wide powers of appointment. This system has obvious advantages as the people know whom to turn to for results or a redress of a grievance but it has not proved popular. In 86 counties a non-judicial officer carries on most of the functions of the Board. The elective County officials are the sheriff, judge, clerk, treasurer, superintendent of schools, a health officer, a highway superintendent, a surveyor, an auditor, a veterinarian, a welfare superintendent, an agricultural agent, a woman home demonstration agent, an assessor and the coroner. These officials are not all found in the same Counties.

Town and Townships

5. In addition to the Counties there are smaller rural areas known as the towns and townships. The town as a unit of rural government is still important in New England States. It generally varies from 20 to 40 sq. miles in area. In addition to carrying on certain duties for the States the towns are concerned with roads, schools, libraries, poor relief, public works and other services. The townships have lost their old importance mainly as a result of establishment of special districts for particular purposes and incorporation of some urban areas within them.

Special Districts

6. Generally speaking, special districts were constituted for carrying out a single function but often more than one service is performed. The functions listed include among others, navigation, irrigation, gas, fire, drainage, sewer, water supply, power, light, housing, parks, library, soil conservation, cemetery, weed control, mosquito abatement etc. The most common types are roads, drainage, and irrigation districts. The special districts do not form compact areas and often cut across primary and secondary units of local government. They are authorized to raise their own revenues by taxation or levying charges for services rendered or both. The creation of special districts is justified on the grounds that certain services demanded by the

people could not be rendered by the normal units of government for reasons of administrative or financial inability or they were not appropriate units for the performance of such a service. The school district is the typical area for the support of a single elementary school which by tradition is considered to be the special care of local people. The governing authority of a special district is usually a locally elected board or a commission. This body is responsible for policy making, administration, selection and appointment of officials and other employees and raising money.

Cities

7. There are some 3,464 cities which comprise larger 'incorporated' places. The boundaries, powers and the manner of election of the Council, etc., are defined in the city charter which is usually granted by the State legislature. Though the old system of electing "officials" still persists in many cities, the appointment on merit system is making head-way. The municipal functions include police, fire protection, street lighting, water supply, public works, sanitation, health services, welfare activities, housing, slum clearance, maintenance of parks, playgrounds, libraries, museums and theatres and operation of public markets and garages. They also run schools and in some cases municipal colleges and universities.

8. There are three main forms of city government: the mayor-council, the commission plan and the city-manager or council-manager. Under the commission plan, the commissioners, usually five in number, collectively constitute the city council which is the policy making and legislative body and individually act as administrative heads of the several departments. Under the city-manager form the elected Council functions as a deliberative and legislative body. The Council appoints the manager for a fixed or indefinite period and has complete control over him, including powers of dismissal. The city manager is authorized to appoint and control subordinate officials and is responsible for the day to day administration and preparation of the annual budget. More often the city manager is an engineer by profession. In 1950 over 930 cities or over one-fourth of the total in the U.S.A. had this form of government.

State Supervision

9. The growth of activities of local government units in recent years has necessitated increased State supervision of functions which are of more than local interest such as education, health, public welfare (poor relief), roads, fiscal matters and personnel. The increased supervision has not followed uniform line; each State has tried to evolve its own techniques and administrative agency for the purpose. It has a two-fold aim: firstly to establish minimum standards of services which are not supposed to be rigid and allow freedom to the localities to pursue their own policies beyond, and secondly to supply technical assistance and advice with a view to improving competency of local officials and strengthening the organisation of local government units. This is to be achieved not by legislative controls and

issuing of orders but mainly by stimulating local initiative through persuasive and co-operative devices. In essence, State supervision is 'primarily State service, State advice and State cooperation'. The following supervisory devices are listed in the ascending order of their effectiveness: reports, inspection, advice, grants-in-aid, approval, review, orders, ordinances, removal, appointment, and substitute administration.* The growth of State supervision has not always reduced the powers or functional load of local agencies. When accompanied by financial aid it has helped them to enlarge and diversify their activities.

Local Personnel: Efficient and qualified staff is a *sine qua non* of good management. State-local relations in the field of personnel activity have been of slow development. In only ten States, there is some kind of statutory supervision on and for local merit programmes. In most cases State Governments provide such services on optional basis.

Fiscal operations: Due to general inadequacy of local revenues to meet growing needs, the States had to assume greater responsibility in the fiscal field. Apart from the traditional types of control relating to constitutional and legislative limits upon local fields of taxation and local debts the following forms of control of an administrative nature have been utilized:—

- (a) reviews of local assessments;
- (b) inspection of local accounts, audit and reporting;
- (c) review of local budgets and indebtedness; and
- (d) financial aid in the form of shared taxes and increased grants-in-aid.

In thirty-eight States standard schedule accounting forms are prescribed so that some sort of uniformity may be maintained with respect to classification and terminology. The principal supervisory offices include State Tax Commissions, State auditors and State Departments of Finance. A significant feature is that "in the majority of cases what appears from the statutes to be supervisory powers are usually administered as if they were advisory duties and what is supervision in law is cooperation and assistance in practice". It is recognized that the simple rendering of advice can have an important educational effect which has lasting results in the long-run.

Local Finances

10. The total revenue of local government units in 1950 was 13,545 million dollars of which tax revenue formed about 60 per cent., non-tax receipts 10 per cent. and the remaining 30 per cent. was represented by financial assistance received from Federal and State Governments. The major portion of tax revenue (about 90 per cent.) accrues from the general property tax, supplemented in the case of municipalities by local income

*Schyler Wallace quoted in the Report of the Committee on State—Local Relations appointed by the Council of State Governments (1946).

taxes, retail sales and excise taxes, taxes on amusements, special assessments, payments for business licences, enterprise earnings etc. The place of property taxation in State tax revenues has declined steadily since 1902 when it formed about one-half; the proportion now is less than 4 per cent. Particularly since the depression years, States have developed new sources like the motor vehicles tax, sales and gross receipts taxes and payroll taxes. The general property tax is an *ad valorem* tax on real and personal property. The bulk of the receipts from this source (over 85 per cent.) accrue from real estate. The main inadequacies of the tax relate to its administrative aspects. There has been a tendency (attributed to political pressure) to exempt an increasing number of property classifications, particularly home-steads, with the object of encouraging house-ownership. The growing complexity of property ownership has made the task of equitable assessment very difficult; inequalities arise generally from under-valuation of real estate and wide-spread variations or even failure to assess certain kinds of tangible personal property. These deficiencies are primarily due to the method of appointment of assessors who are popularly elected for a period, usually varying from one to four years, and who find it difficult to resist pressures from propertied classes. This in turn has led to large-scale evasion of taxation on both tangible and intangible property. Over the last twenty years, financially hard-pressed local units have been developing a number of miscellaneous tax sources like local income tax, corporation tax, retail sales tax and special service charges. The yield in most cases is not large and while some of these charges might be justified on the principle of direct benefit received, they are generally of a regressive character. The property tax continues to be the mainstay of local revenues; in 1950 of their total revenue it accounted for 52 per cent. and of their tax revenue 88 per cent. Individual and corporate income taxes formed less than 1 per cent. of the total revenue.

11. A significant item of receipts of local units is the financial assistance rendered by State Governments and to a small extent by the Federal Government. The growth in State assistance has been marked after the great depression when property tax declined as a source of local revenue. Inter-governmental aids to local bodies increased from \$76 million in 1902 to \$915 million in 1932 and a little over \$4 billion in 1950. Such transfers now represent about 30 per cent. of the current revenues of local units and include both grants and shares in certain state collected taxes. The bulk of State aid is absorbed by education, highways and public welfare.

12. The major part of local debt is incurred for schools and highways; in the depression years many large cities borrowed to finance unemployment relief. Borrowing on favourable terms is difficult for the smaller units and the States have extended aid in different forms by the State assumption of irrecoverable local debts and/or debt servicing, provision of loans to local units and investment in local securities. One method of maximizing State assistance suggested is the establishment of State-wide assistance and

reserve funds co-operatively with local units to reduce the dependence of State and local governments upon market funds to some extent. Another plan (known as the Parker Plan) aims at creation of a general reserve fund which would be available for all budgetary requirements in depression periods and not be limited to capital outlays: such reserve funds have been established in a few states; for instance the State of New York has set up a reserve fund for its own purposes and another for local assistance. The idea is to build up surpluses in good years to be utilized for the maintenance of essential services in bad years. The principle of federal support to supplement or extend the credit of States and local units is also well-established.

(iv) YUGOSLAVIA

Local self-government in Yugoslavia is conceived as part of the reorganisation of the political and economic system along the socialist path. The first steps in this direction were taken a few years back and the main features were incorporated in the new Constitution of 1953. Article 4 of the Fundamental Law lays down that social ownership of the means of production and self-government by the working people constitute the basis of social and political organisation of the country.

2. Social management has been extended to the public services of education (including elementary, higher and technical), health, sanitation, pharmacies and social institutions for child-care and protection of mothers, social insurance, housing, cinemas, theatres, publishing and other cultural activities. These activities are all socially managed and do not come under the direct control of Communes or Districts. The latter have only certain legal rights of control but cannot interfere in their detailed working.

3. There is a two-tier local self-government in Yugoslavia with the Communes (municipalities) as the primary unit and above them the districts. As a result of reorganisation carried out during 1955, the number of Communes and Districts has been reduced from the previous 4,121 and 341 to 1,200 and 95 respectively or less than one-third. This was done to enable the local government units to perform the new tasks placed within their jurisdiction more efficiently and economically, as far as possible from their own economic resources and to set up more capable and qualified leadership for all round progress of their areas. The population of Communes ranges between 1,000 to 50,000; about half the number of the Communes have a population of 10,000 or more.

Commune

4. The Commune has the following main rights and duties:—

- (a) to co-ordinate the individual interests of citizens with the general social interests as well as realization of the personal and political rights of citizens;

- (b) to secure the conditions for development of productive forces and effect distribution of the part of national income as realized in the Commune;
- (c) to organize public utility and Communal services;
- (d) to manage the general people's property under social ownership and the rest of it as entrusted to the Commune;
- (e) to care for the protection and improvement of public health, for universal compulsory (eight-year) education and specialised training and to secure conditions for the promotion of culture;
- (f) to care for public order and peace in the Commune;
- (g) to care for co-ordination of the interests and activities of economic organizations with the general social interests; and
- (h) to deal with the tasks directly affecting the Commune, to enforce the laws and other prescriptions, unless such enforcement was expressly placed within the jurisdiction of other organisations.

The People's Committee of the Commune

5. The People's Committee of the Commune is the basic organ of authority or self-rule of the working classes in the political, economic, social and cultural field. It has two houses: political and economic. Thus the Commune is not only a political-territorial nucleus but also an economic unit. The economic representative body is known as the Council of Producers. By 1955 the Council of Producers had been established for only 95 Communes out of a total of 1,200. Thus for the great majority of Communes the Communal People's Committee was but a political representative body. This was due to the fact that in the first phase of reorganisation of local government, emphasis was placed on the building up of the self-governing districts while the Communes remained relatively undeveloped. In the current year local elections are being conducted throughout the country and Council of Producers will be established in all the Communes. The People's Committee of the Commune is elected on adult suffrage by secret ballot for a three years' term. The membership varies between 15 and 50 depending on the population.

Council of Producers

6. The Council of Producers is a body representative of socially organised producers, including workers and employees of socialist economic enterprises, agricultural co-operatives and craftsmen who are members of professional craft associations and chambers. Nearly 95 per cent. of the agriculturists are organized in various forms of co-operatives. There are two electoral groups, one consisting of the producers engaged in industry, commerce and arts and crafts and the second of those engaged in agriculture. The representation of each group is in proportion to its share in the national income. The total membership of the Council of Producers is

generally a little less than that of the political house. Both houses of the People's Committee take part independently in the preparation of the economic Plan and the Budget as well as other prescriptions and decisions affecting the economy, finance, labour relations and the social insurance scheme. Both houses participate in the enactment of the statute of the particular Commune. None of the cited Acts can be valid unless the text has been approved by both houses independently. In case of disagreement, an arbitration commission consisting of members of the Republican Assembly is constituted. Both houses jointly elect the President of the People's Committee who presides only over the joint sessions of the Communal Council and the Council of Producers. The separate sessions of the two houses are presided by its own chairman who is elected annually.

7. The link between the People's Committee and the economic enterprises is strengthened through the agency of the annual Economic Plan. As the representative body of the people, the Commune takes a hand in appointment of the directors of economic enterprises and exercises control over the lawfulness of the acts of the Workers' Councils and managing boards. The Commune is primarily responsible for securing the necessary material resources for the starting of new enterprises and institutions and for their further expansion, with necessary assistance from the Federal Republican authorities and the Districts. It offers guarantees for securing long-term credits and loans. With all these rights the Commune has no authority whatsoever to interfere in the organisation of production and labour and detailed operations of the economic enterprises.* In the case of social institutions, for instance, primary and secondary schools, the Communal People's Committee invites applications for appointment of teachers, organizes inspectorates and decides any disputes that may arise between the administrative organs of such institutions. But it has no authority to interfere or to command apart from supervision on the legality of the acts of these institutions and co-ordination.

Powers

8. The People's Committee of the Commune/District occupies a central position as the highest representative body within the system of local government and administration. It is not subject to guardianship or control by the Central or State organs. On the other hand the People's Committee of the Commune/District are the repository of State authority. All organs of the State administration in the Commune and/or District are subordinate to

*There is a misconception in some quarters that through decentralization, the society had surrendered the economic enterprises to District and/or Communes. To quote Edvard Kardelj, "This is a highly mistaken notion. Society has not surrendered those enterprises to any special organs outside those enterprises but has entrusted management to the working collectives themselves in that, within the frame-work of the Economic Plan and laws, it had simultaneously fixed the rights and obligations also of those self-governing organs of the producer towards society—... Accordingly today we no longer have either federal republican or local enterprises, but we have self-governing social enterprises which are simultaneously both federal, republican and local and at the same time they are social enterprises".

Edvard Kardelj : *The New Organisation of Municipalities and Districts* (1955).

the People's Committee, unless determined by law otherwise. The Communal People's Committee has the authority to issue binding legal prescriptions within its own sphere and it may provide for administrative penalties. The Commune applies directly the laws and other prescriptions of the higher State organs and determines the constitution and operation of its own organs and constitutions. The District also possesses these powers and resources, but it is subject to certain restraints as compared to the Commune. While the Commune is an organ of the first order in administrative producers, the District is so only in terms of special authorization.

Councils

9. The People's Committee of a Commune/District has five Standing Commissions whose business is to prepare proposals and submit reports to the People's Committee. All People's Committees have statutory councils which perform executive-administrative functions. A People's Committee of Commune normally has 10 to 15 councils for the economy, public utilities, housing, education and culture, health social welfare, mother and child protection, labour and labour relations, general administration, etc. The responsibility for the enforcement of the decisions and prescriptions of a People's Committee rests on the councils. They also help to secure permanent working contact between the People's Committee and the organs of administration, *e.g.*, divisions, departments, inspectorates, boards, etc., and lay down directives for their guidance. The President and Members of the Council whose number ranges from 5 to 13 are elected by the People's Committee at a joint session of both the houses.

Officials

10. The Secretary is the highest official of the People's Committee. He has the right to attend the meetings of the People's Committee and its councils, participate in the discussions but is not entitled to vote. Every Commune has a magistrate who is selected by the People's Committee. The officials of the People's Committees have the same status as the officials at large. The appointments are made by the People's Committee proper. Approval to the appointment of individual specialized officials in the case of a Commune is granted by a special commission on personnel of the District People's Committee and for employees of the latter by the Republican State Secretariat.

Local Committees

11. Mention may be made here of some other organs of local self-government in Yugoslavia. These include the local committee, meetings of electorate and referenda. Local or village committees appear as the decentralized organs of the Communal self-government in the larger Communes. They are not a statutory body nor the executive organs of the Communal People's Committee or Republican authority. There were some 7,500 local committees with 67,400 members as at the end of 1955. A Local Committee consists of all the members of a Communal People's Committee elected

from a particular locality or else it may be elected directly by the local inhabitants. Membership varies from 5 to 9 according to the size of the locality. These committees are established to stimulate wider public participation in self-government and for performance of certain tasks which are of direct interest to the local communities, such as the construction and maintenance of village roads and streets.

Meeting of Electors

12. A public meeting of all adult citizens who have the right to vote is held in small villages, hamlets or town districts. It performs two basic functions, firstly, the exercise of popular control by the electors over the work of the Communal and District People's Committees and the Local Committees and may demand the recall of the committee men with whose work it is dissatisfied. Secondly the meeting takes stock of the progress made in different spheres and may put forward fresh proposals for the necessary prescriptions and measures regarding the methods and content of solving different problems. The local committee is bound to present questions of major importance to the meeting of electors for previous consideration. There is no binding to enforce the Meeting decisions but is an effective instrument for shaping public opinion on various issues and to build up an active relationship between the electors and their representatives.

Referendum

13. The referendum was introduced by the law of People's Committee of 1952. The initiative for the referendum may emanate from the meetings of the electors. It is incumbent on the People's Committee of the Commune to hold the referendum. This instrument of democratic self-government has not been utilised to any appreciable extent.

District

14. The population of a district generally ranges between one to five lakhs. It includes, on the average, fourteen Communes. The role of the District is to serve as a 'Community of Communes'. The District People's Committee which is the highest organ of authority in the district is mainly concerned with the tasks which are of common interest to the Communes and other social affairs entrusted to it under the general law and prescriptions of the higher state organs as well as of its own prescriptions. There is no distinction made between rural and urban districts. In districts, which are predominantly urban, however, the District People's Committee has somewhat greater rights than in other districts.

Functions

The following are the principal rights and duties vested in the district:—

- (a) to set up communal self-government, particularly through election of the District People's Committees, to organise the district organs and institutions as well as public utilities and other services;

- (b) to direct economic development and to manage the general people's property entrusted to it under the law;
- (c) to care for co-ordination of the interests and work of the independent institutions and organizations in the district with the overall social interests, and to exercise rights or supervision over the work of such organizations;
- (d) to regulate independently and on its own initiative the tasks of common interests to the Communes with its area, to undertake supervision regarding the legality of the work of the Communes;
- (e) to assist development of the advanced Communes;
- (f) to look after the protection and improvement of public health; and
- (g) to care for schools and educational activities of general interest to the District.

Although the District performs certain economic functions within its own sphere its political-administrative functions predominate. It has basic duties to perform in education, public health, hospitals and social insurance besides general administration.

Constitution and Powers

15. Like the Commune, the District has a two-house structure consisting of the District Council and the Council of Producers. The District Council is elected on the basis of universal suffrage by secret ballot for a four years' term. The membership varies from 60 to 100 according to population. The Council of Producers is constituted on a similar basis and principles as its counterpart in communes and has the same functions. As for the Commune, the District also possesses certain material, functional, legislative and administrative resources. All organs of State Administration within the District are subordinate to the People's Committee, unless otherwise determined by law. Acting through both houses, the District is competent to enact independently the economic plan and the budget. It is empowered to enact prescriptions on the basis of authorisation under the law and to lay down administrative penalties for the violation of its prescriptions. It may set up economic enterprises and public utility concerns besides cultural, educational, health and sanitary, and social institutions for the benefit of the inhabitants of the district. It has the authority to annul and abolish the unlawful acts of economic and social organisations and institutions according to the law.

Councils

16. To carry out the executive and administrative functions the District People's Committee has about half a dozen or more Councils for the economy, education and culture, health, social welfare and labour and one for the Plan and Finance. In the maritime districts there are also Councils

for fisheries, shipping and tourism. Every District People's Committee has secretariats, inspectorates, boards and commissions. In addition each district has independent directorates for Economic Planning, Statistics and the Cadastral Survey Office. There are independent administrations for roads, agriculture and inspectorates for Finance (including inland revenue), veterinary, labour, sanitation, etc. The District People's Committee has its own Secretary, a Public Attorney and a District Magistrate. The District Council of Transgressions hears the appeals against the verdicts passed by a Communal Magistrate.

17. According to the Fundamental Law the citizens have the basic right to elect and recall their representatives in the People's Committee of the Districts/Communes. The producers have similar right in respect to the Council of Producers. The Districts as well as Communes are open organs answerable to the meetings of electors. In the performance of its rights the People's Committee of the Districts/Communes is bound to rely upon Meeting of Electors and to realize their conclusions in conformity with law.

Finances

18. The Commune and District are entitled to their own independent sources of income. The revenues of the Commune cover a share from the profits of economic organisations, Communal turn-over tax, land tax, a share from the income-tax levy, Communal sur-tax, inheritance and gifts-tax, a special contribution from the aggregate salaries realised in the Commune and Communal duties and local self-contribution. The Communal share of income-tax and the share from the profits of economic enterprises are subject to determination by the District People's Committee. The revenues of the District accrue mainly from a share of the profits of economic enterprises, a share of the income-tax levy as determined by the Republican law, turn-over tax and contributions from the aggregate salaries realised in the District. About 60% of the budgetary income of a District is derived from the profits of the local enterprises, 30% from taxes and the remaining 10% from other sources. Receipts from the budgetary sources are utilized primarily to finance recurring expenditures under education, health protection, cultural activities, administration and other public services. Capital expenditures at all levels are financed from special funds including the General Investment Fund and the investment funds of the People's Republics and District and Communal investment funds. Special funds exist for the development of agriculture, forestry and housing. There is an increasing emphasis on the special funds which in practice are larger than the budgetary funds. The financial resources of local government units vary according to the degree of economic development and the economic circumstances of the population. Some of the local units are deficit and depend on grants-in-aid to a varying extent.

Supervision

19. There is maximum decentralisation in economic as well as administrative matters and the rights of supervision by a higher popular body are restricted to the legality of the acts of the People's Committees and their organs under the law or other prescriptions. The elected representatives of the people, relatively to the official of the Federal Government, have an upper hand at all levels of Government. Thus a decision taken by a District People's Committee cannot be annulled by the executive arm of the Republic but only by the Republic Assembly itself. The jurisdiction of the People's Committees is demarcated by law or other prescriptions and within its own jurisdiction every People's Committee has the right to make independent decisions. The Communes are not subject to supervision by the State authority or the executive and administrative organs of the Republican People's Assembly. The supervision over them by the District People's Committee is confined to the question of legality of the prescriptions. However, it participates in a series of functions belonging to the Commune by way of approval and ratification. An unlawful act of a local council or administrative organ may be set aside by its own People's Committee. However, in all cases the Committee and/or the organ whose act was abolished or annulled has the right to appeal.

20. The trend in Yugoslavia is reported to be to emphasise more and more the active role of the Commune and to progressively delegate greater responsibility to it in the management of local affairs. The functions of the District are being confined largely to co-ordinating the economic efforts of the Commune so that some of the Communes may not lag behind others in the pace and content of development.

III. STUDIES ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTORY

The Programme Evaluation Organization decided at the end of April 1957, to undertake the following studies on behalf of the C.P. and N.E.S. Team of the Committee on Plan Projects :—

1. A study of the working of the Block Advisory Committees.
2. A study of the working of the Community Centres.
3. A study of people's participation in Community Projects.
4. A study of people's attitudes to Community Projects.
5. A study of the impact of Community Projects on the Harijans.
6. A study of the Block Development Officer and the specialist staff.
7. A study of the problems of administrative coordination at the Block and the State Levels.
8. A study of Programmes for women and children.

These various studies were chosen in consultation with the COPP Team. With the exception of the 7th and 8th studies mentioned above, data were collected on all the other studies. This material consists of returns obtained on proformæ filled from records available at the Block level, as also of the questionnaires filled by interviewing a sample of over 1,250 individuals distributed among different studies. The proformæ and questionnaires used for the different studies are appended to this report.

In this report the material on six of the studies has been presented. These are studies No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. There is also additional material given for Block attainments in the fields of people's participation and social education. Some of the material on the problems of administrative co-ordination at the Block level has been incorporated in the Section on Block Development Officers.

When the studies were originally undertaken, the intention was to select 28 Blocks from the following six States : Assam, Bihar, U.P., Bombay, Kerala and Madras. Actually, studies could be completed only in 22 Blocks and the material used for the present outline is limited only to 20 and in some cases 21 Blocks, since the material from one of the Blocks came in too late to be utilized.

When the studies were designed, there were a number of questions regarding sampling that had to be decided upon. These were questions of how we were going to select our Blocks, our villages, community centres and individual respondents for the various studies. In the selection of Blocks, our original intention was to select at least four Blocks from each

of these six States in such a way that two of them would represent the best work done in the States and the other two would represent the less satisfactory category. With this in mind the Development Commissioners were requested to select eight Blocks each so that four of these would fall into the 'better' category and four of them into the 'worse' category. We had, however, also to take into consideration the various 'time-series' to which these Blocks belonged. We hoped to be able to distribute our sample among at least three of the series to represent the N.E.S., C.D. and P.I.P. stages. There was also a suggestion that we should select Blocks on the basis of certain objective indices of achievements, rather than on the evaluations of the Development Commissioners. In the effort to meet all these considerations within the very limited time available for planning, the sample of Blocks that we finally selected seemed rather to represent an accidental choice than to meet demands of any purposive selection. Our sample was further vitiated by the non-availability of staff in two of the six States that we had selected. We had therefore to cut down our study in Bombay from six to two Blocks and the selection of these two Blocks could no longer be based upon anything except the criterion of convenience. All in all, we are not aware of any definite or systematic bias in the sample of Blocks that we have selected. On the other hand, we can no longer claim for it any virtues of a well-designed sample. It has turned out that our twenty-two Blocks have been distributed as follows among the different States and stages of development.

<i>States</i>					<i>NES</i>	<i>CD</i>	<i>PIP</i>
Assam	..	..	..	..	..	3	1
Bihar	..	..	..	..	..	3	1
Bombay	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Kerala	..	..	..	..	2	1	1
Madras	..	..	..	..	..	3	1
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	..	..	1	3	..

After selecting our sample of Blocks, we had to select our sample of villages in which we would choose our sample of individual respondents. These villages were selected in consultation with the Block Development Officers and the Gram Sewaks in the Block in such a way that three out of a sample of five villages would be the ones in which the activities of the Block had progressed satisfactorily and two would be the ones where the progress had not been satisfactory. This basis of selection has been adhered to. It is doubtful whether this method of selection of villages should be followed in other similar studies. There is reason to believe that the selection of villages as well as the selection of members of Block Advisory Committees was so biased as to give a somewhat more satisfactory picture than would have appeared if the sample was selected at random.

The selection of villages was done by the research staff in the field. After selecting the villages a random sample of 50 respondents was selected from electoral rolls for each village community. The ratio at which this sample has worked out in relation to the total population of the village has varied from State to State.

The instructions for the selection of respondents were slightly modified in the case of Kerala and Madras. In Kerala the sample was restricted to one ward in each of the villages and in Madras it was restricted to one of the hamlets.

The method of selecting the sample of respondents was to divide a total number of house-holds in the village by a number which would give a sample of 10 house-holds or 5% of village house-holds and then to select houses at equal intervals of X, where X is equal to the dividend.

Distribution of Studies by Blocks

Since it was impossible to conduct all the studies in each of the Blocks in our sample, we decided to divide the studies into two groups as nearly equal as possible, and then conducted one group of studies in half the Blocks and the other group in the other half. Some of the proforma for collecting information at the Block level together with the questionnaire with the B.D.O., were canvassed in all the Blocks.

One final word is necessary about the serious implications of the very limited time available on the data presented. Because of the diverse types of information that had to be collected from records, from personal interviews of the officers and from the individual respondent schedules, there has been no time to check and verify the various items of information collected from the different sources. It now appears that twice as much time should have been allowed for the actual field work in relation to these various studies. The same difficulty is likely to have affected the quality of processing of the data so collected. There has been no opportunity for the scrutiny of individual schedules or for a thorough recheck of all the postings. The staff of tabulators joined slowly and at various points of time. Very few of them had either training or previous experience.

One word of explanation must be sounded before proceeding to the body of the report. It will be noticed that at a number of places the names of States are mentioned while presenting data on various items of study. This has been done for ensuring ease and brevity of presentation. It should be understood that at best the figures are representative of the particular Blocks studied in the respective States. They are not claimed to be representative of the whole State. Consequently, the conclusions drawn from these figures also apply only to Blocks studied in each State and not to the States generally. This caution is important especially in view of the statements made at various places in the report making inter-State comparisons.

SECTION 1—BLOCK CHARACTERISTICS AND BLOCK STAFFS

Before proceeding to the individual studies it would be helpful to bear in mind some background information in relation to the various Blocks that were studied. Some of the points stand out prominently from a study of the background information collected.

The first of these is the very great variation in the geographical and physical features of each of these Blocks. The variation in the geographical conditions between the various States is often common knowledge. But the variation between different Blocks in the same State is often not noticed. Within the State of U.P. itself, we have one Block which is characterised by a low rainfall of not more than 25 inches and by the plain terrain of land and another Block which is very hilly and has a rainfall of 85 inches per year. A third Block is characterised by conditions in between these two. In one of the Blocks the main crop grown is a food crop, in another, it is a cash crop. Again in Bihar, Kerala and all other States we find similar variations. The rainfall in the Bihar Blocks varies from an average of 20 inches to 63 inches. In Kerala it varies from an average of 60 inches to 120 inches. The land features and the crop economy of these Blocks also vary in the same manner.

These variations in physical features are important to note because one would expect that these have a significance for the staffing and the programmes to be developed in these areas. In addition to or rather in consequence of the variations in physical features, we find variations in population, magnitudes and densities. While all the units of our study are administratively termed as 'Blocks', we find that the populations for which the various services are to be administered, differ very considerably in size. We have one Block in U.P. with the smallest total population of 43,000, we have another Block in Kerala with a population five times this size. It would seem reasonable to expect that the problems of a people living in a hilly tract and sparsely populated villages are qualitatively different from the problems of a densely populated large rural community living on reclaimed land which is perennially subject to inundation and flooding. The total populations of these Blocks vary all the way along the lines smallest to the rural community. The crude arithmetic average for the total population of a Block is found to be 9,018.

The density of the populations in these Blocks varies considerably. In one of the hill Blocks of U.P. the density is as low as 148 per sq. mile. In the rice bowl of Kerala it is as high as 1,628.

Another important feature which, we would expect, affects development programmes and the rate of their progress is the proportion of villages in the Block which are easily accessible. Defining accessibility in terms of percentage of villages within one mile of a pucca road, it was found that this percentage varied from 3.7 in one Block to a 100 in another. The average percentage of villages which were accessible in terms of our definition was 31.

Another important point of variation between these different Blocks was the number of rural communities, or rather the number of administrative village units which constituted each of the Blocks. In Kerala one Block which had a population of 81,000 was made up of only six villages. In Bihar a Block which had a population of 60,000 was made up of 268 villages. If our object is to develop village communities, and if each village can even remotely be considered to be equivalent to one community, then there is a considerable difference in the kind of demand and work load for a person who works in a huge mass population consisting of six administrative units, and another who works in a slightly smaller sized population consisting of 268 village communities.

Staffing of Blocks

With this background of varied conditions in the Blocks, we will now turn to an examination of the staff patterns of the different Blocks studied. We find that the general tendency is for all the Blocks to have the same pattern of staffing, consisting of one Block Development Officer, one Extension Officer for Agriculture, an A.D.O. for Social Education, one for Panchayat and Cooperation, one Engineer or Supervisor, one or two Health Visitors, varying number of skilled artisans working as instructors, one Veterinary Officer and some additional staff.

While one can understand the imperative need to have a single Development Officer at the top, one cannot understand the wisdom of a policy of having just one agricultural or cooperative or engineering person attached to the Block, irrespective of the varying populations, physical conditions and crop economics of these areas. We find that 18 out of 20 Blocks have just one A.D.O. for agriculture, 15 out of 20 Blocks have one woman and one man SEO, 16 have just one Cooperative Officer, 14 have one Engineer, 11 have one Sanitary Inspector and 12 have one Veterinarian each. In the other blocks there is a slight variation for each of these categories. But this variation is often the result of certain administrative considerations rather than the needs of the area being served.

We find that the two programmes for which most of the Blocks have no special staff, are the programmes sponsored by Health Authorities and artisan instructors. 11 Blocks have no Health Auxiliaries of any type. 11 others have no Field Instructors or Artisan Teachers. 14 have no Spinning Organisers, eight have no Sanitary Inspectors and 7 have no Veterinarians.

This seems to show that far from providing additional staff wherever the requirements of an area justify, many of the Blocks do not even have the minimum staff considered to be necessary. This situation is rather disconcerting when one notes that the majority of Blocks studied for our purpose, are in the intensive stage of development.

Average duration of stay in the Block for different categories of Staff

It was considered important to study the average period of time spent in a Block by the staff of that Block at the time of study. This could be used indirectly as an index of the turnover of staff in the Blocks. Since in any programme of development, continuity of services of the development team is an important factor, a study which gave the average length of time spent by the officers in particular Block could be of crucial significance.

With regard to the BDOs it was found that ten out of the twenty BDOs, had spent one year or less in the particular Block. The average length of time spent by the BDOs in each of the Blocks worked out at barely one year and three months. This figure has to be viewed in the context of the total period for which these Blocks have been existing. In view of the fact that hardly three or four of the Blocks are N.E.S., it is obvious that the average duration of each of the Blocks has been more than three years. It would appear that there are probably two or three BDOs who change over during one project phase.

With regard to Agricultural Officers, we see that eight of them have spent less than a year in the Block, two, between one and two years, four between two and three years and five, about three years. The average duration of stay in their case worked out at approximately 1 year and 10 months.

In the case of SEOs, six were found to have spent less than one year, nine between one and two years, and five above two years. The average duration of stay in their case worked out to be approximately 1 year and 10 months.

