

EXPLOITATION OF FORESTS THROUGH FOREST LABOUR COOPERATIVES

IN

MAHARASHTRA

S. W. MULANJAN

GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS,

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The present study was undertaken as a project financed by the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission. The objectives of the study as specified in our letter No. 1609/67-68 dated 5th August 1967 addressed to the Secretary, Research Programmes Committee were as given below.

"It is proposed to systematically analyse the data on costs and returns of the working of the forests with a view to make a beginning in the study of the economics of present forest exploitation in Maharashtra State. The study will also give an opportunity to note the problems of tribal welfare and especially the relations of tribal welfare with economic development and exploitation of forests with which these people are traditionally and culturally etosely associated".

To achieve these objectives, it was decided to plan a survey of a few societies and the members and the non-member workers attached to them. Six societies from the Thana and the Dhulia districts were selected for this survey. The details for the sampling procedure of the societies and the workers are given in Chapter 4 of the present study. In addition, attempts were made in the Chandrapur district where the contractors were exploiting the forests on a large scale, to know about the cost structure of the contractors. Such a comparison of the costs through the societies and the contractors could not, however, materialize due to the difficulties in securing reliable data from the contractors.

The field work was conducted during the period November 1968 to March 1969. Besides, data were collected from the Department of Forestry and the Department of

Cooperation to know more about the organization and functioning of the societies in the State. It needs to be specially noted here that very valuable material was made available for the present study by the officials of both the concerned Departments.

As many as four committees were appointed between 1956 and 1969 to solve the problems of the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the State. These committee reports, both published and unpublished, were also made available to us by these Departments.

Not much literature is at present available on the forest labour cooperatives in the country. The forest labourers' cooperative societies appear to be neglected in the literature on cooperation. The committee reports, administrative reports and a few other general publications consulted here are noted in the short bibliography given at the end of this study.

Maharashtra was the pioneer state in the country to try out cooperativization of forest workers for the exploitation of forests. Chapter 1 of the present study sketches a historical review of the whole movement of the organization of the forest labourers' cooperative societies since its inception in 1947 in the State. Chapter 2 analyses the growth and the development of the societies in Maharashtra mainly after the reorganization of the Bombay State and the formation of a separate Maharashtra State. The organizational structure which was evolved over years after the initiation of these societies, is discussed in Chapter 3. The method of selection of the societies and the workers and the investigational procedures are given in Chapter 4 along with the characteristics of the selected societies. The costs of exploitation and the returns to the societies are analysed in Chapter 5 after discussing the methods of

sharing the returns by the societies as evolved in this State. The employment provided and the incomes accrued to the members and the non-member workers are analysed in Chapter 6. An attempt is made in Chapter 7 to analyse the impact of the societies on the welfare of the Adivasis. Chapter 8 gives the conclusions on some of the major issues and problems emerging out of the earlier discussions.

It needs to be specially noted here that the present study is merely an economic study of the societies from the point of view of their structure, costs, employment and the welfare of the Adivasis. No attempts are, therefore, made to make any administrative recommendations on the basis of the results thrown out by the analyses.

Chapter 1

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE FOREST LABOUR CO-OPERATIVE
MOVEMENTThe Initiative

The forests in India are being exploited mainly through the use of ~~the~~ Adivasi labour. The Adivasi communities dwell within and on the outskirts of forest areas and provide labour for the exploitation of ~~the~~ forests. Till Independence the Adivasis were being exploited by the forest contractors by employing them on very meagre wages and advancing credits to them in the agricultural season at very high rates of interest against ~~the~~ surety of their labour. As they had no other source of livelihood except cultivation of the inferior millets and pulses on the uneven lands, they were compelled to work at the discretion of the forest contractors on the wages and the terms of repayments of loans, they dictated, to make up for their livelihood in the post-harvest season. The forest labour co-operative movement came up as a result of this severe exploitation of the illiterate Adivasis by the forest contractors who also happened to be landowners and moneylenders.

The objective of the Forest Department was to derive the maximum revenue by bidding the coupes (smallest units of area marked for exploitation in a forest) for extraction to the contractors in open auctions. Though the method turned out to be favourable for the Department, it could be so only at the cost of the tribals dwelling in the forest for generations. The contractors dictated the wage terms to the Adivasis who had no source of employment other than working in the forests. In many cases their cultivable lands had also fallen into the

hands of the contractors and the moneylenders and they had reached a point of mere slavery serving the interests of the forest contractors. To combat this menace, the local self Government of Bombay appointed Mr. Symington as a special officer in 1937, to look into the plight of the Adivasis. He investigated their problems and submitted his wellknown report to the Government suggesting some ameliorative schemes. This report submitted to the Government in 1938, placed for the first time before the public a fairly exhaustive picture of the life and social and economic conditions of the Adivasis in the Bombay State. Government therefore decided to implement the schemes he suggested. One of such measures was to enforce the payment of a minimum daily wage rate for forest work. A clause referring to such a wage rate was to be incorporated in the agreements made by the contractors for felling the forests. Unfortunately after the outbreak of the Second World War, the popular Government could not remain in office. As a result no special machinery could be created for the enforcement of the minimum wage clause. Besides the Governor's regime after the resignation of the popular Government devoted its attention mainly to the war efforts. The contractors could easily evade the provisions of the clause on account of the illiteracy and ignorance of the Adivasis. The minimum wage clause could thus no more be effective in providing relief to forest workers.

The popular Government came again into power in 1946. It reviewed the situation and came to a decision that for the uplift of the Adivasis it was necessary to do away with the agency of contractors and in its place organize the forest workers into cooperative societies for working the coupes on contract basis. This could

be expected to establish a direct relationship between the Government on the one hand and the Adivasis on the other. Shri B. G. Kher who was then the Premier of the Bombay Province, announced this policy of the Government to organize the forest workers into cooperative societies at a conference of the Adivasis held on 5th April 1947 at Mahalaxmi in Thana district. This was how the forest worker's cooperative movement got initiated for the first time in the old Bombay State.

Objectives

The movement was lodged with the prime objectives of

1. Eliminating progressively the agency of forest contractors who were exploiting the Adivasis ruthlessly.
2. Ensuring that Adivasis secured their full wages as well as a share of the profit resulting from the forest work.
3. Training the Adivasis in the management of the society and co-operative life, and
4. Bringing about an all round development of the Adivasi communities.

In fact this was underscored by Shri B. G. Kher in his address to the first conference of Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies as seen by the following passage from his address:

"Government do not propose to stop at the joint working of the coupes and regeneration of the forests by the Adivasis. This should serve as a nucleus for further many sided activities which would provide them with additional steady income. Forests provide only seasonal work for Adivasis. Lands near the forests could be given to Adivasis and farmed jointly. For providing better housing, cooperative housing societies can be organized. It is necessary that economic development should go hand in hand with cultural development. The present cooperatives of Adivasis could well serve as the spearhead of a drive for allround advancement of the Adivasis and other jungle folk."

The original objective of the movement was, thus, not merely to replace the contractor by a cooperative association of the Adivasis but also to organize Adivasis from the point of their economic, social and cultural upliftment as well.

Conditions and Concessions

It would be but obvious that the forest labourer's cooperative societies composed of the illiterate Adivasis would have to face a severe competition from the contractors in the initial stages. They were, therefore, granted some privileges and concessions not available to the contractors, so that they could start functioning on a sound footing. The concessions granted for the societies were as below.

1. Coupes were to be allotted to societies at prices to be fixed by the Government without putting them to competition by open auction.
2. The societies were to select the coupes themselves as would be convenient to them from the point of view of their working.
3. The societies were to be exempted from the payment of deposit which in the case of the contractors equalled 10 per cent of the previously estimated value of the produce known as the upset price of the coupe. So also they were to be exempted from the initial payment of one-fourth of the upset price at the time of signing the agreement which was so in the case of the contractors. In lieu of these concessions the societies were to furnish one or more sureties who were to make themselves jointly and severally responsible and solvent for a sum equal to the total value of the coupe. The societies were, however, to pay the full value of the coupe after exploitation by the 30th of June at the latest. Extension

of this period of payment was to be considered on the merits of individual cases.

The conditions necessary for the registration of the societies under the Bombay Cooperative Societies Act of 1925 were laid down as below.

1. The society should have at least 10 promoter members above the age of 18 to register the society.
2. There should be at least 25 members to start functioning of the society.
3. Some persons who are interested in the welfare of the Adivasis could be enrolled as sympathizer members but the number of such members should not exceed 5.
4. The society must raise at least Rs.500 as initial share capital and adopt the model byelaws with suitable modifications.
5. The society must be sponsored by a recognized sponsoring agency.

Sponsoring Agency

The main difficulty in organizing the Adivasis was their ignorance, illiteracy and the lack of leadership from among the Adivasis. It was futile to plan for their organizations without proper leadership. Government, therefore, decided that at least for some years, some agencies devoted to the welfare of the Adivasis should be closely associated with the cooperative societies so that they could be well organized and guided from the point of proper functioning. A number of such social organizations were already in existence in the Bombay Province and hence the Government decided to implement the programme with their cooperation. These social organizations were expected to provide persons to hold the ranks of a Chairman and even a secretary in the initial stage.

When an existing social organization was not in a position to sponsor a society, a provision was made to register such an unsponsored society provided the members agreed to accept a Government employee from the Forest or the Cooperative Department as its secretary and to appoint a supervisory committee of representatives from the concerned Departments.

Planning Committee

As the Government was desirous of organizing the Adivasis on a large scale in the form of forest labour cooperative societies, a permanent Planning Committee consisting of official and non-official members, was appointed at the provincial level at the initiation of this movement itself to plan for its development. The Committee was expected to look into all the day-to-day problems confronting the societies and recommend solutions to those problems. The problems in the allotment of coupes, fixation of upset prices, ex-gratia payments in case of loss, transport of materials, arrangements of finance, provision of amenities to workers etc. were some of the important issues, the Committee was expected to handle. The creation of such a Committee at the provincial level was a novel and a unique step to foster the cooperative development in a particular sector.

Financial arrangements

The Government adopted a very liberal pattern of financial assistance to these societies. Every society was to be given Rs. 3000 as the Government's contribution to the share capital. Along with the initial members contribution of at least Rs. 500, this share capital was expected to increase in future through deducting one anna (around six paise) in a rupee from the wages earned by the members. To meet the costs over the salaries of

the secretary and the accountant, each society was to be provided with a management subsidy of Rs. 1200 per annum for the first two years. Later the societies were to incur this expenditure through their owned funds. As these societies were being promoted for the general welfare of the Adivasis, they were expected to incur some expenditure on the welfare account. For this purpose, they were to be given Rs. 1500 per annum for the first three years. Each society was thus, eligible for a total subsidy of Rs. 6900 and a share capital of Rs. 3000 from the Government to keep on its activities in the initial stage.

The working capital requirements were to be met through the borrowings from the District Cooperative Banks. The Banks were to issue loans on the recommendation of the Cooperative Department. It was to be repaid in two years. The borrowing capacity of a society was to be taken as equivalent to eight times the owned funds of the society minus the accumulated losses and liabilities. The owned funds included the paid up share capital and the reserve and the building funds and the liabilities included the loans from the Bank and the Government, deposits from the members and the non-members and trade credits.

Allotment of coupes

A forest is divided into a number of felling series for extraction. A coupe is the smallest unit in a felling series marked by the Forest Department for felling in a year. At least one coupe is always available for felling every year from a felling series. A coupe may have any size depending upon the quantity of material that would be available for extraction. A forest society was to be allotted one or more coupes

every year according to the membership of the society, the number of coupes available in its area of operation and its previous experience. For allotting the coupes, certain conditions were, however, prescribed and only those societies fulfilling the conditions were eligible for the allotment of coupes. Broadly the conditions included full repayment of the previous dues of the Forest Department, certification of having an adequate borrowing capacity and recommendation for allotting the coupes by the sponsoring agency. A society was eligible for getting the coupes only from its area of operation. A time limit was also set up for applying for a coupe. Moreover detailed time schedules were imposed for all operations from the time of applying for a coupe to the final returning ~~of~~ of the coupe to the Government after felling and transporting the material.

Development of the movement

The peculiar conditions of the Adivasis were taken into account while framing the constitution. The constitution provided for special directives both to the Central and the State Governments to promote educational and economic interests of the Adivasis and to give them protection against all forms of social injustice and exploitation. The efforts of the various social organizations engaged in the welfare of the Adivasis also brought in some awakening in those communities. A number of social workers and workers of the political parties focussed their attention on the uplift of these down-trodden citizens. Through political domination some of the Adivasis began to assert their rights as the citizens, sometimes even in a violent manner as in the Thana district.

As a result of the awakening and the efforts of the workers, there was a rapid increase in the number of

societies from 11 in 1947 to 275 in 1957 (in the Bombay State) during a period of a decade. In spite of this rapid development just after the Independence, there was full realization that the original objectives of the movement could not be achieved. This was evident from the address delivered by Shri B. G. Kher at the eighth Conference of the Forest Labourers Cooperative Societies held at Kase in Thane district in 1956. Shri Kher said, "When we thought of the work before us in 1947 our objectives as we then saw, were to eliminate the middlemen to form cooperatives for all kinds of forest work of the Adivasis, and to bring about the economic, social and moral improvement of the Adivasis, so that they may become a part and parcel of this great society inhabiting India, indistinguishable from the rest and homogeneous. When we wish to judge the progress we have made in this work, these are the tests we must apply. Have we done all this? No. So much has, therefore, to be achieved."