When we break up the figures separately for the CD, NES and PIP Blocks we find surprisingly that the BDOs in the CD Blocks, spent one year and one month in their Blocks, whereas those in the NES Blocks have spent one year and five months. In the case of the PIP Blocks where one would expect the BDO to have stayed longer, the average works out to be one year and two months. In the case of the agricultural staff, however, we find a graded period of stay, increasing progressively from eight months in the N.E.S. Blocks to 1 year and 5 months in the CD Blocks and to 3 years and 9 months in the PIP Blocks. The same trend holds in the case of the S.E.Os for whom the figures are ten months, one year five months, and two years and three months respectively.

Staff Training

The Community Project Administration and the Community Development Ministry have all along laid great emphasis on the training of staff. We

find however, that in the case of BDOs, 25% of them are still untrained. Among the Agricultural Officers, 32 per cent of them are not trained. The figure for untrained Social Education Officers is 22 per cent. When we break up these figures by the types of Blocks we find that the NES Blocks have consistently higher percentage of untrained officers in each of the above categories, as compared with the CD Blocks. But surprisingly we find that in the case of the PIP Blocks, 75 per cent of the BDOs, 50 per cent of the Agricultural Officers and 5 per cent of the Co-operative Officers, are untrained.

Part of this is due to the paucity of trained personnel generally and part of it is due probably to the idea that the Blocks in the intensive stage of development should be given a priority over the PIP Blocks in their claims for trained officers. Whatever the reasons the situation where the post intensive phase is left in the hands of untrained officers is not a very reassuring one.

The variation in the distribution of staff that is observed in the above few paragraphs applies equally to the Gram Sewaks. The overall average shows that on an average, there are 110 villages in a Block and there is an average staff of 12 Gram Sewaks to work in those villages. The average period of service for the Gram Sewak in his particular Block is 1 year and 9 months. One-third of these Gram Sewaks are trained in basic agriculture, half of them in extension training and one-sixth of them in the other types of training. Considering all Blocks together there is hardly anyone among the Gram Sewaks who has had no training.

The variation from Block to Block and from State to State is however considerable. In U.P. alone the number of villages per Gram Sewak varies from 4 to 17. The average village load per Gram Sewak in U.P. is 9, in Bihar it is 17, in Madras it is 6, in Bombay 6 and in Assam 12. This variation is of course partly due to the varying densities of population, but even so it is not certain as to whether there is any definite relationship between population in a Block and a number of Gram Sewaks that it has.

In U.P. which has an average Block population of 61,000 the average number of Gram Sewaks works out at 9, in Bihar which has an average Block population of 52,000 the average number of Gram Sewaks is 12. In Kerala with an average Block population of 1,26,378 the average number of Gram Sewaks is only 10. In Madras, with a population of 99,000 per block, the number of Gram Sewaks is 8, in Bombay there are 14 Gram Sewaks for an average population of 15,000 and in Assam there are 12 Gram Sewaks for an average population of 73,000.

This variation may again be due to other factors such as topography, accessibility, etc. But it is not clear as to whether there is any comparable basis that is used to work out the minimum staff requirements from one Block to another.

SECTION 2—THE BLOCK DEVELOPMENT OFFICERS

It was mentioned above that in addition to collecting data at the Block level regarding various members of the staff, we also undertook to interview some of the members of the staff. The person who was interviewed in great detail was the BDO. This Section will present data based upon these interviews.

The object in interviewing the BDO was to find out what he himself considered his job to be, what methods he used in eliciting participation from the community, whether he felt that he was getting the best co-operation from all his colleagues, the manner in which he selected certain villages for certain types of projects, the difficulties he experienced in the conduct of his work, his impressions of who participated for what reason and what projects, and finally his suggestions for improving the overall performances in the Block.

Usefulness of the BAC

The BDOs were asked a question whether, and in what way they found Block Advisory Committees to be helpful in their work. 17 BDOs considered the BACs to be useful, one thought they were not useful and three did not reply. They were then asked as to the way in which the BACs were found to be useful. Each of the BDO was free to mention one way in which the BACs were useful. 12 of them said that the BACs provided a forum for discussion, seven said that the BACs were useful in the selection of schemes, three said that they were helpful in securing public co-operation. Several other uses were mentioned for the BAC such as its value as a check on officials, its value in minimising adverse criticism, its value in distribution of responsibilities, etc.

Attendance by Members

The Block Development Officers were asked whether the official and non-official members of the Block Advisory Committees attended its meetings regularly. The intention was not so much to obtain information about the actual attendance or otherwise of these two categories of members as to obtain the view the Block Development Officers have about the membership of the Block Advisory Committee. It was felt that if the Block Development Officers were generally dissatisfied with the Block Advisory Committees, they would tend to attribute their difficulties to the behaviour of the members of these committees. The opinion of the Block Development Officers generally seems to be that the official as well as non-official members are regular. When asked about regularity of attendance of the non-official members, 75 per cent of the Block Development Officers said

that they were regular. When the same question was asked about official members, 65 per cent of them said that they were regular. It will be seen from the data presented later that the Block Development Officers' opinion is confirmed by attendance figures which are generally satisfactory.

Reasons for Non-Attendance

Block Development Officers were also asked to indicate why according to them members did not sometimes attend the meetings of the Block Advisory Committees. 6 of the 21 Block Development Officers—all from Madras and Bombay—said that since the members were regular, the question of their non-attendance did not arise. The rest of the 15 Block Development Officers gave varying reasons. For official members, the reason generally given by the Block Development Officers was that these members were often busy otherwise with their routine departmental work and could not therefore always attend Block Advisory Committee meetings. About non-official members, such reasons as lack of transport facilities, indifference, etc., were variously mentioned. In view of the small percentage of Block Development Officers who find the attendance at meetings to be irregular, the various reasons given are not specially important.

Interest of Members in BAC Work

The Block Development Officers were asked another question about the Block Advisory Committees. This was intended to find out which category of members took special interest in the work of the Block Advisory Committees. They were free to mention more than one category of members—the categories being officials, non-officials, Panchayat representatives, representatives of village institutions, M.L.As. and M.Ps., and other individual members. The category mentioned by 40 per cent of the Block Development Officers was that of Panchayat representatives. 35 per cent of the Block Development Officers said that all categories take adequate interest. 25 per cent said that official members take such special interest. The non-official members and members of the legislatures were not specially mentioned by many Block Development Officers.

From a study of the answers given by the Block Development Officers to the 3 questions discussed above, it appears that the Block Development Officers are reasonably satisfied with the assistance that they receive from the Block Advisory Committee.

People's Participation

The Block Development Officers were asked as to why they thought people participated in the development programmes. Nine of them said that the programmes met the needs of the villagers. Eight said that they participated because the programmes personally benefited the participants. Six said that some of the people participated in order to maintain their leadership. Some of the other reasons mentioned were the existence of under-employment, the gradual awakening in people's minds, the persuasion exercised by influential persons, etc.

Another question asked related as to why people did not participate in the projects. There was no common reply to this question. Several factors such as lack of personal benefit, political differences, inability to contribute, lack of interest or indifference, were mentioned by one or two BDOs each.

It was felt that the Block Development Officers would be able to give an insight about which group or groups in the villages participate more freely than others in the constructional programmes. 35 per cent of the Block Development Officers said that all sections of villagers participate equally. 30 per cent said that it is the middle class that participated. 15 per cent said that it is the immediate beneficiaries who participate in various projects. 10 per cent mentioned village youth and 10 per cent mentioned agriculturists. When this distribution of the opinion of Block Development Officers is compared with data relating to participation made available by our individual respondent schedules, it is seen that while generally speaking the different groups in the village can be said to participate equally when all projects are taken together, different groups of villagers seem differentially interested in one project rather than another from the point of view of participation.

Selection of Villages

Since the material resources available in any project are always limited and the needs of the village infinite, selection of villages must always be a difficult one. The Block Development Officers who are primarily responsible for making this choice in consultation with their colleagues and the Block Advisory Committee, must develop definite procedures for making their selection so that they will not be misunderstood. A misunderstanding on this point can have a demoralising effect on the villagers who may in a particular case feel discriminated against. When asked how they made their choice of villages, however, the BDOs were unable to give any clear reply. 90 per cent of them said that their choice depended upon popular demand. This answer does not lead very far since the manner in which people's wishes are ascertained by them is not very clear. One way of ascertaining these wishes is to find out the willingness of the people to contribute their share. 50 per cent of the Block Development Officers mentioned this criterion. Even this does not answer the question adequately. It happens fairly often that more than one village wants a particular type of facility and is also willing to contribute its share for obtaining it. The unwillingness of the people to contribute has in fact very rarely, if ever, been mentioned as a reason for a shortfall in project expenditure. If so, the willingness of the people to contribute their share cannot very well be a selective factor in the choice of villages.

Despite the almost unanimous reply of the Block Development Officers, the criteria of popular demand and of availability of people's contributions are, therefore, not adequate basis for selection. It would appear

that in the last analysis, the process of selection is probably somewhat arbitrary. As has been indicated by the coverage study reported upon by the Programme Evaluation Organisation, the factor of accessibility of the villages as also the factor of whether or not the particular village is a head-quarters village for the Gram Sewak may be important in this selection. BDOs, however, did not mention these factors. The extent to which the members of the Block Advisory Committees are able to exert an influence in the selection of villages is also a factor that needs notice. Much can be done to clear people's minds of any possible doubts regarding the validity and fairness of the procedures followed in the selection of villages for the introduction of particular projects.

Administrative Difficulties

The BDOs were asked the question as to what were some of the major administrative difficulties that they experienced in their day-to-day work. Out of the 21 BDOs interviewed all except one reported upon the difficulties that they experienced in their work. The emphasis on the types of difficulties of course varied from State to State.

One of the commonest difficulties mentioned by them was the lack of effective coordination between the community projects and the regular development departments of the State Governments. Seven BDOs from five of the six States said that the required degree of cooperation was not forthcoming from the various departments. The ones most often criticised were the departments of Public Works, Cooperation and Revenue.

Another difficulty mentioned by them was the kind of duplicate control under which the various schemes and projects had to be executed. They felt that the division of technical sanction and administrative sanction was unnecessary. Eight BDOs mentioned this difficulty. They said that there was no genuine acceptance of planning and development programmes on the part of the departmental heads.

Another difficulty mentioned related to the fact that the BDOs did not have full administrative control over their specialist staff. Despite all discussions at the various Development Commissioners' conferences, the BDOs complained that the departmental heads often deal directly with their specialists and that the specialists therefore are not available for extension work when required.

Frequent transfers of specialists staff and extension officers without concurrence of the BDOs was another difficulty that was mentioned. This defeated all efforts at systematic planning of work.

Difficulties in the receipt of supplies of materials and equipment were also mentioned as problems by the Block Development Officers. They also mentioned the inadequacy of supply as another difficulty. 9 Block Development Officers mentioned the delay in supplies as another difficulty. 4 mentioned the lack of storage facilities at the Block headquarters as a

third difficulty relating to supplies. These are difficulties to which earlier annual reports of the Programme Evaluation Organisation have drawn pointed attention. They have, in fact, been a major bottleneck in the speedy implementation of development programmes.

Individual Block Development Officers also mentioned other difficulties such as the lack of sufficient transport facilities, inefficiency of technical officers, delays in the sanction of short-term crop loans, frequent visits of heads of departments and VIPs, and the recruitment of Gram Sewaks based very often on political considerations.

Procedures adopted for Finalising Programmes

Coordination of work greatly depends upon the procedures adopted in the finalising of schemes and upon whether the specialists as well as the departmental heads have a full sense of participation. Analysis of the answers of 21 BDOs indicates that there are probably two systems in existence in deciding upon the various programmes.

The first involves the collection of data relating to the felt needs and the availability of potential co-operation at the village level. On the basis of this information programmes are drafted either by the BDO with his specialist staff or at the district level by the district departmental heads in co-operation with their Block counterparts.

The second system involves the issue of directives and broad outlines of programmes from the State level heads through district to the Block staff. Here the initiative is taken away from the Block staff who are now left the task of working priorities and work-schedules in consultation with the Block Advisory Committee. The latter cannot be a very helpful procedure from the point of view of either developing initiative or the responsiveness to local needs or an *esprit de corps* among the Block staff.

Reporting

A good deal of discussion has taken place at the various conferences of Development Commissioners regarding the importance of proper reporting and the difficulties encountered therein. An effort was made to find out from the BDOs their difficulties in sending regular and complete reports to the respective headquarters. With the exception of one BDO who said that he experienced no difficulties, all the other 20 BDOs mentioned a variety of factors. 14 of them mentioned inadequacy of the staff as the most important single difficulty. 8 of them mentioned difficulties experienced in calculation of unit achievement for some items of information; 7 complained of ambiguity in the forms of reporting; 7 others mentioned frequent repetition of items which are unnecessarily added to their work in the reports that they have to file.

BDOs were also asked suggestions regarding how the machinery for consultation with specialists could be improved to expedite decisions. Altogether 8 or 9 different suggestions were made. One of them was for establishing a sub-committee of the District Planning Committee whose decisions should be binding and whose members would also have the powers to investigate causes of inefficiency. Another suggestion was for the appointment of District Regional Officers who should deal with all matters relating to project activities for groups of projects in their areas. Another BDO suggested that there should be informal discussion at least once a month with the Collector where all the departmental heads would be present. One BDO suggested that the responsibility for carrying out schemes, once it was decided upon, should be given to the respective departments who should be required promptly to attend to these schemes. It is difficult to see how we could implement this last suggestion and still expect to have the closely coordinated programme of development. Another suggestion was to give more powers to the Block-level specialists whose technical views and advice would in that case be regarded as final. One more suggestion was to the effect that the BDO, the extension officers and the District technical heads should jointly formulate all schemes so that delays in sanctions could be avoided.

Check on VLWs' Reports

BDOs were asked as to whether they had a system of regular checks upon the progress reports submitted by the Gram Sevaks and by the extension staff. Only 8 out of the 21 BDOs said that they had such a system of regular checks. Whenever they were asked as to what was the interval at which these checks were made, only 3 BDOs, even out of this number of 8 could mention specific time period. The BDOs were also asked as to what is the percentage of items that they check. It was found that not more than 10 per cent of the returns were actually checked in the field. When asked as to whether they were satisfied with their system of checking, 3 of them said that they were satisfied, 4 of them said they were not satisfied, one gave no reply.

For the 13 BDOs who said they had no system of regular checks, the same questions were asked. It was found that in that case whenever checking was done the proportion of items checked varied from as little as 5 per cent to as high as cent per cent. Despite this situation 6 out of the 13 BDOs who had no system of regular checks said that they were satisfied with the situation as it was.

Administrative Coordination

"Administrative Coordination, as it exists at present, is only a pious word", remarked one of the BDO interviewed. He went on "there is not much of it at the Block, District or the State level". Departmental heads

are interested in strengthening and widening their own powers and jurisdiction. It is really "a cold war" among the higher ups. This is a somewhat exaggerated and yet a very common point of view held by the BDOs.

They say that the greatest difficulty in coordination at the Block level arises from the departmentalised outlook of the personnel of the regular departments. Inevitably the specialists give priority to their departmental activities outside the project area and sometime even neglect their normal activities within the Block. So long as the individual officers have to make their careers in their respective parent departments they will tend to look upon their placements in the Blocks as short interludes which one has to get over within the course of one's career. In some cases there is even the fear that being out of sight of the departmental boss, they are also likely to be out of his mind.

The BDO also complained that sometimes troublesome and inefficient officers in the regular departments are dumped into the development Block areas by the departmental heads. They complained that in spite of all directions to the contrary the specialist staff do not feel responsible to the BDO though he is charged with the responsibility of coordination.

In the PIP Blocks there seemed to be other problems. One of the BDOs felt that since a good deal of the specialists staff was no longer exclusively available to him he could not realistically function as a coordinator. He suggested that the BDO may either be made a sole coordinating and executive authority in the Block or that his post may be made a part-time one.

Another problem faced at the PIP stage related to the continuance and maintenance of works completed during the CD stage. There was scope for better coordination between the departments of works, education and welfare etc.

The Block Development Officers' Point of View

The BDOs were asked whether they felt, they received cooperation from their specialists colleagues. Thirteen of them said that they received full cooperation. Two did not reply, two said that they received partial cooperation and the rest felt that they received nearly no cooperation. Since the number of those whose response is not positive is as high as 1/3rd of the total number, it is important to see why they feel this cooperation is not forthcoming. One of them said that his colleagues had an outmoded outlook and that they were unfit for extension. Another person said that they had no adequate experience, they lacked training and initiative. Another felt that they wanted most of the time to stay in towns. In one case, a BDO felt that his colleagues probably found that their skills were not fully utilized in Block activity.

The Attitudes of the Specialist Staff

Since the staff employed at the Block level has to work as a team under the leadership of the Block Development Officer, it was considered important to see how far the specialist staff were themselves aware of this special emphasis and personally equipped to play their part as members of the team. While a good deal of the success of the team will depend upon the quality of leadership given by the Block Development Officer, it cannot be denied that the attitude of the specialist staff is at least equally important in achieving this objective of a well co-ordinated approach to the tackling of development problems.

Some of the information relating to the number and types of specialists at Block headquarters was given earlier. That information was based on Block level proforma. The information given below is based on individual interviews with specialists at ten Block headquarters distributed as follows:—

<i>State</i>	<i>No. of Blocks studied for this purpose</i>	<i>Total No. of special- ists interviewed</i>
Assam	1	4
Bihar	2	15
Bombay	1	5
Kerala	2	10
Madras	2	12
Uttar Pradesh	2	12
All States ..	10	58

Interest in Community Project Work

The specialist staff were asked how they felt about working in the community projects. Their answers were descriptive and were then interpreted to show whether or not they were enthusiastic about working in the project areas. The percentage of those who were interested in this type of work varies from State to State and from one category of officers to

another. The distribution of those who were and those who were not interested is given below by each category:—

<i>Category of Officer</i>	<i>Interested</i>	<i>Uninterested</i>
	Per cent	Per cent
Agricultural Officer	56	44
Animal Husbandry	100	—
Engineer	67	33
Social Educationist	73	27
Cooperative Officer	71	29
Industries Officer	83	17
Health and Sanitation	67	33
Average for all Categories ..	72	28

The above figures are a very crude index of the interest that specialist staff seem to have in their work in the project areas. It is gratifying to note that as many as 72 per cent of them showed interest and enthusiasm about working in community projects. But those who lack interest are also a considerable portion though admittedly a minority of the total number when one takes into consideration the crucial nature of the assignment given to them. To have even 28 per cent of the Block staff not specially convinced about the great value of their work can have serious consequences for the success of the entire team.

The Agricultural Officers, Engineers and Health and Sanitation Officers have over one-third of their quota uninterested in project work. Social Education Officers and Cooperative Officers have above one-fourth of their number who are uninterested. The Animal Husbandry Officers and the Industries Officers seem to fare the best in the whole group.

The specialists were also asked a question whether their term of assignment to community project work affected their careers favourably or unfavourably or whether this had no definite effect on their departmental

careers. The percentage responses for the different categories of officers are given below:—

Category of Officer	Percentage of those who think that C.P. Placement		
	Affects favourably	Affects unfavourably	Does not affect
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Agricultural Officers	—	22	78
Animal Husbandry Officers	16	16	68
Engineers	—	50	50
Social Educationists	—	—	100*
Cooperative Officers	—	14	86
Industries Officers	17	—	83
Health and Sanitation Staff	—	33	67
All Categories	3	19	78

The percentage of those who think that their placement in community project areas affects them favourably is very small. The percentage of those who think that it affects them unfavourably is also small but then relatively 6 times as large as those who think that it affects them favourably. The over-whelming number of the specialist staff, however, feel that their placement in project work does not affect them either favourably or unfavourably.

In appreciating the significance of these figures, it must be remembered that the question in effect sought to find out whether the fact that they had worked in project areas gave rise to any feeling of insecurity on the part of the specialist staff since they were working outside their parent departments and were therefore further away from their departmental superiors. It was assumed that for specialists, who were assigned to work in project areas, the assignment would often appear as something extra-departmental. To the extent that their departments did not feel fully identified with the objectives of project work, the specialists would themselves tend to be unenthusiastic about their placement in the project areas. And certainly they could not be expected to look upon their placements in projects as promotions.

*SEOs have no parent department.

While it may be gratifying to note that not more than 19 per cent felt that their placement affected them adversely, it is equally important to see that except for 3 per cent of the specialists, the others did not expect any advancement from their placement in project areas. It may be worth considering whether some of the problems of co-ordination at the Block level could not be overcome by providing positive incentives for people in the project areas.

In this context, it is well to note that at least as many as 88 per cent of the specialists interviewed did not see any basic conflict between the instructions from their parent departments and their requirements of project work. A small minority of 12 per cent said that they experienced such conflicts between departmental instructions and project work.

On the other hand when they were asked as to whether they experienced any difficulties in carrying out their work as subject-matter specialists in community project areas, it was found that as many as 60 per cent of them said that they experienced some difficulties, and the rest of them said that they had no difficulties.

The percentages of those who did and did not experience difficulties in their work are given below by categories of specialist staff:—

<i>Category of Specialists</i>	<i>Percentage not experiencing any difficulty</i>	<i>Percentage experiencing some difficulty</i>
Agricultural Officers	44	56
Animal Husbandry Officers.. .. .	67	33
Engineers	50	50
Social Educationists	40	40
Industries Officers	67	33
Health and Sanitation Staff.. .. .	100	—
Co-operative Officers	70	30

The Agricultural Officers and Engineers figure prominently in the group of those who experience some difficulty in their work. But even the other categories have between 30 to 40 per cent officers who say they have some special difficulties in working in project areas. Qualitative data relating to the nature of difficulties is not immediately available. But a large proportion of officers who work under a sense of handicap—real or imaginary—cannot be functioning at their best of responsibility.

An important factor that can determine the extent to which a team spirit prevails among the group of people is the one about whether or not the individual members of the team feel that they are participating in the

decision-making process, relating to Block work. This question was asked of the specialist staff. Much contrary to our expectations (in view of the earlier replies given by the Block Development Officer as also in view of replies to other question, by the specialist staff) it was found that 88 per cent of the specialists interviewed said that they had a sense of participation in the planning and decision making process relating to Block work.

Concluding Observations

The work of the Block Development Officers requires three qualities in the person entrusted with its discharge. He should have technical knowledge about his job; he should have the capacity of welding a group of technicians into a team and of giving them democratic leadership and, finally, he must have a know-how about working with and for a community. The data presented above, as also the qualitative information gathered by the field staff seems to indicate that the Block Development Officers generally meet the first requirement; and they probably have the greatest difficulty in fully realising the implications of the third requirement of their job. This is a generalisation and like all generalisations, it is subject to disproof by individual instances to the contrary. Yet, the overall impression remains. On the positive side, the Block Development Officers seem to have a general faith in the usefulness of the Block Advisory Committees and an awareness of the problems of their work and an insight into who participates, why and in what types of projects. They are also realistic and frank in the appraising of their own achievements. On the other hand, one notes that a substantial proportion of them have not been able to develop a relationship of confidence with their colleagues; that they do not seem to have well defined procedures of selecting villages for particular projects, that they do not have any regular system of checking of the reports of their subordinates and that the procedures adopted by them for finalising programmes are not always calculated to promote the objective of making the Block community democratically mature and self-reliant. These shortcomings cannot all be laid at the door-step of the Block Development Officers. Some of them are endemic to our administrative procedures and have repeatedly been pointed out by Indian as well as foreign critics. Some of the other shortcomings are also a result of the pressure under which the Block Development Officer finds himself in his struggle to achieve physical targets by which, in the usual course, he will be judged.

SECTION 3—PEOPLES' PARTICIPATION*

In so far as Community projects are intended to be a people's movement the contribution made by people to them and their participation in its various programmes becomes one of the major indices of the extent to which they have identified themselves with the objectives of the community projects. It also shows that they are willing not only passively to accept but also actively to promote the fulfilment of these objectives. From this point of view a study of people's attitudes to community project, as also the actual share that they accept in financing or otherwise assisting in the various programmes becomes important.

This Section of the report will deal with the study of peoples' participation. This study was undertaken in ten different Blocks distributed as follows:—two Blocks from U.P., 2 from Madras, 2 from Kerala, 2 from Bihar, 1 from Bombay and one from Assam. Altogether 476 respondents were interviewed from these ten Blocks and material relating to the number and kind of projects in which these respondents participated, the extent of their participation, the circumstances under which they participated, their present attitude to the works that they helped complete was collected. In addition to the above material collected from individual respondents there were data also gathered in the form of proformæ from all the twenty Block Headquarters in which the two groups of studies were conducted. The material gathered from proformæ in these twenty Block Headquarters is presented first—followed later by the data collected from respondents in ten Blocks.

Proportion of Villages Covered by Types of Participation Programmes

Information on this point was available only for 18 out of the 20 Blocks studied. The total number of villages in these Blocks were 1,793. The data collected reveal that the highest percentage (25) of villages covered for all Blocks together by any single programme of people's participation is given by wells. Kutchra roads come next in the number of villages covered with 17 per cent of the total number of villages, and the item of school buildings follows with a coverage of 11 per cent of the total number of villages.

The projects which occupy the position of highest coverage vary from state to state. In Assam wells cover the highest number of villages followed by school buildings, the percentages of villages so covered being respectively 47 and 24. In Bihar, the number of villages covered by any project whatsoever is very small. No project is found to cover more than 2

*The term 'participation' is used throughout this report interchangeably with the term 'Contribution'. The two terms refer to cash contributions, contributions in kind as well as participation in terms of free labour or labour at reduced rates.

per cent of the villages. Even in Bombay the coverage is relatively low. School buildings have been constructed in 17 per cent of the villages, wells in 13 per cent and kutchra roads in 12 per cent of the total number of villages. In Kerala the percentage of villages covered by each of these three projects is considered to be higher, with figures of 52 per cent of kutchra roads, 41 per cent for wells and 23 per cent for school buildings.*

In Madras, the coverage by projects of villages is generally more satisfactory than in Bihar and Bombay. But what has been said below in the foot-note with regard to Kerala applies also though in a lesser degree to Madras where villages are units made up of smaller hamlets, each of these hamlets being equivalent to a normal village in the rest of the country.

When these varying circumstances are taken into consideration, the percentage figures for coverage of number of villages are found to be not very instructive, unless they are also simultaneously related to the population figures for these Block areas. The percentages can however be said to have the value of indicating the relative priorities given to different projects in the same State. These are not necessarily the priorities determined by people of these projects, though it would be reasonable to assume that to the extent, people of any Block are expected to contribute to these projects, they at least passively concur with priorities that have been arrived at either by the Block authorities or by the Block authorities in consultation with leaders of the village.

If for the moment, the Blocks from Madras and Kerala are excluded as not constituting a homogenous sample, the figures of village coverage by different types of projects are found to be rather meagre. They show that even if one assumed that each village had only one type of project allocated to it there would still be a number of villages which were not covered by any project whatsoever. The same situation will be found to be true, later, about social education facilities. In practice, moreover, it rarely happens that the various projects are strictly distributed at the rate of one per village. The net result is that even when one speaks of intensive development of a Block of one hundred villages not all the villages are necessarily covered. This is at least definitely so in respect of the physical facilities made available through the projects.

*This high percentage of coverage is however deceptive. As explained elsewhere, the villages in Kerala are very large administrative units consisting of several wards and each of these wards in its turn is larger in population and area than villages in other parts of the country. Thus though the total number of villages in Kerala is very small the population covered is much larger than for comparable number of Blocks in any other State. The percentage figures for coverage are therefore necessarily high, since the construction of even one well, or one road in a village would go to show that that village had been covered by the particular programme. In this case, the high percentage of coverage therefore, is not necessarily an index of the needs of a larger proportion of the population being met.

This situation is inevitable when total available resources are limited and it therefore makes it all the more imperative that the procedure of selection of villages for introduction of new facilities and programmes be very clearly defined and made known to the villagers.

Relative Contribution by Project Authorities and the People

From the point of view of reflecting the relative importance attached to one rather than another project by the people themselves, it may be significant to study the figures for percentage contribution by the project authorities and by the people of the area respectively.

While studying the relevant proportion of project and peoples' contribution, no definite trend is seen as we move from one State to another. Even for the same type of projects we find unbelievable variation in the proportion of contribution made respectively by the State and the people of the Block. If we take the item of kutchra roads, we find that the State contribution in Madras is as high as 43 per cent, in U.P. it is as low as 3 per cent and the figures for Kerala, Assam, Bihar and Bombay are 35 per cent, 31 per cent, 26 per cent and 23 per cent respectively.

The same disparities in the proportion of State contributions are to be found in respect of pucca roads. In Bihar the State contributes 75 per cent of the total cost, U.P. contributes 37 per cent, Bombay contributes 63 per cent and Madras 55 per cent. The Blocks in Kerala and Bihar had no pucca road projects. With regard to community centres one finds that Bihar contributes 53 per cent, U.P. and Kerala contribute 32 and 22 per cent respectively. Madras contributes 17 per cent, Assam 9 per cent and Bombay makes no contribution at all. The same trend or rather the lack of trend, continues in the case of school buildings where Bombay heads the list with a 72 per cent contribution and U.P. comes last with a 23 per cent contribution. Madras, Kerala, Assam and Bihar give 42 per cent, 34 per cent, 32 per cent and 27 per cent respectively.

We have calculated a crude overall percentage of peoples' contribution for all types of projects, taken together. From a strictly statistical viewpoint this overall average may not be justified since it puts non-homogenous units together. But putting all the converted labour and kind contribution together with the cash contributions one finds that in U.P. the peoples' contribution is the highest totalling 75 per cent, followed by Bombay and Assam (54 per cent each), Bihar and Kerala (52 per cent each) and Madras (45 per cent). This raises a question as to whether or not there was an overall policy regarding the contribution to be made by the State Government with respect to each type of project. It appears that if there was such a policy then it has been very strictly adhered to in practice. It is of course possible that State policy in different parts of the

country was governed by local needs. But if so, it would be important to interpret the manner in which local policy has been determined in the context of factors special to that area.

On further examination, actually one finds that even within the same state the percentages of relative contribution by the State and the people vary considerably. In Bihar the State contribution for kutchra roads varies from 25 per cent to 73 per cent from Block to Block. In Kerala it varies from 23 per cent to 57 per cent. In Madras from 6 per cent to 63 per cent, in U.P. from 0 per cent to 14 per cent. The same variation occurs in respect of other items of work.

There is also a question which may not be entirely far-fetched regarding whether the procedure for the maintenance of records is at least comparable, even if not uniform from State to State. Our interviewers did not obtain specific information on this point but it is certainly an area well worth probing.

If we take the overall percentages for all Blocks together for each of the different projects we find that peoples contribution is the highest in the case of kutchra roads and panchayat ghars where they have contributed on an average about 70 per cent of the total expenditure. Next in order come the community centres and school buildings in which peoples' contribution is valued at 68 per cent and 63 per cent respectively of the total estimated expenditure. In the case of pucca roads and wells this contribution is approximately 46 per cent and 44 per cent of total estimated expenditure. The contribution of the people in all other cases is lower.

Since the proportion of State and peoples' contribution is expected to vary in accordance with where a Block belongs to the NES or CD categories, it would be of interest to see the ratios of proportional contributions. These figures are not separately available for PIP Blocks because in their case the information collected included projects executed during the earlier stage of intensive development. Restricting ourselves only to the NES & CD Blocks, we find that State contribution in kutchra roads in NES Blocks is 23 per cent whereas in the CD Blocks it is 42 per cent. With regard to pucca roads the NES Blocks contributed 66 per cent and the CD Blocks contributed 38 per cent. In respect of wells the NES Blocks contributed 24 per cent and the CD Blocks 63 per cent. In the case of community centres, the NES Blocks have contributed nothing whereas in the CD Blocks their contribution is 30 per cent. Here again we do not see any definite trend of either higher or lower contribution by the Blocks depending upon whether they are NES or CD.

If we consider gross expenditure, including the share of the States as well as the people, for all Blocks and separately for each type of project, we find that the greatest amount of money has been spent on pucca roads

and school buildings. Next in order come the dispensaries followed by kutchra roads.

Manner of Estimating Peoples' Contributions

The manner in which people's contributions are assessed and collected is also important to note. The practice varies in several respects. One of the commonest procedures followed is to begin by making a departmental estimate for a particular work and then to deduct about 15 per cent from their estimate which would normally be allowed by the works department as a legitimate profit for the contractor. The balance is the net estimated cost of construction. The people of the village where the project is to be executed are then told that the Block authorities would give them a sum equivalent to 1/2 or 2/3 of this net cost. The rest of the cost is expected to be borne by the people. Very often the actual expenditure incurred on a particular project is not calculated and the Block contribution is handed over to the panchayat or its nominee or any other person responsible for the execution of the project. When the work has been completed it is assumed that the people have contributed their share. In many cases it was reported that the panchayat or peoples' nominee had actually completed the work within the amount made available by the Block authorities. When this happens the share contributed by the people is a fictitious amount. At any rate unless the peoples' cash contribution is actually collected and a detailed accounting of the constructional project maintained, the figures for peoples' contributions will always remain hypothetical calculations.

The calculation of the cost of voluntary labour is another point where inaccuracies enter. The cost is calculated on the basis of minimum wages fixed by Government. In some states, at least, these wage-rates are considerably higher than the rates that prevail locally. The estimate of cost is therefore inflated in comparison with actual cost and the figures for peoples' contribution also tend to be exaggerated.

Another anomaly associated with peoples' contribution relates to the item of 'manual labour at reduced rates'. In the context of the difference that exists between governmental and local rates, this contribution in terms of labour at reduced rates is in some cases wholly fictitious.