The ninth Conference of the Forest Labour Cooperative Societies held at Khendbera in West Khandesh district in 1957 even adopted a resolution requesting the Government to evaluate the progress so far made by this movement and devise a definite plan so that this movement would be a medium for ^{all} ~~the~~ round advancement of the jungle folk. A committee was therefore appointed by the Government in February 1958 to study the working of the societies and suggest measures to remove the defects and organize the movement on a better footing. A number of recommendations made by this Committee were put into practice by the Government. A special committee was appointed again in 1963 to study the working in the subsequent period and to specially investigate the

difficulties in coupe working. This committee also made valuable recommendations, many of which were accepted by the Government.

Even though the number of societies grew up to 461 in 1967 (in the Maharashtra State) in a period of two decades, the impact made by the societies on the Adivasi life remained questionable. A resolution was, therefore, again passed at the twelfth Conference of the Forest Labour Cooperative Societies held at Kinwat in the Nanded district in April 1967, to appoint a special committee to study the impact of the movement on the socio-economic conditions of the Adivasis. The report of the Committee was under consideration of the Government while drafting the present study.

The appointment of the Commission for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled tribes, headed by Shri U. N. Dhebar in 1960 and that of the Working Group with Shri P. M. Bhargav as its Chairman to study the progress of co-operation among the backward classes were further the two important steps to facilitate the spread of the movement at the all-India level. The Dhebar Commission had stressed the need for eliminating the middlemen between the inhabitants of the forests and the Forest Departments and recommended that a period should be fixed to cover the entire forest area with such societies which should be assigned all the work available in the forest area. The Bhargav Committee upheld the organization of forest labour cooperatives in Maharashtra and Gujarat and recommended that the same pattern should be adopted over the rest of the country.

All the four Five Year Plans also stressed the need for organizing the forest labour over the entire country. The following passage from the Fourth Five Year Plan summarizes the situation.

"In the National Forest Policy Resolution adopted by the Government of India in 1952, it was stressed that no forest policy, however, well intentioned and meticulously formed, has the slightest chance of success without the willing support and cooperation of the people in the neighbourhood of the forests. It was stressed that the intermediaries who exploit both the forest and the local people for their own benefits may be supplanted gradually by forest labour cooperatives which may be formed to suit local conditions. Appreciable ^{progress} of such cooperatives particularly in Maharashtra ^{has since} and Gujarat. Their number now exceeds 1200 and they ^{been made} execute works for a value of over Rs. 4.5 crores. In ^{in the} some States public agencies such as tribal development ^{organiza} corporations have been set up with the object among ^{tion} others, of promoting such cooperatives. It will be necessary to ensure that further efforts are made."

Chapter 2

GROWTH OF THE FOREST LABOUR CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIESThe Adivasis and the forest areas

Though scattered all over the State, the Adivasis have their concentrations in certain districts mainly preponderant in forest areas. The initial efforts were, therefore, made mainly in the pockets of Adivasi areas. Since thenⁿ the co-operative societies have been organized practically in every district but quite in large numbers in those districts having large areas under forest.

Table 2.1 gives a comparative picture of the forest areas, tribal population and the forest labourers' co-operative societies in some of the important districts of the State.

Table 2.1 : Concentration of forest area and Adivasi population in scheduled areas of Maharashtra

District	Forest area as percentage of the geographical area of the district	Adivasi population as a percentage of the population of the district	Number of forest labourers' co-operative societies as on 15-2-69
Thana	38.73	30.29	86
Dhulia	35.92	37.99	56
Nasik	21.89	24.45	32
Kolaba	24.15	9.01	42
Ahmednagar	39.36	6.18	1
Chandrapur	56.48	14.82	46
Yeotmal	22.76	14.17	35
Amaravati	28.75	4.45	9
Nanded	7.73	3.76	17

The table indicates that in Thana, Dhulia and Nasik districts, which were the pioneer districts in the movement, the proportion of both the area under forest to the geographical area and of the Adivasi population to the total population of the district are quite large and of the magnitude of 20 to 40 per cents. Both proportions are also more or less identical in each district. The greater the proportion of the forest, the greater is the proportion of the Adivasi population. In the other districts there is a preponderance of forests when compared to the geographical area but the Adivasis are in a smaller proportion when compared to the total population. In Chandrapur district, more than half of the geographical area is under forests but the Adivasis account for 15 per cent of the population. These proportions have, however, no relevance to the number of societies in these districts as there is as yet enough scope to bring much more Adivasi population under the influence of the forest labour co-operative movement. In Kolaba and Nanded districts on the contrary, much progress has been made in organizing the societies despite a smaller proportion of the Adivasis whereas in Ahmednagar and Amravati districts, the number of societies is quite small in relation to the forest resource available in these districts.

The percentages of Adivasi population in each district to the total Adivasi population in the State and the percentage of the forest area in each district to the total forest area of the State, are noted in Table 2.2 below along with the number of co-operative societies in each district. For simplicity only 13 districts having some sizable population of Adivasis, have been included in the table.

Table 2.2 : Distribution of the forest areas, the Adivasi Population and the number of forest labourers' co-operative societies in the different districts of Maharashtra

District	Percentage of forest area in the district to the total forest area in the State (Total forest area = 62989 sq.kms.)	Percentage of the Adivasi population in the district to the total Adivasi population in the State (Total Adivasi population = 23,97,159 as per 1961 Census)	Number of forest labourers' co-operative societies as on 15-2-69
1. Thana	6.14	20.88	86
2. Dhulia	6.24	21.41	56
3. Nasik	5.44	18.93	32
4. Kolaba	2.54	3.98	42
5. Ahmednagar	2.93	4.58	1
6. Jalgaon	3.19	4.12	14
7. Poona	3.14	3.75	8
8. Chandrapur	29.67	7.65	46
9. Amaravati	6.02	2.29	9
10. Yeotmal	6.11	6.49	35
11. Nanded	2.12	1.69	17
12. Aurangabad	1.55	1.03	4
13. Parabhani	0.62	1.45	3
14. Remaining 12 districts	24.29	1.75	108
Total	100.00	100.00	461

As the table indicates, Thana, Dhulia and Nasik have together 61 per cent of the Adivasi population and 18 per cent of the area under forests. Thirty-eight per cent of the forest labour co-operatives are also organized in these three districts taken together. In Kolaba district, the

movement appears to have made much progress in relation to both the relative size of the Adivasi population and the relative size of the forest area. Nearly 10 per cent of the societies have been organized in this district having 4 per cent of the Adivasi population and 2.5 per cent of the forest area. In Chandrapur and Yeotmal districts also the movement has made some progress in relation to the Adivasi population and the forest areas. In the remaining districts, however, the number of societies is too small in relation to these resources and in Ahmednagar district, the performance of this movement is the poorest in spite of 4.5 per cent of the Adivasis staying in this district. Only one society has been organized in this district so far.

The growth in the number of societies and the membership

The number of forest labourers' co-operative societies and the number of members in each year since the inception of the movement in the State have been noted in Table 2.3 below.

As the table indicates, the number of societies increased from 11 in 1947-48 to 461 in 1967-68 in a period of two decades. The figures in the table given for the years 1947-48 to 1958-59 are for the then ex-Bombay State whereas the figures for the later years are for the Maharashtra State. There had been a good addition to the number of societies in the initial period upto 1950-51 but the tempo of registration seems to have been lost in the first three years of the First Five Year Plan. The movement seems to have again gathered momentum till the year 1966-67 whereafter the number of societies is reduced due to liquidations. There were 212 societies when the Maharashtra State was reorganized in 1959-60. The number of societies has been more than doubled since then in a period of a decade.

Table 2.3 : Number of forest labourers' cooperative societies and the number of members in the years 1947-48 to 1969-70 (in the ex-Bombay State upto 1958-59 and Maharashtra State later.)

Year	Number of societies	Net additions during the year	Number of members	Average number of members per society
1947-48	11	+ 11	508	46
1948-49	29	+ 18	2421	83
1949-50	61	+ 32	6920	113
1950-51	100	+ 39	16996	170
1951-52	108	+ 8	20440	189
1952-53	118	+ 10	22521	191
1953-54	124	+ 6	28367	228
1954-55	145	+ 21	34742	239
1955-56	179	+ 34	41879	235
1956-57	216	+ 37	42538	197
1957-58	275	+ 59	45781	166
1958-59	308	+ 33	51405	166
1959-60	212	- 96*	23457	111
1960-61	266	+ 54	26992	101
1961-62	319	+ 53	30879	96
1962-63	349	+ 30	35135	100
1963-64	379	+ 30	37048	98
1964-65	402	+ 23	40228	100
1965-66	440	+ 38	42324	96
1966-67	465	+ 25	46649	100
1967-68	472	+ 7	46872	99
1968-69	464	- 8 [‡]	47012	101

* This reduction in number is due to the reorganization of Maharashtra State.

‡ The number of societies is reduced due to liquidations being more than new registrations.

When the movement was started, there were on an average 47 members per society. This number reached a maximum of 239 members per society in 1954-55 and further declined to 166 in 1957-58 which probably may be due to a large number of additions to the societies. After the reorganization of Maharashtra State, the average further declined to 111 members per society which means that the larger size of the average must have been due to larger size membership in the societies in Gujarat which was separated from the Maharashtra State. Over the last decade, the average size of membership in Maharashtra, is more or less stationery and fluctuating around a hundred members per society.

Growth in the financial assets of the societies

The growth in the share capital, reserve fund and other funds held by the societies has been brought out in Table 2.4. As it is not possible to separate the data for Maharashtra and Gujarat prior to the year 1959-60, the data ~~has~~^{have} been presented only for a period of a decade after the reorganization of Maharashtra. All subsequent discussions in this chapter are also restricted to the data for this period of ten years.

The table would indicate that with the doubling of the societies and a stationary average membership during the decade in the aggregate there has been a three-fold increase in the total share capital held by the societies. The increases in the reserve and the other funds are also more than three-fold. This is an indication that the forest labourers' co-operative societies are progressing well as far as the accumulation of funds is concerned. In 1968-69, a society had on an average, a share capital of Rs. 3,758, a reserve fund of Rs. 4,260 and other funds of Rs. 6,821. The total funds for the year work out to Rs. 14,839 per

Table 2.4 : Share capital, reserve fund and other funds held by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69.

(In Rupees)

Year	Share capital	Average share capital per society	Average share capital per member	Reserve fund	Average reserve fund per society	Other funds	Average other funds per society
1959-60	6,37,078	3,005	27.0	6,27,252	2,959	9,39,330	4,430
1960-61	8,53,472	3,208	31.7	7,43,729	2,797	15,12,017	5,684
1961-62	8,33,150	2,611	27.2	9,49,696	2,977	11,62,169	3,643
1962-63	10,06,053	2,883	28.8	10,17,131	2,916	14,29,456	4,093
1963-64	10,92,391	2,882	29.4	10,58,673	2,798	15,96,474	4,212
1964-65	13,72,300	3,413	34.1	12,89,728	3,207	16,55,356	4,117
1965-66	15,65,721	3,558	37.1	13,75,487	3,126	18,03,564	4,099
1966-67	17,37,924	3,737	37.3	15,95,411	3,431	22,53,211	4,846
1967-68	17,51,263	3,710	37.5	18,15,229	3,938	17,71,176	3,752
1968-69	17,43,825	3,758	37.2	19,46,850	4,260	31,64,933	6,821

society. In 1959-60, the same worked out to Rs. 10,394. Though there is a trebling of the financial assets on the aggregate level, the increase in the assets per society is of the magnitude of one and a half times only. This is on account of the addition of a large number of new societies during the decade, commencing their functioning with limited resources. Because of constant average membership, these ^{average} assets per member ~~on an average~~ also follow the same trend.

Growth in the business and profits of the societies

The growth in the business carried out and the profits earned therefrom during the decade 1959-60 to 1968-69 have been brought out in Table 2.5.

The table would indicate that a society on an average carries out business worth Rs. 40 to 45 thousands per year. Though the value of the total business carried out by the societies has doubled during the period of ten years, there are wide fluctuations in the average business carried out per society per year. In relation to the first three years of the period, there has been all the while a decline in the ^{average} business except for the year 1966-67, which was the year of largest business during the period. In the context of the rising prices for the forest produce, this trend in the ^{average} business carried out ^{per society} does not appear to be progressive.

Not all the societies have been running in profits. Though the societies have been earning substantial profits, ~~in the aggregate~~, there have been also losses on quite a sizable scale. The societies in the aggregate are, however, running in profit, as could be seen from the net profits worked out in the table. On an average the societies have earned net profits varying from Rs. 1 to 13 thousands per year during the ten year period.

Table 2.5 : Value of business carried out and profit and loss incurred by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69

(In Rupees)

Year	Value of business carried out	Average value of business carried out per society	Profit	Loss	Net profit (+) or loss (-)	Average net profit (+) or loss (-) per society
1959-60	99,61,795	46,989	31,66,135	2,74,872	+ 28,91,263	13,637
1960-61	1,12,61,365	42,337	9,08,771	2,39,323	+ 6,69,448	2,518
1961-62	1,37,53,740	43,115	16,88,038	2,43,434	+ 4,44,604	1,394
1962-63	1,27,31,405	36,479	9,14,216	1,18,490	+ 7,95,726	2,280
1963-64	1,46,12,116	38,554	25,02,608	1,59,025	+ 23,43,583	6,184
1964-65	1,37,79,450	34,277	40,84,925	1,07,637	+ 39,77,288	9,893
1965-66	1,80,88,103	41,109	17,16,532	2,26,353	+ 14,90,179	3,387
1966-67	2,19,46,600	47,197	18,58,743	3,53,995	+ 15,04,748	3,451
1967-68	1,73,82,961	36,828	20,45,199	2,98,731	+ 17,46,468	3,700
1968-69	1,86,72,240	40,241	17,98,270	3,06,855	+ 14,91,415	3,215

Growth in the wages and the bonus to the members

The annual wages and the bonus paid to the members during the period 1959-60 to 1968-69 have been noted in Table 2.6 along with the amounts spent on social welfare by the societies. These three items indicate the benefits the members receive through the organization of the societies.

The table indicates that similar to the observations noted earlier in respect of the value of the business, there has not been much progress in the wages paid to the members. The wage distribution ~~of the~~ ^{Per} societies on an average was much higher in the first two years of the period whereafter there was a considerable reduction for four consecutive years. It improved again since 1965-66 and maintained a level of around rupees ten thousand per year per society, thereafter.

The average annual bonus paid to the members varied from Rs. 60 to Rs. 175 per society. It is only in the year 1966-67 that the bonus distribution was Rs. 257 per society but this was so because no bonus was distributed in the previous year. Some of the societies might have distributed quite sizable bonus but at the aggregative level the bonus distribution does appear to be quite meagre. As a result the bonus distributed bears a proportion of hardly 1 to 2 per cent or even less to the wage distribution by a society.

There is, however, some increase in the amount spent over social welfare over the period. On an average a society has spent around Rs. 450 to Rs. 550 for the social welfare which includes provision of amenities in the coupe such as drinking water, shelter, medicines etc.

Coupes worked by the societies

The number of coupes allotted to the societies

Table 2.6 : Wages and bonus paid to the members and the amount spent on social welfare activities by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69

(In Rupees)

Year	Wages paid	Average wage paid by a society	Bonus paid	Average bonus paid by a society	Average bonus paid per member	Average bonus per society as a percent of the average wage per society (per cent)	Amount spent on social welfare activities	Average amount spent on social welfare activities by a society
1959-60	43,32,066	20,434	37,260	176	1.60	0.86	1,01,310	478
1960-61	30,01,858	11,286	32,723	123	1.21	1.09	1,26,133	475
1961-62	24,25,210	6,603	26,097	81	0.84	1.06	1,27,743	400
1962-63	28,54,145	8,178	40,024	114	1.14	1.39	1,95,340	559
1963-64	32,79,737	8,654	34,471	91	0.93	1.05	1,74,459	460
1964-65	29,68,868	7,385	24,741	61	0.61	0.82	1,85,174	461
1965-66	49,14,097	11,168	33,619	76	0.80	0.65	2,35,875	536
1966-67	50,35,579	10,829	-	-	-	-	2,44,237	525
1967-68	59,30,894	12,566	1,21,351	257	2.60	2.04	Not available	-
1968-69	47,14,777	10,161	-	-	-	-	Not available	-

every year during the period 1959-60 to 1968-69 have been noted in Table 2.7.

Not all societies were being given the coupes. The newly registered societies which had not started functioning in the year or the societies which had not paid previous dues were excluded from the allotment of coupes. The table would indicate that in the earlier part of the ten year period under consideration, nearly 70 per cent of the societies were being allotted coupes. The position however improved since the year 1965-66. In 1968-69, 99 per cent of the societies were allotted coupes.

The average number of coupes allotted to a society in a year has varied from 1.68 to 2.0 during the ten year period and it has remained so obviously because a society is being given 1 to 3 coupes according to the quantum of work available in the coupes. What appears from these averages is that a larger number of societies must be working ~~in~~ less than two i.e. only one coupe.

The average value of the business carried out ^{per} ~~by the~~ societies ^{again} has been worked out in this table ^{again} by taking into account only the societies which were allotted coupes. This gives a more realistic picture as mostly those societies which work the coupes sell the produce. In some cases, the produce from the previous year's exploitation may also be entering the business in ^{the} case of societies which were not allotted coupes but the quantum of such produce may not be large. If we assume that only those societies working the coupes turn out most of the business, then the figures worked out in the table would show that there has been a gradual decline in the turnover of the societies from the beginning to the end of the ten years' period. In the earlier part of the period, the average value of the business per society was more than Rs. 60,000 per year whereas in the later part of the period the value has

Table 2.7 : Number of coupes worked by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 19⁵69-60 to 1968-69

Year	Number of societies	Number of societies which were allotted coupes	Percentage of societies getting coupes	Number of coupes allotted	Average number of coupes allotted per society for societies getting coupes	Average value of business carried out per society getting coupes Rs.
1959-60	212	150	70.7	270	1.80	66,412
1960-61	266	180	67.6	348	1.93	62,563
1961-62	319	229	71.8	459	2.00	60,060
1962-63	349	272	77.9	458	1.84	46,806
1963-64	379	282	77.0	534	1.89	58,816
1964-65	402	304	75.6	557	1.83	45,327
1965-66	440	408	92.7	687	1.68	44,334
1966-67	465	419	90.1	770	1.83	52,378
1967-68	472	420	88.9	781	1.86	47,314
1968-69	464	460	99.1	781	1.70	40,591

dropped down to around Rs. 40,000. There is thus a definite decline in the turnover of the societies as appears from the average values worked out by taking into account only the societies which had been allotted the coupes. In the context of rising prices, this trend in the business done by the societies does not appear to be congenial to the progress of the movement.

Growth in the working force of the societies

The number of working and non-working members, the Adivasis among the working force and the average wage distribution per worker have been noted in Table 2.8 for the period 1965-66 to 1969-70. Data were not available for the earlier part of the period and hence only the last five years have been considered here to note the growth of the working force.

The table indicates that though the societies have been formed for the forest workers, hardly 60 per cent of the members participate in the forest work. It is surprising to note that more than 40 per cent of the members of these societies do not work with the societies or may be that the societies do not provide them with work. A sizable proportion of the working members is, however, made up of the Adivasis. There has been a little reduction in this proportion from 93 to 86 per cent during the last four years of the period. The same is the case with workers who were not members. The proportion of Adivasis among the non-member workers has dwindled gradually from 96 to as much as 60 per cent during the five year period. It would not be possible to know the reasons for the same at this aggregative level but from the figures it is very evident that the participation of the Adivasis in the works undertaken by the societies has dwindled considerably especially in ^{the} case of the non-member workers.

Table 2.8 : Member and non-member working force employed by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1965-66 to 1969-70

Year	Total number of members	Number of working members	Percentage of working members to total number of members	Number of Adivasis in the working members	Percentage of Adivasis in the working members	Number of workers who were not members	Number of Adivasis in the workers who were not members	Percentage of Adivasis in workers who were not members	Total number of workers	Percentage of members among the workers	Average wage distribution per worker Rs.
1965-66	42,324	28,101	66.6	25,552	90.9	50,697	49,072	96.8	78,798	35.6	62.3
1966-67	46,649	26,934	57.7	25,193	93.5	23,073	22,298	96.6	50,007	53.8	100.6
1967-68	46,872	26,633	56.8	24,631	92.4	17,697	15,586	88.0	44,330	60.1	133.8
1968-69	47,012	28,422	60.0	24,785	87.2	15,975	10,607	66.4	44,397	64.0	106.2
1969-70	51,133	29,873	58.4	25,759	86.3	17,957	10,921	60.8	47,830	62.4	151.1

The table would further indicate that the proportion of non-member workers in the total work force has gone down during the period. Partly this may be due to enrolment of more workers as members but most probably this appears to be so merely due to the reduction in the total work force itself. This means that the societies did not employ non-member workers in the later part of the period due to the decline in the requirement of ~~the~~ labour force resulting from the decline in the business, noted earlier.

On an average a worker, may be a member or a non-member, has received wages varying from Rs. 100 to Rs.150 per worker per year during the last four years of the period. In 1965-66, however, the wage earning was as low as Rs. 62 per worker. Though there is a decline in the labour force, the average earning per worker appears to have gone up. The members, mainly the Adivasis workers, seem to have been benefited from this as the non-Adivasi employment in the non-member working force has been considerably reduced during this period.

Adivasis among the staff-members

The managerial staff appointed by the societies consists of secretaries, accountants, mukadams, depot-clerks, watchmen and coupe-agents. Initially literate and trained Adivasis were not available to hold such posts. The objective of the movement was, however, to train and recruit only the Adivasis to hold these posts so that Adivasis be given as much scope as possible in the management of the societies which were primarily organized for their own welfare. The progress made in this respect during the period 1959-60 to 1968-69 may be noted from Table 2.9.

The table indicates that in 1968-69, there were 2,248 staff members employed by the 464 societies existing

Table 2.9 : Proportion of Adivasis among the staff members employed by the forest labourers' co-operative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69

Year	Total number of staff members	Number of Adivasis among the staff members	Percentage of Adivasis among the staff members
1959-60	1396	724	51.8
1960-61	1656	784	47.3
1961-62	1949	1094	56.1
1962-63	2364	1311	55.4
1963-64	2338	1284	54.9
1964-65	2381	1438	60.4
1965-66	2926	1661	56.8
1966-67	2484	1674	67.4
1967-68	2588	1797	69.4
1968-69	2248	1451	64.6

in that year. Out of these, 64.6 per cent staff members belonged to the Adivasi communities. In 1967-68, the proportion had gone up to 69.4 per cent. There, however, appears to be a satisfactory progress in the employment of Adivasis among the staff members, as the percentages have gone up from below 50 to around 70 during the period of ten years.

Minor forest works undertaken by the societies

Besides working the forest coupes, some of the societies undertake the works of collection of minor forest produce for securing additional employment to their members. The minor forest produce consists of tendu leaves, myrobalan, apta leaves, gum, rosha grass, curry leaves, shikakai, wavading etc. The members collect the produce and get the wages either on the daily basis or on the quantum of produce collected. The details for the minor forest works undertaken

by the societies during the period 1959-60 to 1968-69 are noted in Table 2.10.

The table indicates that only a few of the societies had undertaken the exploitation of minor forest products. The number of societies undertaking such works has varied from only 7 to 22 during this period. Compared to the total number of societies, the exploitation of minor forest products does not appear to provide much source of employment to the societies in the aggregate. Absence of such type of resource in some of the forests may be the reason for no growth in the number of societies undertaking such works. There is, however, an increase in the number of works being undertaken and the wages earned through these works. The wages earned by the members of these few societies have gone up from below Rs. 1 lakh to around Rs. 4 lakhs during the period of ten years. The same has been the trend with the average wage distributed by a society undertaking such works. On an average, the societies have distributed wages around Rs. 20,000 per society per year in the later part of the period excluding the year 1968-69 when there had been a considerable decline in the wages earned. Compared to the average wage of around Rs. 10,000 per society for the coupe work as noted in an earlier table, the wages earned through the minor forest works appear to be quite substantial. Only a few societies have, however, received the benefit of such exploitation.

The profits earned through this exploitation have varied considerably during the period. There have been also substantial losses to some of the societies on this account in some years. The net profit and loss position during these years indicates much variations. Even in the aggregate, the societies have incurred net losses in two years.

Table 2.10 : Minor forest works undertaken by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69

Year	Number of forest labourers' cooperative societies	Number of forest labourers' cooperative societies undertaking minor forest works	Number of minor forest works undertaken	Wages distributed through minor forest works Rs.	Wage distribution through minor forest work per society undertaking the work Rs.	Value of the minor forest produce exploited Rs.	Profit through the exploitation Rs.	Loss through the exploitation Rs.	Net profit (+) or loss (-) Rs.
1959-60	212	11	14	95,463	8,678.4	1,96,356	39,780	4,285	+ 35,495
1960-61	266	7	14	88,477	12,639.5	1,89,400	39,518	21,896	+ 17,622
1961-62	319	16	27	1,66,546	10,409.1	3,08,736	43,261	29,245	+ 24,016
1962-63	349	13	30	1,49,725	11,440.7	2,43,729	8,082	28,928	- 20,846
1963-64	379	14	27	1,92,541	13,753.0	1,95,104	66,812	12,654	+ 54,158
1964-65	402	13	27	2,77,158	21,319.8	3,22,538	28,569	1,806	+ 26,763
1965-66	440	20	29	3,88,029	19,401.4	5,34,280	292	10,887	- 10,595
1966-67	465	17	35	3,75,732	22,101.3	5,81,460	1,08,288	2,562	+ 1,05,326
1967-68	472	22	40	3,97,907	18,086.6	5,17,656	Not available	Not available	-
1968-69	464	18	28	1,19,629	6,648.0	4,10,754	"	"	-

Non-forest labour contracts undertaken by the societies

Besides the minor forest works, some of the societies undertake non-forest labour contracts like other labour societies, to provide additional employment to their members. Such labour contracts involve the construction of public roads and buildings, bridges, wells, bandharas etc. The Grampachayats, Panchayat Samitis and the Zilla Parishads have been giving preferences to the forest labourers' societies in securing such contracts. The details for the labour contracts undertaken by the societies during the period 1959-60 to 1968-69 have been given in Table 2.11.

Here again one finds only a few of the societies undertaking such sources of additional employment for their members. The number of societies undertaking labour contracts during the period has varied from 7 to 22 and the number of works undertaken from 19 to 61. There is no increasing or decreasing trend in these respects during the period. The average wage earned by a society per year through these works has varied from Rs. 10 to 21 thousands during the period. Compared to the wages distributed through coupe work, here again one finds a substantial earning for the members, through seeking additional sources of employment. But as in the case of minor forest works, these activities are also restricted to only a few societies.