The manner of collection of peoples' contribution is also important in establishing its voluntary character. In one State the cash contribution made by the villagers is collected through the regular revenue machinery. There have been instances where the revenue officer concerned refused to accept the normal revenue dues from a cultivator until after he had paid his contribution to the work undertaken in the village. Such pressure has no legal sanction but the fear of the revenue officer is still great and his words of persuasion can often exert considerable compulsion.

While, the enthusiasm generally shown by the people cannot be underestimated, the need for a uniform and correct accounting of the extent and

manner of their contribution is very great. The above are a few of the points which those who are concerned with its audit must check.

Peoples' Participation as seen from the Study of Respondents

After having studied the relative quantum of State and peoples contribution in the various works executed as a part of the community projects, we shall now turn to an examination of what participation means to the individual participants. The data for this aspect of the study is limited to only 10 Blocks and to a total of about 467 respondents.

Distribution of Respondents

From the data of occupational distribution collected by us it is noticed that the medium and small size cultivators form 80 per cent of the sample, the agricultural labourers number 14 per cent, those in service are 10 per cent and the other groups are 5 per cent each or less. In U.P. the percentage of medium and small cultivators rises to 87, and all other groups are less than 5 per cent each. The percentage of agricultural labourers and tenant cultivators is the highest, 30 per cent and 10 per cent respectively in our sample from Kerala.

The distribution by level of education shows that our sample has 22 per cent respondents who have gone beyond the primary stage, 34 per cent who are only literate and 44 per cent who are illiterate. The combined percentage of the educated and the literate is the highest in Kerala (73 per cent), followed by U.P. (57 per cent), Madras and Bihar (51 per cent each), Assam (50 per cent) and Bombay (47 per cent).

The caste and community composition of our sample shows that there are 49 per cent respondents who are higher caste Hindus, 22 per cent Backward classes; 12 per cent, Harijans, 10 per cent Tribals, 3 per cent Muslims and 4 per cent Christians. In Kerala and Assam the Backward classes are larger in number, 51 per cent and 34 per cent respectively than the higher caste Hindus. Kerala has hardly one Harijan respondent and has 10 per cent and 11 per cent of Muslims and Christians respectively.

Percentage of Respondents Participating

We will begin by considering the percentage of respondents who participated in one or more of the projects undertaken in the villages. Pooling data for all Blocks together we find that the overall figure for participation by the respondents is as high as 79 per cent. This should certainly be considered to be a very encouraging response by any criteria. It must be remembered, however, that this figure is based upon even single instance of participation by respondents and does not necessarily represent the continued interest or support on the part of 79 per cent of respondents. It indicates only that 79 per cent of the people interviewed have participated or contributed in at least one project once.

If we compare figures for PIP and CD Blocks on the one hand and NES Blocks on the other, we find that participation in the former set of Blocks is higher than in the latter set. This is as it should be considering that much greater effort in mobilising popular support is expected to have been put in the CD and PIP Blocks. At the same time, however, it is necessary to say that our own particular sample of NES Blocks is too small to have much value for a conclusion of this type.

When one compares the percentage of the participating and contributing respondents, in respect of different States one finds that U.P. has the highest percentage of respondents (98) who are in this category. Bihar is next with 89 per cent and Madras has 83 per cent. In Assam, Bombay and Kerala the percentages of participation are 74 per cent, 70 per cent and 51 per cent respectively. It may be noted here that the percentage for Kerala is adversely affected by the unusually low figure of 16 per cent participation in one of the two Blocks.

The data made available in the study of people's attitudes also shows a high percentage of participation in constructional activities on the part of the respondents. As against the figure of 79 per cent participation seen above, this study shows that the average percentage of participation is 70. The difference between the CD and PIP Blocks on the one hand and NES Blocks on the other is also maintained. It is found that in the former set of Blocks, the percentage of participation is 73 whereas in the latter, it is 56. It was also found that the Statewise variation in the percentage of participants followed nearly the same order. U.P. had very nearly cent per cent participation followed by Assam with 87 per cent participation; Bihar was next with 77 per cent followed by Bombay, Madras and Kerala with 56, 48 and 39 per cent participation respectively. Though the actual percentages vary, the order in which the various States appear is nearly the same with the exception of Assam which shifts from third to the second place in rank.

An attempt was also made to see as to whether the respondents who did not participate were actually not aware of the various projects. It was found however that the percentage of respondents who were ignorant of the individual projects was as low as 2.5 per cent in the CD & PIP Blocks respectively. In the NES Blocks there were about 14 per cent of the respondents who did not participate and were not aware of the various projects.

Sources Suggesting Constructional Projects

It was considered important to know who had been responsible for initiating the suggestion for various constructional projects, since the selection of projects is expected to be in response to the felt needs of the people. The proportion in which projects were suggested by the people and by the Block agency could help obtain the correct picture on this point. It is true that after a project has been completed very few people can remember

who thought of it first. But the thinking of the people in terms of whether the suggestion for a project came from them or from the Block authorities is in the last analysis more important than the actual facts of the case. In an ideal situation we would expect the people to value initiative in making suggestions for most of the projects.

The question was asked in a manner that the respondents were free to mention one or more projects and the agencies responsible for suggesting them. The agencies were later classified in the following categories—the Gram Sewak, the village leadership, formal village institutions, project officials other than the Gram Sewak and others.

The figures show that the Gram Sewak is mentioned as the source of suggestion for the project by 24 per cent of the people, village leadership by 26 per cent, the more formal village institutions by 22 per cent and the project officials by 16 per cent.

Statewise variations are interesting. In U.P. the Gram Sewak is mentioned by 65 per cent. In Bihar he is mentioned by 44 per cent. In Madras he is hardly mentioned at all. The same is true of Kerala, Assam and Bombay. In Bombay the group mentioned most often (by 88 per cent respondents) is that of village leaders.

The break-up by types of Blocks shows that in the NES Blocks, the Gram Sewak is not an important source of suggestion. He is mentioned by about 2 per cent respondents. In CD and PIP Blocks, he is mentioned by a much larger percentage of respondents.

Sources of Request for Participation

Knowing that as many as 79 per cent of the respondents have participated in one or other of the community projects, it is now of interest to ask as to who was the individual or the agency responsible for suggesting such participation to them. The respondents were left free to give their individual replies which were subsequently classified in the following categories—the Gram Sewak, the village leadership and institutions, project officials and others. A study of the data shows that the different channels of suggestion seem to have played about equal part in motivating people to participate. Of the 368 respondents who participated, 327 said that they had been approached. The Gram Sewak is mentioned by 34 per cent of the respondents, the village leadership by 46 per cent and the more formal village officials by 22 per cent. The project officials as different from Gram Sewaks are mentioned by about 16 per cent. The rest of the respondents mentioned other sundry agencies.

Statewise comparisons of the sources of suggestion motivating people to participate brings out some interesting facts. In U.P. the Gram Sewak is mentioned as the source of suggestion by 65 per cent of people. In Madras he is mentioned by 17 per cent. In Bihar the Gram Sewak is mentioned by 44 per cent, in Kerala, Assam and Bombay the Gram Sewak is hardly mentioned by a few persons. In all these latter cases village leadership

and village institutions are mentioned by many more respondents. In Bombay the largest number (88 per cent) mentioned village leaders as the source of suggestion, in Kerala the village leaders are mentioned by 39 per cent.

These percentages refer to the 327 respondents who said that they had been approached for participation. The break-up by types of Blocks shows that in the NES Blocks the Gram Sewak is mentioned by 95 per cent of the people. In the CD and the PIP Blocks the Gram Sewak is mentioned by about 25 per cent, the village leaders by 33 and 46 per cent and other sources by about 33 and 21 per cent.

The Non-Participants

We have noted above that the percentage of non-participants among our respondents was only about 21. It was considered useful to try and find out why these persons had not participated. A question to this effect was asked of the 21 per cent non-participating respondents. 63 per cent of them replied by saying that they had never been approached for participation, 26 per cent thought that they were too poor to participate, 17 per cent were not aware of the project and 8 per cent did not participate because they were not likely to benefit by the particular projects.

Statewise comparison of the reasons given by respondents for non-participation shows that the proportion of those who gave the reason of not being aware was the highest in the Bombay Block (55 per cent). The percentage who said that they had never been approached was the highest in one of the Blocks in Kerala (100 per cent) and Madras (91 per cent).

Who Contributes or Participates in Programmes

One way of analysing the differential interest that the different sections of the population have shown in people's participation projects, would be to see how their percentage representation among participants compares with their percentage representation in our sample of respondents. The following table gives us this comparison for various occupational categories:—

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Percentage in total No. of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of cate- gory among those who have participated</i>
1	2	3
Large Cultivator	5	7
Medium Cultivator	23	27
Small Cultivator	27	29
Tenant Cultivator	5	4
Cultivator-Cum-Labourer	2	3
Agricultural Labourer	14	11
Service	6	8
Artisan	4	6
Business	10	6
Others	4	—

We notice from the above table that the only groups that are somewhat under-represented among the participants are the agricultural labourers and the business community. Their representations among participants falls by about 3 or 4 per cent as compared with their representation in our total sample. A small drop of one per cent is also to be noticed among tenant cultivators. Barring these three groups, we notice that the others are proportionately well represented in the group of participants. In fact each of these latter categories gains in representation by about 2 per cent to 4 per cent.

On the basis of this small variation, it is impossible to say that any occupational group is particularly less interested than the others in all the various projects of participation, taken together. It is, however, possible that one will notice some variation of interest among the different occupational groups in respect of different types of projects. This variation would probably have stood out clearly, if we had some way of converting all the various types of contributions into one cumulative index. In the absence of such an index, we may take only one type of participation and study the variation in the representation of each occupational group among the participants from one project to another. For our purposes, we will take only participation figures for free manual labour. The following table gives this distribution:—

Occupational Category	Percentage representation in Sample	Percentage representation among participants for all types of projects	Percentage representation among respondents who have given free labour for					
			Roads	Wells	Schools	Drains	C. Centres	Bridges and Culverts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Large Cultivator	5	7	8.21	3.51	3.23	24	9.09	9.09
Medium Cultivator	23	27	29.27	3.51	29.03	24	36.36	9.09
Small Cultivator	27	29	20.32	33.33	25.81	48	45.45	36.36
Tenant	5	4	3.25	—	48.84	—	—	9.09
Cultivator-cum-labourer	2	3	2.44	3.51	6.45	—	—	18.18
Agricultural labourer	14	11	9.76	22.81	12.9	—	—	9.09
Service	6	8	8.13	14.03	4.84	4	9.09	4.55
Artisan	4	6	12.20	14.03	11.29	—	—	—
Business	10	6	5.69	5.26	1.61	—	—	4.55
Others	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Some points become immediately obvious with the help of this table. If one takes projects as drainage and community centres, one finds that very nearly all occupational groups except the first three, show no interest in them at all. This is found to be true not only for manual labour, but for all types of contributions. The non-cultivating class seems to have no interest in projects of drainage and community centres. To the extent that non-participation in the project reflects lack of interest and also a feeling that the particular project is likely to benefit groups other than their own, there is a need for some concern over the situation. One may be able to understand to some extent the lack of interest in drainage facilities on the part of poorer sections of the community who do not immediately benefit by this facility. If, however, these poorer sections also regard community centres as being primarily the concern of the owner cultivator groups, then it is a bad beginning for social education efforts.

One notices, that with reference to projects of well digging, the small cultivator, the agricultural labourer, the artisan and the man in 'service' are represented in a much higher proportion among participants than they are, in the sample of respondents. We find that agricultural labourers who are only 14 per cent in the sample, constitute 22 per cent of the participants in well digging projects. Those in service rise from 6 to 14 per cent. The artisans show a shift from 4 to 14 per cent and even the small cultivator shows an increase in his representation from 27 per cent in the total sample to 33 per cent in those who give labour for digging wells. The importance attached by the poorer sections of the community to projects of water supply through wells is obvious and also easily understandable.

In considering the representation of various occupational groups among those who have participated in buildings for schools, one finds that the only groups that are relatively under-represented as compared with their proportions in the sample are the large cultivator and the businessman. The other groups are nearly equally represented as in the total sample of respondents. However, one further finds that the large cultivator partially compensates for his lack of representation among those who give free labour by contributing in kind and cash as also by giving organisational assistance. The small business group, however, seems to show a more or less complete lack of interest in projects of school buildings.

In respect of road construction, one finds the agricultural labourer and the small cultivator slightly under-represented whereas large and medium cultivators as well as the artisans are over-represented in this particular group.

It is thus seen that the interest shown by different occupational groups in the village varies according to the type of project. Some projects are seen by some groups as being of immediate benefit, some are not. The type

of contribution given by individuals is related to the economic status of the individual. While it is true that in road making even the better-off section of the community participates by giving manual labour, one finds that in other types of projects they prefer to give contributions in cash or kind. On the other hand the participation of the lower earning groups is more or less exclusively in the form of labour.

Respondents' View of whether Villagers Participated Willingly

There were two questions that were asked of the villagers to find out their image of the groups that participate and general extent of participation. One question asked them simply to choose one of the several alternative answers indicating either that all the villagers who had helped in the projects had done so willingly, or that some of them had not been willing though most of them were willing, or finally that the respondents never wanted the project in their village. The answers received show that 70 per cent of the respondents believe that all those who participated, did so willingly and of their own accord; 11 per cent thought that while most of the villagers helped willingly, there were some who did so under compulsion, 19 per cent of the respondents did not give a reply. The general picture therefore is satisfactory though one would have liked all the respondents to say that those who helped, did so willingly.

The statewide variation in percentages is also of some interest. Whereas in Madras, Bihar, U.P., and Assam, the percentage of respondents who think that all the people help willingly is above the average of 70, one finds that in Kerala this percentage drops to 50 and in Bombay to 30. It is in the case of Bombay again, that the largest percentage of respondents mentioned that there were some who helped under compulsion.

Frequency of different Projects

A question was asked whereby respondents were required to mention a few of the projects completed in their own village. This question was originally intended just as an introduction to the interview with each respondent. At the time of analysis, it was felt that the question could be used in another way. It appeared that if the projects that were mentioned by each of the respondents could be related to the actual projects that were executed in the village, it would be possible to have some idea of the extent to which particular projects tended to be mentioned more often than others. From the data analysed in this manner, it is noticed that in villages where school buildings have been constructed as many as 77 per cent of the respondents mentioned them. In the case of wells, 74 per cent of the respondents mentioned them. Bridges, roads, drains and culverts are mentioned by 69, 68, 65 and 52 per cent of the relevant respondents respectively. The community centres, however, are mentioned by only 48 per cent of the respondents from the villages where such centres have been built.

It is also to be noticed that in Kerala where no schools were built—obviously because of the already existing large number of schools—bridges are mentioned by the largest percentage of respondents, viz., 83. Roads and wells come next in their order of saliency.

In Assam, again, we find that roads get a primacy over schools. 70 per cent of the respondents mentioned roads whereas 65 per cent of the respondents mentioned schools.

In as much as the above percentages are related to the number of respondents who would normally have been expected to mention particular projects, the respective percentages of those who actually mentioned the various projects can be said to reflect the differential significance attached to these various projects in the minds of the villagers. It would appear therefore that taking all Blocks together schools have the greatest significance for the villagers and community centres the least significance.

A general question was also put to the respondents asking whether they considered the various projects that they had helped complete to be now useful to them. 96 per cent said that the projects had been useful. Though in Assam and Bombay the percentage went down to 82 and 83 per cent respectively, in all the other States, it remained at above 94 per cent of the respondents.

Responsibility for Maintenance of Works

All the respondents were asked a question as to who should be responsible for maintenance of the various projects that had been completed? The numbers of those who had participated in the different projects varied considerably.

All the respondents were asked as to who should maintain the roads that had been built. 13 per cent said that they should be maintained by Government. 30 per cent said that they should be maintained by the panchayats and 25 per cent said that they should be maintained by the people who benefited by these roads. This last response is interesting in that it shows that some 25 per cent respondents don't see the roads as a facility equally beneficial to all. This was also indicated by the under-representation of certain occupational groups among those who participated in these projects. With regard to schools, 21 per cent of the participating respondents said that these should be maintained by Government. 22 per cent expected panchayat to maintain them and 23 per cent expected the beneficiaries to take this responsibility. In the case of wells, 37 per cent mentioned panchayats, 23 per cent the beneficiaries and 5.2 per cent mentioned the Government. In the case of drains, 50 per cent said that the beneficiaries should maintain the drains, 7 per cent expected the panchayats to do this job. Here again the very large percentage of those who say that the beneficiaries should maintain the drains shows that a number of respondents do not look upon this

facility as of general benefit to all the villagers. With respect to community centres, 30 per cent of the respondents expected the panchayats to maintain them, 11 per cent expected the participants to maintain them and 2 per cent expected the Government to do so.

All in all, the panchayat and the Government seem to be the two agencies to which villagers look for maintenance work. Since maintenance by panchayats would indirectly mean that the burden would have to be borne by the villagers, the respondents were asked whether they thought the villagers could raise enough money for maintenance work. It was encouraging to find that 50 per cent of the respondents answered in the positive. 31 per cent said that the villagers could not raise the money. 19 per cent said that they did not know.

SECTION 4—COMMUNITY CENTRES AND SOCIAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

Community centres are probably the most comprehensive single activity in the programme of social education, adopted as a part of the community projects. From the point of view of the objectives of community development, this programme which involves the spontaneous participation of the people and aims at developing a sense of community among the villagers through cultural, recreational and educational activities, is of a far reaching significance. Ideally the community centre should provide a place where members of a community can gather together for a variety of leisure-time activities and also for purposes of meetings and discussions relating to other matters of community concern. It is possible to visualise the community centre as being the agency through which the community provides for itself a variety of different services, not only in the field of leisure-time activity, but also in the area of health and education. Thus an ideal community centre may be one where besides a library, a reading room, and sports activity, there is also located a primary school, an adult literacy centre and even a primary health unit. Actually, however, the community centres organised as a part of community projects concentrate primarily on library, games, the organisation of cultural activities through Bhajan Mandalis, Mahila Mandalis, etc., and in some cases the organization of adult literacy classes.

Even so the community centres involve an important set of activities in which the people themselves are expected to take active part. It is with this background that a study of about 49 community centres was undertaken in about ten different Blocks. The data presented below refer to these 49 centres.

It may be noted that ten centres each were studied from the Blocks in Bihar, Kerala, Madras and U.P. Five centres were selected from Assam and four from Bombay.

Each of these centres had more than one activity. The particular combinations of these activities are given at a later stage. Here it may only be noted that sports were provided in the largest number of centres (28), libraries were provided in 22 centres, literacy classes were organised in 11, other recreational and cultural activities in 10. Other activities such as Bhajan, Kirtans, etc., were organised in 20 centres.

Dates of Establishment

The community centres that were studied had been established severally during all the years from 1952 to 1957. Of the 49 centres studied 7, *i.e.*, approximately 14% were less than one year old, 11, *i.e.*, 23% were between one and two years old, 9 or 18% had been in existence between 2 and 3 years, 15, *i.e.*, 31% between 3 and 4 years, 3, *i.e.*, 6% between 4 and 5 years and 4 had been in existence for a period longer than 5 years.

An attempt was also made to find out whether the community centres as an activity tended to be initiated in the first, the second or the third year of a particular project. It was found that 18 of these centres were established in the very first year of the project, 15 in the second year, 13 in the third, and 3 in the fourth year. This seems to show that so far social education activity as related to the community centres is concerned the number of new centres established decreases with every successive year. One wonders why the figure for the number of centres established tapers off in this manner. If community centres are an activity which reflect a more developed consciousness of community feeling, then we would expect that as the years go by there will be more and more centres developed in a community project Block. Our figures can however be interpreted to mean that the community centres are probably used as an instrumentality to create community consciousness and therefore are concentrated upon in the initial stages of development work. It is also possible that the decreasing number of community centres is merely a reflection of decreasing budget allocations becoming available for this activity in every successive year of a project. We do not have enough qualitative material to accept one rather than the other interpretation.

The distribution of our centres by types of Blocks shows that 20% are from the N.E.S. Blocks, 50% from C.D. Blocks and 30% from P.I.P. Blocks. Thus an overwhelming majority of them are, or till recently have been, in the intensive phase where more resources and a long period of time has been available to them for purposes of developing their activities. We would therefore expect that the level of operation of these centres would be satisfactory and that they would generally tend to enlist more and more participation on the part of the rural community.

Physical Structure

The physical structures of the different community centres, vary from State to State. In some cases the centres are housed in temples or panchayat ghars. But the general policy is to encourage people to have separate community centre buildings. Where buildings have been erected as in the case of half of the centres studied, they usually consist of small structures of one or two rooms with some open space around them. The rooms vary in size from about 120 sq. feet to 300 sq. feet.

Where buildings have been built they are yet so new as not to call for special repairs. There are however a few cases where the buildings are not in a state of good repair. Wherever the buildings have been constructed the people of the area have contributed about 50% of the estimated expenditure.

Location of Community Centres

The location of community centres from the point of view of their accessibility is an important factor that can contribute to or impede their success. This accessibility depends upon physical distance from different parts of the village, and upon whether it is approachable during all parts of the year. There is also a question of its social accessibility to all groups in the village.

The distribution of our centres on this criterion indicates that 80% of the centres were centrally located in the villages; 20% were located on the periphery of the village. 94% were accessible at all times of the day and year. 6% were not so accessible. 84% were accessible to all groups in the village, 16% were restricted in practice to some groups.

This last feature should be a matter of concern. That the community centres which should become the spear-head of progress should thus become the instrument of discrimination even in 16% of the cases is sad. The very purpose for which they are brought into existence is thus defeated in their case.

Activities

Activities organised at the community centres consist usually of literacy classes, sports, music and dance, library, indoor games, Bhajans etc. Our analysis shows that 24% of the centres have only one activity each; 31% of them have two activities and another 31% have three activities each. Those which have four or five activities are only 14% of the total. One also notices that all the centres which have four or five activities are four or five years old. This is as it should be since it can be interpreted to mean that more and more activities are added as centres grow older. On the other hand, it must also be noticed that while all the centres which have four or five activities are four or five years old, not all centres which are that old have as many activities. The proportion of those which have these many activities is 26% of all centres which are old.

A further examination reveals that of the single activity centres which are 35% of the total, over 3/4th have either a library or the organisation of sports as their single activity. Among combinations of activities, we find that a literacy class and sports or a library and sports present the commonest combination.

Since sports and libraries occupy such an important place in the organisation of community centres, it is necessary to examine more carefully the quality of the facilities provided under these heads. Usually the facilities provided for sports consist of two things—a carrom board and volley ball. The participation in sports averages between 15 and 20 persons.

The participation in literacy classes and other recreational activities as observed by the field staff is highest when compared with other activities. On an average there are about 15 to 20 people who participate in this activity.

The library is used by about 10 persons. There are usually between 100 to 150 books and one or two local papers available in the library. The use of the library in terms of actual issue of books varies considerably. In some cases, books had not been issued from the library for almost five to six months. In other cases however the books were better used and were more frequently issued.

The newspapers however are an attraction. They have a regular readership in every centre. This readership cannot naturally be very large in view of the small percentage of adult literates in our rural communities. But the newspapers are used both by those who read them, as well as those who listen to them, and this latter is fairly large group in every village.

Another major attraction in a number of community centres is the radio-set that is often provided on a part-grant basis by the Block authorities. A large number of people gather to listen to the villagers' programmes, and other programmes as well. Where single-wave battery sets are provided there is not much of a choice in the programmes that people can listen to. But very often, the villagers have contributed and chosen to purchase the more expensive multi-wave length sets. The radio is popular with young and old alike. In many places it is this together with the reading room, that gives the impression of considerable activity in the community centres.

Among the periodic activities the commonest is the organisation of Kirtans and Bhajans which are popular.

Activities Mentioned By Respondents

The data so far presented on the community centres have been gathered from Block records and from oral statements of Social Education Officers. As a complement to this approach, some facts on this subject were also collected as a part of the study of People's Attitudes. These facts read together with the portion of community centres given in the Section on the Harijans give a relatively complete picture of the working of community centres. The first question that was asked of the respondents requested them to mention the types of activities organised in the community centres. The frequency with which the various activities are mentioned would be

said to reflect partly the emphasis on certain activities that has developed over a period of time. It was found that a total of 45% of respondents said that community centres existed in their village. Of these respondents, 54% mentioned recreational activity; 48% mentioned libraries; 40% mentioned cultural activities; sports by themselves were mentioned by only 22%.

It will be seen that the frequency with which the various activities are mentioned supports the impressions of the field staff and the statement of the Social Education Officers on which preceding Section was based.

Activities in which Respondents Participate

Respondents who participate in community centre activities were requested to mention the type of activity in which they participate. Here again recreational activity was mentioned by the largest number, followed by cultural activities, library and sports in that order.

When asked what additional facilities they would wish to have provided in the community centres, 54% of those who replied to the question said that they would like to have more cultural activities; 15% asked for periodicals and books; 11% for sports activity. Of those who asked for additional programmes in community centres, 22% said that they would be willing to contribute the total cost of these additional expenditure, 12% were unwilling to contribute and 6% remained non-committal.

Occupational Distribution of Participants

It was felt that the occupational distribution of the respondents participating in community centre activities would also be important to our study. If the community centres are expected to create a community sentiment and wave their activities around the needs of the common people, it was important that all the different sections of the community fell free to participate in their programmes. The proportion of respondents who participates from among those who live in villages where community centres exist, is given for each category of occupations in the following table:—

<i>Occupational Category</i>	<i>Proportion of respondents who participated out of those who could have replied</i>
Absentee landlords	100 Per cent
Large Cultivators	75 "
Medium Cultivators	90 "
Small Cultivators	99 "
Tenant Cultivators	32 "
Cultivator-cum-labourers	76 "
Agricultural Labourers	29 "
Those in Service	14 "
Artisans	70 "
Businessmen	67 "

It is seen from the above table that the overall percentages of participation are very high though, relatively speaking, the higher proportion of participation is to be found in the groups of owner cultivators, cultivator-labourers and artisans. The smallest percentage of participants is in the category of persons in service.

The agricultural labourers are also represented in a very small percentage.

Women and Children's Programmes

A question was asked of the respondents as to whether the programmes for women and children organised by the project authorities were helpful to them. 48% of the respondents said that they considered the programmes helpful. 52% said that the programmes were not at all helpful. Those programmes seem to have been appreciated most in Assam where 63% of the respondents expressed this favourably. In Bombay, the respondents were wholly negative in their attitude to these programmes and none of them felt that the programmes were useful.

Those who said that these programmes were useful mentioned such activities as spinning and weaving, children's parks and sewing, knitting etc., as meeting the special needs of these groups.

Role of Block Staff

The role that the Block staff should play in the organisation of the various community centre activities is not very clear. On the one hand one can argue that community centres are an activity exclusively of the people and less the Block staff have to do with it, the better it is. On the other hand if community centres are intended to be utilised even if indirectly as an instrumentality of promoting project activities, then a more deliberate, though at the same time uninterfering use will have to be made of this particular agency. Beyond helping in the observance of some of the festivals or national days the project staff seems at present to have very little to do with the community centres. Even the Gram Sewak doesn't often visit the centre let alone actively help in the promotion of its activities. Once the buildings have been erected the higher officers of the Block, including even the SEO, seem to visit these centres only very occasionally and often when they accompany an outside visitor. Even in a purely formal way, only 8 out of the 49 centres are being looked after by the Gram Sewak and the Block staff.

Actually there is a good deal that can be done to improve the facilities provided at the community centre in such a way that more and varied groups of villagers can participate in the activities. Even with the existing groups of participants a good deal can be done in the nature of adult education through discussions, exhibitions, films, wall newspapers etc.

The acceptance of a more direct responsibility for adding to and improving the quality of programmes at the community centres is however not possible unless there is a strengthening of the personnel of the Block development team. At present there are usually one or at most two SEOs per Block. The total number of community centres which they can help organise and that be actively associated with, is necessarily limited. The Gram Sewak does not have the higher educational equipment that is called for if he were to give the necessary leadership for these centres. And even if he had the equipment, it is doubtful whether he would have the time to give to this one of his multifarious functions.

In this context the community centres are at present an activity more or less wholly left for the people to manage themselves. This can be an advantage but as at present this seems to result in a serious restriction and stereotyping of the kind of activities that the centres undertake.

One important aspect of efficient organisation is good record keeping. The proforma for study sought information on this point. It was found that 42% of the centres did not have attendance registers for their various activities, 44% of them did not have a stock book for furniture and equipment, 38% of them maintained no minutes books and 50% of them did not have even a membership register. It is true that record maintenance requires regular assistance which may not always be forthcoming from the volunteer leaders who manage the various centres and yet the need to maintain records imposes a certain structure and organisation on a set of activities which may otherwise be uncoordinated. Records also give a sense of continuity to groups and facilitate a review and evaluation of the activities of the group at various periods of time. There is thus a need for developing procedures by which educated members of the community could be brought in to cooperate on this point. This again would require considerable time and skill on the part of the Gram Sewak and the SEO.

Social Education Programmes

Community centres are only one aspect of social education activity organised by the Social Education Officers. While this was the only one that was selected for special study, data were collected for the distribution of the other activities as well, in the different Blocks that were studied. Information was collected about the number of villages in which each type of social education activity was being sponsored. This information was sought partly from Block records and partly through interviews with the Social Education Officers. There are two limitations to which these data were subject:

(1) The information collected in Kerala and Madras was rather confusing. In these two States, the village as an administrative unit, consists of smaller units called hamlets or wards. Each of these smaller units is equal and often larger than the average sized village in other parts of the country

The data relating to distribution of activities, therefore, have a different significance for these two states as compared with the other four states to which this study relates. The data collected by the investigators is also a little ambiguous in that the distribution of the activities has not been given consistently either for villages or for hamlets. The two units have got mixed so that even for these two states, the figures cannot be separately interpreted. What has been done, therefore, is to comment only on data relating to the four States of Assam, Bihar, Bombay and U.P.

(2) The other limitation is only in the nature of a caution in reading of the following paragraphs. The figures for the various activities indicate only the activities that were once initiated by the SEO and do not necessarily imply that all these activities are still functioning. Our Investigators made no check on this point.

The activities for which distribution was obtained were the following:—

- (1) Community centres;
- (2) Reading room or library;
- (3) Adult literacy centre;
- (4) Youth clubs, young farmers' clubs;
- (5) Mahila Mandals;
- (6) Children's clubs; and
- (7) Other miscellaneous activities.

Taking all the above activities together it was found that the Blocks studied in Assam covered 43% of the villages by one type of activity or another. In Bihar only 12% of the villages are touched by these activities. In Bombay 80% of the villages have some type of social education activity or other organised in them. In U.P. only 33% of the villages are covered by social education activities. The distribution of the various activities for all the States taken together was as follows :

It was found that community centres had been established in about 20% of the villages, reading rooms in 33%, adult literacy centres in 58%, young farmers' club in 1%, Mahila Mandals in 13%, and children's clubs in 5% of the villages. The above percentage distribution relates not to the total number of villages in each Block or State, but only to the number of villages which are at all covered by one type of activity or the other. If we take the total number of villages in each Block then the number of villages covered by any one type of activity is found to be very small.

In Assam out of a total of 107 villages, there are only 9 villages which have got community centres, 10 of which have reading rooms, 27 have literacy centres and 1 has a youth club. Mahila Mandals and children's clubs are not organised in any of the villages of this Block. In Bihar the distribution is much poorer and we find that none of these activities is found

in more than 11% of the villages. It may also be noted that in the Bihar Blocks neither Mahila Mandals, nor children's clubs, nor youth clubs have been organised in any of the villages separately. The distribution in U.P. is also very poor. Community centres are to be found in only 6% of the villages. Reading rooms have been established in less than 3% of the villages; literacy centres in about 24% of the villages. There are no young farmers' clubs or children's clubs in either of the two Blocks that were studied. There were Mahila Mandals organised in about 1% of the villages in the Block.

Attendance at Activities

The SEOs were requested to state the average number of persons who participate in the various activities on a normal day. The attendance figures given by them are found to be very different from those noted by our field staff in the study of community centres. The figures given by the SEOs were found to be at least 40-50% higher even in that study itself. Here the averages are at least three times higher than those observed in the centres studied. It is not suggested that SEOs consciously gave higher figures to show the successful manner in which the social education activities functioned. The fact seems to be that most of them are not simply aware of the actual manner of their functioning. In the absence of any systematic records they have no way of giving even relatively correct estimates.

Thus it will be seen that the coverage of social education by percentage of villages in the Block is generally very meagre. If one goes further and takes up any one particular activity the coverage is even more scanty. The attendance figures at the various activities are also small. With this percentage of coverage and this level of attendance the various activities can hardly have any great impact on the people or can hardly contribute to the community project effort. It is certainly not a live movement.

SECTION 5—COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND HARIJANS

One of the studies that the Programme Evaluation Organisation undertook on behalf of the Committee on Plan Projects related to the Harijan population. It seemed important to learn about the impact, if any, that the community projects had made on their life and to learn also of the attitude of Harijans towards the Community Projects Movement. The study was undertaken in ten Blocks. Five to seven villages were selected in each Block and a total of 275 respondents were interviewed on the basis of a prepared questionnaire. Of the Blocks selected two were NES and nine were CD Blocks. 75 per cent of the respondents were from the CD Blocks.

The effort in the questionnaires was first to obtain some factual data relating to education, land ownership, cultivation and employment. These questions were asked at the very beginning of the questionnaire without any mention of the Community Development projects. Subsequently a series of questions were asked to assess the awareness and the part and the attitude of Harijans towards community projects. An attempt was also made to find out the extent to which Harijans helped in the implementation of community projects, and also the extent to which they participated in the various special educational activities organised as a part of the community projects programme. We also wanted to know as to whether the Harijan population took an advantage of the efforts of Government to promote cooperatives and training programmes for the artisans of the rural areas.

Before presenting the actual data it is necessary to remind ourselves of the fact that though there are a few programmes in the Community Project Movement of which Harijans are likely to be the special beneficiaries, there are no programmes which are specifically meant for the Harijan population only. Thus we expected that in the utilization of loans and subsidies for housing and wells we would probably find the Harijan population well represented. We also expected that wherever Industrial training centres were established the Harijan population would specially benefit by them. But we were aware that the community development programmes as such did not provide for exclusive facilities for the Harijans.

At the same time, however, it must be noted that the State Governments have special departments of Harijan welfare and that they seek to introduce various ameliorative measures for the Harijans through their departmental activities outside the projects. It did not seem likely that the respondents would be able to make a clear distinction between project and non-project programmes. The questions relating to various facilities and programmes

were, therefore, kept somewhat general and our efforts to measure the impact of the community project themselves were necessarily limited and often indirect.

Occupational Distribution of Respondents

Of the 275 respondents who constitute our sample, 29% were traditionally agricultural labourers, 18% were cultivators, 7% were cultivators-cum-labourers, 6% were cobblers, 3% were sweepers and 2% were artisans. The rest of the sample consisted of other occupational groups. In Kerala the largest proportion come from agricultural families—60%. In Bombay, U.P. and Bihar the largest proportion were owner cultivators. We were interested in finding out how many in our sample were following occupations that were higher than the traditional occupations that they were expected to follow by their caste norms. We found that 23.4% of our respondents fell in this category whereas 76.6% of them either followed the same occupation or even an occupation lower than that indicated by their caste-group.

The statewise variation in the percentage of Harijans practising occupations socially higher than those traditionally prescribed for them is of some interest. One notes that Assam has the highest percentage of Harijans practising occupations of higher social status. 76% of the respondents in Assam fall in this category. This finding seemed a little surprising, considering the relatively under-developed economic conditions in that State. The explanation can probably be found in the nature of our sample. It is found on reviews that a large proportion of the respondents from Assam are Scheduled Caste persons who are not Harijans in the usual sense of the term.

It may also be noted that the percentage of respondents following occupations of higher social status is very low in the States of Bihar, Madras and Kerala. It does not exceed 6% of the respondents in any of these three States. In Bombay and U.P. this percentage is 24% each.

This ranking of occupation is necessarily somewhat arbitrary and in our democratic context, even perhaps undesirable. But it is not incorrect to say that such ordering does in fact exist in our rural areas.

Normally the fact that atleast 23% of the respondents are following higher occupation should be a source of gratification. But we have no comparable figures in percentages for other caste groups. Besides, the fact that 23% of Harijans are following higher occupations is in itself not very significant because even some of these relatively higher occupations are low in social status.

It may be emphasised here that one cannot even indirectly attribute this upward mobility for 23% of the Harijans to the impact of community projects. One does not know when exactly the change of occupations took place and what the corresponding change is in the non-project areas. It may have taken place much before the community projects were introduced.

Proportion of Children in Schools

It was felt that the number of children going to schools would be another rough indication of whether or not the conditions of life of the Harijan population have generally improved. Here again the data relating to education was collected just to serve as a background for subsequent information and not necessarily to indicate the fact of the working of the community projects.

It was found that there were 399 children between the ages of 5 & 15 in the total sample of Harijan families studied. Of this number 42.1% were going to school. Thus even in the community development project areas—9 out of the 11 Blocks were C.D. as mentioned above—there are still about 60% children in the Harijan families who are not going to school.

Even in the same state the variation from one Block to another is some times very great. In Kerala in one Block we find that 32.5% of the Harijan children of school-going age are actually in school, whereas in another Block this rises to 80%. The same variation is observed between two Blocks in Assam. In one case the figure is 31% and in the other it is 80%. In Madras again there is a variation from 15 to 50%. In the other States the figures for the two Blocks are comparable. The overall percentage of school-going children is the highest in Kerala (58%) followed by Assam (57%), Bombay (47%), U.P. (28%), Madras (27%), and Bihar (26%). One notices that Madras which has otherwise a higher percentage of educated adults in our sample, for other studies has a very low proportion of Harijan Children in schools. From the qualitative material collected by our investigators it is clear that if there is one thing on which the Harijans have pinned their hopes of progress, it is education. This is the one programme to which they respond intelligently and spontaneously. These facilities now available for their children going to schools are mentioned by them most frequently as the factor because of which they expect a better future.

We wanted to see as to whether this enthusiasm for education was reflected in the number of those above the age of 15, who continued in schools. We found that in our entire sample of 273 families consisting of 612 persons above the age of 15, there was only one solitary individual who was in school or college. This has a serious implication in social development as it shows that in spite of the special facilities and scholarships made available by State Governments there are no Harijans (at least in the families constituting our sample) who go in either for high school or college education. But probably it is too early to arrive at any definite conclusion. The special facilities afforded by Government to Harijans can be expected to reflect themselves in a high proportion of school and college going adults only after the present primary school children have grown up to fifteen years and above.

Cultivation

Information was gathered as to whether there was an increase or decrease in the land owned and or cultivated by Harijan families in our sample. This increase, if any, referred specifically to the project period.

Of the 147 families who owned and cultivated their land 13 *i.e.*, 9% had added to the land that they owned during the project period. Among the non-owning tenant cultivators four out of 50 *i.e.*, 8% families had added to land that they cultivated. Some of the families in these two groups are common but even assuming that there was no overlapping in the two categories the total number of families who had at all increased their units of cultivation is as small as 17 out of 207.

In Bombay and Madras not a single Harijan respondent reports having increased his holding. Bihar has 7 such respondents and U.P., Kerala and Assam have 2 each.

Employment

Data were obtained for the total adult population—male as well as female—to know whether or not they were employed at the time of interview.

There were altogether 612 adults (232 male and 380 female) in the sample studied. Of these 69.3% were employed and 30.7% of the families were not necessarily without means of subsistence. But they do indicate that 31% of adults among Harijans were not employed. When we analyse these figures separately for the two sexes we find that 85.9% of the males and 59.2% of the females were employed.

If we make Statewise comparison we find that Assam, Bombay and Kerala have the highest percentages of employed Harijans with 90%, 79.6% and 74.4% respectively. Madras has the lowest percentage of them employed with 45.2% and Assam has 70.1, and U.P. has 50.4. After asking this question regarding whether or not they were employed on the actual day of interview, a more general question was asked as to whether they felt that they had generally had better employment during the preceding two or three years (approximately the period of project activity).

View of Present Employment Opportunities

It was found that of the 273 respondents interviewed, 22% felt that they had had better employment during the immediate two or three years before then. On the other hand there were 19% in the sample who said that their employment opportunities had become worse during the same period. 55% of the sample said that there had been no change.

The Statewise distribution of respondents who say that their employment conditions have bettered during the last two or three years shows considerable variation from State to State. In Bombay and U.P. we find 48 and 44%

of the respondents respectively saying that their employment opportunities have improved. In Madras not a single respondent seems to feel that his prospects have improved. In Kerala only 8% find such improvement and actually the percentage of those who say that their employment opportunities have become worse during the last two or three years is the highest in Kerala. This percentage is 52 as compared with the general average of 19.

A question was also asked of the respondents about the employment opportunities for other members of their families. The distribution of replies to this question is very similar to the distribution of replies to the question analysed above. It is found that 50% of the respondents in all States say that the position has been very much the same, 16.1% (5% less as compared with the earlier question) say that their prospects have improved, 17.9% (as compared with 19% in response to the earlier question) say that their opportunities have worsened during the last two or three years. The percentage of those who are unable to give a specific reply rises to 16.9% as compared with 4.1 per cent in the earlier question. This increase is natural, since the respondents were here asked about the employment opportunities of other family members.

Comparison of answers for different States brings out the same conclusion as earlier. Bombay has the highest percentage of respondents who say that members of their families have had better employment during the project period. U.P. comes next with 28% respondents in this category. All other States except Madras, have between 10 to 15% who give this response. Madras does not have even one respondent who says that the prospects of employment for members of his family have improved.

These figures are important not because they necessarily reflect the reality of the employment situation but because they give an indication of the subjective reality of the respondents. If, as indicated by our figures, an overwhelming majority of the Harijans feel that they have either had no better opportunities than before, than their general morale is going to be low and their attitude to the governmental effort at promoting their development is going to be unenthusiastic.

It is important to realise that attitudes to services and benefits are influenced not only by the actual benefits conferred but also to a great extent by the expectations aroused in the minds of the beneficiaries. We have no conclusive index of the actual number of families benefited by the various programmes, but the qualitative material collected by the interviewers has tended to show, that even where benefits have been conferred, they have been often perceived as being shorter than the promises that have been held out and the expectations that have been aroused. This situation has important implications for our propaganda and publicity policies as also for some of our social education programmes.

After ascertaining the number of respondents who felt that their employment opportunities had improved during the immediately preceding years we went on to ask another question about what they thought this improvement was due to. While all the answers given by the 22% respondents could be construed as resounding indirectly to the credit of the community development programmes, there were only 13 (22%) of those who specifically mentioned the community development programme as having been chiefly responsible for better employment opportunities. There were 23 *i.e.*, 40% other who mentioned the new constructional works that had been undertaken by Government as being responsible for better employment and the other 22% said that cultivation had improved and had created more employment. If we put all these groups together we see that an overwhelming majority of those who admit to have had better employment, attributed betterment directly or indirectly, to the operation of the community development projects.

Benefits of Loans and Grants Programmes

Respondents were asked as to whether they had themselves benefited by any of the loan or grant programme of the Government. Of the total sample only, 11% said that they had derived these benefits. The rest of the sample of respondents had derived no such benefits. When asked as to why they had not benefited by this programme it was found that 47% of them had no knowledge about the availability of such facilities. 26% replied that they had either not needed, or not applied for such benefits. 22% of them gave some other reasons and 4% said that they had applied for assistance, but had not obtained it.

The number of those in our sample who obtained the assistance is by itself not significant unless we can relate it to the total number of those of all communities who derive such benefits. This latter number is not available. Thus while we know that 11% of the Harijan families studied by us derived benefit from the loans and grants programme, we do not know whether this percentage is higher or lower than comparable percentage for the other caste groups.

We may however, learn something from the fact that even in areas which were primarily community development areas, as many as 47% of the respondents said that they were not aware of the availability of such loans and grants.

Making Statewise comparisons we find Kerala has the highest percentage of the Harijan sample families who had benefited by these programmes. They numbered 24% of the State sample. Assam had 14%, Bihar 10%, U.P. 6% and Madras 4% of such families in the respective samples.

Projects Benefits and Harijans—Views of BDOs

Information regarding whether the community projects had made any impact on the Harijan population was sought from the Harijans themselves and also in addition from the Block Development Officers. The opinions of the Block Development Officers about whether and in what manner the Harijan population has benefited from the Community Project Programmes serves as a frame of reference against which one can examine the opinions given by the respondents themselves.

Of the 21 Blocks Development Officers who were interviewed only 9 said that the Harijans had derived any considerable benefits. 11 said that they had received no special benefits. Those who said that the Harijans had benefited referred primarily to the additional employment provided through constructional activities and to the benefits provided through social education programmes. While neither of these two are activities intended specially for the Harijan population, it is partially true that, since a large proportion of manual labour in the rural areas is drawn from the Harijan population, this group is likely to benefit more than any other from the additional opportunities for employment provided by constructional works. It may also be true that because of the greater backwardness of the Harijan population in terms of education, they benefited specially by the adult literacy programme which was organised as a part of social education activities.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the general nature of the community project programmes is not such as to prove specially beneficial to a non-agricultural community. 6 out of the 11 Block Development Officers who said that the Harijans did not benefit by Community Project Programmes mentioned this particular factor. They said that their programmes did not directly touch the landless population. Another fact mentioned by 8 out of the Block Development Officers was the poverty and ignorance of the Harijan population which generally put them in a relatively less advantageous position from the point of view of deriving maximum benefits from project programmes. As stated by some of the respondents themselves and also by a few of the Block Development Officers, the Harijans have usually no land which can serve as a security for their benefiting by a programme of loans either for agricultural or for housing purposes. As was seen earlier, they do not, as a result, actively participate even in programmes of co-operation.

Participation in Social Education Activities

An area wherein Harijans suffer most is that of social discrimination. It was therefore thought important to find out whether any significant proportion of the Harijan population participated in the various programmes of social education organised in the villages. Two questions were asked of the respondents. One question related to the respondent himself. Here

he was asked whether he participated in any of these activities, and, if so, which activities he participated in. The other question asked was whether the members of his family participated in the social education activities and the type of activities in which they participated.

Of the respondents themselves, 89 *i.e.*, 32.6% participated in social education activities.* The percentage of respondents rises to 40% when the question is broadened by asking whether members of their families participate in these activities.

The distribution of participation by types of activities is also found to be fairly comparable for the two groups. In the case of the respondents, we find that 66% of the respondents who participate, do so in community centre activities. The same percentage holds true for the families of respondents. The proportion of those who participate in Youth Clubs is 33% for the respondents and 30% of their families. Those who participate in literacy activities total 27% among the respondents and 33% among their families.

We also note that among those who participate, the activity that is most popular is that provided by the community centres. Youth Clubs and the literacy classes enlist about 30% participation from among the respondents as well as from their families. The activity which elicits the least enthusiasm seems to be the young farmers' club which has the smallest percentage of participants not exceeding 6. The relatively low percentage of participants in the case of young farmers' clubs is probably understandable in view of the very small proportion of Harijans who are owner-cultivators. As agricultural labourers they have no incentive for becoming members of farmers' clubs.

All those who did not participate in community centre activities were asked why they did not do so. 48% of them said that they did not participate because none of these activities were organised in their villages.† 15% said that they had no time. 14% said that they were illiterate and hence could not join in a number of these activities. 3% said that they were not welcome. 5% pleaded old age. 9% said that they were not aware of these activities and others gave various other reasons.

Attitudes of non-Harijans to Participation by Harijans in Community Centre Activities

The sample selected for the study of people's attitudes to community projects consisted wholly of non-Harijans. It was therefore thought

*This percentage figure is not lower than that for the non-Harijan population. Actually the most relevant percentage would be of those who participate in Social Education activities from among those who could have participated in them. The latter group consisting of those in whose villages the activities are organised.

†If we take this group out then the percentage of participants to those who could have participated can be obtained. This percentage works out to 48. This is very much lower than the corresponding percentage of 75, for non-Harijans as seen from the data presented in the Section on Community Centres.

opportune to find out the attitudes of the respondents towards participation by Harijans in the Community Centre activities. The significance of their attitude on this point in the attainment of community centre objectives need hardly be laboured.

57% of the respondents said that Harijans should also participate in Community Centre activities. This proportion of respondents who answer favourably would probably have been satisfactory 10 years ago. In the present context, it must be considered to be rather disappointing. What is even more disconcerting is the obvious unawareness on the part of those who do not give this favourable response of the undesirability of their attitude, from the point of view of the accepted goals of our national life. They seem to attempt to escape giving negative reply by making no reply at all. Thus we find that the group which is not committal constitutes 40% of the total number of respondents. The largest number of those who do not reply comes from Bombay. This is somewhat surprising and makes one doubt as to whether the question was fully canvassed in the particular Block. The highest number of those who gave favourable response comes from the States of U.P. and Bihar with 88% and 80% respectively. Madras has the smallest percentage of those who favour the admission of Harijans to Community Centres barring, of course, Bombay where none seems to have given any reply.

The general picture that emerges in response to this question is hardly such as to allow us to be complacent about the progress made in the direction of the removal of untouchability.

Membership of Cooperatives

The promotion of cooperation and cooperative societies has been accepted by Government as a programme demanding high priority. An assessment of the acceptance of cooperative societies was therefore considered useful. Questions on this subject were asked both in the study of Harijans as also in the study of people's attitudes. Of the Harijan sample studied for purposes of this survey, it was found that 18% were members of cooperative society of one type or another. The percentage of membership was the highest in Bihar and was the lowest in Kerala with 31% and 4% members respectively. The data from the study of people's attitudes show that the percentage of cooperative membership among the non-Harijans is higher by 10%. The difference is significant.

An 18% membership is not very high for areas which have been selected for development purposes. We were, however, interested in knowing how many of these members enrolled themselves as such before the project period and how many after project work had begun. It was found that nearly 2/3rd had become members after the project work had started and

only 1/3rd members were prior to it. This is encouraging, if it is also true for the other members for whom the question was not canvassed. It implies that though the cooperative effort as a whole is something new in this area and though the general membership is low, a good part of it has been enrolled subsequent to the intensive development efforts, begun during the project period.

The overall low proportion of membership can probably be understood in the context of the type of cooperative societies existing in the villages. Most of the societies are of the nature of multi-purpose credit societies focussing primarily on the needs of the cultivators. Harijans are primarily agricultural labourers or artisans and are naturally not likely to benefit much by participating in these societies. The non-members were asked why they had not become members of cooperative societies. 42% of those who could have become members of cooperative societies, and yet are not members, said that they did not enroll themselves as members because, they were not interested or because the societies had not met any of their needs. 14% of them said that in the absence of any landed property, they were not eligible to be members of a cooperative society. What this latter group probably meant was that landless persons could not obtain any benefits of credit facilities in the absence of property which could be held as a security by the society.

Taking all the data together it is observed that the progress of cooperatives has been uneven in different States and between different areas even in the same State.

Participation in Constructional Projects

Respondents were asked about whether they had helped in any constructional projects undertaken as a part of the community programmes in their villages. 58% of the respondents answered in the affirmative. While this percentage may by itself appear satisfactory it will be seen to be much lower as compared with the percentage of the village community as a whole as revealed by the Peoples' Participation and Peoples' Attitudes studies.

Harijans' participation in construction works was highest in U.P. (94%) and lowest in Madras (26%). Bihar had a participation of 64%, Bombay 36%, Kerala 50% and Assam 66%.

The respondents who had participated were also asked about the nature of participation or contribution made by them. Free labour was given by 94% of the respondents, cash contributions were made by 13.3% of them and contributions in kind by 8.8%. Cash contribution was restricted only to the three States of Assam, Bombay and U.P. Here again, it was only in Bombay that the percentage of those who gave cash contribution was actually higher than the percentage of those who gave free labour.

A question was also asked from the respondents as to whether different works completed in the villages had been beneficial to all the villagers or to only a section of them. 227 of the 275 respondents answered the question. 77% of the total number of respondents considered the projects to have been beneficial whereas only 5.2% considered them to have been beneficial to a small section of the community. The rest of the 17% did not reply to the question. The number of those who thought that community projects serve sectional interests was the highest (23.5%) in Madras.

Compared with participation figures for the village community as a whole, participation of Harijans is found to be low. A number of reasons have variously been given for this situation. It is to be remembered that very often the only way in which the Harijan population can participate is by giving physical labour. To do this deprives them of a whole day's wages and involves a much greater sacrifice on their part than is called for from the relatively better of families.

Training Programmes for Artisans

Respondents were first asked about whether they know if the training centres for artisans had been started in their respective Blocks. Only about 106 individuals answered this question. Of these 64% answered the question incorrectly and 36% knew whether or not such training centres had been established in their Block.

Of the 38 respondents who had knowledge of the starting of training centres, 28 have some definite knowledge about what the nature of the training programme is. The rest have only a general idea about it. Most of those who know about training centres, however, think that the training centre will prove beneficial to the village artisans. We may note here, however, that only two out of the 11 Blocks studied have such training programme for artisans. It was not surprising, therefore, that on the whole the respondents were either ignorant of, or indifferent to, this programme. Those who are aware of the programmes felt that their earnings would go up if they learnt additional crafts or improved methods of leather work. They also felt that skilled artisans could then meet the requirements of the villages at cheaper rates.

Attitude to Community Projects

The questionnaire for the Harijan respondents was so framed that in the first half of it, there was no direct mention of Community Projects or National Extension Service Programmes. All the information regarding employment, education, membership of cooperative societies, etc., was asked without a specific mention of the Community Projects. Subsequently, a question was asked about whether they were aware of the Community Project programmes operating in their area. 65% of the respondents were

found to be aware of the programme; the rest 35% were not aware of the term Community Project or Community Development or its equivalent in the corresponding Indian language. Considering that nearly all the Harijan respondents were male adults who should normally have come in contact with Community Project officials and Community Project programmes, it is rather surprising to note that even two or three years of operation, 1/3rd of the Harijan respondents in the various blocks should have said that they did not know about these development programmes.

Following this, the respondents were explained what was meant by the community development programme and they were then asked as to what in their opinion these programmes had done for the Harijan population. 53% of the respondents said that they were not aware exactly what the programmes had done for the Harijans, 6% mentioned loans as one of the programme by which they had benefited, 5% mentioned other programmes. The rest of the respondents constituting 36% of the sample said that the programmes had conferred no benefits on them.

In the context of the replies to the earlier question, this high proportion of people who are either ignorant of or who think that the development projects have done nothing for the Harijans, seems rather unbelievably high. It emphasises the need for greater communication and interpretation of the aims as well as the achievements of the development programmes.

Attitude to future

All the respondents were asked as to whether they felt that their children were likely to have better future than the respondents themselves had. 51% of the respondents were hopeful and gave various reasons in support of their hopes. The largest single number seemed to base their hopes on the better facilities for education. They said that once education was within their reach they and their children could definitely have a better future. There were also other reasons of a more or less general character given by the respondents. Some said that there will be general economic improvement of the people as a result of the various schemes introduced by Government; others felt that loans and other facilities will become more easily available as time passes. Generally they seemed to feel that Government was taking more interest in their welfare than previously.

On the other hand there were those (25%) who saw a darker future ahead. They said the difficulties were increasing and that their children would not know even the little peace that they had. Some of the others saw danger in the rising prices of paddy without the corresponding increase in the daily wages. Two factors seemed to loom large in the minds of these pessimists : unemployment and failure of crops.

The balance of 24% of the respondents gave no specific reply to the question.

SECTION 6—THE BLOCK ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The study of the Block Advisory Committee was undertaken with a view to examine its composition and functioning in the various States. Originally the intention was to make detailed case studies which would provide an insight into the actual working of a certain number of committees, and enable one to see the decision making process at work and also the extent to which the official and non-official members seemed identified with the objectives for which the Committees were set up. This, however, could not be achieved because the investigators had a work load which did not allow them to give detailed attention to the qualitative aspect of the functioning of the Block Advisory Committees. They also found that in a short stay of fifteen days in a Block, they did not have a chance of really observing the working of the committees and that their study had necessarily to restrict itself more to the purely structural aspects of the committees.

The data used for this study was derived from three sources. The first consisted of an examination of the records of the Block Advisory Committee from the point of view of the number and frequency of its meetings and the attendance of the members at these meetings. The second consisted of information about their impressions of the work of the respective committees. The third source consisted of interviews with the official and non-official members of the Block Advisory Committees. Altogether ten Block Advisory Committees were studied. Forty-two official and fifty-two non-official members were interviewed in addition to all the BDOs of the 21 Blocks, studied.

Objectives of the BACs

The objectives of the BACs have been stated variously by the different State Governments. It is easy to discover a common frame of reference out of the Government orders issued for this purpose.

The committees are expected to advise in the planning and execution of the Community Development Programme.

They are also expected to help in enlisting popular support and participation.

The Committee is a purely advisory body having no executive functions. Its decisions, therefore, are not binding on administration.

Composition and Size of the BACs

The Block Advisory Committees are composed of some official members, and some non-officials, with the Collector or other corresponding official as the Chairman and the BDO as the Secretary. The size of these Block

Advisory Committees varies greatly from one State to another. In Kerala the average size of a BAC is made up by 18 members. In U.P. it is 150—160, in Assam it is 50, in Madras it is 24, in Bihar 29, and in Bombay 22. The variation in numbers is due primarily to the variation in the quota of non-official members but also to some extent due to the variation in the representation of the different departments. In Kerala the average official representation consists of 8 members, in Madras it rises to 17 and in U.P. to 21. For non-official members the variation is even greater. In Kerala there is an average of eight non-officials, in U.P. is 138. Generally the tendency is to have more non-officials than officials on the Committee. But this is not necessarily so everywhere. In Madras the number of official members is twice that of non-officials. The same is true in one of the Blocks in Kerala. In Bihar again we find an average of 15 officials to 13 non-officials.

With such great variation in number as well as the relative proportions of officials and non-officials, one wonders how the Block Advisory Committees in the different States can still be fulfilling the same functions. In U.P. the Chairman of every village Panchayat is an *ex-officio* member of the Block Advisory Committee. In some of the other States the Panchayats are not required to be at all represented on the Block Advisory Committee. While the need for associating Panchayats with the work of the BACs need hardly be argued, it is difficult to see how a committee of 160 members can at all function effectively. The nominations of non-officials to the Block Advisory Committee are made by the Government on the recommendations of the local administration. An effort is usually made to include in the committee all persons who have status in the community because of the public posts they hold. Yet there is no clear indication as to the exact categories of persons that should be canvassed before the finalising of the list of names. If the BAC is really to fulfil its advice giving functions, it must be composed of members who have the competence to give such advice. It is not unusual to find wholly illiterate and in many ways ignorant, persons being members of Block Advisory Committees. It is, of course, possible that some of the individuals exercise considerable influence in the local community and can offer help in enlisting popular support.

Some of the BDOs also made a suggestion that it may be worthwhile considering giving representation not only to the agricultural section of the community but also to those who practise cottage industries and other occupations. Some others suggested that women should be given representation on the BACs.

Some of the official and non-official members of the BACs also made similar suggestions suggesting that Headmasters of High Schools and representatives of Taluk Panchayat Associations should be members of the BACs.

Delay in Formation of BACs

A point that one cannot help noticing is the relatively long period that elapses between the date on which the work of the Block begins and the date on which the Block Advisory Committee is formed. It is noticed that in the present sample, the average period since the enunciation of Block activities is 3 years and 2 months. The average period during which Block Advisory Committees have been functioning is, however, only 2 years and 2 months. Thus about a year had elapsed before the Block Advisory Committees were formed. If one of the objectives of Block Advisory Committees is to enlist the cooperation of the people of the area in the planning of the various works of development the formation of BACs after the activities in the Block had already begun is wrong in principle. It would probably have been much better to form Block Advisory Committees prior to the beginning of Block activities in the given area, since this would have helped the Block staff to get an idea of the priorities given to various projects by the people themselves.

Functions of BACs

While the general objectives in the setting of the Block Advisory Committees have been given above, the specific functions that they perform can only be seen from the actual business transacted by them. It appears that the committees usually devote their time to review the progress of work, to considering allocation of budget proposals, to approving individual development schemes, and recommending supplies of equipment and grants-in-aid to individual villagers. The decisions taken by the BACs are not binding on administration and the BAC is not required to take responsibility for the execution of any of the programmes it has approved. The official and non-official members, as well as the BDOs suggested some modifications in the functions of the Advisory Committees. Some of them felt that the BACs should be given freedom to act within certain overall financial limitations. They wanted the BACs to be empowered to institute inquiries and if necessary to take action regarding any shortfalls in targets.

A few of the official members suggested that the BAC should allot work to extension officers. Another suggestion made was to empower the non-official members to supervise the work of the Gram Sevaks in their respective areas and to discuss their reports at the BAC meetings.

Another suggestion made by an official was to the effect that works approved by a BAC should be preceded without awaiting further administrative sanctions.

Meetings and Attendance of Members

The BACs meet at varying intervals of time. The number of meetings held in a given period of time has varied from 2 to 25 in different Blocks. The average number of meetings over a period of one year for the twelve

Blocks for which the information is available is between 3 and 4. In actuality some committees were found not to have met for more than six months at a stretch. It was found that the attendance at these meetings also varied from an average of 19%—62% between the different States. The total overall average of attendance was 43%.

Non-Official Members

In this study, we were naturally interested in finding out what the non-officials themselves felt about their membership in the BAC. One index of their attitude is their attendance at meetings. While an attendance at 53% of the meetings cannot be considered very satisfactory, it cannot at the same time be considered a very indifferent performance. This percentage of attendance varies from State to State, it is the lowest in U.P. with an average of 40% and the highest in Bihar with 75%.

The non-official members were also asked about the reasons because of which they did not usually attend meetings. 41 out of 52 non-officials interviewed answered the question. 55% of them gave lack of time or other pre-occupations as the major reason. 22% of them gave ill-health to be the reason. 15% of them said that they had been out of stations and the others various other reasons, such as lack of transport. When asked whether they read the minutes of meetings, 37 out of the 52 said that the minutes were circulated and they read them. The others incorrectly said that the minutes were not circulated. The proportion of those who read the minutes is the highest in Madras where 11 those interviewed said that they read the minutes. The same was true of Bombay. In Assam 7 out of 8. In Bihar 6 out of 10 respondents read the minutes, in Kerala 6 out of 11, in U.P. 5 out of 10 can be put under this category.

The members were also asked about whether they felt they could effectively influence decisions in the BACs. 75% of them said that they were able to influence the discussions in the committee, 8% felt that they could do so only to a limited extent and the rest 15% felt that they were not able to exercise any influence on the work of the BACs. This last is a small group and yet it is sufficiently large to deserve attention. The percentage of those who said that they could influence decisions in the BAC was highest in U.P.—90%. It was lowest in Kerala—64%. Bihar had the largest percentage of those who felt they were unable to influence the decisions made in the BAC—30%.

Official Members

As at the time of enquiry, the average duration of membership for the official members was 1 year and 7 months. Considering that some of the Blocks that were studied were in the post-intensive stage and that a majority were in the intensive stage, this duration is rather small. The duration of membership for officials in the National Extension Service Blocks is much smaller than this average. It was found to be only about 9 months.

This period has, however, to be related to the average period for which all the Block Advisory Committees have been in existence. For the present sample, this average works out to 2 years 2 months. It is thus seen, that the average period of membership is lower by about 5 months than the average period of the existence of the Block Advisory Committees. This difference, however, is small and it may, therefore, be assumed that there has not been too much of turn-over in the composition of the official membership of the Block Advisory Committee.

Attendance at Meetings by Official Members

One difficulty visualised in the case of official members related to the feasibility of their personally attending the meetings of the Block Advisory Committees. This difficulty, it was felt, would be all the greater in view of the fact that normally, the official members of the Block Advisory Committees are chosen from among the Heads of Departments at the district level. It was gratifying to find, therefore, that as many as 86% of the official members interviewed said that they usually attended the meetings themselves. This percentage was low in U.P. and Bihar—66%. In the other States the official members interviewed said that they personally attended all the meetings. Only one respondent said that he had often to depute one of his colleagues and subordinates to attend these meetings.

Official members of the Block Advisory Committees were asked about whether or not the non-official members were regular in their attendance of the Block Advisory Committee meetings. 57% of them thought that the non-officials were regular in their attendance. When the same question was asked about the official members, 67% of them said that the latter were regular in attendance. When they were asked about reasons for non-attendance, 9 out of 10 who said that attendance was not regular attributed it to lack of transport and lack of time. When the same question was asked with reference to the non-official members, 73% of them said that non-attendance was due to lack of interest. The non-official members themselves, as we have seen, attribute their inability to attend some of the meetings to lack of time rather than to lack of interest.

Decisions

An attempt was made to see as to what proportion of the decisions made by the BAC had actually been implemented. As on the data of study it was found that of the 53 decisions that the various BACs had taken, 39 were implemented. Bihar had the distinction of having 97% of the decisions of the BAC already executed. In Kerala 89% of them were implemented. The percentages for U.P., Bombay, Assam and Madras are 78, 68, 66 and 44 respectively. Of the others, a majority were awaiting governmental sanctions. The percentage of decisions actually executed is high allowing for the delay in obtaining of administrative sanctions.

Here we may note the procedure usually adopted in the meetings of the BACs. The proposals for various schemes are made by the BDO who has usually already discussed the items with the Chairman. In most cases, the Chairman is himself the final sanctioning authority for the projects. The non-official members do not normally bring forth any proposals of their own. The meetings of the BAC usually restricted themselves to accepting or rejecting the proposals put up by the Block administration. Since the non-official members do not themselves initiate new proposals, the possibility of the meeting approving of the new proposals, which were not acceptable to the administration is very remote. This procedure to a certain extent explains the relatively high proportion of decisions implemented by administration.

It has, however, the disadvantage of not fully involving all the members of the Committee. So long as individually all the members are not required or expected to take initiative in putting forth new proposals they are likely to regard their role as passive and to that extent will not fully feel identified with the work of the committee.

In this context it is actually gratifying that the percentage of average attendance at the various meetings is even as high as 43. A study of the attendance put in by individual non-official members who were interviewed shows that on an average each of them has attended about 53% of the meetings convened during his period of membership.

Usefulness of the BACs

A question was asked of the official respondents and the BDOs about whether they found the BACs to be at all useful. 17 BDOs out of 21 thought that the BACs served a useful purpose. Only one thought that it served no purpose and the rest of the three made no reply. When asked to comment upon the exact nature of the advantages and the disadvantages of having non-official members on the Committee the majority of the BDOs said that the Block Advisory Committee provided a contact between officials and non-officials, that they are an agency for associating people at the planning level, that they help in publicity and in securing public cooperation. The disadvantages or difficulties in associating non-officials, according to them, seemed to be the working of political factions within the BAC, the effort of some of the members to seek fulfilment of their sectional interest, the general ignorance of some of the members and the tendency of some to interfere in administration.