The profits and the losses have varied considerably from year to year. The net profit and loss position in the aggregate also indicates variations. On the whole the magnitude of net profits through the labour contracts is not that high as in the case of undertaking the minor forest works. There have been net losses in two of the ten years.

Audit classification of the forest labourers' co-operative societies

While reviewing the growth in the above discussions,

Table 2.11 : Non-forest labour contracts undertaken by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69

Year	Number of forest labourers' cooperative societies	Number of forest labourers' cooperative societies undertaking non-forest labour contracts	Number of contracts undertaken	Wages distributed through labour contracts Rs.	Wage distribution per society undertaking the contract Rs.	Profit through the labour contracts Rs.	Loss through the labour contracts Rs.	Net profit (+) or loss (-) Rs.
1959-60	212	11	43	1,52,247	13,840.6	18,994	2,688	+ 16,306
1960-61	266	11	31	1,63,000	14,818.1	30,000	-	+ 30,000
1961-62	319	6	19	1,31,665	21,944.1	Not available		-
1962-63	349	7	21	99,286	14,183.7	9,029	355	+ 8,674
1963-64	379	17	30	2,39,605	14,094.4	11,229	17,565	- 6,336
1964-65	402	22	34	2,40,098	10,913.5	12,654	7,938	+ 4,716
1965-66	440	21	61	3,98,000	18,952.4	37,236	18,929	+ 18,307
1966-67	465	13	21	1,38,071	10,620.7	10,800	12,000	- 1,200
1967-68	472	Not available	24	1,01,431	-	11,588	191	+ 11,397
1968-69	464	Not available	19	1,01,604	-	5,834	5,000	+ 834

we have so far taken into account only the major features of the forest labourers' co-operative societies on which data were available. The audit classification for a society gives an overall ranking of the society in respect of all of its features and hence some idea about the progress of the movement may be obtained by analysing the audit classification of the societies during the ten year period. The audit classification ~~has~~^{s for the societies have} been noted in Table 2.12 for ~~a~~^{the} period 1959-60 to 1968-69.

The table indicates that only around three-fourths of the societies were being audited in each year. Out of these audited societies, 42 to 65 per cent had obtained A and B classes during the ten year period. A and B classes give an indication of a well progressive and a well functioning society and hence it can be said that nearly half of the societies ~~are~~^{were} working on sound lines. The proportion of societies ~~marking~~ obtaining A and B classes, however, appears to be on the declining side. This is evident as in the earlier part of the period 56 to 65 per cent of the societies were classified in the A and B categories whereas in the later parts, this proportion has dropped down to 42 to 50 per cent. (different years in the

Most of the remaining half of the societies had been classified in the C class during this period except for the last two years of the period when the number of D class societies went up. The C class gives an indication that some improvement in the functioning of the society is necessary to put the society on the right lines. The increase in the number of D class societies in the last two years of the period, however, indicates that there are quite a large number of societies viz. around 45, which are functioning badly. Considerable reorganization may be necessary to put such societies on the right lines. Some

Table 2.12 : Audit classification of the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69

Year	Number of forest labourers' cooperative societies	Number of societies audited during the year	Number of societies obtaining the audit class					
			A	B	A+B	Percentage of A+B to total audited societies	C	D
1959-60	212	163	18	89	107	65.6	49	7
1960-61	266	198	19	92	111	56.1	80	7
1961-62	319	251	21	124	145	57.7	93	13
1962-63	349	311	30	114	144	46.3	152	15
1963-64	379	329	24	120	144	43.8	164	21
1964-65	402	357	23	128	151	42.3	187	19
1965-66	440	316	29	126	155	49.0	138	23
1966-67	465	314	35	128	163	51.9	128	23
1967-68	472	404	29	144	173	42.8	184	47
1968-69	464	368	57	105	162	44.0	162	44

of them may have to be even liquidated depending upon their future performance.

Litigations and misappropriations

So far we have examined only the better side of the forest labourers' co-operative movement. There have been cases of litigations and misappropriation of funds even in this movement. The same have been brought out in Table 2.13.

The figures would indicate that the cases needing arbitration and litigations are very few when compared to the number of societies. It is only in the year 1965-66 that the number of arbitrations had gone very high and in the year 1968-69 that the amount involved in arbitrations was quite large. Details are not available to explain the reasons for these. The cases of misappropriation of funds although very few in the earlier part of the period, have gone up during the last two years. In 1968-69, around 8 per cent of the societies were involved in cases of misappropriation of funds. The increase in the number of such cases appears to be a serious matter which might jeopardize the movement.

Societies going into liquidations

The number of societies going into liquidation during each year of the period 1959-60 to 1968-69 have been noted in Table 2.14 along with new registrations in the respective years.

The table would indicate that during the ten year period 27 societies have been taken into liquidation. These liquidations have been effected mainly in the later part of the period. As against the 27 liquidations there have been 310 new registrations during the period. The tempo of new registrations was greater in the earlier part of the period when compared to the later. When these liquidations and new registrations are compared with the existing number of

Table 2.13 : Cases of arbitration, court litigations and cases of misappropriation of funds concerned with the forest labourers' cooperative societies in the years 1959-60 to 1968-69.

Year	Number of forest labourers' cooperative societies	Cases of arbitration		Court litigations		Cases of misappropriation of funds with the police	
		Number of societies involved	Amount involved Rs.	Number of societies involved	Amount involved Rs.	Number of societies involved	Amount involved Rs.
1959-60	212		Not Available				
1960-61	266		Not Available				
1961-62	319		Not Available				
1962-63	349	4	N.A.	2	N.A.	3	10,000
1963-64	379	16	N.A.	4	N.A.	4	N.A.
1964-65	402	13	8,000	1	303	8	16,000
1965-66	440	338	1,39,227	-	-	5	55,424
1966-67	465	4	3,800	-	-	4	41,889
1967-68	472	4	3,458	-	-	15	78,314
1968-69	464	7	1,00,133	-	-	36	1,79,310

Table 2.14 : Number of societies going into liquidation and the number of new registrations during the years 1959-60 to 1968-69

Year	Number of forest labourers' co-operative societies	Number of societies going into liquidation during the year	Cumulative total of the societies going into liquidation	Number of new registrations	Cumulative total of new registrations
1959-60	212	-	-	36	36
1960-61	266	-	-	54	90
1961-62	319	-	-	53	143
1962-63	349	1	1	31	174
1963-64	379	-	1	30	204
1964-65	402	4	5	24	228
1965-66	440	6	11	39	267
1966-67	465	3	14	28	295
1967-68	472	4	18	10	305
1968-69	464	9	27	5	310

(Note - Nine societies were in liquidation prior to the year 1959-60.)

societies, it can be observed that the liquidations and new registrations bear proportions of around 6 and 67 per cent to the existing number of societies respectively. Nearly two-thirds of the societies have thus come up during the last decade. The percentage of liquidations also is not so small as to be taken as insignificant. The large number of D class societies in the later part of the period and these liquidations suggest that new registrations have to be made only after very careful examination of the possibilities of the success of a ^{new} society to avoid such repetitions.

Exploitation of coupes through the societies and the other agencies in the State

In spite of the growth in the number of societies,

quite a sizable number of coupes ^{in the State} are being exploited either through the contractors or through the Forest Department. Contractors are still playing a significant role in areas in which this movement is not well spread. In Western Maharashtra, ~~most~~ ^{many} of the coupes are being exploited either through the societies or through the Forest Department. But coupes have to be given to the contractors in the Vidarbha and the Marathwada regions either because the societies have not come in adequate number to exploit all the coupes or for the reason that the societies are newly organized and are unable to exploit a large number of coupes. The coupes exploited by the different agencies in Maharashtra State in the years 1968-69 and 1969-70 have been noted in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15 : Number of coupes exploited through different agencies in the years 1968-69 and 1969-70

Year	Number of coupes exploited through			Total number of coupes
	Societies	Contractors	Forest Department	
1968-69	779	828	321	1928
1969-70	820	824	202	1846

The figures indicate that the societies are exploiting only 40 per cent of the coupes available for felling in the State. Around the same proportion of coupes is exploited by the private contractors and the Forest Department works 15 to 20 per cent of the coupes. This shows that the movement has yet to expand considerably to replace the contractors by the societies which was the prime objective of the movement.

Some characteristics of the forest labour co-operatives in the different States in India

After noting the progress of the forest labour

co-operatives in Maharashtra, an attempt can be made here now to compare the present position of the societies in Maharashtra with those in the other States. Data are available only for a few characteristics of the societies in the other States. The same are presented in Table 2.16.

The table indicates that out of 1560 forest labourers' co-operative societies in India, as many as 457 or more than one-fourth are organized in Maharashtra alone. Bihar and Madhya Pradesh have around 330 societies in each. Gujarat and Rajasthan have 142 and 108 societies respectively whereas the movement is in its preliminary stage in the remaining States.

The total membership of these societies in the country is one and a half lakhs. More than one-third of this membership belongs to the societies in Maharashtra. A little less than one-third of the total membership belongs to the societies in Gujarat even though the number of societies in this State is not so large. This means that nearly two-thirds of the membership of the forest labourers' co-operative societies in India comes from only Maharashtra and Gujarat. The societies in Gujarat appear to be fairly large as far as the membership is concerned. This corroborates the earlier observation that the average membership per society in Maharashtra was reduced in 1959-60 due to the reorganization of the ex-Bombay State.

Maharashtra also tops in the list of the States as far as the collection of the share capital by these societies is concerned. A little less than half of the share capital of the societies in the country has been accumulated by the societies in Maharashtra. In respect of accumulation of reserve fund, however, the societies in Gujarat have made tremendous progress. Out of Rs. 174 lakhs of reserve fund

Table 2.16 : Some characteristics of the forest labourers' co-operative societies in the different States in India as at the end of June 1970

State/Union Territory	Number of forest labourers' co-operative societies	Number of members	Share capital (Rs. in lakhs)	Reserve and other funds (Rs. in lakhs)	Working capital (Rs. in lakhs)
Andhra Pradesh	70	5477	1.6	2.5	6.0
Assam	10	296	0.4	0.1	0.5
Bihar	335	9986	1.3	0.1	3.2
Gujarat	142	46430	7.5	101.6	133.6
Kerala	8	1236	0.2	0.1	0.7
Madhya Pradesh	332	17606	3.7	13.6	55.6
Maharashtra	457	51308	20.9	48.6	112.2
Mysore	35	4209	1.9	4.2	11.4
Orissa	10	1370	0.5	0.1	2.8
Rajasthan	108	7130	5.9	2.3	35.5
Uttar Pradesh	10	750	0.1	0.3	0.4
West Bengal	1	53	a/	-	a/
Tamil Nadu	7	2131	0.1	0.5	2.0
Gao, Daman & Diu	1	156	a/	-	a/
Manipur	31	1850	0.4	-	1.0
Tripura	3	190	a/	0.1	0.2
Total	1560	1,50,178	44.5	174.1	365.1

a/ - Less than Rs. 5000.

(Source : Review of the Co-operative Movement in India - 1968-70, Reserve Bank of India, p. 178.)

of the societies in the country, the societies in Gujarat claim for Rs. 101 lakhs whereas the societies in Maharashtra have accumulated Rs. 48 lakhs. The same is the case with

the working capital. Out of Rs. 365 lakhs of working capital held by the societies in the country, the societies in Gujarat claim for Rs. 133 lakhs and the societies in Maharashtra, Rs. 112 lakhs. These two States account for a very large part of the finances of the forest labourers' co-operatives in the country, despite their number being large even in some other States as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. As far as the financial position is concerned, a strong base has been thus created only in these two States for the sustaining and expansion of the movement. This could be the result of the pioneering efforts made quite early to organize the forest labourers' co-operative societies solely in these two States.

Chapter 3

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTUREThe Structure

The present organizational structure for the forest labourer's co-operative societies ^{in the State} is a result of the sincere efforts of the Government on the one hand and the social workers on the other. It was evolved during the last two and a half decades as a result of the experiences gained and the difficulties faced by this movement from time to time. The present structure is a unique combination of committees, associations and agencies, well integrated to keep a continuous watch on the path of this movement. Moreover, no other sphere of cooperative activity has surpassed the present organizational structure that has been evolved for the progress of this movement. The structure is made up of the following agencies.

1. State Council for Forest Labourer's Co-operative societies.
2. Sponsoring Agencies.
3. District Coordination Committees for Forest Labourer's Co-operative Societies.
4. District Federations of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies.
5. State Federation of Forest Labourer's Co-operative Societies.
6. Circle Wage Board.
7. Central Training School.
8. Primary Forest Labourer's Co-operative Societies.
9. Annual Conferences of Forest Labourer's Co-operative Societies.

1. State Council for Forest Labourer's Co-operative Societies

When the Government of Bombay decided to organize the forest labourer's co-operative societies in 1947, the first step it took was to formulate a planning committee as mentioned in Chapter I, for planning and developing this movement. The same committee was later reconstituted and renamed as the State Council for Forest Labourer's Co-operative Societies according to the recommendations of the Evaluation Committee appointed in 1958.

Originally the committee was headed by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Backward Classes along with other five members, two of ^{whom} ~~which~~ represented social organizations. The remaining three seats were allotted to the concerned Government departments viz. the backward class, forest and the co-operative departments. The functions of the Committee were as below:

1. To organize and assist co-operative societies of forest labourers and coordinate their working.
2. To provide for their supervision.
3. To plan for undertaking exploitation of forest coupes and regeneration of forest areas as well as for starting allied industries by or on behalf of co-operative societies.