The official members, who were asked the question about the advantages and disadvantages of having BACs, answered by pointing more to the advantages than to the disadvantages of having BACs. Though each of them was free to, mention both advantages and disadvantages there were only two who mentioned any disadvantage at all. The others described the advantages variously as a link provided by the BAC between Government

and People, as a machinery of coordination between officials and non-officials, as providing a forum for public discussion etc. Only three of them mentioned the fact that the BAC also serves as a machinery for coordination of the activities of different Governmental departments.

When asked more specifically about the disadvantages of having non-officials, however, some of them mentioned the waste of time it involves, the unnecessary hindrances created by non-official members and their general lack of interest. But at the same time they saw advantages following from such association, in the guidance they received in local conditions, the help in fixing priorities etc. etc.

Thus about the usefulness of the Block Advisory Committee, there seems to be near unanimity. 92% of the official members felt that the Block Advisory Committees were useful in making plans of work for the Block.

86% of all official members said that the decisions taken in the Block Advisory Committees are usually implemented. 90% said that they are not implemented and 5% said that some of the decisions are implemented. The officials in Assam, Bombay, Madras and U.P. were unanimous in their opinion that the BACs were useful. In Kerala and Bihar there were a few members who thought differently.

SECTION 7—PEOPLES' ATTITUDE TO COMMUNITY PROJECTS

Community Projects have two objectives. One is to achieve some measure of social and economic development of the communities in which the projects operate and the other is to set such processes into operation that the work of development is progressively taken over by the community itself. The role of the Governmental agency is, therefore, two-fold. On the one hand, it functions as an agency which supplies resources and technical help. On the other hand, it has to ensure that these resources are so given that the process of helping stimulates self-help on the part of the community itself. It is the latter role that is of much greater and more far-reaching significance of the two. The attainment of physical targets is important but not enough. If our programme of community development has any special significance, that significance lies not in the number of services that are offered, or the number of villages that are benefited nor even in the speed with which the development takes place. It lies in our objective and effort of arousing the rural community to democratic action so that it will function like a healthy community which does not wait to be driven and goaded but takes initiative in utilising the resources which are available and in procuring and in creating new resources which may not be easily forthcoming.

From this point of view, the attitude of the rural community towards community projects, the identification of its members with the objectives of the community projects movement, their awareness of their own role and their readiness to function in that role, are very important aspects that need careful study. For this reason, the study of peoples' attitudes is by far the most important of all the six or seven studies in this group.

In the study of Peoples' Attitudes an attempt has been made to assess generally the importance attached by villagers to various aspects of the community projects programmes, their readiness to utilise the new facilities and to accept the new practices, their attitude to the officials with whom they come in contact, their thinking about who should and who will take responsibility for continuing the many programmes and services initiated by the Community Projects, their reasons for accepting some and rejecting other facilities and programmes, and finally their aspirations and expectations for the future against the background of the developmental activity that has taken place in their community.

Distribution of Respondents by Age, Occupational Status and Education

Altogether 573 respondents were interviewed for purposes of this study. 100 respondents each were selected from Assam, Bihar, Kerala and Madras. 123 respondents were selected from U.P. and 50 from Bombay. On an

average 50 respondents were selected from each Block. The study was conducted in two Blocks from each of the 6 States except Bombay where it was restricted only to one Block.

The occupational distribution of the 573 respondents was as follows:—

	per cent
Absentee landlords	0·7
Owner Cultivators (Large)	5·1
Owner Cultivators (Medium)	33·7
Owner Cultivators (Small)	28·4
Tenant cultivators	8·9
Cultivator-cum-labourers	4·4
Agricultural labourers	5·9
Those in service	2·8
Artisans	3·7
Businessmen and shopkeepers	3·3
Others	3·1
TOTAL	100·0

We notice from the above distribution that the bulk of the sample was made up by the medium and small owner cultivators. The next large groups were those of tenant cultivators, agricultural labourers and large owner cultivators in that order. The rest of the groups individually constituted less than 5% of the sample.

It is not known whether this sample corresponds to the occupational distribution in the general population of these 6 States. Since, however, there is no known bias, that has entered the selection of this sample, it is assured that it corresponds closely at least to the Block populations from which it is drawn.

Some variations in the occupational distribution from one State to another are striking and need to be noted. In U.P. our sample is made up of 60% medium sized owner cultivators. In Kerala this percentage drops to 7. Madras also has only 16% of medium sized owner cultivators. In both these States the difference is made up by relatively larger proportion of small owner cultivators and tenant cultivators. This difference in the relative proportion of owner cultivators (medium and small) and tenant cultivators from one State to another, may in some respects be crucial. It will be worth remembering the very high proportion of medium sized cultivators in the U.P. Blocks and the very small proportion of the same group in the sample from Kerala and Madras, while reading the rest of the report. It makes one wonder as to whether this difference does not partly account for the difference in the kind of performance in the Community Project Blocks from these States.

From the point of view of education, the distribution of the present sample does not seem to correspond with the situation in the country as a whole. Of the total sample of 573 respondents, 25% were educated beyond the primary stage. 34% were literate in the sense of being able to barely read and write, and 40% were illiterate. This shows that 59% of the sample for the present study was made up of persons who were at least literate. This is obviously a very high proportion even for the urban areas not to speak of our villages. Even the proportion of those who have gone beyond the primary school stage is much higher than can be considered normal for the country as a whole. One must assume that the sample is representative and unbiased. One must also assume that the collection of data is relatively free from error. If so, the high proportion of the educated and literate respondents may partly have to be attributed to the success of project activity and partly to the possible preponderance of the younger generation in our sample of respondents.

Immediately this high proportion of educated respondents has one significance for us. It means that the respondents in this study could be expected to be more aware and knowledgeable about things that are happening in the community. It could mean also that they would be more critical in their appraisal of events.

The Statewise variation in the percentages of the educated and literate may also be noted. Speaking only of those who have gone beyond the primary school stage, one finds that Assam has the highest percentage of such persons—40%. U.P. has the least 13%. The other States have all about 24—26% such persons in their samples. If one turns to those who are only literate, one finds Kerala has the highest percentage of such persons in its sample—60%. U.P. has 37% of them, Madras 32%, Assam 27%, Bihar and Bombay 20% each. Putting the two groups together one finds that the six States can be arranged in the following descending order of literate and educated individuals on the basis of our sample : Kerala, Assam, Madras, U.P., Bihar and Bombay.

Before turning to an examination of individual questions and the responses it may be useful to analyse also, the caste composition of the sample of respondents. The data collected show that 53% of the sample is made up of Caste Hindus, 29% of Backward Classes, 1.3% of Harijans, 4.9% of tribals, 6.1% of Muslims, 3.1% Christians and 3.1% others. The negligible proportion of Harijan respondents is explained by the fact that the Harijan population was sampled separately for the study of the Harijan community.

The variation in the caste and community compositions of the Blocks from different States shows that Madras has the highest percentage of Caste Hindus—83%, followed by Bihar 59%, Bombay 58%, Assam 48%,

Kerala 42% and U.P. 33%. The Backward Classes are 61% of the sample in U.P., 34% in Assam, 28% in Kerala, 15% in Madras, 13% in Bihar and nil in Bombay. The Kerala Blocks have the most cosmopolitan population made up of 42% Caste Hindus, 28% Backward Classes, 12% Muslims and 18% Christians.

It would be worth considering whether these varying characteristics of the samples from the different States have a bearing on the quality of achievements and the attitudes of the people in the respective Blocks.

Types of Benefits derived by the Respondents

The respondents were asked a question about the benefits that they had personally derived from Community Project Programmes. They were free to mention more than one benefit. The benefits mentioned by the respondents without any suggestion were listed first; and then other benefits, that they mentioned after probing, were listed separately. The frequency with which various types of benefits have mentioned by the respondents may in a limited sense be said to reflect the order of importance given by the respondents to the various services offered by the project authorities. It has been noticed that the supply of better seeds, manures and the building of roads, occupy the pride of place having been mentioned by 31%, 29% and 20% of the respondents respectively. Cattle inoculation, improved methods of cultivation, pesticides, drinking water wells, vaccination, community centres, libraries, co-operatives and youth clubs follow in that particular order with a percentage varying from 15 to 3%.

From the data collected it has also been observed that the frequency distribution for all States together does not necessarily tally with the frequency distribution for individual States. The difference between the two sets of distribution is worth noting. If one takes the item of better seeds which was mentioned as a benefit derived by them by the highest number of respondents for all States taken together, one finds in Bihar, this item is mentioned by 54% of the respondents, in Madras and Kerala it is mentioned by 3% and 15% of the respondents for each of these States. It is worth noting, however, that even in those States, where supply of better seeds is mentioned by a small percentage of respondents the item of manure and fertiliser supply is still mentioned by a relatively large percentage of respondents. If, therefore, the two items of better seeds and manures are taken together, between them, they occupy the first place in the services mentioned by respondents for each of the States.

The variation in respect of the other items may also be noted. Pesticides are mentioned by 20% respondents in Assam and by only 5% in U.P. Improved implements are mentioned by 9% in U.P. and 1% in Kerala and by none at all in Madras and Bombay. Improved methods of cultivation are mentioned by 28% in Bihar, by 2% in Madras and by 1% in Kerala.

Cattle inoculation and vaccination is mentioned by 46% in U.P. and none at all in Madras and Bombay. Similarly drinking water wells are not mentioned by any one in Bombay and Kerala while they are mentioned by 27% of the respondents in Assam. Inoculation, youth clubs and co-operatives find no mention at all from any of the respondents in Bombay, Kerala and Madras. These differences should reflect the differing emphasis given to different items from one State to another. Some of the differences can be anticipated. Thus drinking water wells may not be necessary in Kerala and vaccination of cattle may not be a particularly new programme in Bombay. On the other hand not all the differences are occasional by the differences in the conditions. Thus, youth clubs and co-operatives are no less necessary in Bombay and Kerala than they are in Bihar.

Bombay has the highest number of items, which are not mentioned by any of the respondents. These items are: Improved implements, cattle inoculation, drinking water wells, vaccination, roads, community centres, youth clubs and co-operatives. Even those who mentioned manures, schools and libraries are less than 5% of the respondents for that State.

Among all the six States, Bombay thus stands out as having the largest percentage of respondents who mentioned only one or at the most 2 benefits. It is difficult to say as to whether the high level of development prior to the beginning of Community Projects, is partially responsible for this small number of people who mentioned any benefits from Community Projects. In the alternative, this small percentage would imply a smaller degree of effectiveness on the part of Project authorities or at any rate a lesser degree of appreciation on the part of villagers of all the benefits that the Community Projects have to offer to them.

Kerala and Madras follow next in items of the number items which are not mentioned at all by any of the respondents as also in the very small number of those who mentioned the other benefits. On the other hand, U.P. probably stands out by the relatively larger number who mentioned the various items of benefit. Assam and Bihar come between U.P. at one end and the above mentioned three States at the other.

Distribution of Respondents by Occupational Groups and Types of Benefits obtained by them

The services or benefits that people utilise depend largely upon their own needs. These needs in turn depend upon the status and occupation of the individual concerned. The distribution of respondents, therefore, in terms of their occupational groups and types of benefits that they have obtained would be useful in showing us the selective preference shown by different occupational groups for different types of facilities. It would also

help us in seeing whether one group rather than another tends to use the project facilities more consistently.

In nearly all the facilities that have anything to do with agriculture and animal husbandry one notices that there is a direct relationship between the size of landholding for a group and the proportion of respondents from that group that derive benefit from the particular facility. Thus we see that 66% of the large owner-cultivators, 46% of the medium owner-cultivators, and 22% of the small owner-cultivators derive benefit from the programme of improved seed supply. The same is found to be true about manures and fertilizers, improved methods of cultivation and pesticides. This implies that the better off group of farmers tends to be represented in higher proportion among the beneficiaries of agricultural facilities. In other words, the better off a cultivator is, the more likely is it that he will figure in the list of beneficiaries from project programmes.

It must be clearly understood that in the above paragraph we are speaking of the percentage of beneficiary from among the total number of respondents for a particular occupational group. We are not speaking of absolute numbers. Thus though the large owner-cultivators have the highest percentage of beneficiaries, they are not the largest single group of those who benefit. In terms of absolute numbers, there are only 19 large owner-cultivators who benefit from programme of improved seeds as compared with 87 medium cultivators.

In this connection there is another point that is strikingly noticeable. Among all the occupational categories based upon agriculture, the tenant cultivator figures the least in proportion to his size among the beneficiaries. This is particularly true with reference to supply of better seeds, manures, implements, improved methods of cultivation, cattle inoculation and vaccination. As a tenant-cultivator who has no land of his own he is probably reluctant to invest additionally on such facilities unless the land owner shares the cost with him. Actually he figures below every other group. Another reason for this situation may be that he has no land against which he can borrow credit either in cash or kind. The cultivator-labourer who may be smaller operator has got the advantage of his small piece of land. In all these items, the group of respondents who are cultivator-cum-labourers, figures better than the tenant cultivators.

Equally surprisingly, the group of persons who are employed in 'service' figure very prominently in the group of beneficiaries for the item of better seeds and manures. This may be due to the fact that though the primary occupation of this group is given as 'service', they are also probably land owners. Similarly, the artisan and businessman also figure more prominently than the tenant cultivator in the group of people who benefit by

supply of better seeds and manures. The same explanation may be tenable for these groups also.

If one turns from the use of agricultural services to the utilising of community centres, one notices a difference. The overall percentage of beneficiaries is considerably smaller. What is more the tenant cultivator who did very poorly in respect of benefiting by programmes of better seeds and manures, is found to be the largest single group of beneficiary. As against large, medium and small cultivators, who total only about 6 to 7% among the beneficiaries from Community centre, the tenant cultivators are found to be represented to an extent of 20%.

The same is true in respect of roads and communications. Here again the tenant cultivator is represented by 31% of his group whereas the owner cultivators are represented to the extent of about 20%.

Respondent's Opinion about whether the Village as a whole benefited by C.P. Programmes

Apart from whether the individual respondents had personally benefited by project programmes, it was considered important to find out whether they thought that the village as a whole had benefited by these programmes. The question was asked generally and not in respect of any individual programmes such as seeds, manures etc.

The data collected reveal that an overwhelming proportion of the respondents feel that the project programmes have been useful to their village as a whole. The average percentage of those who give this positive response is 88 for all Blocks together. The Statewise distribution, however, shows some differences. Whereas in U.P. every single respondent has this positive faith, in Bihar only 72% give this reply. Madras and Kerala also come very high in respect of proportion of respondents who feel that project programmes are useful to their villages as a whole—92% and 91% respectively.

The distribution of those who gave the positive response in terms of their respective occupational groups was also obtained. It was found that the cultivator-cum-labourer was probably the most sceptical of whether the villagers as a whole had benefited by project programmes. As compared with the overall averages of 88%, only 48% of cultivators-cum-labourers said that the project programmes benefited the village as a whole. This was also the group which had the largest proportion (24%) of those who definitely said that the project programmes did not benefit the village as a whole.

This seems somewhat surprising when one considers that the cultivator labourer is among the groups that has been represented well among the beneficiaries of project facilities. Equally surprising is the fact that the

tenant-cultivator who was considerably under-represented among the beneficiaries, replies as a group that the project programmes benefit the village as a whole. Respondents who are businessmen are the next largest group among those who feel that the projects have not benefited the village as a whole. The distribution for other occupational groups shows that at least 80-100% of them feel that the whole village has benefited.

One wonders whether the inverse relationship between the proportion of those who benefit themselves and the proportion who believe that the programmes benefit the village as a whole that one notices in respect of the tenant-cultivators and cultivator labourers is not related to their own expectations from the programmes rather than to the actual benefits that they derive. It could appear that the cultivator-labourer who seems to have more in common with the owner-cultivator than with the tenant-cultivator tends to compare himself with the former category and thus feels more dissatisfied. The tenant-cultivator who does not himself benefit from the project programmes even to the extent that the cultivator-labourer does, is probably less dissatisfied because as a group his expectations have not been aroused.

On the basis of the tables examined so far it shall be obvious that considering the village population as a whole the owner-cultivators, large, medium and small altogether represent the largest single group of beneficiaries of the facilities made available by community projects. The tenant-cultivator and the agricultural labour together with the other non-agricultural groups benefit relatively less by these facilities. The Blocks, therefore, from Madras and Kerala where the combined proportion of the tenant-cultivators and agricultural-labourers is as high as 22% and 36% of the sample, the general level of benefit derived would be low. At the same time these are the two States which have relatively higher proportion of literate and educated respondents whose awareness and expectations would be higher than their counterparts in other States. This situation cannot be conducive to a very high morale and confidence of these groups in project-programmes.

Contrarily, U.P. has the smallest percentage of tenant-cultivators and agricultural labourers at least in the Blocks that were studied for purposes of this study. U.P. has also the highest percentage (60) of medium sized cultivators. This composition of the population seems particularly favourable for success of project programmes.

It would be important to see whether this trend is reflected in the rest of the portion of this study. In the study of peoples' participation a similar trend had been observed. And in the study of the Harijan population it was noted that Madras—one of the two States mentioned above—was very nearly always in the last two of six States in terms of proportion of respondents benefited. If this trend is common it should be reflected in the distribution of positive and negative attitudes towards the Community Project Movement in the respective States.

Knowledge of Gram Sevaks

A good deal of the success of project programmes depends upon the Gram Sevak and the amount of effort that he can put into his work. Two questions were, therefore, asked of the respondents which gave some idea of the extent to which Gram Sevak was known and found useful by the respondents.

The first question related only to the knowledge of the respondents about who the Gram Sevak was. Statistics regarding distribution by occupational groups and by States of those who know their respective Gram Sevaks were collected. Taking all the States and occupational groups together one finds that the Gram Sevak is known to about 83% of the respondents. He is not known to about 15% and the rest have not replied the question. The fact that such a large percentage of people know the Gram Sevak in each village is very gratifying though one would have wished that all people know him. The variation in this percentage from State to State needs, however, to be noted. U.P. has the highest percentage (99%) of those who know him. Bombay on the other hand has the smallest percentage (58%) of those who know the Gram Sevak. The only other State which has a small percentage of Gram Sevak knowing respondents is Kerala. In that State 64% respondents know the Gram Sevak. In all the other States, the percentage is higher than 80%.

The variation by occupational groups in the percentage of those who know the Gram Sevak is also interesting. The two groups that have the smallest percentages of those knowing the Gram Sevak consist of the tenant-cultivator and agricultural labourer—76% and 44% respectively. In the category of agricultural labourers, the percentage of those who do not know the Gram Sevak is actually higher than those who know him.

The large owner-cultivator, the cultivator-*cum*-labourer and the medium sized cultivator groups know him best, the respective percentage being 100%, 93% and 90%.

The second question asked about the Gram Sevak was whether he had met the respondents at least once to discuss his problems with him. It is found that the Gram Sevaks have contacted at least 70% of the respondents in this study. This percentage varies from State to State. It is the highest in U.P., where 85% of the respondents have been contacted by the Gram Sevaks and the lowest from Madras where only 46% of the respondents have been so contacted. In Bombay, Kerala, Assam and Bihar, 62, 71, 72 and 76 per cent. of the respondents were contacted respectively.

When one looks at the occupational distribution of the respondents one notices that the cultivator-*cum*-labourer together with the owner-cultivator is in the group which has a more than 70% of those respondents contacted by Gram Sevak and tenant cultivator together with the artisan and

businessman having the smallest number of respondents contacted by the Gram Sevak. In the group of cultivator-cum-labourers 92% of the respondents have been personally contacted by the Gram Sevak. For the tenant cultivators this percentage drops to 49.

Here one notices a light reversal of the earlier trend whereby the larger cultivators benefited more by the project facilities. In this case, the cultivator labourer is the largest single benefitting group followed by the medium sized cultivator and small cultivator in that order.

It should, however, be noticed that as a rule, the Gram Sewak's contact seemed limited primarily to the agricultural groups in the rural community. His contacts with the artisan group is limited to 48% of the respondents. His contacts with business are naturally even less—42%.

Types of Help Obtained from Gram Sevak

After questions of knowledge and contact, the respondents were requested to give the actual nature of assistance obtained by them from the Gram Sevak. The types of assistance obtained by them were grouped into 2 major categories—one in the nature of help in obtaining supplies of particular commodities and the other in the nature of help in obtaining guidance and information. Altogether, 54.4% of the respondents said that they had obtained one type of assistance or another from the Gram Sevak. Of the respondents the percentage of respondents who had obtained help was the highest for U.P. and the lowest for Madras (78% and 23% respectively). In Kerala and Bombay as in Madras, less than 50% respondents had obtained assistance from the Gram Sevak—39% and 44% respectively.

Among the types of assistance, the highest percentage of respondents (63%) had received assistance consisting of instructions in better methods of cultivation. 58% had obtained fertilizers through the Gram Sevaks. 56% had obtained seeds, 56% had received information about loans, 44% had obtained the service of a veterinarian, 32% had obtained pesticides, 6% had obtained improved poultry and fingerlings and 2% had received other services.

In U.P. nearly all the types of services except the procuring of pesticides and improved poultry were mentioned by as many as 60 to 70%; in Bombay, again, though the percentage of those who have obtained the benefits is relatively low, the number of benefits obtained by each of this group of beneficiaries is fairly high. Out of the 22 respondents who have obtained help from the Gram Sewak, more than 80% have derived at least 4 types of assistance each from the Gram Sevak. This means that in this particular Block in Bombay the benefits and services given by the Gram Sewak are given in a large measure to a smaller number of the people as compared with the other States.

Adoption of Improved Facilities

It has been noted that the largest single group of those who had obtained the services of the Gram Sevak mentioned his advice in better methods of cultivation as the benefit received by them. The proportion of respondents who have actually adopted in practice particular improved methods of cultivation would, therefore, be an index of the extent to which the Gram Sevak has been effective. The data collected in this connection relate to the total number of respondents for whom the particular method (the Japanese method of paddy cultivation) could be considered to be applicable. This latter number is probably larger than the number of respondents who were personally advised by the Gram Sevak in particular.

It is noticed that there were altogether 280 respondents for whom the Japanese method of paddy cultivation could be considered applicable. Of this number, 24% of the respondents say that they have adopted the method whereas 73% say that they have not. 3% of the respondents gave no reply. The respondents who said that they had not adopted the method were asked reasons as to why they had failed to do so. 21% of them said that the method was uneconomic, 12% said that they did not have the necessary facilities for the use of this method, 10% were not interested and 9% stated that the method was not suitable.

Looking at the Statewise distribution, one finds that the Japanese method of paddy cultivation had been accepted by the highest proportion of the respondents (49%) in Bihar and by the smallest percentage in Kerala (6%). One cannot consider the data on acceptance of the Japanese method as necessarily an indication of the failure of the programme. It certainly means that there is still much ground to be covered before the results can be considered satisfactory.

A similar question was asked about the adoption of line sowing as a method of cultivation. Here we find that 56% of the relevant respondents had adopted the method. The highest level of acceptance was in U.P. where 70% of the relevant respondents had accepted the method.

Analysis of cultivator respondents who have benefited by one or more of the agricultural programmes sponsored by the project reveals that the programmes of supply of improved seeds and of fertilizers are the most commonly used of the facilities provided by the project authorities and that supply of improved implements is among the least utilised facilities.

The cultivator respondents who did not benefit by any of the facilities were asked the reasons for their not utilising the benefits. The answers to this question have been classified separately for each type of agricultural benefit.

Better Seeds

The total number of cultivator respondents who had not obtained better seeds in this category was 186. Of this number, 57% said that they did not need these benefits. 16% said that there had been difficulties in obtaining it. 6% could not afford it and the rest gave various other reasons.

Manures

The total number of cultivator respondents who did not benefit by the supply of manure was 199. 41% of them said that they do not need this particular benefit. 21% mentioned difficulties in obtaining the benefit. 21% said that they could not afford the cost involved in it. 17% gave other reasons.

Pesticides

Here again, the largest number, viz., 63% said that they did not need the use of pesticides. 22% said that they experienced difficulties.

Very nearly the same pattern of responses is met with in regard to other agricultural benefits. One thus notices that the majority of those who did not use the benefits say that they do not need them. Whether this absence of need indicates that there are independent sources from which they obtain these benefits or whether it indicates lack of conviction on the part of the respondents about the utility of the particular benefits is not clear. If the latter interpretation is correct then it means that the Gram Sewak has much more work to do in educating the cultivator in the usefulness of the services and benefits that the project has to offer.

It may also be noted that consistently about 16 to 20 per cent of the non-benefiting respondents mentioned their having experienced difficulties in obtaining the services. The nature of difficulties in obtaining the services, had not been specified. But this is an area where the project authorities need to take further enquiries. For this is a group of potential users who know the value of the service offered and are willing to use it if they can obtain it. Here again, the percentage of respondents who say that they did not use a particular facility because of the difficulty in obtaining it is consistently higher in Madras than in other States.

Use of Credit Facilities

Another facility made directly and indirectly available through project authorities is that of loans and credit to villages for certain approved purposes. Altogether 19% of the respondents benefited by these facilities.

The distribution of these beneficiaries by occupational groups is summarised in the following table for all States together:—

<i>Occupational category</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents benefiting in each category</i>
Absentee landlords	<i>Nil</i>
Large Cultivators	28
Medium Cultivators	27
Small Cultivators	17
Tenant Cultivators	10
Cultivator-cum-Labourers	36
Agricultural labourers	<i>Nil</i>
Those in Service	6
Artisans	5
Businessmen	16
Average total percentage	19

One notices again the fact that large and medium sized cultivator and the cultivator-cum-labourer are the groups that benefit the most from this facility. The small cultivator, the tenant cultivator and the agricultural labourer are among those who derived a relatively less benefit from this facility.

In a way this situation is inevitable since loans are always given against security and it is only the more substantial landed gentry that can furnish satisfactory securities against the credit advanced to them. If this facility has to be more generally made available some other basis for advancing credit will have to be used. It may be worth considering the proposal made by some agencies for advancing what is termed "Supervised Credit" to individuals who are trustworthy though not necessarily credit-worthy in the conventional sense of the term.

It has been noticed that Bihar has the highest percentage of beneficiaries (41%) followed by Assam (26%) and U.P. (25%). Madras, Kerala and Bombay have all less than 10% beneficiaries, 7% in Madras, 3% in Kerala and 2% in Bombay.

Difficulties Experienced in Obtaining Facilities

After question relating to individual facilities, the respondents were asked a general question about whether they experienced any special difficulties in obtaining the facilities made available through the projects. In

contrast to the average of about 20% respondents who mentioned having experienced difficulties with regard to individual facilities, it was found that the proportion of respondents who said that they experienced difficulties in the context of all the facilities was found to be only 10%. This drop in the percentage of those who experienced difficulties is made up by a substantial increase in those who did not reply to the question. In the net result therefore, the proportion of those who definitely say that they did not experience any difficulties is found to be only 54%. Even this percentage could be termed satisfactory in the sense that it constitutes a majority of respondents.

In state averages, Bihar has the highest proportion of respondents (16%) who mention difficulties. Bombay has no respondent mentioning any difficulty. The percentage for Kerala, Assam and U.P. are 12%, 8% and 8% respectively.

When asked specifically about the types of difficulties experienced, the 10% respondents who mentioned difficulties seemed to emphasise most, the shortage of supplies and the lack of funds with them with which to make use of the facilities. It will be seen later that the general shortage of supplies is a point that is emphasised by a larger percentage of respondents in another context.

Respondents View of Effect of Facilities on Crop Yield

After ascertaining the number of respondents who benefited from various facilities as also the types of benefits utilised by them, it will now be important to know the proportion of respondents who feel that the net effect of all these facilities has been to increase their crop yield per acre. This question was relevant only in the case of the cultivator groups and the percentages are given only in respect of these respondents. It was found that 42.5% of the cultivator respondents were of the opinion that they were getting better yields as a result of the many facilities, made available through the projects. This percentage of respondents who were of the opinion that their crop yields have increased as a result of project facilities varies considerably from State to State.

In U.P. 65% of the respondents have this positive opinion of project facilities. Assam has only 11% who hold this view. The percentage in Madras and Kerala are also low, 16 and 17% respectively. Bombay and Bihar have 48 and 44% respondents who have found project facilities beneficial in increasing their crop yields.

The above percentages are very significant. On the one hand, they may be interpreted as reflecting the real difference in the impact that project facilities have made in different parts of the country. On the other hand, the figures could also be interpreted as reflecting a differential faith in the beneficial efforts of project facilities which may or may not necessarily be related to actual facts. The answers given by the respondents were clarified by actual measures of yield. This should have reduced the subjective element

on the part of the respondents. Yet even assuming that there has been a general increase in the crop yield, not all the respondents would be willing to ascribe it to project facilities. Thus the varying percentage have under the circumstances to be interpreted as indicating the importance attached by cultivators to project facilities in respect of their crop yield. The answers received in response to other questions also corroborate the differential meaning and importance attached by people to the project facilities, and may be, to the project movement as a whole. U.P. has been consistently at the top in terms of people's appreciation of, participation in and utilisation of project facilities. It also appears that Kerala and Madras are very nearly at the bottom in these respects. Assam and Bihar have usually appeared in between, though in this particular case, Assam appears at the bottom with only 11% of the people who say that project facilities have added to the crop yields.

Differential Increase in Yield by Occupational Categories

The distribution of those who say that their crop yields have increased by their occupational categories is also consistent with our earlier observations on this point. The following summary table makes the situation obvious

<i>Occupational Category</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents in the category who say that their crop yields have increased</i>
Large owner Cultivators	72
Medium Cultivators	55
Small owner Cultivators	31
Tenant Cultivators	20
Cultivator-labourers	26

It may thus be seen that the larger the average holding for a particular group, the larger is the proportion of persons who report an increased yield. This is consistent with the earlier observation that the larger owner cultivators tend proportionately to be better represented among the beneficiaries of project facilities.

Extent of Increase by Type of Crop

An attempt was made to compute the percentage increase in yield per acre per type of major crop based upon the answers given by the respondents. This average increase has been calculated only in the case of those who have reported an increase in yield and not on the basis of the total number of cultivator respondents. In the case of paddy, the average increase in yield per acre is of the order of 31%. In the case of wheat it is of the order of 59%. In the case of sugercane it is 41%.

Reasons for Non-Use of Facilities by More Villagers

The extent and type of facility used by the respondents is already known from the above data. It may now be useful to turn and see the respondents view about why more villagers did not utilise the benefit offered by the project authorities. Only 221 out of the 573 respondents answered this question. The various reasons given for non-use of facilities by more villagers were collected against each type of facility. What is presented here is, however, only the percentage distribution by types of reasons for non-use.

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents giving a particular reason out of the total number of respondents who replied to the question</i>
1. "Facilities not adequate"	45
2. "Facilities not of good quality"	31
3. "People cannot afford"	17
4. "Inability to give security"	3
5. "No knowledge"	24

(Note : Respondents were free to give more than one reason).

In the above table, the inadequacy of the facilities in terms of quality figures prominently as a reason for non-use of the facility, by a larger section of the community. The second most important reason is the attributed lack of quality in the material supplied.

The first of this was anticipated in view of the reply given to an earlier question where respondents often said that they had difficulty in obtaining supplies of specific items. In this context of inadequacy of supplies, the fact that the larger landholders tend proportionally to benefit more by the facilities made available should cause concern to all those who are interested in getting the community project movement more and more accepted by the people at large.

The second reason may be founded more on prejudice or lack of knowledge. Villagers who fall in this category together with those who do not utilize facilities for lack of knowledge should be the special target of the Gram Sewak and of the social education movement.

Knowledge and Membership of Co-operatives

The organization of co-operatives has an important place in Community Centre programmes since it is through this machinery that the problems of supply, marketing and credit are sought to be solved. From this point of view, the percentage of respondents who are members of co-operative societies becomes a relative item of study.

Before proceeding to the analysis of membership, it may be worthwhile to see what proportion of the respondents have even accurate knowledge about the existence or otherwise of co-operative societies in their villages. Every respondent was asked whether there was a co-operative society in his village. Independent information was available about the existence or otherwise of such societies in the particular villages from which the sample of respondents was drawn. All the respondents answered the question. It was found that 22% of the respondents were ignorant and gave incorrect replies about whether or not a co-operative society existed in their respective villages. The highest percentage of those who gave incorrect replies came from Bombay and the smallest percentage came from Madras.

Respondents were then asked about whether they were members of co-operative societies. 28% of them were members. 49% of them were members of credit societies, 41% of multi-purpose societies, 2% of weaving and producers co-operatives and 18% of other societies. The very small percentage of members in producers' co-operatives shows that the co-operative movement does not probably have much to offer to the artisan class in the villages.

Member respondents were then asked to mention the important benefits that they received as a result of their membership of co-operative societies. 68% of them mentioned the availability of credit facilities as the most important benefit. 17% mentioned the availability of supplies of manures and fertilizers. 9% mentioned the supply of better seeds, 4% mentioned other benefits. Here again, the great emphasis on credit facilities as the focus of the co-operative movement becomes apparent. It may also be noted here that while in U.P. and Bihar respondents mentioned other benefits besides credit facilities, those from Assam, Bombay, Kerala and Madras did not mention any.

The question regarding type of benefit was followed by the question of the extent to which their particular needs were met by the co-operative societies. The answers show that in the case of those who seek credit, 68% of their requirements are met through the co-operative agency. For those who seek the supply of manures and seeds, the proportion of need met is even higher. In the case of manure, 90% of the need of the members is met through the co-operative societies. In the case of better seeds, the proportion is 85%. It is good to know that those who are members of co-operative societies are able to meet nearly all their requirements through their societies.

The non-members were also asked why they did not become members of co-operative societies, the answers given by them were not very informative. 28% of them said that there was no need for them to be members of co-operative societies. 10% were not aware of the existence of

co-operative societies in their own area. 5% thought that they were not eligible to be members.

In our study of the Harijan population also, we saw nearly the same reasons being mentioned for non-membership. The percentage of membership of co-operative societies in the case of Harijans was also found to be the same as in the case of the rest of the population.

Health Services

Towards the end of the interview the respondents were asked a number of short questions two of which related to the health programme in the community projects. One question was about utilisation of the services of a trained Dai wherever she was provided. The other question sought to find out the proportion of respondents who had their newly-born children vaccinated.

In response to the first question 188 respondents reported the existence of a trained Dai in their village. Of these respondents, 62% were found to use her services. Of the 38% who did not use her services a majority said that they were not aware of her availability. A smaller percentage said that they could not afford her services.

Taking into consideration, the relative newness of the services given by the trained Dai and also the general ignorance of our rural population, it is satisfying to find that 62% of the respondents who report the existence of a Dai in their village used her services. Also if a majority of those who have not used her services have done so because of their ignorance, it may not be too difficult to persuade them to utilise this new service. Here one may also bear in mind the possibility of a certain measure of self-selection among those who know about the existence of a Dai just as it is possible to conclude that those who know of the availability use the services of a Dai, it is possible to agree conversely that it is only those who are interested in obtaining her services that care to find out about her availability or otherwise. In the latter event the job of the health worker is more difficult. The reason for non-use may not be lack of knowledge. That reason may lie in the unwillingness to use due to other factors of belief, caste, etc.

The statewise distribution of respondents who use the services of the Dai shows that Madras and U.P. top the list with 78% of those who used this service, in Bombay the service of Dai does not seem to have been provided in the particular Block where the study was conducted.

On the question of vaccination, it was found that 56% of those respondents who had new born babies in their families had got them vaccinated. This percentage is very low for a service which has been available for the past many years—especially when vaccination is expected to be compulsorily done for all children in the villages.

The statewise distribution of respondents who have their newly born children vaccinated also shows that U.P., Madras and Bombay are at the top with about 75% of the respondents accepting vaccination for their children. Bihar has the smallest number of respondents who have their children vaccinated.

Grants for House Construction

This is a relatively minor programme among the many others offered by community projects. The total number of beneficiaries is also very small hardly 15%. Among those who did not benefit by this facility, 47% say that they do not need it, 29% have no knowledge of it and 8% say that they cannot benefit by it because they cannot offer security against loans.

Maintenance of Programmes and Works

As said in the earlier section, the aim of the community projects movement is to intensify developmental effort in selected village communities for a specified period of time with a view to enabling the communities to take over the initiative from the Governmental agency and to proceed to utilize normal Governmental facilities to the maximum possible extent. From this point of view, it is not enough for us to know whether or not people are appreciative of the facilities and programmes offered by the developmental agencies and the Government during intensive stage of development. It is at least as important for us to know whether people are ready and willing to take over the responsibility for maintenance of the facilities temporarily organised through a Governmental Agency. An effort to ascertain the thinking of the respondents on this point was made through asking who would continue the various programmes of distribution and maintain the constructional projects completed in the village after the developmental agency had withdrawn. Earlier in the study of Peoples' Participation, the same question had been asked. In that study, the opinions of respondents were given in respect of each type of constructional project. Here the question was asked in a relatively general way. 54% of the respondents said that the responsibility for this work would be taken over by the village panchayats. 22% thought that Government would continue its responsibility for them. 20% thought that the responsibility would be taken by the co-operative societies, 24% mentioned other institutions. It is encouraging to see that an overwhelming majority of the respondents look upon the panchayat and other people's institutions as the agency which will be responsible for the continuance of the various services. The panchayat figures prominently as the agency which would take the primary responsibility for this work. For this reason, it is important to see what the villagers' view is about the functions that the panchayat should perform.

Before doing that, however, it is worthwhile to note that though the panchayat is mentioned by the largest single group of respondents, the frequency with which it is mentioned by respondents from different States

varies. It is mentioned most frequently by respondents from U.P. and Bombay followed by Bihar and Madras. It is mentioned least frequently in Assam and Kerala.

In Assam 74% of the respondents mentioned co-operative societies as the channel through which the various project facilities would be continued. In Kerala 37% of the respondents stated that the Government agency would continue the facilities as against 27% who mentioned panchayats.

Functions of the Panchayat

The respondents view of the functions to be performed by the panchayats is very instructive. 59% of those who answer the question mentioned developmental work as one of its functions. 36% mentioned its judiciary functions. Only 8% mentioned its responsibility for law and order. The percentage of those who attributed developmental functions to the panchayat was the highest in Bombay (100%) followed by Madras (84%) Kerala (64%), U.P. (59%), Assam (32%) and Bihar (17%). From the point of view of the objectives of the community project movement this view of the panchayats is most helpful. If the panchayats come to be seen more as civic agencies having responsibility for developmental work rather than as mere courts of justice, the future of community development will to that extent be more secure.

Role played by Panchayats in Promoting Project Work

In view of the general faith in the agency of the panchayat to take responsibility for the continuance of project programmes, it is important to note the role that the panchayat has played in the eyes of the respondents in promoting such programmes. If this corresponds to the role that the panchayats had actually played, the situation is not as satisfactory as we would wish to believe in the context of the data presented in the previous paragraph. One wishes that many more respondents had reported active participation on the part of the panchayats in the promotion of developmental programmes. This would have equipped them suitably to take over the responsibilities for the various services after the Governmental agencies had completed their phase of intensive operation.

The percentage of respondents reporting participations on the part of panchayats was the highest in U.P. (75%) and the lowest in Kerala (15%). In Bihar, Bombay and Madras, it was 31%, 22% and 18% respectively.

Of those who mentioned the panchayats as having actively participated in the developmental programmes, 47% said that they had helped actively in mobilizing public participation. 41% said that the panchayats had given supervisory help. 19% reported their help in the collecting of cash contributions. 15% mentioned other modes of assistance given by the panchayats.

Type of Criticism Offered by Respondents

One of the last two questions asked the respondents whether they had any criticism to offer on the manner in which community projects function. Disappointingly enough hardly 11% of the respondents offered any criticism or suggestions. Of those who made any comments, 45% complained of the delays that are involved in making the various facilities available to those who need them. 16% wanted more loans made available on easy terms. 6% suggested that there should be more consultation of people. 6% complained of the attitude of the project authorities.

Attitude to the Future

The last question asked the respondents to say generally whether they thought their children were likely to have a better future than their own generation had. 60% of the respondents were found to be hopeful. 13% were pessimistic or sceptic and 28% were undecided.

The statewise variation in the percentage of those who are hopeful again reflects the usual pattern. U.P. has the highest percentage of those who expect a better future (83%). Assam, Bihar and Bombay come next with 62%, 56% and 54% respectively. Kerala and Madras have the smallest percentages of hopeful respondents—49 and 43% respectively. Kerala also happens to be the State in which the highest percentage of respondents are pessimistic or sceptic about the future. 37% of the respondents in Kerala do not expect the future for their children to be any better.

Taken together for all States, the attitude of the respondents to the future, may be described as generally sober and hopeful rather than exultant or pessimistic. This hopefully reflects the temper of the country as a whole.

IV. NOTE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIC MANURES

Among the many reasons for the low average level of agricultural production in India one of the most important is the wide spread deficiency of soil nitrogen under tropical conditions and no effort for improving production will succeed if it ignores this fundamental fact. Even at the present level of production, the major crops in India remove over 3.77 million tons of nitrogen from the soil while the actual quantity available for application to crops by way of cattle manure, composts, green manure, oilcakes and inorganic fertilisers is less than a million ton and the balance is made good by crop residues and natural recuperative processes that take place in the soil and outside.

2. An obvious course to adopt for improving crop yield is therefore to step up the level of application of nitrogen in a manner which can be extended to all cultivated areas : but there are many practical difficulties in the way. All over India, the common source of nitrogen for the fields is the farm yard manure which is limited in supply, as a good portion of cattle dung is burnt for want of cheaper fuel. The total production of urban composts in 1955-56 was 1.79 million tons sufficient for manuring about three lakhs of acres and this output cannot be increased to any large extent. Most agricultural crops in India yield food or fibre for men and fodder for animals; therefore there is very little of agricultural wastes which can be composted to supply nitrogen to the soil and in order to augment the supplies of rural compost we will have to produce from the same piece of land the extra plant material required for composting without in any way affecting normal cropping practices on that land. The use of nitrogenous fertilisers and green manure can be extended to all irrigated areas and areas of assured or well-distributed rainfall of 30 in. and above. Five million tons of ammonium sulphate may be ultimately used in these areas, but the quantity at present available is about 8 lakhs of tons requiring an annual outlay of over 30 crores. Oilcakes are concentrated source of organic nitrogen but these again are limited in supply and far too expensive for manuring cereal crops.

3. It will be seen that of all the sources of nitrogen, green manure and rural composts have distinct possibilities of wider application within the resources available provided the obstacles that have so far stood in the way of such development are removed and a simple method devised to enable the average cultivator to take to these at very little extra cost.

4. The cropped extent of about 330 million acres in India at present consists of unirrigated area of 270 million acres and irrigated area of 60 million acres. A major part of the cultivated area is situated in areas of sufficient annual rainfall of 30 in. and above while the rest is partly

in problem areas of less than 20 in. rainfall and partly in areas of average rainfall between 20 in. and 30 in. The areas of below 30 in. are mainly in the Punjab, Rajasthan and the Deccan plateau.

5. In unirrigated tracts where rainfall is less than 30 in., soil moisture is just as important in crop production as manure and therefore the use of inorganic fertilisers or green manures which require adequate supply of moisture for their beneficial effect is not generally advisable under these conditions. Any green manure or organic material used as manures for crops in these zones should therefore be fully decomposed before application to unirrigated fields.

6. In unirrigated areas where the annual rainfall is below 20 in., even the use of composted organic manure has not been found to be helpful as soil moisture is generally at a critically low level. The main solution to the problem of low production in areas of less than 20 in. rainfall therefore lies in a combined use of irrigation and manure and when irrigation is not available occasional use of organic manure like farmyard manure or composts is all that is necessary to maintain the level of productivity.

7. Where the annual rainfall is over 30 in. and well-distributed use of fertilisers and green manure can be safely recommended. The work done by research workers in Agriculture in different parts of India has uniformly established the need to use chemical fertilisers like ammonium sulphate or green manure or both for adding to soil nitrogen and thereby improve yields of cereal crops. For instance, in the Cuttack Rice Research Institute it was found that at a dose of 20 lbs of nitrogen per acre, green manuring of paddy gave a higher response than ammonium sulphate, the response for a lb. of nitrogen being 11.06 lbs. of paddy for ammonium sulphate and 25.9 lbs. for green manure. A combination of ammonium sulphate and green manure was found to be superior to ammonium sulphate alone though it was not superior to green manuring on the same nitrogen basis. The work done in the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, has established that nitrogen is the dominant requirement for wheat and this can be supplied as farm yard manure—green manure or artificials.

8. In spite of the findings of research workers all over India about the part played by green manuring in improving crop production, the practice of green manuring has not made much headway except in some of the southern States. The chief reason for this slow progress is the non-availability of seeds in the quantities required. The severe summer and winter conditions in northern India stand in the way of production of green manure seeds. It is only during the kharif season that the seeds can be produced but the raising of a green manure crop on a field scale for producing seeds during the kharif season cannot compensate the cultivator for loss of other crops which he could have grown. In a few places sannhemp is raised as a fibre crop or as a mixed crop and this indirectly provides some seeds : dhaincha

is raised for seed production in some places subject to inundation during the khariff season. On the other hand, in the Southern States where the summer temperature does not reach the high level of the North and the winter is mild, wild indigo (*Tephrosia purpuria*), Pilli pesara (*Phaseolus Trilobus*) and dhaincha (*Sesbania aculeata*) are raised during summer as green manure crop after the harvest of paddy and these produce seeds; but even here seed production is uncertain as occasional heavy rains in the summer interfere with the setting of seeds.

9. If the green manure plants can be grown on the same land along with the crops during the normal cultivation season from June to December without affecting the cultivation of the usual crops, then it would be possible to produce very large quantities of seeds and cover all suitable area with different types of green manure. This problem has been solved in Madras by growing a line of green manure crop on the bunds or along the margins of fields during the normal cultivation season from June or July. Experience of this method in growing *sesbania speciosa* and dhaincha has shown that such border planting in any field helps to produce more than the requirements of green manure seeds for that field without in any way affecting the main crop adversely.

10. In order to popularise green manuring the old notion that 20,000 to 30,000 lbs. of green manure should be applied as manure should be completely dispelled. The optimum dose for a paddy crop varies from 2,000 to 8,000 lbs. and this can be produced by using a part of the seeds raised in the preceding season on the margins of the field. With an anna worth of seeds of dhaincha or *sesbania speciosa* dibbled on the bunds of an acre field along with the kharif crop, it is possible to produce anything from 60 to 160 lbs. of seeds before December. In places where paddy is transplanted, seedling of dhaincha or *sesbania speciosa* may be raised at the same time as paddy and transplanted in the field itself along the margins of the bunds after the transplantation of paddy. Sannhemp does not thrive well in irrigated fields during the kharif season, but it can be raised on high level lands and bunds of irrigated fields where rainfall is not heavy. In areas where rainfed crops like jowar or the kharif pulses are raised sannhemp may be sown as a mixed crop for seed production. The seeds of sannhemp, dhaincha or *sesbania speciosa* will be ready for picking by December and 20 to 30 lbs. of seeds of dhaincha or *sesbania speciosa* or 40 to 60 lbs. of sannhemp may be sown from April to June with the summer showers or available irrigation for production of green manure for a kharif crop of transplanted paddy.

11. Where paddy is sown broadcast, experience in Cuttack has shown that 15 lbs. of dhaincha per acre may be sown broadcast along with paddy and after about a month when the paddy crop is thinned by ploughing, the dhaincha plants may be pulled out and trampled into the field to serve as green manure and this alone has helped to increase the yield of paddy by 12%.

12. In the case of wheat a green manure crop of sannhemp dhaincha or *sesbania speciosa* can be grown without difficulty when no kharif crop is grown on the same field. The green manure crop thus raised is ploughed into the field by the middle of August. A short duration kharif pulse like Mung (green gram) Urd (black gram) Kulthi (Horse gram) or guara (cluster beans) may also be raised and ploughed in time if the field is kept fallow in the rainy season. Cultivators in many parts of India may have adequate stock of seeds of these and as such the problem of seed supply will not be acute.

13. In irrigated areas where a cereal like maize is raised before the rabi crop, a green manure crop like the kharif pulses, dhaincha, *sesbania speciosa* or guara may be grown along with it in alternate lines between the kharif crop so that it can be incorporated into the soil immediately after harvest of the kharif cereal. The practice of raising Hubam Clover along with wheat, evolved at the I.A.R.I. Delhi will provide not only cattle feed in summer but also green manure for the maize crop.

14. In unirrigated lands in zones of 20 in. to 30 in. rainfall and in zones of over 30 in. where the rains generally fail at critical stages in the growth of the main crop, a systematic attempt has to be made to grow perennial shrubs to produce green leaves on the borders of the fields for compositing in the field itself, the choice of such shrubs being determined by adaptability to varying conditions, high drought resistance, absence of adverse root effect on the adjoining crop and ability to stand frequent looping. *Ipomea carnea* and *Sesbania aegyptiaca* are found to thrive very well under rainfed conditions in all parts of India. The leaves of *Ipomea carnea* are not generally eaten by goats or cattle and the plant thrives in water-logged areas as well as under conditions of extreme drought. *Indigofera teysmanii*, *Tephrosia candida* and *Crotalaria anagyroides* grow well in areas of heavy rainfall. *Glyricidia* and *Indigofera teysmanii* have been found to be suitable for rainfall areas in all parts of Madras below 4,000 ft.

15. In the Agricultural Research Station, Koilpatti, with shallow black soil in a tract of 25 to 30 inches of rain in a year which falls in less than three months, *Glyricidia* and *Ipomea carnea* were planted along the borders of big blocks of fields in 100 acres. The extra annual compost production from loppings of *Ipomea carnea* and *Glyricidia* was 346 tons in the third year or 3½ tons per acre of cultivated area, a production of manure which is normally sufficient for dry crops. This border planting costs very little and it may be mentioned that in Koilpatti nearly 10 miles of hedge of *Ipomea carnea* was planted in the course of one year with the nucleus materials obtained from a head-load of cuttings.

16. Every effort should therefore be made to develop such quick growing perennial plants on the borders of fields with the definite object of making each field produce within two to three years its annual requirements of

organic wastes sufficient for producing the necessary composted manure. A compost pit of 8 ft. X 6 ft. X 3 ft. in each acre field is sufficient to provide the manure required for that field and it is most important to have these pits dug in the fields so that the loppings are converted into manure on the spot.

17. Experience in Madras has shown that such border planting even in rainfed areas has no significant adverse effect on the adjacent crops and as such it is possible to convert the borders of every field in the country into a factory for producing the requirements of manure for that field without in any way affecting the normal cropping on the field. This method of developing organic manures therefore opens out a practical approach to the problem of nitrogen deficiency of Indian soils which will at once increase the output and reduce the cost of production of foodgrains.

18. The measures to be adopted by the cultivator are simple and inexpensive and in order to emphasise these every Government Agricultural farm should set the example and produce its entire needs of organic manure by way of composts from plants grown on the farm or of green manure raised from seeds produced on the farm. Some of the Government farms at present make up their deficiency of organic manure by purchasing from outside sources farm yard manure, composts or press mud and even green manure seeds and this has a damaging effect on propaganda done by the State Departments of Agriculture for development of local manurial resources. Naturally, no cultivator will take the departmental advice seriously in this respect, if the State farms do not practice what he himself is expected to do. It should therefore be made obligatory on the part of all Government farms to produce within two to three years their full requirements of green manure seeds and organic manure. As far as possible the use of oil cakes in Government farms should be curtailed and restricted to experiments dealing with the use of cakes as a source of nitrogen. It may be mentioned that as a result of systematic steps taken from 1951—54 all the Government agricultural Research, experimental and demonstration farms in the Madras State are now in a position to produce from within their boundary their full requirements of organic manure for irrigated and unirrigated fields without in any way affecting the normal cultivation of other crops.

19. While self sufficiency in organic manures should be insisted upon in every Government farm, it is not necessary to wait until this is done to create among cultivators an atmosphere favourable for large scale adoption of green manuring or production of rural composts. The necessary enthusiasm has to be created by systematic publicity and propaganda in every village and in every place where villagers congregate in large numbers like fairs, festivals etc. The village level worker can play a useful and leading part in this. He has to organize the publicity meetings, approach

individual cultivators and supply them with small packets of seeds with which they can develop their future requirements of seeds and manure. In this work he will have to enlist the full cooperation of the village panchayat, the village cooperative organisations, school teachers, village officials and leading villagers. Every person who has any local influence should be urged to distribute the packets and see that perennial shrubs are raised and green manure plants grown on the margins of fields for seed production. A definite programme for producing the manure required for all the fields in the village in two years should be drawn up by the village panchayat. A list of green manure plants suitable for the different types of fields in the village should be prepared by the Agricultural Department and the requirements of seeds and cuttings should be estimated and timely steps taken to ensure that the nucleus of seeds and cuttings for producing these are in the Cultivators' hands at the commencement of the kharif season. A live interest should be created in all cultivators to grow the perennial shrubs, together the green manure seeds, to utilise a part for raising green manure seeds and the rest for producing green manure in the next season and for distribution to others.

V. NOTE ON THE SPREAD OF IMPROVED SEEDS

1. In scientific agriculture the real criterion of a high level of cultivation is the extent of manuring, for manure more than any other factor, dominates the field of crop production. There is a popular notion that the use of improved seeds will by itself increase production; but this is not correct. Actually improved varieties with a higher uptake of nutrients may after some time depress the level of production unless the field is adequately manured. But with an assured supply of manures by exploitation of local resources the use of improved strains of seeds and plants will play an increasingly great part in the development of agricultural production in India.

2. A few decades ago plant breeding was only an art, but with the rapid progress of cytogenetics there has been considerable advancement in plant breeding as a science. The present day plant breeder confidently knows how to evolve new types with desirable economic qualities, genetic potentialities of high yield and capacity to overcome adverse environmental conditions like drought, salinity, defective drainage. He can build up disease resistance in the crop and adjust the duration of a crop to varying conditions of soil and climate. With the advance of scientific techniques, research workers in many parts of India have evolved many improved strains of crops and plants to suit local conditions and many more new varieties are being evolved: but the extension of the improved varieties to the cultivators' lands has lagged behind and in many States the use of improved types except in the case of cotton and sugarcane has not spread to more than 10 to 20% of the area for which such strains have been evolved.

3. In any scheme for spread of improved seeds, proper storage of the seeds is very important. The seeds have to be periodically dried to keep up viability and at the same time care has to be taken to prevent admixture with off types. Every time the seeds are dried there is a risk of loss through dryage, pilferage, depredation by birds and squirrels. Most of the seed stores lack facilities for drying and therefore the seeds deteriorate rapidly in condition. In order to overcome some of these difficulties it is necessary to reduce the quantity of seeds distributed and decentralize the storage and distribution of seeds as far as possible so that the cultivator obtains his needs from local production and looks after the seeds which he will use during the next season.

4. In the past many extension workers have contented themselves by supplying improved seeds only to select leading cultivators and further fresh supplies have been made mostly to the same people. No doubt there has been some natural spread from these to others but such a method

of restricted distribution will not take us very far. An earnest endeavour should therefore be made to adopt a workable plan in which the cultivators will play a leading role in saturating every field with the improved types.

5. Each village has to be taken as a unit in itself and a programme should be drawn with the help of the village panchayat and leading cultivators to cover every holding with the available improved varieties. Particulars of the types suitable for different crops, under different soils and climatic conditions are available with the Agricultural Departments. The Extension Officers and the Gram Sewaks should obtain them and get themselves fully acquainted with the morphological characters of the improved seeds and plants so that there will be no mistake about identity. The Gram Sewaks should prepare a complete list of the improved strains suitable for each of his village, the areas to which these can be spread and the quantities of seeds and plant materials required for this purpose. The nucleus stock of seeds and plants should be obtained from the Government farms and the aim of the Gram Sewak should be to produce under careful supervision and distribute every year a quantity of seeds which when developed in one cropping season will by the time of harvest produce the seeds required for the entire cultivated area under that particular crop in the village.

6. Thus, if in a village one thousand acres of irrigated paddy are cultivated, the seed requirement for paddy for the village may be about 40,000 lbs. Assuming that the Gram Sewak starts with only 40 lbs. of nucleus seeds sufficient for an acre, at the end of the first season it is not difficult to develop the seeds to 2,000 lbs. and out of this 1,000 lbs. are distributed for further development in the village itself. There will then be a production of 50,000 lbs. of seeds *i.e.* more than the requirements of the entire village at the end of the second year. The skill of a Gram Sewak will lie in planning ahead, entrusting the work of development to responsible ryots selected by the other ryots and arranging with these seed farm growers to fix posters on the land to indicate the types raised, to have the crop inspected from the time of flowering to remove the off-types, to get the fields harvested separately and to have the improved seeds exchanged immediately after harvest for the grains raised by the other cultivators. A scheme of this type was successfully carried out even in one season itself in Tanjore District in 1954 to cover two lakhs of acres of paddy in the Kumbakonam and Mayuram Sub-Divisions and in the enthusiasm then created, the exchange of seeds was done on an equal basis.

7. By producing the improved seeds in every village the cultivators who have not hitherto used such seeds will be in a position to appreciate the superiority of these seeds under local conditions. By limiting the seed supply to the quantity that would produce the requirements of the village at the time of the harvest, the agricultural department is able to pay greater

attention to the purity of the nucleus seeds supplied. Large scale procurement and transport of seeds are avoided and the cultivator depends on local ryots for timely seed supply. By getting physical possession of the seeds even at the time of the harvest, the cultivator is in a position to store and look after the seeds carefully. The village seed farms therefore help to foster self help and extend the spread of improved seeds cheaply and quickly to all cultivated areas in all villages.

8. The success of the scheme will depend on distribution of the seeds to cultivators selected as far as possible by the villagers themselves. The villagers should stipulate that the seed farm growers exchange the improved seeds soon after harvest with the grains raised by the others, the rate of exchange being decided among themselves. Village public opinion is the sanction behind the day to day working of the scheme and generally this is a very potent factor in rural life. Provided the nucleus material is available and arrangements are made in time with the cooperation of the cultivators there will be no insuperable difficulty in the rapid spread of the improved seeds over every holding in every village.

VI. WORK STUDY OF A FEW TYPICAL BLOCKS

A typical Gram Sewak has been allotted more than sixty jobs which are distributed among different subjects as shown in Statement I.

2. Agriculture occupies the major item, followed by office and miscellaneous work, construction works and other developmental subjects.

3. The jurisdiction of Gram Sewak varies considerably in each charge. It was not possible to ascertain clearly the principles normally followed in fixing the charges of Gram Sewak. This question is relevant as an analysis of the diaries shows that Gram Sewaks have to travel, on field duty, anything between 1,500—4,000 miles in year, the mode being the distance of 2,500—3,000 miles.

4. A Gram Sewak spends about 25—40 per cent of his time at block headquarters and at his headquarters and the rest of the time in the field. This varies considerably among different types of blocks. The average time spent in the field in the hill blocks in the South was found to be as high as 80 per cent; in one of the blocks in Delhi State nearest to the metropolitan town, it varied from 44—57 per cent; in the Punjab blocks, it ranged from 52 per cent to 84 per cent, the general average being 70 per cent but in the charge next to the block headquarters, it was as low as 52 per cent, the average in the U.P. and the other States was round about 60 per cent.

5. Assuming that 140—150 days are spent out, the daily average of distance travelled would be 16—20 miles. The bicycle was found to be the most common conveyance except in the hills. The Gram Sewak has however to use multifarious types of conveyance available in his environment. The figures given above exclude the distance he has to travel on foot inside a village in pursuance of his duties. There was a general consensus of opinion that sometimes these peregrinations left the Gram Sewaks exhausted for work at the tail end of their journeys. It is difficult to comment on this as limits of human endeavour differ with individual constitutions and inclinations. It is, however, a matter requiring some investigation in connection with the evolution of basic principles for fixing the limits of jurisdictions of the Gram Sewak. Adjudged from the following angles, the attempt to discover a common basis, in existing arrangements in different States, was given up as it was felt that a more thorough investigation was necessary:—

- (i) Area.
- (ii) Density of population served.
- (iii) Intensity of work.
- (iv) Distances involved.
- (v) Types of communications available.

6. The number of jobs continued to be, by and large, the same notwithstanding the different phases through which a block passed. The activities in different phases varied with the amounts provided in the schematic budget. It was noticed that there was a considerable concentration of effort on construction work during the intensive (CD) phase and a large part of the Gram Sewaks' time was devoted to assistance in the measurement of work, preparation of bills, certification of completion of work and even in the payment of bills. In effect, he performed, during this phase, the duties of a works mistry, part overseer and a sub-divisional clerk, for a very substantial part of his time. The mode was about 20 per cent while the range was from 15—35 per cent of the total time available to him. The assumption of such duties, at a critical time in the developmental phase, requires serious consideration; it was freely admitted, by those consulted, that it meant a considerable amount of distraction from the main purpose of the phase of intensive development. A more rational arrangement is required for the distribution of such work-load; the best course would be to absolve the Gram Sewak completely from this job and to provide for some Block level arrangement instead.

7. The jobs of the Gram Sewak were reclassified in terms of the objectives of the Community programme as given out from time to time namely of inculcating education, information and self-help among the rural population and to forge instruments of enduring work for development in the fabric of the village life itself. The results were as shown in Statement II. Broadly speaking the picture emerges as follows:—

(i) Educative and informative	..	..	22
(ii) Ameliorative (for meeting specific problems)	..	..	6
(iii) Supplies or services	..	..	9
(iv) Construction works	..	..	6
(v) Organisational (organising villagers for self-help and development)	..	..	5
(vi) Collection of Statistics and reporting	..	..	7
(vii) Administrative (meetings, office work, etc.)	..	..	9
			64

8. The star role of the Gram Sewak is therefore educative and informative. Even in other roles, this aspect predominates. A series of jobs is meant to educate and inform through organisation of campaigns, demonstration of techniques and dissemination of literature prepared and supplied from outside the block jurisdiction. A thick core of his work consists of arranging supplies to the villagers of articles which are considered useful for development of various types particularly for agricultural production. The ameliorative jobs namely those intended to meet specific requirements of the rural areas are small in number and are of such diverse types as entail knowledge of hygiene, preventive medicine, plant protection, animal husbandry, etc.

Indeed his activities are dispersed over the whole gamut of human endeavour involved in the development of villages. It was, therefore, a little surprising that none of the Gram Sevaks consulted nor his diaries contained any indication of expenditure of time for acquiring additional knowledge either for self-development or for enabling him to tackle some of the special problems of the people he served. His role as a student was typically absent from the evidence available in the blocks examined. This was rather a depressing experience as it led to two significant consequences. In the first place, there was a tendency to stay put on the knowledge acquired in the course of training which is somewhat of a static phenomenon in a dynamic programme. The only evidence towards a continuing effort at deepening and broadening the capacity of the Gram Sewak was the work of the Planning and Research Institute at Lucknow.

The other consequence is that the ability of the Gram Sewak to relate fundamental facts of village life to scientific development is inhibited by lack of adequate knowledge.

One cannot build on a short experience of a few Gram Sevaks but it is evident that they possess very elementary knowledge of a large number of subjects with which they have to deal and they lack the opportunity to acquire specialised knowledge of any subject due to dispersal of time more particularly when disproportionate time is spent during the intensive phase on construction work. It is a point requiring serious consideration whether, by equipment and opportunity, the Gram Sewak is really fitted for self-development of a significant character for the success of the programme.

9. Another static factor in the programme is the continuing similarity of the jobs in three phases of the block, namely NES, CD and Post-Intensive. The intensity of effect on various classes of jobs differs but their character remains the same throughout. It was felt that a sense of monotony was creeping into the psychology of the Gram Sewak in the Post-Intensive phase and the fervour noticeable in the NES & CD phase was beginning to decline.

10. There is also practically a uniformity in the types and number of jobs performed by Gram Sevaks in the various blocks in different states; the variations are of such an insignificant type that they can be safely ignored.

11. An examination of the jobs pattern of the Gram Sewak, in the blocks in which the study was made, gave the impression that the Community Programme was of a *built-in* character, the limits of the programme being fixed by the schematic budget. An enquiry from the villagers showed that they attached greater preference to certain structural problems of the village than to the items of the programme which formed a part of the set pattern notwithstanding the fact that they were accepted as of considerable importance for their well-being. Statement III contains details of the preference of the villagers in this matter. More use will be made of this fact in the portion of the note dealing with agricultural production. It nevertheless

shows that the views of the villagers regarding development do not find a place in the programmes of the villages visited for this work-study. The *built-in* character of the programme can, in course of time, be a source of *ennui* and static habits of thought; this tendency is likely to be accentuated by lack of opportunities of self-development to the Gram Sewak and by absence of the wishes of the villagers themselves regarding the *milieu* of the programme.

12. It will be interesting in this connection to analyse at least a few jobs of the Gram Sewak as regards their efficacy from the point of view of the objectives of the programme.

Compost Pits—This is a very vital item of the programme as also for the economy of the country. A physical observation in each village in the Post-Intensive phase showed that the condition of pits was not satisfactory. This was reinforced by the fact that the Gram Sewaks spent a considerable portion of their time, even in the Post-Intensive phase, on this work. An item of a programme, which has not become self-propelling in the course of five years of propaganda in spite of its admitted utility, must have some basic and inherent difficulties in the way of its fruition. Ordinarily compost making should be a part of the fabric of the village life. On examination, the following reasons were given for the present state of affairs regarding this programme:—

- (a) Land has not been earmarked, despite repeated requests, by the revenue staff for compost pits.
- (b) Certain basic problems pertaining to agriculture in the village were not solved.
- (c) Comparatively longer distance of the compost pit from the area where compost material was gathered.
- (d) Lack of firewood necessitated the use of cowdung as fuel.
- (e) Lethargy.

It is obvious that the programme has now hit a blind alley. Unless its mechanics is thought out afresh, it is not likely to progress. For example two suggestions were enthusiastically received during discussion with the villagers. They appreciated the possibility of the village panchayats running a wheelbarrow service for the carriage of refuse on a nominal payment; they also liked the idea of ringing the fields, especially in close proximity to such organic matter as leaves and dried grass, with trenches in which the cowdung available on the fields and organic matter could be mixed and buried. If the difficulties of the villagers are catalogued by each Gram Sewak, there is a possibility of the programme getting a fresh lease of enthusiasm but to that extent its *built-in* character will require departure. Each BDO and Gram Sewak should be held responsible for a certain optimum success for each village in the utilisation of local manurial resources after a careful survey of all factors. In other words, the programme should be estimated

in real terms and progressed accordingly rather than that Gram Sewaks should be asked to show continuing progress in terms of the number of pits dug, as the latter may fall short of the optimum number. It is also necessary that an authority, independent of the Development Department, should report upon the achievement of targets in selected villages both in terms of quality and quantity.