This committee was reconstituted and much expanded in 1951-52. Representation was given to the sponsoring agencies from each region as well as to the apex co-operative organizations like the State Co-operative Bank and the State Co-operative Union. The secretaries for Forest and Agriculture, Finance and Development and the Chief Conservator of Forests, Joint Registrar for Village Industries and Industrial Co-operatives and Backward Class

Welfare Officer were taken up on this committee. The Deputy Minister for Co-operation was appointed as the Chairman of the committee. Later, after the reorganization of the Bombay State, a separate portfolio was created for the Forest Labour Co-operatives. It was entrusted to a Deputy Minister who became then the chairman of the committee. So also a post of a Special Forest Officer for Forest Labourers' Societies was created in the Co-operative Department and he was assigned the duties for the Secretary of this committee. Along with the social workers in the field the membership of this committee was thus raised to 15 and it could fully represent all the concerned departments and agencies associated with the forest labour co-operatives.

In view of the specific nature of work of this committee, and as per the recommendation of the Evaluation Committee of 1958, it was renamed as the State Council for Forest Co-operatives. The functions of this State Council were also spelt out as per the recommendations of this Committee. The functions assigned to the State Council were as below:

1. To give directions to plan for the development of the movement of the forest labour co-operative societies.
2. To give proper guidance to the district federations in the proper functioning of the societies in all matters pertaining to the societies.
3. To decide through a committee of certain members of the Council, questions in respect of the working of coupes by the societies and of the difficulties arising out of the working of coupes.

4. To recognize suitable organizations as sponsoring agencies of forest labour co-operatives.
5. To give directions as to the manner in which the societies and the sponsoring agencies should carry out the welfare activities and the manner in which the available profits should be utilized for the benefit of the forest dwellers.
6. To formulate a phased expansion of the forest labourers' co-operative movement in the forest areas so as to fully entrust the work of forest exploitation to the forest labourers' co-operative societies in due course of time.
7. To prescribe service and conduct rules of the secretaries, accountants and other office holders of the societies to be trained and appointed by the district federations.
8. To lay down principles and policies for the guidance of the district federations, sponsoring agencies etc.
9. To give directions in respect of organization of the annual conferences of the forest labourers' co-operative societies.

The State Council meets about 8 to 10 times in a year and discusses all problems relating to the day to day working of the societies. Problems which remain unsolved at the lower level, are handled ultimately by this Council. For example, the societies which cannot be allotted coupes by the conservators on account of their ineligibility for such allotment, are ~~reconsidered~~ reconsidered for the allotment ~~for the allotment~~ in the State Council. The revision of

upset prices, ex-gratia payments in the event of heavy losses, difficulties in the transport of materials etc., receive very sympathetic consideration of this Council. The Council also considers matters relating to finance, supervision of accounts, provision of amenities to workers and all other subjects which have a bearing on the functioning of these societies. This Council has been all throughout instrumental in giving valuable guidance to the societies and its decisions have carried great weight with the Government. The Council explains the policy of the Government to the societies and on the other hand represents the difficulties of the societies to the Government. It thus serves as a good link for the two way process between the societies and the Government.

2. Sponsoring Agencies

To introduce the element of co-operative organization among the illiterate Adivasis, it was necessary to bring within the societies some element which could guide and manage the business of these societies and train the Adivasis themselves to take up the various activities of the societies. Fortunately in the State of Bombay, prominent social workers like the late Thakkar Bappa and the late Shri Balasaheb Kher, had already initiated several organizations to serve the Adivasis in the State. These organizations had put in meticulous efforts in the spread of education among the Adivasis and in improving their economic conditions by inhibiting their exploitation by the land-owners and the moneylenders. As a result of the work of these organizations, at least a section among the Adivasis had become conscious of their downtrodden conditions and had acquired a sense to respond to the activities needed to improve their status.

As these organizations were in close touch with the Adivasis with the objective ^{of} ~~to~~ improve ^{ing} their social and economic conditions, the Government thought of using these organizations as a suitable agency to initiate and foster the forest labour co-operative movement among the Adivasis. Government, therefore, decided that a forest labourers' co-operative society should be registered and allotted coupes for working only if an approved social service organization sponsored it and accepted the responsibility of giving effective guidance and adequate help in their management. This was also necessary to forbid any contractor himself to promote a society. It was also laid down that every sponsoring body should depute one of its workers to work either as a chairman or as a Secretary of the society sponsored by it. This was a safeguard against falling these societies in the hands of unscrupulous persons or the contractors themselves who may exploit them for their own ends under the disguise of a co-operative venture. Another reason for this association of the social organizations with the societies was that these organizations were expected to train up the Adivasis as office-bearers for conducting the business of the societies in future. This policy of the Government was basic to the successful working of many of the societies. Yet the speed with which this movement grew could not avoid the entry of some unscrupulous elements leading to the failure of some societies.

The duties and functions assigned to the recognized sponsoring agencies were as given below:

1. They should spare their tried workers for the management of the forest labour co-operatives.
2. The worker of the sponsoring agency should

work either as the chairman or the secretary of the society.

3. The sponsoring agency should see that the society is managed well and efficiently and that its accounts are properly maintained.
4. They should see that the capital raised on the strength of Government guarantee for working of the coupe is utilized for the purpose for which it is given.
5. They should see that all sale proceeds are deposited with the Bank and that the amount due to the Government on account of upset price is paid without delay.
6. They should watch over the working of the society closely and should arrange for periodical checking of accounts.
7. They should see that the societies start welfare activities for the benefit of their members.
8. They should see that the members of the societies are trained gradually to undertake the responsibilities of management of their societies without the aid of any external agency.
9. They should see that out of the Adivasi and other labourers working in the coupes, suitable younger persons are selected for training and appointment as secretaries, managers, accountants and salesmen.
10. They should arrange for working capital required for societies till funds are available from central financing agencies on the strength of government guarantee.

The sponsoring agencies did very valuable service in organizing and developing the societies and played a pivotal role in bringing together the illiterate Adivasis on the one hand and the Government on the other. It was through the efforts of the sponsoring agencies that a number of Adivasi youths could be trained to shoulder the responsibilities in these societies. As the Evaluation Committee (1958) noted, some of the sponsoring agencies, however, did not pay adequate attention especially to the periodical checking of the accounts and provision of amenities in the coupes. Barring such cases, it would not be wrong to say that it is the association of the sponsoring agencies with the societies that paved the way for the smooth functioning of many of these Adivasi societies. With the organization of district federations of forest labour co-operative societies, however, the role of the sponsoring agencies was assigned to these federations wherever such federations could be organized. Data are available for the year 1962-63 to indicate the sponsoring agencies existing at that time and the number of societies sponsored by them. The data are given in Table ³⁻¹ ~~1~~ below. The Table shows that the Government had recognized 14 sponsoring agencies and they had sponsored 200 of the 210 societies which were functioning in the year. The Adivasi Seva Mandal, Bombay, Dang Seva Mandal, Nasik, Bhil Seva Mandal, Nasik and the District Industrial Co-operative Association Ltd., Alibag had together sponsored 136 of the 200 societies. These four agencies had worked in the Thana, Nasik, Dhulia and Kolaba districts respectively, which were the pioneer districts in the development of this movement. The Sarvodaya Kendra, Khirad had sponsored

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Table 4: The Sponsoring Agencies and the Number of Societies Sponsored by them in Different Districts During the Year 1962-63

S. No.	Name of the Sponsoring Agency	No. of societies sponsored
<u>Thana District</u>		
1	Adiwasi Seva Mandal - Bombay	37
2	Sarvodaya Kendra - Kasa - Dist.Thana	6
3	Prohibition & Excise Deptt. - Bombay	5
<u>Ratnagiri District</u>		
4	District Industrial Co-operative Association Ltd. Ratnagiri	1
<u>Nasik District</u>		
5	Dang Seva Mandal Ltd. - Nasik	27
<u>Jalgaon District</u>		
6	Sarvodaya Kendra - Khiroda	14
<u>Dhulia District</u>		
7	Bhil Seva Mandal - Nasik	37
8	Satpuda Sarvodaya Mandal - Dhadgaon	12
9	Dang Seva Mandal - Nasik	7
<u>Kolaba District</u>		
10	District Industrial Co-operative Association Ltd. - Alibag	35
<u>Ahmednagar District</u>		
11	Sarvodaya Kendra - Rajur	1
<u>Satara District</u>		
12	Block-Development Officer - Patan	3
13	District Industrial Cooperative Association Ltd. - Satara	4
<u>Kolhapur District</u>		
14	District Industrial Coop. Association Ltd. - Kolhapur	11
Total		200
No. of Societies not sponsored		10
Total		210

14 societies in the Jalgaon district and The Satpuda Sarvoday Mandal, Dhadgaon, had sponsored 12 societies in the Dhulia district. The District Industrial Co-operatives, Sarvoday Kendras and Block Development Offices had taken up the sponsorship of a few more societies in the other districts. Ten societies could not be sponsored by any agency and hence they were registered by appointing a Government Secretary and a supervising body for each society to look into its day-to-day activities.

3. District Co-ordination Committees for Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies

Over and above the role assigned to the sponsoring agencies, it was necessary to have some district level organizations to supervise and guide the functioning of the societies. Co-ordination committees were, therefore, organized in the districts to perform these functions. They consisted of representatives of the forest labourers' co-operative societies in the district, sponsoring agencies and officials of the Forest and Co-operative Departments. The funds for the functioning of this Committee were derived from contributions made by the forest labourers' co-operative societies in the district at a rate not exceeding 2 per cent of the total operational cost of the coupes exploited by them during the year. These committees were a kind of precedents to the organization of district federations of the co-operative societies and have now been replaced by such federations wherever possible.

4. District Federations of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies

A co-operative society is a democratic organization and it has to be managed by those who are served

by it. The sponsoring agencies and the co-ordination committees despite their valuable performance, could not clearly represent the role of a co-operative body. The Evaluation Committee (1958), therefore, recommended that there should be a federation for each forest division wherein at least 10 societies have been organized. Where the number of societies in a division is less than 10, a federation should be formed of two neighbouring divisions to make a viable unit. If there is more than one divisional federation in a district, the federation in such a district should have common staff of secretaries, accountants, etc. In practice, federations have now been organized taking the district as a unit as in the case of the other types of co-operative societies. A district federation may have, therefore, one or more forest divisions under its jurisdiction or may have even a part of a division if a forest division falls into more than one district.

The membership of the district federation is as given below :

1. All primary forest labourers' co-operative societies registered in the area of the federation.
2. Sympathisers interested in the co-operative movement and/or in the economic and social welfare of the forest labourers. The number of such sympathisers should normally be 5 or 10 per cent of the member societies whichever is less.
3. Social service organization approved by the Government.

The federations are to raise shares of Rs. 4000 from each member society of which Rs. 3000 will be a

loan granted to the society by the Government. The managing committee of the divisional federation is made up of:

1. Five representatives of the affiliated societies.
2. Two members from among the sympathisers and/or social service organizations.
3. One nominee of the local central financing agency operating in the area.

The services of the officers of the Co-operative Department are to be placed at the disposal of the district federations for a limited period for appointment as secretaries. So also technical staff of the rank of the Assistant Conservator of Forests is to be provided to these Federations. Arrangements are, thus, made to equip the federations with well experienced staff to start their functioning on sound bases. In spite of this, if the decisions of the managing committee of a federation go against the interest of the Forest Department or financing agency or any of the societies, the appeals in such matters have to be decided by the State Council.

The functions assigned to the federations are as given below.

1. To sponsor, supervise and guide the forest labourers' co-operative societies.
2. To recommend allotment of coupes to the forest officers.
3. To look into complaints from affiliated societies in the matter of coupes allotted by the forest authorities and to refer them if necessary, to the State Council.
4. To render advice and guidance to the societies in the maintenance of accounts for proper exploitation of coupes, sale of forest produce and allied matters.

5. To create and maintain a cadre of secretaries and accountants and to arrange for their training.
6. To formulate a programme of welfare activities of forest workers in accordance with the directive of the State Council and to evolve arrangements for the execution of the same.
7. To educate and train forest workers in the principles and practices of co-operation, forest conservation, exploitation and thrift.

The above functions combine the role of both the sponsoring agencies and the co-ordination committees. In addition some of the important federations are to be assigned the work of transport of forest produce by purchasing trucks. Where the societies have, come up in the minimum number required for the organization of such a federation, they can be thus, brought under complete co-operative control through organizing a federation. So far, district federations have been organized in 13 out of the 26 districts in the State. These 13 districts have together 407 out of the 457 forest labourers' co-operative societies in the State.

It would be worth noting here some of the functions discharged by the federation organized in Thana district which was selected as one of the districts for the present study. The Federation played a vital role in helping the societies to create additional employment, to undertake welfare activities and to rationalize the management of the societies besides helping the societies in the normal allotment of coupes and coupe work. For ~~re~~ creating additional employment the Federation guided the societies to undertake poultry farming, brick-making and small

contracts of minor projects such as construction of bandharas, wells, school buildings and roads. It also organized programmes of collection of non-edible oil seeds, leaves of palas etc. and other minor forest products. The members were given training in smithy and carpentry to enable them to undertake such works during the periods of unemployment. Meetings of the societies and social workers were arranged to consider all avenues of additional employment. Among the welfare measures the Federation organized educational, medical and cultural activities for the coupe workers. The Federation took the necessary steps to provide a group-supervisor for each group of 5 or 6 societies and to fix up the pay scales of the employees of the societies. It also prepared provident fund rules for them. The Federation supplied standard account books and forms to the societies at cost price. The surety bonds signed by the employees of the societies are kept in the custody of the Federation. The Federation also arranged for the training of secretaries, depot-clerks and mukadams employed in the societies. The Executive Committee of this Federation meets once every month and keeps a close watch over the working of the 84 societies in the district.