Distribution of good quality seeds and fertilizers.—These two jobs involve the Gram Sewak in contacting villagers for collection of indents and cash, accompanying them for verification and collection of sawai share of seed recovery of seed in terms of cash in case of defaulters, effecting actual distribution of seed of new varieties of crops when introduced as an experiment, collection of encashed permits from the cooperative depots, etc. These details in the performance of the jobs were perhaps necessary in the beginning when the villagers were to be habituated to certain new ideas and practices. The continuance of performance of such services shows that the villagers are not yet ready to assume responsibility for this work either individually or collectively through their own institutions. The supply part of the work has to be looked into by the Gram Sewak under the directions of the block level staff, but the servicing part of it should be capable of being transferred to a durable type of arrangement which should be organised by the villagers for the villagers. The habit of dependence of the villager for mechanical processes of distribution of such supplies is not in consonance with the objectives of the movement. One of the difficulties in institutionalising this work may be attributed to the lack of capacity on the part of the existing institutions to undertake this work. The village panchayats, which owe their existence to legal statutes enacted 5—10 years back, were conceived at a time when developmental needs had not been fully explored and comprehended. Motivation of these institutions towards the solution of some of the developmental needs would require considerable reorientation of their structure if self-help and institutional durability are the objectives of the programme. A factor that was repeatedly impressed during the course of the study was that the membership of the Panchayat and its Chairmanship was a wholetime job if it was to be used for organising such activities. It was not possible for anyone to undertake this work without detriment to his means of livelihood. Cooperative effort also required wholetime employment of a few persons in the village unless both the types of institutions were to be run by small functionaries such as secretaries and accountants. These are large problems of policy and detail which go to the root of democratisation of administration but without their proper solution, the main objective of the Community programme, namely of creating a durable base for self-development through which ideas, credit and supplies could be channelled, will not be able to achieve real success.

Organisations of various competitions and campaigns.—The object of these campaigns is to propagate ideas, demonstrate utilitarian schemes or practices and to inculcate the habit of self-help, such as shramdan, on works

of utility to the immediate environment of the villagers. The Gram Sewak is the motive force in these campaigns; the main burden of the responsibility of these campaigns should have been progressively transferred to some durable village institution but this has not been achieved so far.

13. The above case studies establish that the community movement has, by and large, *built-in* character; it started, as is natural in the circumstances of the country, as an officially inspired and motivated programme with the object of transferring responsibility for certain items to the people on a durable basis; it continues still to be motivated by Government in all spheres of activity; the signs, of making arrangements for institutionalising the programme so that it becomes a part of the fabric of the village life, are not apparent in the blocks studied. It is possible that the time for which the movement has run is short for such results to be achieved but preparations towards that objective could be manifestly made in this period. The job pattern of the Gram Sewaks is somewhat rigid; the continuous performance of the same jobs over a long period of time is likely to create monotonous feelings leading to shrinkage of the original enthusiasm in course of time. The elements are thus present, which could fossilise the programme, and make it static in concept and action. Innovation and a sense of adventure are inherent to rapid growth while uniformity and repetition make for stability leading to inactivity and stagnation. It has to be ensured that there is a judicious balance of both stability and innovation. The survey of the blocks studied gave the feeling that the latter is the exception while the former is the rule.

14. Although it is possible to prescribe that a Gram Sewak should perform a certain number of jobs, their relative importance, in terms of active work, depends upon the circumstances of each Gram Sewak. This is clearly demonstrated by Statement IV. In spite of some assumptions in analysing the diaries of the Gram Sewak, the results arrived at were tested on the persons concerned and we have the assurance that they represent accurate enough state of affairs.

15. Agriculture, construction work, meetings at block and district headquarters claim nearly 75 per cent of the time in Post-Intensive block in the Delhi Territory; the time devoted to industries, cooperation, social health, social education and animal husbandry is of a token nature. The position in the Punjab and the U.P. blocks is somewhat similar. Animal husbandry, health and sanitation and social education have claimed about 25 per cent of the time in Madras and Bombay blocks but that has largely been done at the expense of agriculture. In effect, this is proof of the fact that, whatever the number of jobs allotted to the Gram Sewak, he can concentrate only on a few in a year. As far as could be ascertained, this was not in pursuance of a pre-determined programme.

16. One of the surprises of the study was the comparatively negligible time devoted to the cooperation work and industries except to the former in the Punjab block and to the latter in the Madras hill blocks.

17. The time spent on office and miscellaneous work is large except in U.P. A considerable amount of work has been done in U.P. to simplify forms, accounts and statistics. That is probably the reason that the Gram Sewak has to spend comparatively small amount of time on the routine of his job. There is a considerable room yet for further simplification in U.P. and much more in other places. The aim should be to free the Gram Sewak entirely from the work of maintaining record and of preparing statements. If he spends at least 1/4th of his time on routine and another tenth on meeting etc., he has hardly 60 per cent left for the village work into which he has to fit 60 and odd jobs of a major character so far as development work and movement are concerned.

18. The ideal of recording should be that the Gram Sewak should *not* keep anything else than a field diary which should be diversified to include his targets on fixed work and his ideas and observations on what he has seen and he thinks require thought and attention. It should be kept in two parts; one each for six alternate months; one book should be left at block headquarters for inspection by the BDO and for preparation of statements by clerical staff; copies of which should be supplied to the Gram Sewak concerned. This will save the Gram Sewak's time for more developmental work. On the other hand, the model instructions prepared by the Programme Evaluation Organisation make for more complicated procedure and set of records than obtaining in many blocks at present. A rough calculation shows that it will take the Gram Sewak 94 days to comply with them. The assessment of any instructions, in terms of Gram Sewak work-load, should precede their issue.

19. An attempt was made to simplify work and standardise methods of work relating to basic developmental tasks especially in agricultural procedures but it was given up as organisational patterns and institutional arrangements differed widely. This will be apparent from the procedure regarding distribution of seeds in different places drawn up in juxtaposition in Statement V. This work can only be done separately for each state for which there was no time but it will be evident from the procedure referred to that there is considerable room for improvement as nearly the 23 steps taken for its completion could be brought down to more manageable proportions.

20. The work of the Extension Officer (Agriculture) was studied from amongst other officials of the same type at the block headquarters. The Statement (VI) shows the proportion of time spent by this official at headquarters and in the field. It is clear that he is ordinarily spending disproportionately large time at headquarters. He is a field officer primarily and his place is in the villages and with the cultivators. A further examination revealed that he was allotted a considerable amount of minor administrative duties such as account of seeds, cash, fertilizers, implements and maintenance of relevant records, compilation and submission of progress reports, routine correspondence etc. The duties of selection of fields for demonstration, contacts with cultivators, further visits to check upon results fall

more on the Gram Sewak than the Extension Officer. The result is that the agricultural graduates are being utilised for routine office work while a person with hardly any scientific education of agriculture (Gram Sewak) is doing the real work of extension. It is probably because of this that in the villages visited, the basic problems of the cultivators have not been high-lighted. It is difficult to expect that a person with hardly a year's basic agricultural training should possess the necessary equipment to sense the fine points of practical agriculture; even a graduate will be a misfit in many cases. The villagers, who have far more experience of this work, have to be brought in contact with scientific education in agriculture and not with just any person with the minimum basic knowledge; one year is too short a period to understand the fundamentals of the subject let alone to acquire knowledge of the practical work. It should not be difficult to relieve the E.O. (Agriculture) of this routine work so that he could devote his entire time to practical work in the field. In particular, it is suggested that he should maintain a field book of bad farmers and ideas in which he should note the type of advice given, the results achieved, the cooperation received, the difficulties encountered and the ideas gained. It is easy to spend a lot of funds to get additional crops but, as will be discussed later, a certain improvement is possible by improvisations which do not cost anything but which yield substantial results. An E.O. (Agriculture), who hits upon ideas of this nature, does real service to the movement and it is submitted that he cannot do so unless he is relieved of non-technical routine and spends his time burrowing day in and day out, in technical problems.

Special Problems of Bombay State

21. The number of jobs performed by a Gram Sewak in the Bombay State, in which the duties of revenue and development combined, is 114 against 64. An analysis of the two village level workers' diaries in Haveli Block, District Poona, has revealed that the revenue jobs involving administrative and routine work end to take preference over the extension ones. Revenue work alone claimed 33 to 47 per cent. of the Gram Sewaks' time in a year, 20 to 30 per cent was spent on miscellaneous work including meetings at Block Headquarters and office work, 5 to 9 per cent on Agricultural activities, 12 to 17 per cent on construction work, thus leaving only a negligible part of his time available for other developmental activities.

The Mamlatdar, who is concurrently a BDO, spends nearly 30 per cent of his time on revenue work, 28 per cent on purely official work, 26 per cent on miscellaneous duties, such as attending different meetings, conduct visits, and election work, while nearly 16 per cent of his time is utilised on development work. This reinforces the argument that if concentration on agriculture is one of the important functions of the development work, the combination of that duty with other duties would leave very little time with the Gram Sewak for agriculture whatever his jurisdiction. It is difficult to comment, on the basis of the study of one block only, whether combination of revenue work with that of developmental work is detrimental to the

latter or not. This depends on the concentration of effort required in a given jurisdiction and it was not possible to assess the comparable results in a short time at our disposal. It is however manifest that a person who is to undertake a hundred and odd jobs in his duties would have to devise a system of priorities in his own way depending upon the pressure that is brought to bear on him from time to time. As most of his work consists of what may be called legal compulsion it is evident that the revenue work will take a considerable amount of his time.

22. The assessment of the work of Gram Sewaks and E.O. (Agr.) led on to an examination of arrangements made for the challenging task of increasing agricultural production by 40 per cent assumed by the Community movement. As the successful implementation of the Plan is dependent by and large, upon the target for increase in agriculture and as the community projects are to become universal by the end of the plan, the importance of this work cannot be gainsaid. Accordingly, an inquiry was made with the following objectives in view :—

- (i) The targets fixed for increased food production in the Blocks and the mechanics of doing so.
- (ii) The administrative and organisational steps taken to implement the targets fixed.
- (iii) Consequently, examination of arrangements for supervision and guidance of backward and/or negligent farmers.
- (iv) Eliciting of the views of the cultivators on the possibility of increase and their requirements, if any, for this purpose.

23. None of the Blocks studied had yet fixed any targets for agricultural production. The villagers were also ignorant of the fact that an effort, more than usual, was required of them for agricultural production. Nor had they been motivated to this purpose by the block authorities. Indeed all the signs of getting peak performance from them were conspicuous by their absence. No administrative steps had been taken to implement this target other than the usual type of interest that the Block authorities took in processing the various items of *built-in* programme bearing on agricultural production. In view of the amount of time that the Gram Sewak has been devoting to this work or is, due to his other preoccupations, in a position to do so, and the orientation that is given to the functions of the E.O. (Agr.) as described earlier, the impression, could not be avoided, that unless there was a radical rethinking of the entire policy and mechanics of agricultural programme of the Community movement, it could hardly make more impression than at present on the problem of effecting increased agricultural production.

24. In view of the absence of manifest signs of securing almost an agricultural revolution that could result in 40 per cent increase the survey was directed to finding out the views of the cultivators on the subject and the part that the Community movement could play in it.

25. The interview was conducted by a graduate in Agriculture who was himself a former B.D.O., and the guide questionnaire was drawn up in consultation with a former Director of Agriculture.

26. Each unit of cultivation, *i.e.*, family was interviewed in 5 villages. Altogether the number of families interviewed was 150. Both before the village was taken up and afterwards, there was a general discussion on the issues involved in which the B.D.Os. staff and members of the Village Advisory Councils participated. Members of the Panchayat also joined in almost always. Before the results of the individual interviews are displayed and commented upon, it will be interesting to refer to some of the general issues raised by the villagers themselves.

27. *Targets*—Almost everywhere an enquiry was made whether the increase was desired in food-stuffs or cash crops. If the former, the cultivators left no doubt about their view that they would not be a party to the diversion of area under cash crops for food-stuffs as that would seriously affect their economy in an atmosphere of rising prices. The increase in production could thus only be secured by increasing yields from existing area under food production. The villagers expressed willingness to try any scheme, subject to the above stipulation, which would raise agricultural production generally as it helped the country and also individual cultivation units.

The problem, they argued, was of using to an optimum extent the existing resources with the provision of such additional resources as may be conveniently forthcoming from the Government. The targets must therefore be realistically fixed for *each* unit of cultivation and not on an *a priori* basis for the village as a whole. Optimum agricultural production, given fixed resources, was the outcome of balancing eight—ten important factors such as good seed, compost, fertilizers, irrigation facilities, plant protection, etc., and even if *one* vital factor was unavailable or failed, it tended to render infructuous the entire investment in agriculture. Hence the importance of fixing realistic targets on family basis and the supervision and guidance of vulnerable farmers whether they were wilfully so or from ignorance. A fact that was continually emphasised was that it were good farm practices and personal supervision that were more than half of agriculture. A number of examples were cited where money had provided tubewells but lack of attention had nullified its effect.

28. The suggestion most commonly acceptable for the machinery of fixing targets was that:—

- (i) A village committee for increasing production should be constituted as a sub-committee of the Advisory Committee or the Panchayat.
- (ii) It should consist of 10—15 persons. Its tasks should be to prepare, with the help of the Gram Sewak and the EA(A), a

target for each family well in advance of the harvest. For this purpose, it should associate each family turn by turn with its discussions.

(iii) This plan should be in three parts:—

- (a) Targets having regard to the maximum use of existing resources of the cultivation unit with such improvements in techniques and practices as can be secured without additional expenditure of resources.
- (b) Targets if available resources could be augmented from other sources either by way of grants and/or loans to the extent ordinarily expected indicating the sources.
- (c) Targets if more resources than at (b) could be made available.

(iv) This Committee should be affiliated to a District (any other convenient unit) level *expert* committee which should *get* the plans to the extent it can in the time available.

29. *Implementation of targets.*—The cultivators thought that administrative arrangements needed considerable changes. There was duplication of work in one Block, shown separately in Statement VII and thus a considerable lack of co-ordination. In fact in some cases, it was pointed out, there was positive non-cooperation among Block and non-Block authorities concerned with agricultural subjects such as Irrigation. It was sardonically pointed out in a few cases that it was now an axiom that where Block administration is installed, assistance from other Government agencies automatically is curtailed/withdrawn. In fact all applications to that Department were routed through the hierarchy of the Block to the authority which was previously directly responsive to it. Some instances, besides the list mentioned already, that came to notice were interesting in revealing the state of affairs prevailing. An examination of the procedure at present and previously in force regarding grant of taccavi showed that while previously only six steps were needed, it now required nine steps by introducing verification by Block authorities also.

30. The suggestions that emerged from discussion were that the following arrangements should be made for this purpose:—

- (i) All authorities dealing with agricultural production should be placed under an Additional Development Commissioner (Food) who should *apex* the District Production Committees of experts presided over by the senior most district official from among those working under the Additional Development Commissioners.

- (ii) Separate Gram Sewaks should be appointed for assisting in the preparation of village plans. He should maintain a special survey book for this purpose. It has to be determined whether this will lead to any additional cost after the resources of the Block and non-Block staff have been pooled.
- (iii) The E.O. (Agr.) should work more in the field than at Block headquarters.
- (iv) He should maintain a field book, as suggested earlier, of backward and inefficient farmers in which he should show the types of improvements suggested and the extent to which they were secured.
- (v) *There should be a state level evaluation agency that should conduct test inspections to see that the work of V.L.W., E.O. (Agr.) and District Councils has been satisfactory. This should function under the Chief Secretary and thus he should not ipso facto be a Development Commissioner.*

31. It was, however, repeatedly emphasised that it will take a lot of propaganda and persuasion to interest cultivators in planning their targets and implementation steps to secure them. Mutual jealousies may also hinder the flow of true information but if democratisation of administration is the aim, a beginning has to be made sometime.

32. *Certain limitations*—(i) They argued that no improvement of a real character could take place unless structural problems of agriculture were vigorously and simultaneously tackled. Among such problems were:—

- (a) those mentioned in Statement III prominent among which are minor irrigation, water conservation in barani areas, protection from inundation during rains, etc.
- (b) Consolidation of holdings. On the latter, the Punjab cultivators proudly pointed out that consolidation has by itself led to about 75—100 per cent increase in the yield of certain crops*. In some villages, the people were prepared for diversion of block funds for the solution of structural problems; they were prepared for repayment of the sum on a reasonable basis for use later on purposes which get postponed thereby.

(ii) The impression gathered was that there was scepticism about the programme regarding compost making. It was pointed out in one or two places that the scope for this was limited and not unlimited as is commonly thought. Assuming that ten-twelve cattle are available for 25 acres of land and each cattle excretes 25—30 lbs. a day, the total cowdung available will be 50 tons a year. Two thirds or more is used in firewood which cannot be

*This is supported by Dr. M.S. Randhawa, I.C.S., formerly Development Commissioner, Punjab in "Towards a Planned Countryside—The income is increased on compact holdings by at least 25 per cent without any change in the techniques of cultivations."

avoided as there is no alternative source for it, the cowdung available for compost is 16-17 tons a year. If straw and other refuse is added, it may double up. Thirty two tons of compost will hardly be sufficient for 4 acres out of 25 acres. The cultivator has thus to make a choice for using it between cash crops and the food-stuffs and he invariably exercises it in favour of the former.

Similarly it was stated that it was a popular misconception that green manuring did not cost much. The loss of the value of fodder should be added to the price of the seed for calculating its cost which, on present prices, will be more than that of artificial fertilisers†. This deters cultivators from ploughing it in which it accentuated by the water rate that has to be paid for the cultivation of this crop in some States. Again it was argued that green manuring in barani (rainfed) areas which predominate in certain regions in the country, was not of much use due to lack of water for converting it to humus.

(iii) There was a demand for more demonstration farms—one for each group of villages at least for each block which should work on a realistic basis keeping accounts for each type of demonstration that should be open to inspection and challenge by cultivators.

33. The interviews with the cultivators revealed that there was a lack of vital resources with some of them for increasing production. The extent of such resources is indicated in Statement No. VIII. The amount of additional resources necessary, from the point of view of cultivators, to achieve the target of 40 per cent increase worked out to Rs. 1,30,179 for 1,687 acres, i.e., Rs. 77 per acre, out of this Rs. 1,02,050 is for irrigation alone. It ranges from a minimum of Rs. 30 to a maximum of Rs. 5,000 for a family.

34. The concensus of opinion was that subsidies and grants should be given on the basis of the needs of each family, otherwise there was the possibility of certain elements getting away with it because of certain advantages including that of adventure and awareness, that they enjoy. *The objective is not only to encourage the good farmers but also to raise the general level of average farmers. If realistic plans are prepared familywise, this motivation to grants etc., will be automatic.*

35. The impression gathered was that more rigorous work is required, in a scientific manner, on the agriculture side by the Block authorities. The problems referred to have been mentioned more to indicate the issues involved than to suggest firm solutions; but it is obvious that they are difficult and well-nigh intractable in many cases. They also require a high degree of specialised concentration of effort from persons adequately trained in practical agriculture.

† This was the view of the villagers who, it is evident, have not been given the necessary Scientific explanation of the utility and function of the green manures.

36. It is our regret that the time available was short and the work study could not embrace other spheres of activity though full charting of the jobs and their ramifications have been done. Some of the tentative conclusions are indicated in Statement No. IX but more evidence requires to be gathered before a definite view could be given along with supporting facts.

37. The impression that was prominently left was that the work of the movement was now entering an adult stage; its problems were, therefore, no longer confined to the infantile stage; it was growing and bursting at the seams; its transition to a universal pattern of administration would still further introduce complexities in its working. There was no doubt that in certain spheres such as works and agriculture, it will need staff in the field that could exclusively devote attention to them and which should be steeped in this work by constant, continued and proficient endeavour. The latter requires four important pre-requisites:—

- (a) the problems requiring solution in agriculture should be listed as the Gram Sewaks and E.O. (Agr.) go about. They should be shifted and referred to appropriate agencies for solution. This will be the list of extendable items from within;
- (b) the solution should be demonstrated under actual conditions;
- (c) continuous effort should be made at guiding the backward farmers and the results evaluated;
- (d) a list of extendable items, not involving significant additional expenditure of resources, should be supplied to the Block authorities every *quarter* with instructions for the manner of introduction.

38. Even at the risk of repetition, it may be again emphasised that the Gram Sewak and the E.O. (Agr.) as at present situated are not in a position to undertake this work, as thoroughly as the needs of the present situation require. It is also doubtful if a Gram Sevak with reduced jurisdiction but also loaded with items of work other than agriculture, will not be distracted from this work when pressures relating to non-agricultural work become more pronounced and cannot always be anticipated such as an epidemic etc.

39. The character of the Block is bound, under pressure of increasing emphasis on developmental aspects, to assume, sooner or later, the shape of a minor self-contained administrative unit. Its area of operation and concentration of staff will depend upon the speed with which the responsibility for various types of community work is transferred to institutions run by the community itself, otherwise there can hardly be a limit to the increase of bureaucracy and field staff as the problems are so stupendous, so varied and so multifarious.

STATEMENT NO. I

LIST OF JOBS ALLOTTED TO THE GRAM SEWAK

I. *Agriculture*

1. Distribution of improved seeds.
2. Distribution of Agricultural implements.
- *3. Distribution of Manure.
- *4. Distribution of Fertilizers.
5. Demonstration of the use of improved seed.
6. Demonstration of the use of Agricultural implements.
7. Demonstration of the use of manure (including the method of green manure).
8. Demonstration of the use of fertilizers.
9. Reclamation of agricultural waste land.
10. Advice, demonstration, etc., on digging of compost-pits.
11. Popularizing/demonstration of methods of plant-protection.
12. Organising soil and water sample tests.
13. Organising crop competitions.
14. Organising crop sample survey.
15. Organising campaign for cash crops like sugarcane, vegetables etc.
16. Propagation of improved techniques of farming *e.g.*, rotation of crops, farm-management, system and methods of farming etc.
17. Organising campaigns for popularisation of fertilizers, green manure, Vana Mahotsava.
- *¶18. Organising campaigns for community Orchards.
- *19. Receipt and recommendations of applications for Takkavi Loans.

II. *Animal Husbandry*

- *1. Arranging supply of good breed bulls etc.
- ‡*¶2. Castration of scrub bulls.
- *¶3. Supply of medicines—first aid treatment of cases for minor ailments only—for others cases referred to veterinary assistant surgeon.
4. Organising campaign against contagious diseases.
- †||*¶5. Organising campaigns for Artificial Insemination.
- †||*¶6. Provision of footbath for animals.

III. *Dairy-Farming*

1. Advice on balanced diet for cows/buffaloes to increase milk yield.

IV. *Poultry*

1. Popularising Poultry Farming amongst progressive Breeders and tendering advice.
- ‡2. Supply of pedigree birds and eggs.

V. Fisheries

- *¶1. Mobilise opinion in favour of digging of tanks.
- *¶2. Stocking of tanks with finger-lings and their netting.

VI. Health and Sanitation

- 1. Mobilisation of people in favour of
 - (a) pavement of village streets.
 - (b) Construction of new wells and repair of old wells for drinking water.
 - (c) Erection of public/private urinals, bathrooms, and latrines.
- 2. Popularising the use of ventilators and soak pits.
- 3. Tendering advice on
 - (a) rain-water drainage.
 - (b) Chlorination of water.
 - (c) Proper rural housing.
- 4. Organising sanitation campaign and inoculation etc.
- 5. Organising campaign for mass inoculation etc.
- *¶6. Distribution of medicines and maintenance of first aid kits.

VII. Works

- 1. Assessment of needs, publicity, mobilisation of resources and procurement of technical aid etc.
- *¶2. Assistance in approving administrative approval for such schemes.
- *¶3. Assistance in preparation of statements of expenditure, collection of bills etc. and recommendation for grant-in-aid.
- 4. Follow up of execution and maintenance of approved works.
- 5. Assistance to the overseer in the verification of works completed by villagers.
- 6. Collection of public contribution.

VIII. Social Education

- 1. Creation of atmosphere for greater support and co-operation.
- 2. Distribution/display of posters, films, pamphlets, books, leaflets etc.
- 3. Organise Kisan Melas and Exhibitions.
- 4. Organisation of youth clubs.
- 5. Setting up of children parks.
- 6. Organise Community Centres.

IX. General Publicity

- 1. Decimal coinage system, Small Savings.
- 2. Shramdan Drive.

X. Records and Office Work

1. Compilation of Records:—
 - (a) General information about the area.
 - (b) Population a/g to census 1951.
 - (c) Land utilisation Statistics.
 - (d) Crop pattern.
 - (e) Sources of Irrigation.
 - (f) Live stock.
 - (g) Distribution of Agricultural implements (cultivator-wise).
 - (h) Targets and achievement register (monthly achievements).
 - (i) Stock Register.
 - (j) Progress Reports (similar to 8—only consolidated for all villages).
 - (k) Daily Diary.
 - †||*¶(l) Register for construction work.
 - (m) Demonstration results Register.
2. Preparation of progress reports, statements, charts, maps etc.
3. Maintenance of other office records.
4. Office and correspondence work.

XI. Miscellaneous

1. Attending fortnightly/monthly/emergent meetings.
2. Showing visitors round the units.
ad hoc surveys like:
- *3. Assessment of losses during calamities (floods etc.).
4. Cattle census.
5. Industries census.
- *6. Coal requirements survey.
- *7. Cement requirements.
- *8. Sale of Tickets like:
 - (a) T.B. Seals.
 - (b) Flag Day etc.
9. Maintenance of equipment and stores.
- †‡§||10. Distribution of Charkhas and Hanks etc.

NOTE 1.—Revenue work is done by the Gram Sewak only in Bombay State.

NOTE 2.—Jobs not undertaken by the Gram Sewaks in the States indicated by asterisks against each:

- (1) *Madras (Palladam)
- (2) †Delhi (Alipur)
- (3) ‡Punjab (Nawanshahr)
- (4) ||Bombay (Haveli)
- (5) ¶Madras (Coonoor)
- (6) §U.P. (Goshainganj).

STATEMENT NO. II
RECLASSIFIED JOBS DONE BY THE GRAM SEWAK

<i>Classification of jobs</i>	<i>Nature of jobs</i>
1. Educative and Informative (enlightening public opinion).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Demonstration of the use of the improved seed. 2. Demonstration of the use of improved agricultural implements. 3. Demonstration of the use of manure and fertilizers. 4. Organising campaign for introducing and extension of cash crops. 5. Propagation of improved techniques of farming. 6. Reclamation of agricultural waste land. 7. Popularisation and demonstration of methods of plant protection. 8. Organising campaigns for greater use of fertilizers and green manure, Van Mahotsava etc. 9. Advice on balanced feed for milch cattle. ††* ¶ 10. Organising campaigns for artificial insemination. 11. Advice on different aspects of Poultry Farming. * 12. Mobilise opinion in favour of digging of tanks for Fish-Culture. * 13. Stocking of tanks with fingerlings and their Netting. 14. Popularising the use of ventilators and soak pits. 15. Advice on digging of compost pits. 16. Tendering advice on rain water drainage, chlorination of water, rural housing. 17. Enlightening villagers in all aspects of rural development by creating atmosphere for greater support and cooperation. 18. Distribution and display of posters, films, pamphlets books, leaflets and other such audio-visual aids. 19. Assistance in organising Community Centres. 20. Organising Kisan Melas and exhibitions. 21. Publicity about works (constructional items) and mobilisation of villagers in undertaking the same. 22. Conducting publicity for schemes like decimal coinage system, small savings.

*Classification of Jobs**Nature of jobs*

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|---|--|
| 2. Ameliorative (for meeting specific problems). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * ¶ 1. Use of first-aid kits for minor ailments and distribution of medicines. 2. Assistance in mass inoculations of human beings. 3. Organising campaigns for control of contagious disease and assistance in inoculations and vaccinations of cattle. * ¶ 4. First-aid treatment of animal cases for minor ailments. †* ¶ 5. Castrations of scrub bulls. † * ¶ 6. Provision of Foot baths for animals. |
| 3. Supplies or Service jobs (which could be taken up by the villagers). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Distribution of improved seeds. 2. Distribution of Improved implements. *3. Distribution of manure. *4. Distribution of fertilizers and other inorganic manures. *5. Supply of good breed bulls. †6. Supply of pedigree birds and eggs. 7. Soil and water tests. 8. Setting up of Children parks. ††§ ¶ 9. Supply of Charkhas and Hanks. |
| 4. Works (constructional activities) Jobs. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assessment of needs and resources of the villagers for undertaking work items and procurement of technical aid. *\|\| 2. Assistance in preparation of statements of expenditure, collection of bills, etc. * ¶ 3. Assistance in obtaining administrative approval for works schemes. 4. Assistance in the verification of works cases. 5. Follow up of execution and maintenance of completed works items. 6. Collection of Public contribution. |
| 5. Organising villagers for development. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organising crop competitions. * ¶ 2. Organising villagers through campaigns for community orchards. 3. Organising sanitation campaign. 4. Organisation of youth clubs. 5. Shramdan work. |
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<i>Classification of jobs</i>	<i>Nature of jobs</i>
6. Collection of statistics ..	1. Organising crop sample survey/ <i>ad hoc surveys</i> like: *2. Assessment of losses during calamities ; 3. Cattle census ; 4. Industries census ; *5. Coal requirements ; *6. Cement requirements ; 7. Others unforeseen.
7. Administration ..	*1. Receipt and recommendations on applications for taccavi loans. 2. Compilation of office records. *3. Sale of tickets like T.B. seals, flag day. 4. Showing visitors round the units. 5. Attending monthly, fortnightly and emergency meetings. 6. Preparation of progress reports, charts, maps statements etc. 7. Maintenance of equipment and other stores given to the Gram Sewak for use and demonstration. 8. Maintenance of Office Records. 9. Office work.

NOTE I.—Jobs not undertaken by the Gram Sewak in the States indicated by asterisks against each :—

1. Delhi (Alipur)	=	†
2. Punjab (Nawanshahr)	=	‡
3. U.P. (Goshainganj)	=	§
4. Bombay (Haveli)	=	||
5. Madras (Palladam)	=	*
6. Madras (Coonoor)	=	¶

NOTE II.—Revenue work is done only in Bombay State.

STATEMENT NO. III

DETAILS OF STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS TO WHICH VILLAGERS ATTACHED IMPORTANCE

VILLAGE: Nanglipoona.

BLOCK : Alipur Delhi Territory.

1. (a) *Inundation of low lying area*—A major portion of the net sown area in village Nanglipoona is low lying and subject to frequent inundation during the rainy season. This is occasioned due to a storm water drain, called Bawana Escape, running about 200 yards from the village. The embankments of this drain generally give way during the rainy season, despite its periodical strengthening by the villagers. As a result of this, the entire low lying area is affected. Rainwater causes immense harm to the standing Kharif crops and since it is not drained off, also delays Rabi Sowings. This is true of the low lying areas in villages contiguous to Nangli-poona village. Hence, a survey of the entire low lying area may be made and scheme formulated to strengthen the embankments permanently, without which, there is little possibility of increasing agricultural production and all efforts in this direction may be thwarted.

(b) *Consolidation of Holdings*—Consolidation work has not been completed in this village and villagers are very emphatic in this matter. It has been very difficult for most of the cultivators to increase irrigational facilities and undertake farm management activities without consolidation of holdings.

(c) *Canal water*—The villagers are also of the opinion that canal water is inadequate, untimely, and does not reach most of their fields. It is learnt that the supply of canal water has been reduced in the Alipur Block by the canal authorities in view of certain operational difficulties.

VILLAGE: Bharta Khurd.

BLOCK : Nawanshahr—Jullundur Distt. /
Punjab State.

2. (i) As a refreshing contrast, this village has been consolidated with all the resultant advantages like operational efficiency, extension of cultivation, land development, social gains, and other administrative advantages. It was given to understand that as a result of consolidation alone, there has been remarkable improvement in Agriculture in this village.

(ii) Even now there is further scope for increase in agricultural production, provided canal water is assured in adequate quantity. The villagers also want to lift irrigation water from this canal with the help of individual

as well as Community owned pumping sets, but the facilities have not yet been given to the cultivators. This will bring about 250 acres under irrigation and lead to increased yield.

(iii) Most of the cultivators want to instal Tube Wells or pumping sets of their own, provided electricity is made available shortly. This point was frequently brought home during the work study.

VILLAGE: Bareha.

BLOCK : Goshainganj—Lucknow Distt.
U.P. State.

3. (i) This village has the singular distinction of carrying out consolidation work by the villagers themselves in a very smooth and systematic manner. The villagers are proud of this fact and take active interest in Agricultural production work.

(ii) They, however, feel that although a major portion of the net sown area is irrigated either by wells or canals, yet the water supply by Canals is hardly assured and needs to be regulated evenly and timely.

(iii) The villagers have since extended their cultivated area under green manuring with perceptible increase in agricultural production. But of late, in certain cases, the wheat crop has lodged during the last 2-3 years and the cultivators are slowly becoming apprehensive about further adoption of green manuring practices. The problem is, however, under the consideration of the Block authorities.

VILLAGE: Koregoan Mul—Haveli Block.

DISTT. : Poonna, Bombay State.

4. (i) The main problem, here, is about conservation of rain water. Being a comparatively hilly area, the water is drained off and washes away the fertile soil with the result that agricultural production is greatly affected. During the discussion with the villagers it emerged that contour bunding of the fields is imperative and perhaps an effective solution towards increasing agricultural production, the sinking of surface wells being a costly affair. Those villagers who could afford to construct bunds in their fields have already undertaken this work. But in view of the financial stringencies in case of poor cultivators, the bunding of fields has not progressed much.

VILLAGE: Sekampalayam—Palladam Block.

DISTT. : Coimbatore, Madras State.

5. This is an area of inadequate rainfall. It lies astride the wind blowing from Palghat gap at 45—50 miles an hour. Accordingly the entire surface of the soil has been eroded and *kankar* layer is on the top. The crop pattern is a traditional one consisting of Jowar and Bajra. The soil is unfit for these crops and any amount of application of manuring etc., will be of no

use. A new crop pattern has to be evolved. The villagers have tried rearing sheep but without success as there is not enough green fodder for them. About thirteen miles from the village, the whole area produces the finest pasture cattle. The possibility of growing certain varieties of cacti for both the surface and fodder for the sheep and the base for food preservation industry of the cacti would be explored.