5. State Federation of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies

With an objective to complete the co-operative structure at the apex level, a State Federation of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies was organized in 1966-67. This Federation was assigned a large number of vivid functions some of which overlapped with the functions assigned to the State Council. The functions assigned to the State Federation are as given below.

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1. Formulating phased programme for expansion of forest labourers' Co-operative societies movement in the forest areas so as to entrust fully the work of forest exploitation, regeneration, protection, afforestation etc. to the forest co-operatives.
2. Giving guidance to the district federations and the forest labourers' co-operative societies for their proper functioning.
3. Planning and undertaking industries based on forest produce through the societies and the district federations or on its own account or through organizing separate co-operatives for the purpose.
4. Raising the funds for the operation of the Federation itself.
5. Providing means of supervision over the societies and the district federations for the healthy growth of the movement.
6. Dealing in forest produce or in matters connected with forest based industries on its own account or as distributors or commission agents.
7. Co-ordinating and rationalizing the productive and commercial activities of member societies and advising and guiding them in respect of patterns, grading and standardization.
8. Advancing raw materials to members for being manufactured into goods of special qualities.
9. Supplying tools, equipments, accessories etc. to members on hire or hire-purchase system.
10. Making available marketing assistance to societies such as securing orders for the

supply of finished goods, establishing trade connections, sale depots, selling agencies etc., for the disposal of the goods of the federation and its members.

11. Organizing and carrying on research in the economic, social and development aspects of the forest co-operatives.
12. Making arrangements for the supply of commercial intelligence and other information for the benefit of the members.
13. Carrying on propaganda for the furtherance of forest co-operatives.
14. Suggesting and or undertaking activities for the training of the Adivasis and other forest folks in the matter of exploitation of forest produce, its marketing and also in the matter of undertaking industries based on forest produce.
15. Suggesting or undertaking activities for reducing unemployment or under-employment of the Adivasis and the other forest folks.
16. Suggesting welfare activities to be undertaken by the forest co-operatives and for the proper utilization of the profits of these co-operatives for the benefits of forest folks.
17. Investing funds if necessary, in the share capital of affiliated societies.
18. Organizing annual conferences of the forest co-operatives and their federations.
19. Co-ordinating and promoting marketing and trading activities of the forest co-operatives in the State so as to create an integrated

- structure of co-operative marketing organization and to render them service and guidance.
20. Providing for such service activities to constituent members and customers as may be considered necessary.
 21. Entering into partnership with two or more co-operative societies for carrying out any specific objective.
 22. Starting or running a periodical dealing with matters relating to the development of forest co-operative movement and development of forest industries through the co-operatives and all sided progress of the Adivasis and forest folks.
 23. To start libraries, both stationary and mobile and to carry on relevant publicity and propaganda through films and other modern means.
 24. To do such other things as are conducive to the attainment of all or any of the above objectives.

The above functions indicate that the federation has been organized as a body to foster an all-sided development of the forest co-operative movement. The Federation has been entrusted with functions not only relating to merely exploitation of the forests but also marketing and processing of the forest produce. So also it has been assigned with functions to co-ordinate and integrate co-operativization of exploitation, marketing and industrialization for the forest produce for the State as a whole. Moreover there is a great degree of flexibility in the functions assigned to the Federation and it is permitted to undertake any functions as will be conducive to the welfare of the Adivasis.

The Federation is to be provided with one Forest Officer of the rank of Conservator of Forests who would be the forestry adviser and the managing director. For co-operative matters, an officer of the rank of Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies is to be provided to act as the Chief Executive Officer. In addition one officer of the rank of the Deputy Director of Social Welfare is to be attached to the Federation to look into the welfare of the Adivasis. Details were not available about the functioning of the Federation when the investigations were conducted as the Federation was started very lately.

6. Circle Wage Boards

The rates for probable expenditure over different items in the exploitation of the coupe and sale of the material vary from year to year and over areas depending upon the availability of labour and the general wage rate. They have therefore, to be fixed in each circle every year one month before the commencement of the working year. These rates are fixed for the circle by a Wage Board consisting of the following members.

1. The Conservator of Forests for the circle.
2. One representative of forest labourers' co-operative societies from each division in the circle.
3. Divisional Forest Officer of the territorial division in the circle.
4. Labour Officer.

The Wage Board fixes rates for the items in the schedule accompanying the determination of the felling and the transport cost for a coupe. The rates are fixed for the circle or the divisions or for particular areas within

the circle as the conditions may vary. The minimum daily wage rates for the works are then fixed by the Government after taking into account the recommendations made by the Circle Wage Board. The Circle Wage Board thus plays an important role in determining the remuneration the societies would get for executing the works.

7. Central Training School

One of the objectives in organizing the Adivasis on co-operative basis was to train them in managing the societies themselves. A training school was, therefore, established at Nasik in 1963-64 through the Maharashtra State Co-operative Union to train the staff employed by the forest co-operatives. The school conducts three sessions, each of four months duration during a year. There are two types of classes. One for training the supervisors, secretaries and accountants and the other for Mukadams, coupe agents and depot clerks. From the year 1967-68 the training period for the supervisors has been extended to six months and that for the Mukadams to five months to enable the trainees to get more practical experience.

In addition to the above classes, the school organizes refresher courses of 10 days duration for employees who had already received training and seminars of one week's duration for the foresters from the Forest Department who are deputed to work as coupe agents in the coupes allotted to the societies.

The number of students trained during the four sessions of the years 1966-67 and 1967-68 are given below:

3.2
Table 2: Number of students Trained in the Four Sessions of the Years 1966-67 and 1967-68 at the Nasik Training School

Duration of the course	Secretary's Course		Mukadam's Course	
	Number of students who appeared for the examination	Number of students who passed	Number of students who appeared for the examination	Number of students who passed
1-9-1966 to 31-12-1966	31	22	20	17
1-2-1967 to 31-5-1967	19	16	17	17
1-7-1967 to 31-12-1967	37	34	37	31
1-2-1968 to 4-8-1968	26	21	16	14
Total	113	93	90	79

As the performance at the School over these two years indicates, about 50 students receive training during a year and a fairly good percentage of the students also pass at the examinations.

In spite of the facilities of this School the response of the co-operatives to sending their employees for training has not been very adequate. The number of trained and untrained personnel employed by the societies in the different cadres in some important districts of the state are noted in the table below.

The table below gives some idea about the availability of trained staff with the societies in those eight districts. On the whole nearly two-thirds of the secretaries and accountants have received training but the coupe agents and Mukadams have remained

Table 33: Number of Trained and Untrained Personnel Employed by the Societies in Some Important Districts

District	Secretary		Accountant		Coupe Agent		Mukadam	
	Train- ed	Un- train- ed	Train- ed	Un- train- ed	Train- ed	Un- train- ed	Train- ed	Un- train- ed
Thana	52	18	11	31	1	125	2	196
Kolaba	1	23	- - - - - Not available - - - - -					
Dhulia	3	26	-	5	-	55	-	49
Nasik	17	9	14	13	- - - Not available - -			
Nagpur	-	28	-	2	-	29	-	37
Yeotmal	13	16	17	15	Not available		19	10
Ehandara	4	23	-	3	- - Not available - - -			
Chandrapur	14	24	-- Not available-----				4	33
Total	104	167	42	69	1	209	25	325

~~xxxxx~~ (Source: Report of the Special Committee to Study the Impact of Cooperative Movement on the Socio-economic conditions of the Adivasis)

untrained largely. The position varies from one district to another and even in some of the pioneer districts like Thana and Nasik, a sizable number of the secretaries and accountants have remained untrained.

The State Council has, therefore, given a directive that within a span of two years the societies have to get all their employees trained, failing which no coupes are to be allotted to societies with untrained staff. The Special Committee appointed to study the impact of the co-operative movement on the socio-economic conditions of the Adivasis (1968) even observed that some young Adivasi boys trained at this School were not at all

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employed by any of the forest labour co-operatives in Chandrapur district. The business handled by the forest labour co-operatives does need trained personnel to run the business on proper lines and maintain the accounts and hence the decision of the State Council to enforce the appointment of trained personnel can be expected to improve the functioning of some of the societies which have not progressed on the right lines.

8. Primary Forest Labourers' Co-operative Society

The composition of the primary forest labourers' co-operative society which forms the basis of the forest labourers' co-operative movement is as given below.

1. Forest workers residing in the area of operation of the society.
2. Social workers attached to the social service organization entrusted in the forest labourers' co-operative movement and connected with the social and economic welfare of the forest folks. The membership of the social workers is subject to the approval of the divisional federation of the society.

The composition of the managing committee of the forest labourers' co-operative society is as given below:

1. Four to six elected representatives of labour members.
2. One or two representatives of the social service organizations.
3. One nominee of the financing agency.

The managing committee does not include nominees of the Forest and the Co-operative Departments. The Departments are, however, authorized to make an appeal to the district federation if a resolution of the managing

committee goes against the interest of the Departments. In addition a cadre of supervisors has been made to supervise the functioning of the societies. For this purpose personnel possessing suitable qualifications and training are attached to the co-ordination committees or the district federations on the basis of one supervisor for 10 to 15 societies. The supervisors are paid by the Government though they work with the above organizations. This^{has} made it possible to have a keener supervision over the societies as well as to safeguard the interest of the Government.

The society may employ the following office and field staff depending upon the volume of work.

1. Secretary who will be in overall charge of the management of the society and accounts.
2. Accountant to maintain the accounts.
3. Coupe agent who will be of the grade of a Forester or a trained Forest Guard from the Forest Service to manage the exploitation of the coupe.
4. Mukadam and depot clerk or forester to manage the disposal of the produce at the disposal centre.

It is the duty of the district federations to supply trained secretaries and accountants to forest labourers' co-operative societies. So also powers for the transfer of the secretaries and accountants is vested with the district federations.

9. Annual Conferences of the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies

A very important agency which has provided guidance to the movement and shaped its courses, is the conferences

of the forest labourers' co-operative societies which are held annually. They are held in the Adivasi areas and this arouses considerable awakening among the Adivasis. Temporary townships are put up in the forest areas with the assistance and co-operation of the Adivasis and all civic amenities such as, water and electricity, are provided. The Adivasis from the nearby areas as well as representatives of forest labourers' co-operative societies from all over the State, participate in large numbers. These conferences have become instrumental for providing suitable forum for the grievances of the Adivasis. The resolutions passed at these conferences are taken note of by the Government and decisions are taken to remove their difficulties and grievances. The uniqueness and importance of these conferences may well be emphasized from the address of Shri Vaikunthabhai Mehta while welcoming the delegates at the eighth conference held at Kasa in April 1956. He said, "Throughout my long connection with the co-operative movement, I have not known any branch of the movement or of the movement as a whole, in any part of India, workers in which meet together with the regularity with which this particular conference is held from year to year. This is, as it should be, because the movement it represents, is both novel and unique. Hardly anywhere else in the world shall we find the prototype of a forest labourers' co-operative society."

The Impact of the Structure

The organizational structure, thus evolved in the State, had all its effects in solving the many difficulties which a co-operative movement of the illiterate Adivasis could be expected to face. The State Council which was formed at the initiation of this movement itself

could play a major role in solving the many difficulties, the movement came across from time to time. Allotment of coupes and settling of accounts were the more important problems which could be handled by the Council at a State level approach. The organization of the federations at the State and the district levels further helped at establishing a co-operative approach to solution of the problems. The district federations have led to a closer supervision over the working of the societies and solving their difficulties at the ground level. When the State Federation starts its fullfledged functioning, it could be expected to lead to an integrated development of forest exploitation, marketing as well as processing through the forest co-operatives. The sponsoring agencies had a major role to play only in the initial stages of the movement. This role has been at present partly replaced by the district federations but the co-operative societies as well as the federations have even now to depend upon the guidance and sympathy of the social workers belonging to these sponsoring agencies. The co-ordination committees were merely organizations in the intermediate stages and they have been already replaced by district federations where the societies have come up in adequate number necessary for a co-operativization at the divisional level. The circle wage boards and the training school are in this structure the auxiliaries to facilitate some executive functions. The annual conferences of the societies have all the while helped in focussing the difficulties experienced by them. This has enabled the State Council to take a note of their difficulties and provide solutions for the same. The organizational structure, thus, gradually evolved has provided a complete and well co-ordinated co-operative framework for this movement as well as a sound liaison between the Adivasis, their leaders and social workers and the Government.

Chapter 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SELECTED SOCIETIESObjectives of the survey

An attempt was made in the earlier chapter⁵ to give a general review of the history, growth and the organization of the forest labour co-operative movement. To get details about the cost structure and the employment opportunities made available by the societies, a survey of a few societies and the workers employed by the societies was necessary. A survey was, therefore, designed to achieve the following objectives.

1. To get an appropriate idea about the costs and returns through the exploitation of the coupes.
2. To study the employment opportunities made available to the Adivasis and the manner in which the Adivasis have been able to exploit the opportunities.
3. To know the impact, these societies have made on the welfare of the Adivasis.

Selection of the societies

Among the different districts in the State, the first two districts to have the largest number of societies were the Thana and Dhulia districts. These two districts were therefore, selected for the survey. In addition some investigations were also undertaken in Chandrapur district to supplement the data from these two districts. It was decided to select three of the best societies in each of these two districts for the survey. It was thought that a study of the best and old societies would show the extent to which the organization has benefited the Adivasis. There

was also some advantage in selecting older societies as such societies generally maintain accounts in the proper forms through their experience. As much of the investigation had to be conducted with reference to the accounts and books maintained by the societies, this point had to be given due weightage in the selection of the societies. In consultation with the Co-operative Department, the following six societies were selected from the two above mentioned districts.

Thana District

1. Mondgaon Vibhag Adivasi Jangal Kamgar Sahakari Society, Ltd., Talasati^{ri} (Taluka Dahanu).
2. Kondhan Vibhag Adivasi Jangal Kamgar Sahakari Society, Ltd., Masavan (Taluka Palghar).
3. Talwada Vibhag Adivasi Jangal Kamgar Sahakari Society, Ltd., Kasa (Taluka Dahanu).

Dhulia district

1. Nagzari Jangal Kamgar Sahakari Society, Ltd., Navapur (Taluka Navapur).
2. Raipur Jangal Kamgar Sahakari Society, Ltd., Navapur (Taluka Navapur).
3. Nanchal Vibhag Jangal Kamgar Sahakari Sangh, Ltd., Navapur (Taluka Navapur).

The offices of all the three societies in Dhulia district were located at Navapur which was a taluka place. The offices of the societies in Thana district were located at important villages nearby their areas of operation. For convenience these societies will hereafter be mentioned by their village name, such as the Mondgaon Society, Nagzari Society etc.

Selection of the families

In order to study the income and employment pattern of the member and non-member workers employed by the

societies, it was necessary to draw a sample of the families of the workers. It was decided that a sample of around 200 families per district or around 65 families per society should be adequate to bring out the results. These 65 families were made up by taking a sample of 30 members, 30 non-member workers and 4 or 5 members of the managing committees. The members were selected at random from the member register. Attempt was made to include all the managing committee members of a society as far as possible. The following procedure was used for the selection of the non-member workers.

A listing of all the workers employed by each society during the year 1967-68 was prepared along with the wages they had earned during the year. The workers in each society were then divided into 5 or 6 equal strata. The number of workers to be selected at random from each stratum was derived after weighting it in proportion to the total wage for the stratum so as to make up a total of approximately 30 workers per society. The total number of workers thus selected came to 181. As there were more than one workers in some families, the investigators were instructed to replace the selected worker by the one above or below it in the listing, in case ~~if~~ two or more workers came from a single family. This ensured investigation of 181 families of the non-member workers. The number of members including managing committee members came to 207. A total number of 388 families were thus investigated for the survey. A societywise distribution of the investigated families into member, managing committee member and worker families is given in Table 4.1.

Sixty-five families were investigated for each of the societies in Thana district and one society in Dhulia

Table 4.1 : Distribution of the selected families into the member, managing committee member and worker families

Name of the Society	Total number of selected families	Out of which		
		Member families	Worker families	Families of the managing committee members
Thana district				
1. Mondgaon	65	30	30	5
2. Kondhan	65	30	30	5
3. Talwada	65	30	29	6
Total	195	90	89	16
Dhulia district				
1. Nagzari	64	30	30	4
2. Raipur	64	29	32	3
3. Nanchal	65	31	30	4
Total	193	90	92	11
Total				
	388	180	181	27

district. In the remaining two societies in the latter district, 64 families were investigated for each society. In the total number of 388 families, there were 180 member families, 181 families of the non-member workers and 27 families of the managing committee members. The member and managing committee member families together made up 53.3 per cent of the total investigated families.

Method of investigation

For the study of the selected societies, no schedule was designed. The investigators were given certain basic points for the collection of data so that there could be harmony in the data collected for all societies. As the cost of exploitation was an important purpose of the

All the instructions were given to the investigators registered upto costs and the returns for individual couples Thana district ble for a period of the last seven years in the second 1961-62 upto the year prior to the survey 1948. The mer-68. 160 to 560. study of the workers, a schedule was prepared Raipur societ led information about the worker's family. ship of over enquired about the family members, the wages societies in ceived from different sources, the income from difipership o sources, land and the other assets the family posse a mediul the liabilities. In addition a number of que: all sociere added to get some qualitative information abo, -Adivasi lationship between the family and the society. The the -mpion was collected for a period of the previous year beginning from November 1967 to October 1968 as the forest works commenced in November. The investigations were carried out in the period November 1968 to March 1969. In all 388 schedules were completed.

Membership in the selected societies

The composition of membership of the selected societies has been noted in Table 4.2 along with their years of registration.

Table 4.2 : Composition of membership of the selected societies (1967-68)

Name of the society	Year of registration	Number of members			Sympathiser
		Adivasis	Non-Adivasis	Total members	
<u>Thana district</u>					
Mondgeon	1950	159	2	161	2
Kondhan	1948	554	4	558	4
Talwada	1957	234	1	235	1
<u>Dhulia district</u>					
Nagzari	1956	169	3	172	-
Raipur	1956	516	5	521	5
Nanchal	1952	265	4	269	4

All the selected societies are quite old and registered upto the year 1957. The Kondhan society in Thana district is one of the oldest societies registered in the second year of the launching of the movement, in 1948. The membership of these societies varies from around 160 to 560. The Kondhan society in Thana district and the Raipur society in Dhulia district have the largest membership of over 500 persons. The Mondgaon and the Nagzari societies in these respective districts have the smallest membership of around 160 persons and the other two societies possess a medium membership of around 250. The membership of all societies is made mostly of Adivasis. The few Adivasi members enrolled in these societies are serving as the sympathiser members, and their function is merely to guide these societies. Though such members have not been classified as the sympathiser members in the Nagzari society, their function appears to be the same as in the other societies.

Distribution of members in different villages

Unlike the common types of co-operative societies, the members of a forest labourers' co-operative society come from different villages within and around its area of operation. In some cases, the members might be staying in the villages in adjoining talukas or even adjoining State, such as Gujarath in ^{the} case of two societies in Dhulia district. So also persons from a single village might join different societies, if the village lies on the periphery of the area of operation of different societies. The details for the number of villages served by the selected societies and the proportion of households joining the societies have been brought out in Table 4.3.

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Table 4.3 : Number of villages served and the proportion of households joining the societies

Name of the society	Number of members	Number of villages served	Number of villages with less than five members	Number of villages with more than four members	Number of members in villages with more than four members	Population of villages with more than four members	Households in villages with more than four members	Proportion of members to households in villages with more than four members (per cent)
Thana district								
Mondgaon	161	12	8	4	142	5746	1049	13.5
Kondhan	558	20 ^a	-	-	Not available	-	-	-
Talwada	235	7	2	5	232	4087	781	29.7
Dhulia district								
Nagzari	172	5	4	1	166	1491	250	66.4
Raipur	521	*	-	-	Not available	-	-	-
Nanchal	269	11	4	7	247 ^b	6185	1066	23.2

a These 20 villages have a population of 10,218 persons.

* Fairly large society having members from 30 to 40 villages and habitats.

b This number is only an approximate due to the difficulties of assigning the habitats to specific villages.

The Mondgaon society has members from 12 villages but eight of these villages are such that only 19 persons from them have been enrolled as members. Most of the membership of this society comes from four villages. The proportion of membership to the number of households in these four villages works out to 13.5 per cent. On the assumption of one person from a household enrolling as a member of the society, persons from around 13 per cent of the households in these villages appear to have become the members of this society.

The Talwada society has members from 7 villages but most of the membership comes from only five villages. The proportion of membership to the number of households in these five villages is 29.7 per cent which gives an indication that persons from around one-third of the households from these villages are associated as members with this society.

The Nagzari society in Dhulia district is mostly a one village society as most of the members come from a single village. There are a few members from other four villages. On the same assumption as above, persons from nearly two-thirds of the households in this village appear to have become members of this society.

The Nanchal society in Dhulia district has a membership coming from 11 villages. Most of the members however, belong to only 7 of these villages, four of which are now in the Gujarath State. Nearly one-fourth of the households in these seven villages are thus, associated with the society on the same assumption of one member per household.

The membership of the Kondhan society in Thana district is spread over 20 villages having a population of 10,218 persons. Assuming this population to be distributed in around 2,000 households, it can be said that only around

a fourth of these households are associated as members with this society.

The Raipur society in Dhulia district is again a very large size society with members from around 30 to 40 villages and habitats around the society. Data were not available to know how far the activities of this society are concentrated in different villages. But from the very large number of villages themselves, it appears that the activities of this society must be covering very large area.

It thus appears from the above, that only the Nagzari society has a highly concentrated membership; ^{the} ~~the~~ Kondhan and the Raipur societies have highly dispersed membership whereas the other three societies have concentrations mid-way between these two extremes. It might be useful to know if such concentrations have any impact on the working of the societies.

Increase in the membership of the selected societies

The membership ^{of} in 1967-68 is compared with the membership in 1961-62 in Table 4.4. (of the selected societies)

Table 4.4 : Increase in the membership of the selected societies in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68

Name of the society	Number of members		Percentage increase in the membership (per cent)
	1961-62	1967-68	
<u>Thana district</u>			
Mondgaon	117	161	37.6
Kondhan	528	558	5.7
Talwada	180	235	30.5
<u>Dhulia district</u>			
Nagzari	169	172	1.8
Raipur	244	521	113.5
Nanchal	188	269	43.1

Except for the Kondhan society in Thana district and the Nagzari society in Dhulia district, there is a sizeable increase in the memberships of the societies during the eight year period. The Nagzari society, which was practically a single village society has remained stagnant as far as the membership is concerned. The Kondhan society, registered quite early in 1948, was already a very large size society in 1961-62. Hence the increase of just 5 per cent in the membership during the period is but natural. In three of the remaining four societies, the increase is of the magnitude of one third whereas in the Raipur society, the membership is practically more than doubled. There were only 269 members in the Raipur society during the year 1965-66, but the membership went up to 521 just in a couple of years. This was for the reason that the society decided to convert all non-member workers into members by deducting an amount equal to 6 per cent of the wages they had earned as their contribution to the membership share. Most of the other societies follow a policy of selective membership and enrol only those non-member workers as members whom the office bearers of the society wish to convert into members.

Coupes worked by the selected societies

The number of coupes worked by the selected societies since 1961-62 are noted in Table 4.5.

Though the average for the number of coupes worked by a society in a year for the State as a whole was less than 2, the selected societies have been working quite a larger number of coupes. This is evident as quite old and the best societies were selected for the survey. Each of the societies in Thana district had worked 5 coupes in 1967-68 and this ^{was} ~~is~~ some improvement over the number of coupes worked in the earlier part of the decade which was

Table 4.5 : Number of coupes worked by the selected societies from 1961-62 to 1967-68

Name of the society	Number of coupes worked						
	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
<u>Thana district</u>							
Mondgeon	3	4	3	3	5	4	5
Kondhan	4	4	4	4	4	4	5
Talwada	3	5	5	4	4	4	5
<u>Dhulia district</u>							
Nagzari	4	4	1	4	2	3	2
Raipur	8	4	6	6	2	2	2
Nanchal	4	2	3	5	5	3	3

only 3 or 4. This ^{was} ~~is~~, however, not so with the societies in the Dhulia district. Two of the selected societies in this district have worked only 2 or 3 coupes in 1966-67 and 1967-68 as against 4 and 8 coupes in the first year of the decade. The membership of the Nagzari society being stagnant, the small reduction in the number of coupes may not affect the interests of the members. The reduction in the number of coupes in ^{the} case of the Raipur society, which again is of a great magnitude, appears however to be quite contrasting to the large scale membership expansion in this society. There is no reduction as such in the number of coupes worked by the Nanchal society. There is neither any increase ^{in the number of coupes,} commensurate with the 43 per cent increase in the membership of this society.

Coupe working expenditures of the selected societies

Merely the number of coupes may not give a proper idea about the progress of the societies. Some of the coupes such as the thinning coupes, do not provide much employment, and **E**xploitation of two regular timber coupes

may be as good as exploiting four thinning coupes from the point of employment. The size of a coupe and its content of exploitable material are again the other factors to determine the employment. The expenditure incurred by a society over coupe working may, therefore, give a better idea about the progress in this aspect of a society. The coupe working expenditures have, therefore, been given in Table 4.6 for the same period as in the earlier table.

Table 4.6 : Expenditures incurred over coupe working by the selected societies from 1961-62 to 1967-68

Name of the society	Expenditure over coupe work (Rs.in hundreds)						
	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
<u>Thana district</u>							
Mondgaon	480	689	537	*	600	433	596
Kondhan	456	536	617	570	737	663	557
Talwada	588	1086	1198	858	712	879	1281
<u>Dhulia district</u>							
Nagzari	725	638	190	557	299	191	*
Raipur	1039	713	568	533	629	524	*
Nanchal	532	603	465	740	772	792	*

* Not available.

Except for the Kondhan society, there is not much increase in the expenditures incurred over coupe work by the other societies in Thana district. The labour component of these expenditures which are always very high, will be examined in a later chapter. This is suffice to indicate that all the three societies in Thana district have either maintained their activities or even expanded in relation to the increases in their membership. In Dhulia district only the Nanchal society has made progress in terms of the expenditures. In the other two societies, the expenditures

over coupe work have declined considerably. This must have influenced the wage earnings of the members even in the Nagzari society with stagnant membership. Its impact on the earnings of the members of the Raipur society should have been much more because of the doubling of membership at a time when the quantum of coupe work started declining. The size of expenditures, therefore, gives more or less the same results as obtained from the earlier table. It might be interesting to note further the number of members actually working in the society and the number of members not working. The proportion of working members in the selected societies

The proportions of working and non-working members in the total membership and the proportions of members in the total working force ^{of the selected societies} may be noted from Table 4.7.