VILLAGE: Pallada.

BLOCK : Ootacamund—Nilgiris Distt.
Madras State.

6. It is a predominantly potato-growing area and much of the village economy is based on potato-cultivation. Some of the problems confronting the cultivators are:—

- (i) Timely supply of disease-free potatoes for seed purposes on deferred payment.
- (ii) Arrangements for seed multiplication of Great Scot variety in the village itself.
- (iii) Intensive research for solution of virus, and many other contagious as well as non-contagious diseases in potato crop.
- (iv) Lack of effective organisation for the disposal of produce.

STATEMENT NO. IV

PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT BY GRAM SEWAKS ON VARIOUS DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Name of the Block	No. of villages in the charge of Gram Sewaks	Gram Sewaks	Agriculture (including irrigation & Reclamation)	Works (constructional activities)	Animal Husbandry	Health & Sanitation	Social Education (Education)	Cooperation	Industries	Meetings Block H. Qr. & Distt. H. Qr.	Miscellaneous	Revenue work
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Alipur (Delhi)	7	1	35	26	3	2	—	1	—	13	20	—
	5	2	24	24	—	3	3	11	—	18	17	—
	5	3	18	20	1	1	5	15	—	2	38	—
	6	4	7	31	2	3	3	13	—	13	28	—
Nawanshahr (Punjab)	6	1	25	28	2	8	9	2	1	12	13	—
	7	2	23	25	1	5	16	1	—	13	16	—
	6	3	23	16	1	5	10	1	—	18	26	—
	6	4	28	31	1	7	6	—	1	9	17	—
Goshainganj (U.P.)	6	1	34	18	4	8	4	1	2	11	18	—
Haveli (Bombay)	7	1	5	12	—	7	8	1	—	6	14	47
	7	2	9	17	2	1	8	1	—	9	20	33
Palladam (Madras)	10	1	18	13	10	11	13	2	1	12	20	—
	10	2	15	15	9	12	14	5	2	14	14	—
Coonoor (Madras)	7	1	34	4	8	2	11	2	11	5	23	—
Baruipur (West Bengal)	7	1	40	12	3	4	19	3	—	5	14	—
	7	2	25	25	1	—	24	1	—	3	21	—

STATEMENT NO. V-A
DISTRIBUTION OF SEEDS IN DIFFERENT PLACES

Block (1)—ALIPUR (Delhi)

Sl. No.	Procedures	Cultiva- tors	Gram Sewak	EOA	Coop. Stores	BDO	DAO
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Submit indents on assumption basis.	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	D A O purchases seeds and informs BDO/EOA.	..	..	2	2	2	2
3	D A O places seeds at the Coop. Stores again under intimation to BDO/EOA.	..	..	3	3	3	3
4	Gram Sewaks are then informed by EOA.	..	4	4	..	..	..
5	Gram Sewaks inform the cultivators about the availability of seeds.	5	5	..	..	..	..
6	Cultivators purchase seeds from Coop. Stores.	6	..	..	6	..	..
7	EOA & Gram Sewaks inspect Coop. Stores and verify stocks	..	7	7	7	..	..
8	Stock position is submitted by coop. Stores through Gram Sewaks and/or direct to EOA.	..	8	8	8	..	..
9	EOA compiles stock position and submits to DAO through BDO.	..	..	9	..	9	9
10	When the sale is over, complete statement about sale of seed is submitted by Coop. Stores through Gram Sewaks and/or direct.	..	10	10	..	..	..
11	EOA compiles and submits statement to DAO through BDO for payment of commission etc., to DAO.	..	..	11	..	11	11
12	DAO pays commission amount after scrutiny.	..	..	..	12	..	12
13	If addl. seed is required, DAO arranges the seed and same procedure is followed.	13	13	13	13	13	13
14	EOA & Gram Sewaks also arrange supply of improved seed amongst cultivators (Natural Spread System).	14	14	14	..	..	..

Block (2)—NAWANSHAHR (Punjab)

Sl. No. 1	Procedures 2	Gram Sewak 3	EOA 4	DAO 5	DDA 6	Seed Agent 7
1	Submit indents on assumption basis ..	1	1	1	1	..
2	On intimation, taking delivery of seed ..	..	2	..	..	..
3	Inspection of seed—quality and quantity and germination tests conducted.	..	3	..	..	..
4	Encashment of R. R. and entry in Store-Book	..	4	..	..	..
5	Stocking of seed with seed agents .. ..	..	5	..	..	5
6	Acknowledgment about the seed .. ..	..	6	..	..	..
7	Seed account transferred to seed agent ledger	..	7	..	..	..
8	Expenditure statements submitted by seed agents are verified and submitted for payment.	..	8	8	8	8
9	During sale of seed, registers of seed agents are checked.	..	9	..	..	9
10	Sale proceeds are collected, receipts issued and entered in Seed Agent Ledger.	..	10	..	..	..
11	Amount remitted into Treasury .. ..	..	11	..	..	..
12	Entries made in the Cash receipt and remittance register.	..	12	..	..	..
13	Cash register closed at the end of month	..	13	..	..	..
14	Income statement prepared, got verified from the Treasury and submitted for verification.	..	14	14	..	..
15	Balance seed is auctioned .. ..	..	15	15	15	15
16	Storage statements are prepared and submitted for approval.	..	16	16	16	..
17	After approval of above, commission bills are prepared and submitted for payment.	..	17	17	..	..
18	Self Cross Check account is prepared of receipts and disposal of seed and submitted for payment.	..	18	18	18	..
19	Commission amount encashed, entered in cash-book and payment made to seed agents.	..	19	..	..	19
20	Receipts for commission amounts are verified and sent.	..	20	20	20	..
21	During sale of seed, market fluctuations are observed and price fixation recommended.	..	21	21	..	..
22	If seed goes out of stock, matter reported and arrangements made.	..	22	22	..	..
23	If arrangements made, disposal of additional quantity is made as detailed above.	..	23	..	..	..

Block (3)—GOSHAINGANJ (U.P.)

Sl. No.	Procedures	Lekh-pal	Culti-vator	Gram Sewak	EOA	DAO	DDA	In-charge Seed Depot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Collection of indents on sawai basis.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
2	Get the bonds verified by Lekhpal.	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
3	Deposit the bonds with Incharge Seed Stores.	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
4	Seed demand in respect of seed stores is compiled and got approved in the meeting of Directors.	..	..	..	4	..	..	4
5	Total demand submitted to DAO and DDA for supply of seed.	..	..	..	5	5	5	..
6	Seed supplied by D A O is received in the basic seed store.	..	..	..	6	6	..	..
7	Germination tests are conducted.	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
8	From the basic seed store it goes to seed stores.	..	..	..	8	..	..	8
9	Receipts of seed stores are verified.	..	..	..	9	..	..	..
10	Bring the cultivators to seed stores for collection of improved seed.	..	10	10	..	..	..	10
11	After sale, recording of entries in the Sawai register.	..	..	11	..	..	..	..
12	Fields of cultivators (Registered growers) are inspected for roguing operations etc.	..	..	12	12	..	..	..
13	At the time of harvesting, collect swai share from the cultivators and deposit in the seed store.	..	13	13	..	..	..	..
14	In case of dishonouring of sawai bond, recovery of seed in cash terms.	..	..	14	14	..	..	..
15	Contact seed stores Incharge about defaulters and inform the cultivators for compliance.	..	..	15	..	..	..	15
16	For additional requirement of seed, assist seed store incharge in the procurement of seed from cultivators.	..	16	16	..	..	..	16

Block (3)—GOSHAINGANJ (U.P.)—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
17	Verification of store, stock register.	..	..	..	17	..	..	..
18	Treatment of stores against insect pests.	..	..	..	18	..	..	..
19	Report about market fluctuations when realisation of seed is on.	..	..	..	19	19	..	..
20	Arrange exchange of pure seed amongst cultivators.	..	..	20	20	..	..	..
21	Get prepared the balance sheet of seed store and submit.	..	..	..	21	21	..	21
22	Sale of seed (in packets or in little quantities) on cash terms.	..	..	22	22	..	..	..
23	Deposit the amount with ADO (A) and DAO.	..	..	23	23	23	..	..

Block (4)—HAVELI (Bombay)

Sl. No.	Procedures	Lekh-pal	Culti-vator	Gram Sewak	EOA	DAO	DDA
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Collection of indents on Sawai Bonds	..	1	1	1	1	1
2	Getting the Bonds verified by Lekhpal.	2	2	..	..	..	..
3	Deposit the bonds with EOA ..	..	..	3	3	..	..
4	On intimation, taking the delivery	..	..	..	4	..	..
5	Entry in the store book ..	..	..	..	5	..	..
6	Stocking of seed in seed godown under the charge of EOA.	..	..	..	6	..	..
7	Seed is sold by EOA ..	..	..	..	7	..	..
8	Bring the cultivators to seed depots (Store) for collection of seed.	..	8	8	8	..	..
9	After sale recording of entries in the sawai register.	..	..	9	..	..	..
10	Sale proceeds are collected, receipts issued and amount entered in the cash book.	..	..	..	10	..	..
11	Remitted into the Treasury and entered in remittance register.	..	..	..	11	..	..
12	At the end of month cash register is closed.	..	..	..	12	..	..
13	Income statement is prepared, got verified from Treasury and submitted to DAO for verification.	..	..	..	13	13	..
14	The balance seed is sold for consumption purposes by EOA as per orders of DAO.	..	..	..	14	14	..
15	Storage statements are prepared and submitted for approval.	..	..	..	15	15	15
16	At the end of harvesting, collect sawai shares from cultivators and deposit.	..	..	..	16	..	..
17	In case of dishonouring of Sawai bonds, recovery of seed in cash terms.	..	..	..	17	..	..
18	Contact seed stores about defaulters, inform respective cultivators.	..	..	..	18	..	..
19	When new varieties of crops are received effect distribution and sale on cash terms.	..	..	..	19	19	..
20	Deposit the sale proceeds ..	..	..	..	20	20	..

Block (4)—HAVELI (Bombay)—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
21	During sale of seed, market fluctuations are observed and price fixation recommended.	..	..	..	..	21	21
22	If seed goes out of stock matter reported and arrangements made.	..	..	..	..	22	22
23	If arrangements made, disposal of addl. quantity is made as detailed above.	..	..	..	..	23	..

Block (5)—PALLADAM (Madras)

Sl. No. 1	Procedures 2	Culti- vator 3	Gram Sewak 4	EOA 5	BDO 6	DAO 7
1	Collect indents from cultivators orally as well as in writing together with amount in full and issue a temporary receipt.	1	1	..	..	..
2	Consolidate all indents .. .. .	..	2	..	..	..
3	Submit indents and money to BDO through EOA and get receipt.	..	3	3	3	..
4	EOA submits indents to DAO through BDO	..	..	4	4	4
5	On intimation, taking delivery of seed ..	..	..	5	..	..
6	Inspection of seed quality and quantity ..	..	..	6	..	..
7	Entering in the Stock Book .. .. .	..	..	7	..	..
8	Germination tests are made .. .. .	..	..	8	..	..
9	Expenditure statement submitted and sale price fixed by DAO.	..	..	9	..	..
10	Acknowledgement about seed is made ..	..	..	10	..	..
11	As soon as seeds arrive, Gram Sewaks are informed.	..	11	11	..	..
12	Gram Sewak takes the seed to his head quarters from this Block Head quarters.	..	12	12	..	..
13	The Gram Sewak distributes seeds as per indents.	13	13	..	..	..
14	After distributing the seed temporary receipts are taken back from indentors and pucca receipts issued.	14	14	..	..	..
15	Sale proceeds are entered in Cash Book and the Stock in the stock book.	..	..	15	..	..
16	Sale proceeds remitted in the treasury ..	..	..	16	..	..
17	Entries made in corresponding registers ..	..	..	17	..	..
18	Cash register is closed at end of month ..	..	..	18	..	..
19	Income statement prepared and verified and submitted.	..	..	19	..	..
20	The balance seed is sent to other areas as per orders of DAO for the next season.	..	..	20	..	20
21	Storage statements are prepared .. ..	..	..	21	..	..
22	Market fluctuations are observed and submitted to DAO.	..	..	22	..	22
23	Additional quantities, if required, are reported	..	..	23	..	23
24	If arrangements made, the same old procedure is followed.	..	..	24	..	..

Block (6)—COONOR (Madras)

Sl. No.	Procedures	Cultivator	Gram Sewak	EOA	DAO	Supdt. Re-search Station.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Collect indents from cultivators orally as well as in writing together with amount in full and issue a temporary receipt.	1	1	..	..	..
2	Consolidate all the indents .. .. .	..	2	..	..	..
3	Submit indents and money to BDO through EOA and get receipt.	..	3	3	..	..
4	EOA submits indents to DAO through BDO	..	..	4	4	4
5	On intimation, taking delivery of seed. (Delivery at the seed Depot under the charge of EOA.)	..	..	5	..	..
6	Inspection of seed quality and quantity ..	..	..	6	..	..
7	Entry in the stock book .. .. .	..	..	7	..	..
8	Seed stocked in the Depot .. .. .	..	..	8	..	..
9	Expenditure statement submitted and sale price fixed by DAO.	..	..	9	..	..
10	Acknowledgement about seed is made ..	..	10	..	..	..
11	As soon as seeds arrive, Gram Sewaks are informed.	..	11	11	..	..
12	Gram Sewaks informs indentor villager to take delivery from the Depot.	12	12	..	..	..
13	Cultivators themselves collect the Seed from Seed Depot.	13	..	13	..	..
14	After distributing the seed temporary receipts are taken back from indentors and pucca receipts issued.	14	14	..	..	..
15	Sale proceeds are entered in cash book and the stock sold in the stock book.	..	..	15	..	..
16	Sale proceeds remitted in the Treasury ..	..	..	16	..	..
17	Entries made in corresponding register	..	..	17	..	..
18	Cash register is closed at the end of month ..	..	..	18	..	..
19	Income statement prepared and verified and submitted.	..	..	19	..	..
20	Balance seed not auctioned. Efforts made to dispose of all the seed.	..	..	20	..	..
21	Storage statements are prepared (on monthly basis).	..	..	21	21	..

Block (6)—COONOOR (Madras)—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	Market fluctuations are observed and submitted to DAO.	..	..	22	22	..
23	Additional quantities, if required, are reported	..	..	23	23	..
24	If arrangements made, the same old procedure is followed.	..	..	24	..	..

STATEMENT NO. V-B

AGRICULTURAL PROCEDURES IN GOSHAINGANJ BLOCK—(U.P. STATE)

Supply of Fertilizers

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Procedures</i>	<i>Culti- vators</i>	<i>Lekh- pal</i>	<i>Gram Sewak</i>	<i>Depot In- charge</i>	<i>ADO (A)</i>	<i>BDO</i>	<i>DAO</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Collection of indents from cultivators on Taccavi bonds for different fertilizers.	1	..	1	..	1	..	..
2	Get the Taccavi bonds verified by the Lekhpal.	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
3	Deposit the bonds with the A.D.O. (A).	..	..	3	..	3	..	..
4	Consolidate the indents for the entire block and submit to D.A.O. for supply.	..	..	..	..	4	4	..
5	Arrange allocation of Coop. Depots for supply of fertilizers.	..	..	..	..	5	..	4
6	Take delivery of fertilizers when received and arrange delivery at Coop. Depots.	..	..	..	6	6	..	..
7	Obtain sanction for the issue of permits on the basis of Taccavi bonds, already verified.	..	..	..	..	7	7	..
8	Preparation of the permits	..	..	..	..	8	..	..
9	Distribution of the permits amongst the cultivators concerned.	..	..	9	..	..	..	..
10	Accompany the cultivators for encashment of the fertilizer permit for alteration and verification at Coop. Depots.	10	..	10	..	..	..	..
11	Issue of fertilizer on the basis of permits and supervision of proper distribution.	..	..	..	11	11	..	..
12	Maintain record of the fertilizer given on Taccavi basis and submit the statement to B.D.O. and D.A.O.	..	..	..	..	12	12	12

STATEMENT NO. V-B—2

AGRICULTURAL PROCEDURES IN GOSHAINGANJ BLOCK—(U.P. STATE)

Seed Demonstrations

<i>Sl. No.</i> 1	<i>Procedures</i> 2	<i>Culti- vators</i> 3	<i>Gram Sewak</i> 4	<i>ADO (A)</i> 5	<i>DAO</i> 6
1	During regular visits persuade the cultivators for lay out of Demonstration plots.	..	1	1	..
2	Selection of suitable site for lay out of D. plots	..	2	2	..
3	Arrange for the different requirements for Demonstration plots.	..	..	3	3
4	Explain to the Gram Sewak the details of lay out	..	..	4	..
5	Further explain to the cultivators the particulars and details of lay out.	..	5	..	..
6	Assist the cultivators in the actual lay out and also undertake certain cultural operations like ploughing, sowing of seed etc.	6	6	..	..
7	Prominent display of particulars, object of demonstration etc. at the Demonstration plot.	..	7	..	..
8	Watch the progress of demonstration plot during visits, record observations with the cultivators on sight seeing.	8	8	8	..
9	At the time of harvesting, assess the yield of D. plot in the presence of other cultivators.	..	9	..	..
10	Compilation of results and submission to DAO through ADO (A).	..	10	10	10
11	Publicity of results of demonstrations through cultivators and Gram Sewaks.	11	11	..	..

STATEMENT NO. V-B—3

GOSHAINGANJ BLOCK (U.P. STATE)

Organising Crop Competitions

<i>Sl. No.</i> 1	<i>Procedures</i> 2	<i>Culti- vators</i> 3	<i>Lekh- pal</i> 4	<i>Gram Sewak</i> 5	<i>ADO (A)</i> 6	<i>BDO</i> 7	<i>DAO</i> 8
1	Propagate the scheme for crop competitions at Gram Sabha level, Tehsil level, District level, State level and Country level.	..	..	1	..	..	..
2	Inspection of Cultivators' plots about their eligibility in crop competitions.	..	..	2	..	..	..
3	Tendering advice, when required on improved agricultural practices to the prospective competitions.	..	..	3	3	..	..
4	Assist the farmers in filling up the forms.	4	..	4	..	..	..
5	Collect the information about plot number etc. from the Lekhpal.	..	5	5	..	..	..
6	Collect crop competition fees from the competitors.	6	..	6	..	..	..
7	Applications, forms, and fees from the cultivators are deposited at Block Headquarters with ADO (A).	..	..	7	7	..	..
8	Receipts are issued to the cultivators through the Gram Sewaks.	8	..	8	8	..	..
9	Amount is taken in the relevant cash book and deposited with DAO direct.	..	..	..	9	..	..
10	Programme with regard to harvesting of crops in the competition plots is fixed up by ADO (A) according to levels of competitions.	..	..	..	10	..	..
11	Harvestings are supervised by the officials concerned in the presence of cultivators.	..	..	11	11	11	11
12	Observations are recorded, results compiled for various levels of competitions and submitted to DAO.	..	..	12	12	12	12
13	Results of crop competitions are announced and given publicity.	..	..	13	13	13	13
14	DAO remits the amount to ADO (A) for distribution.	..	..	..	14	..	14
15	Prizes are distributed to the winners, actual payees' receipts taken and submitted to DAO.	..	..	15	15	..	15

STATEMENT NO. V-B-4

GOSHAINGANJ BLOCK (U. P. STATE)

Organising Crop Sample Survey

<i>Sl. No.</i> 1	<i>Procedures</i> 2	<i>Culti- vators</i> 3	<i>Lekhpal</i> 4	<i>Gram Sewak</i> 5	<i>ADO (A)</i> 6	<i>N.S.S. Officer</i> 7
1	Traning at the Block Headquarters about crop sample survey and also obtain the random number and forms from the N.S.S. Officer.	..	..	1	1	1
2	Contact the Lekhpal and obtain Khasra Numbers of plots.	..	2	2	2	..
3	Find out the exact location of plot with the help of Lekhpal.	..	3	3	3	..
4	Approach the cultivator and explain to him the importance of N.S.S. crop cuttings.	..	..	4	4	..
5	With the assistance of cultivators earmark the plot according to specifications and instructions.	..	..	5	..	..
6	Fix up the date of crop cuttings with the cultivators.	..	..	6	..	..
7	Fill up Form No. (1) about area, measurement and boundary of the plot and submit to ADO (A).	..	..	7	7	..
8	Compile Form No. (1) and submit to the Statistician.	..	..	..	8	8
9	Harvestings done under the direct supervision of ADO (A), assess the first weight, fill up Form No. 2, and submit.	..	..	9	9	..
10	Forms No. 2 are compiled and submitted to Statistician.	..	..	..	10	10
11	Produce of the crop cutting plot is sealed for drying up and handed over to the cultivator.	11	..	11	..	..
12	After fifteen days, ascertain the weight, fill up Form No. 3, and submit.	..	..	12	12	..
13	Forms No. 3 are compiled and submitted to Statistician.	..	..	..	13	13

STATEMENT NO. VI

STATEMENT REGARDING THE TIME SPENT BY THE EXTENSION OFFICER
(AGRICULTURE) ON OFFICE AND NON-OFFICE WORK IN A YEAR

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Block and State.</i>	<i>Percentage of days spent on office work.</i>	<i>Percentage of days spent on non-office work.</i>
1	Alipur (Delhi)	Diaries not available at the time of work study.	
2	Nawanshahr (Punjab)	50.2	49.8
3	Goshainganj (U.P.)	37.6	62.4
4	Haveli (Bombay)	30.35	69.65
5	Palladam (Madras)	Diaries not available at the time of work study.	
6	Coonoor	21.8	78.2

STATEMENT NO. VII
DUPLICATION OF WORK

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Nature of activities</i>	<i>Performance within the block</i>	<i>Performance outside the block</i>	<i>Nature of duplication as revealed by work study</i>	<i>Nature of duplication as based on experience and discussions with extension workers</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Agriculture—					
	(i) Distribution of improved seeds for trial plots.	Cultivators Gram Sewaks †Agri. S. I. ‡E.O.A.	Distt. Agri. Officer Dy. Dir. (Agri.)	Trial plots are laid both by the Gram Sewak and Agri. S.I.s	It sometimes happens that the trial plots get concentrated in the same villages of the Gram Sewak's centre, or groups of cultivators.
	(ii) Manure pits.	Gram Sewak Patwari Panchayat E.O.A.	..	..	1. Digging of compost pits is a part of the activities of Health and Sanitation Staff provided by the concerned deptt. at the village level. 2. The Gram Sewaks, A.S.I.s and E.O.A. also undertake this activity.
2. Loans for irrigation.					
		Cultivators Patwari Kanungo Gram Sewak EOA BDO Accountant Headman	Tehsildar	1. The Statement and the value of the land in the possession of the cultivator is furnished by the Patwari and unnecessarily counter signed by the Kanungo. 2. The application is again countersigned and	1. Under the Head "irrigation" the BDO advances loans for pumping sets. Tube wells boring operations, whereas the Tehsildar generally grants loans for sinking of wells under G.M.F. schemes. But he may advance loans for other items as well.

†Agricultural Sub-Inspector.

‡Extension Officer (Agriculture).

1	2	3	4	5	6
				<p>recommended by the Gram Sewak.</p> <p>3. Verifications are again done by the Tehsildar on various items such as value of land, ownership and whether enough land has been hypothecated, when the conditions already known by the Patawari are previously looked into by him.</p> <p>4. Loans are sanctioned by the B.D.O. and also the Tehsildar. There is lack of coordination to ensure that similar types of loans are not advanced to the cultivators or different loans to the same cultivators.</p> <p>On common village land, both the Panchayats and the Forest Dept. sometimes come in conflict for its utilisation in their own manner.</p>	<p>2. The applications are under scrutiny and reconciliation of discrepancies at many stages.</p> <p>Distt. Board also undertakes reclamation of common waste land in the villages of its jurisdiction.</p> <p>Veterinary first aid equipment and medicines are supplied at each Gram Sewak's centres, and at some such centres, Veterinary Dispensaries or sub-centres are also located. Mobile vans are also operating in the entire block.</p>
<p>3. Reclamation.</p> <p><i>Animal Husbandry—</i> (i) Veterinary, first aid and medicine for simple disease.</p>	<p>Cultivators Patwari Gram Sewak Panchayat EOA</p> <p>Gram Sewak Agri. S.I. *VAS</p>		<p>Tehsildar District Board District Engineer Fodder Botanist</p> <p>District Board</p>		

*Veterinary Assistant Surgeon

STATEMENT NO. VII—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6
(ii) Castration of bulls.	Gram Sewak VAS			Work since stopped by the Gram Sewaks	Castrations are being preformed by the Gram Sewaks as well as veterinary officials.
5. <i>Health and Rural Sanitation—</i>	Provision for first aid boxes, simple medi- cines for malaria, cough.	Gram Sewak Sanitary Inspector.	District Board		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All Rural Welfare agencies have on their programme provision of health and medicine facilities and it happens that they contact the same villages or groups of families in the same village. 2. During the intensive phase of the block the Sanitary Inspector is posted in addition to the existing Sanitary Inspectors of the Health Dept. and Dist. Board. He has no clearly defined duties and as such, is unable to coordinate effectively with his counterparts. 3. Mobile vans supply medicines to the villagers mostly independent of the knowledge and assistance of the Block Staff. 4. Some non-official organisations and social welfare institutions operate in the Block, for health and sanitation activities without maintaining any effective coordination with the Block authorities.

1	2	3	4	5	6
6	<i>Works programme—</i> Grants and assistance.	Panchayat Gram Sewak Overseer	District Board.	..	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Projects like Harijan Wells, Chaupals, Community Centres etc., are initiated by the Harijan Welfare Board, Distt. Board, Bharat Sewak Samaj and the Development Deptt. without any effective co-ordination. There is much duplication and sometimes double payment could be made for the same project by different agencies. 2. The Health Deptt., Development Deptt. and other official and non-official agencies offer different designs and estimates for the implementation of the same project in the Block. 3. Local Development works and Local Works Programmes operate simultaneously in Development Blocks at many palces.
7	<i>Social Education—</i> (i) Organise youth welfare institutions.	Gram Sewak *SEO Teachers BDO	..	..	<p>Youth organisations are undertaken by the Block Staff, Bharat Sewak Samaj and State Farmers' Forum (Krishak Samaj) contacting the same villages and obtaining resources from different agencies.</p> <p>Very little coordination is at present being maintained with regard to women welfare activities in the Block by the official and non-official organisations.</p>
	(ii) Establish Women Welfare Centres.		..	..

*Social Education Organiser.

STATEMENT NO. VII—concluded

1	2	3	4	5	6
(iii) Setting up of children Parks.	..	..	..	No effective coordination at present resulting in duplication of activities. It happens that grants in cash or kind are generally paid to the village panchayats for the same children parks by different official and non-official agencies.
8 <i>Communications—</i> Construction and repair of roads.	Gram Sewak Panchayat Overseer SEO E.O.A. BDO People.	..	..	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Earth work is ensured through the villagers by various officials and non-official agencies according to different specifications. 2. Pooling of resources from various funds and budget heads is also not ensured by these agencies. 3. Estimates for metalling of roads are verified at many stages. 
9 <i>Planning of agricultural programmes.</i>	*DC *DAO BDO Asstt. Farm Manager E.O.A. Agri., S.I.	..	..	While fixing the targets and sub-targets, village-wise, with regard to agricultural programme, the plans are formulated from above in relation to the resources available. These plans are split up district-wise and percolate down to the villages irrespective of their actual needs and requirements for increased agricultural production. When

*Deputy Commissioner.
*District Agriculture Officer.

the agricultural programmes are split up in consultation with the villagers by the Block authorities, the villagers become anxious about these plans but evince little interest and response if the benefits accruing out of the village-wise agricultural programmes are not uniformly and systematically spread out. It may be worth-while to consult the villagers in the beginning to ascertain their requirements, short term as well as long term, and formulate such plans. The implementation of these plans may be undertaken in the context of available resources and the villagers clearly enlightened about the commitments made in this respect. The supply position may also be made more effective and timely.

10 *Family Surveys.*

S.E.O.
Gram Sewak

.. At present many types of surveys are to be conducted by the Gram Sewaks. These surveys are sponsored by various Govt. agencies. The Gram Sewak could undertake these only if he is relieved of his work load and is assisted by other functionaries in his task.

STATEMENT NO. VIII.

NUMBER OF PERSONS REQUIRING ADDITIONAL RESOURCES AND THEIR APPROXIMATE COST

Serial No.	Name of the village/Block/State	No. of persons interviewed	Area (Acres)	Seeds		Manure		Fertilizers		Implements		Bullocks		Irrigation		Soil Conservation		Total Cost
				No. of persons requiring seeds	Approximate cost	No. of persons requiring manure	Approximate cost	No. of persons requiring fertilizers	Approximate cost	No. of persons requiring implements	Approximate cost	No. of persons requiring bullocks	Approximate cost	No. of persons requiring irrigation facilities	Approximate cost	No. of persons requiring soil conservation assistance	Approximate cost	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	V—Nangliipoona B—Alipur S—Delhi	24	512	—	Rs. —	—	Rs. —	—	Rs. —	—	Rs. —	—	Rs. —	20	37,300	2	1,000	38,300
2	V—Bharatakhurd B—Nawanshahr S—Punjab	56	412	2	90	—	—	2	144	3	140	—	—	13	22,500	2	525	23,399
3	V—Bareha B—Goshainganj S—Uttar Pradesh	40	165	—	—	—	—	17	1,380	1	20	13	5,600	—	—	1	1,500	8,500
4	V—Koregaonmul B—Haveli S—Bombay	20	368	—	—	5	1,735	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	28,000	3	1,180	30,915
5	V—Seekampalayam B—Palladam S—Madras	20	230	2	123	2	310	4	432	6	300	13	11,050	12	14,250	3	2,600	29,065
	TOTAL ..	150	1,687	4	213	7	2,045	23	1,956	10	460	26	16,650	56	1,02,050	11	6,805	1,30,179

V—Village

B—Block

S—State

STATEMENT No. IX
SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Personnel

(a) There was an impression that the full complement of staff has not always been available. There was a time-lag between the sanctioning of the staff, its recruitment and actual resumption of duties by it. In consequence, it was represented that the field work suffered; considerable time was also spent on correspondence for expediting the recruitment of the staff. This increases office work and the worries of the BDO.

(b) The staff of the blocks is now working as a self-contained unit. The highest post open to the block staff for promotion is that of the BDO. This is also filled from outside the ranks of the block staff in most of the cases. The block staff, therefore, has not much opportunity for promotion to the highest post. This is a matter that requires careful consideration especially in relation to the fact that the whole of the country will, during the Second Five Year Plan, be covered by National Extension Service and Community Development Blocks. Unless avenues of promotion are found for the block staff, it will affect the enthusiasm and the quality of work of the Gram Sewak and the other block staff.

Paper work

(a) The impression gathered was that the number of instructions issued to the Gram Sewak and the block staff was rather large with the result that there was (a) no proper codification of instructions, (b) even if they were codified there was little disposition to read them in view of the fact that many repeated each other and the number was large. The paper work in the blocks seems to be gradually mounting. The end result of instructions should be the better performance of the job and not a greater accumulation of paper work. It is suggested that reorientation may be made in the manner of issuing instructions to the block authorities. All instructions should be routed through a cell at the headquarters of the State and the district, in which instructions of higher authorities should be put in an easily assimilable form by indicating the various steps that have to be taken as in some of the Job Description Sheets which have been appended to the study.

(b) The office staff of the BDO also needs to be looked into as regards its quality and strength. Much depends on the manner of arranging work consequent upon the simplification of procedures both in the field and in the office. This is a work of stupendous nature which can be done by a centralised agency and there seems to be enough scope for work study training to be given to the BDOs as a part of a refresher course so that they can apply its methods in making arrangements for their work.

Visits of Gram Sewaks to Block Headquarters

There seems to be scope for lesser visits of Gram Sewak to the Block headquarters. This can be done in many ways, *e.g.*, by docketing information properly in the Block headquarters. To some extent, this will become easier if the suggestion made regarding the field diary of the Gram Sewak is accepted. The impression gathered was that, at the least provocation, the Gram Sewak was required to visit the Block headquarters for small odds and ends in which the BDO and his extension staff were interested. On the other hand, the contact of the BDO and the EO with the Gram Sewaks should not normally be at the headquarters of the block but in the field so that their work can be watched and progressed. This, however, does not refer to the fortnightly meetings that are arranged at the BDO's headquarters for reviewing the progress of work. Even in this case the meetings can be held alternatively in the jurisdiction of the different Gram Sewaks so that the tendency and the disposition to go to the Block headquarters are avoided. This will also be an item of extension programme as all the officials gathered in a village for a fortnightly meeting are likely to notice its problems more intimately than they normally do. Each meeting may become, in part, a seminar on the development conditions of the village in which it is held, after the other agenda have been disposed of.

Loans

The loans given, so far as the poorer section of the population was concerned and also to backward farmers, should be in kind and not in cash. It was represented in some of the places that the cash was utilised for other sources and not for the purpose for which it was meant. This poses an administrative problem as the duties of distribution in kind will increase the work of the block staff but some arrangement requires to be made by which it is possible to establish that the loan given has been realised for the purpose for which it was sanctioned. May be that cash orders may be placed in the hands of the villagers which they can encash at the co-operative society or the recognised agency on the basis of which payment may be made by Government to those agencies. A system can be evolved for this purpose and can be tried, as a pilot measure, in some backward areas. This is also likely to lead to greater facilities in effecting recovery as the loan would have been actually utilised for a productive purpose.