As the table indicates, except for the Kondhan and the Nanchal societies, quite a large proportion viz. 86 to 99 per cent of the members work in the coupes. The proportion is the smallest viz. 42 per cent for the Kondhan society and 52 per cent for the Nanchal society. Further if we consider the proportion of members in ^{the} total working force we find that around 80 per cent of the working force of the Kondhan and the Raipur society is made up of members. For the Nagzari society, this proportion works out to around one third and for the remaining three societies it is but only a half.

In the Kondhan society, the proportion of working members is thus, small but those who work constitute a substantial proportion of the workers. In the Mondgaon and the Talwada societies, the proportion of working members is large but those who work constitute a smaller proportion of the workers. The large size membership of the Kondhan society is thus made of non-working members and members who

Table 4.7 : Working and non-working members and the total work force of the selected societies

Name of the Society	Number of members			Proportion of working members in the total membership (per cent)	Non-member workers	Total work force	Proportion of members in the total work force (per cent)
	Working	Non-working	Total				
<u>Thana district</u>							
Mondgaon	142	19	161	88.2	180	322	44.1
Kondhan	325	233	558	41.8	70	395	82.3
Talwada	202	33	235	86.0	195	397	50.9
<u>Dhulia district</u>							
Nagzari	169	3	172	98.3	84	253	66.8
Raipur	516	5	521	99.0	100	616	83.8
Nanchal	141	128	269	52.4	124	265	53.2

Note :- The data for the societies in Thana district refers to the year 1967-68 whereas in case of the Dhulia societies the data is for the year 1966-67.

were not needed for the work even in the context of the small increase in the activities of the society. On the contrary, in the Mondgaon and the Talwada societies, there is much scope for expanding the membership as these societies have to execute their works through non-member workers in spite of most of their members participating in the work.

The Nagzari society in Dhulia district resembles somewhat the above two societies in Thana district in this respect. In spite of practically the entire membership of this society participating in the work, only two-thirds of the total work force can be provided through its membership. The decline in the activities of the society as noted earlier should not have affected the earnings of the members as appeared from the earlier table. Similar appears to be the case of the Raipur society in which practically the entire membership has been provided with work even though there was a large scale expansion of membership in a short period of two years. This has also enabled the members to contribute 83 per cent member labour to its working force. Here again the decline in the coupe work should not have affected the interests of the members as nearly 17 per cent of the labour force consists of non-member workers. The Nanchal society differs from all the above societies in that only half the number of members participate in the work and they make up only a half of the working force. The society has also expanded its coupe work during recent years as noted earlier. There should be, therefore, ample scope for the expansion of membership in this society as appears from the data presented in the above tables.

The Kondhan and the Nanchal societies are thus different from the others in that the Kondhan society is made up of ^{Superfluous membership} ~~unwanted~~ members whereas in the Nanchal society

the non-working members have either to be made to work or replace them by new members who would contribute more and more to the work force of this society in the context of its increased coupe work.

The financial assets of the selected societies

The share capital, reserve fund and other funds accumulated by the selected societies are given in Table 4.8.

The share capital of these societies varies from around Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 9,000. Only the Nagzari and the Raipur societies had received an amount of Rs. 3,000 for each from the Government as the Government's contribution to the share capital. The remaining societies had raised the share capital through the contribution from their members.

The average share capital per member varies from around Rs. 12 to Rs. 30. The Nagzari society has the largest average per member share capital of Rs. 29.5 but this is so mainly due to the contribution of the Government share capital. As far as the collection of share capital from the members is concerned, the Mondgaon and the Nanchal societies appear to have made very good efforts.

The Mondgaon and the Kondhan societies have accumulated large amounts of reserve fund amounting to Rs. 79 and 60 thousands respectively. The same societies and the Nanchal society in addition have accumulated other funds amounting to around Rs. 40 thousands in each case. The total funds of the Mondgaon and the Kondhan societies have gone much above rupees one lakh whereas the same in ^{the} case of the Nanchal society are around rupees half a lakh. The Talwada and the Raipur societies have total funds of around Rs. 35 thousands whereas in ^{the} case of the Nagzari society, the total funds have just reached a level of Rs. 10 thousands.

In terms of average total funds per member, the Nagzari and the Raipur societies are on par. It is only

Table 4.8 : Financial assets of the selected societies

Name of the society	Year of registration	Number of members	Share capital Rs.	Average share capital per member Rs.	Reserve fund Rs.	Other funds Rs.	Total funds Rs.	Average total funds per member Rs.
<u>Thana district</u>								
Mondgaon	1950	161	3,561	22.1	79,321	47,679	1,30,561	810.9
Kondhan	1948	558	6,665	11.9	60,505	45,030	1,12,200	201.1
Talwada	1957	235	2,945	12.5	18,451	15,627	37,023	157.5
<u>Dhulia district</u>								
Nagzari	1956	172	5,085	29.5	3,185	1,762	10,032	58.3
Raipur	1956	521	9,230	17.7	3,535	19,360	32,125	61.6
Nanchal	1952	269	5,213	19.4	12,356	33,628	51,197	190.3

the Nanchal society in Dhulia district which has made some progress in the accumulation of funds. The average per member total funds in ^{the} case of each of the earlier two societies amount to around Rs. 60 whereas for the Nanchal society the same work out to Rs. 190. For the Kondhan and the Talwada societies in Thana district, the average per member total funds are around Rs. 200 and Rs. 150 respectively whereas the Mondgaon society in this district has made a tremendous progress of accumulating on an average Rs. 810 of total funds per member. As far as the financial position of these societies is concerned, the Mondgaon society has made an exceptional progress; the Nanchal society has made good efforts in relation to the other societies in Dhulia district whereas in ^{the} case of the Kondhan and the Talwada societies the progress when considered in relation to the age of these societies is nominal. As noted in an earlier chapter, if we assume that a worker on an average gets around Rs. 150 per annum through the exploitation of the coupes, then all the three societies in Thana district and the Nanchal society in Dhulia district would appear to be financially quite viable.

Other characteristics of the selected societies

The number of staff members, audit classification and the profits earned ^{by} / have been noted in Table 4.9 to get ^{the selected} / societies further idea about the nature of the selected societies.

The societies in Thana district were more equipped with staff than the societies in Dhulia district. This was also due to the difference in the number of coupes worked by the societies in these two districts as larger number of coupes required larger number of coupe agents, watchmen and mukadams.

The audit classification shows that in Thana district, the Mondgaon society had obtained the 'A' class and the

Table 4.9 : Staff members, audit classification and the profits earned in case of the selected societies

Name of the society	Number of staff members employed	Audit class in 1967-68	Number of years of profit since 1961-62	Total of profits during the period 1961-62 to 1967-68	Number of years of loss since 1961-62	Total of losses during the period 1961-62 to 1967-68
<u>Thane district</u>						
Mondgaon	15	A	5	45,082*	2	7,060
Konchan	15	B	6	29,962	1	1,871
Talawada	12	B	7	1,19,684	-	-
<u>Dhulia district</u>						
Nagzari	8	B	2	19,009	5	40,183
Raipur	5	A	5	59,472	2	28,503
Nanchal	6	A	4	36,989	3	**

* Figures available for only 3 out of the 5 years.

** Figures are not available.

other societies were in the 'B' class. In Dhulia district, the Raipur and the Nanchal societies had obtained the 'A' class whereas the Nagzari society was placed in the 'B' class.

The audit classification, however, depends upon a number of factors and merely the profit is not a major factor to influence the classification after audit. Whether the society is making an adequate profit or not, carries only 2 points in the total of 100 points assigned for the different criteria while auditing a society. One, therefore, finds even the Talwada society in the 'B' class though the society had made profits in all the seven years considered here. This society had earned a total profit of around Rs. 1.20 lakhs during the period. Except for the Nagzari

society, the other four societies had earned profits in 4 to 6 years and losses in 1 to 3 years. The Nagzari society had incurred losses in 5 out of the seven years. The total loss suffered by this society was around Rs. 40 thousands whereas the profit came to around Rs. 20 thousands only. The Kondhan society had suffered a loss of only Rs. 1,800 in one out of the seven years. All the societies in Thana district and the Raipur society in Dhulia district appear to have managed their business well as far as the profitability of the business is concerned.

Other works and activities undertaken by the selected societies

None of the selected societies had undertaken exploitation of minor forest works. So also only the Raipur society had undertaken ^{one} labour contract of constructing a one mile forest road for the first time in 1967-68. None of these societies had, thus, made efforts to provide any sizable additional employment to their members.

All the societies in Thana district had, however, participated in giving donations from time to time for social works such as the construction of school buildings, famine relief works etc. In addition, these societies had undertaken extension activities of advising their members and others in participating in the various schemes of the extension agencies. Meetings, classes were also being organized for the purpose.

In Dhulia district, the Raipur society had started a saw-mill in the year of the present survey. In addition a building was purchased for Rs. 33 thousand, partly for the office and partly for renting it out. The Nanchal society had also purchased a building for lodging the visitors to Navapur, visiting the place for co-operative activities but the building was later sold to the Taluka Co-operative Union

for the same purpose on an instalment basis. The same society is running one cloth shop and another shop selling cement, iron, fertilizers, sugar etc. This society had also given donations to a number of schools and for other purposes for the upliftment of the Adivasis. All societies except the Nagzari society have thus made some extension efforts. The Raipur and the Nanchal societies in Dhulia district, however, appear to have concentrated more upon the investments in buildings.

Chapter 5

COSTS AND RETURNSAllotment of coupes

The coupes are allotted to the ^SSocieties by the Conservators of Forests if the societies are found to be prima-facie eligible for such allotment. The conditions necessary for a society to become eligible for the allotment are as below.

- 1) The ^SSociety should have cleared off the dues of the Forest Department according to the orders issued by the Government from time to time.
- 2) The Deputy Registrar of Cooperative Societies should satisfy that the ^SSociety possesses adequate borrowing capacity and that the society can secure the required finance for coupe working.
- 3) No society which has not secured the sponsorship of a Government approved social service organization or a federation of the societies where existing, should be granted a coupe.
- 4) The ^SSociety must have applied for coupes before the 28th of February of the year in which the allotment of coupes is made.
- 5) The coupe applied for by the society must be within the area of operation of the society and it should be recommended by the District Federation and the Deputy Registrar of Cooperative Societies.

Societies which do not get coupes through the Conservators of Forests are again considered for their eligibility in a district meeting attended by the Additional Conservator of Forests, Joint Registrar of Industrial Cooperatives, Special Forest Officer, Officer on Special Duty for Forest Cooperatives, Deputy Registrar of

Cooperative Societies, Divisional Forest Officer and representatives of the societies and their federation. After joint discussions, attempts are made to allot coupes to some societies by the Additional Chief Conservator of Forests pending formal ratification by the State Council. Complicated and difficult cases are then referred to the State Council for its decision. The decision of the State Council is final.

Time table for the allotment of coupes and their exploitation

A detailed time table has been fixed for the allotment and exploitation of the coupes so that the societies should get the coupes in time and the exploitation be also completed within the workable period. The time table is as below.

- 1) Supply of list of coupes available during
the year31st December
- 2) Last date for receiving applications
from the societies28th February
- 3) Allotment of coupes by the Conservators
of Forests30th April
- 4) Last date for the societies to lodge
complaints with the Conservators of
Forests and the State Council31st May
- 5) Allotment of coupes by the State
Council30th June
- 6) Handing over possession of coupes to
the society 31st July
- 7) Felling upto31st March
- 8) Removal of material upto30th April
- 9) Manufacture and removal of
charcoal upto15th May

In case of the selected societies it was observed that the coupes were being handed over to them mostly in September and at times even upto November. This should

not however, affect the working of the coupes as the exploitation started in November. As the selected societies were the best societies, there was no disturbance in their functioning as far as this aspect was considered. As mentioned in some of the Committee Reports noted earlier, at times the coupes are handed over to the societies even as late as in February. The selected societies generally completed the exploitation upto May and the coupes were being handed over back to the Department in June.

Working of the coupes

After the coupes are handed over to the societies, the Forest Department appoints coupe agents to supervise extraction, conversion and removal of the material. The societies have to work in the coupe according to the instructions issued to them by the coupe agent from time to time. The coupe agents maintain a register for the materials filled and the materials sent to the depot for sale. No material can be removed from the coupe without the certification by the coupe agent. Though the coupe agents are appointed by the Forest Department and are responsible to the Department for their work, they receive their remuneration through the societies. In some of the selected societies there was a general complaint that the coupe agents at times abstained from their work in the coupes and this affected the timely removal of the material from the coupes.

After felling the trees, they are fashioned and cut into logs according to the instructions of the coupe agent. The fire wood is heaped in stacks and when charcoal is to be manufactured the same is done at the place allotted for the purpose in the coupe. The material is then transported to the depot and arranged in suitable lots

for the auction. The minimum price that a lot should fetch is determined previously and jointly by the Divisional Forest Officer and the society. The society is then free to sell the produce to the highest bidder if the price offered is above the predetermined price. A representative of the Forest Department is always present when the lots are auctioned. If the material does not fetch the required minimum price, it is put for auction again sometime later. At times, considerable quantities of the material may not get disposed of during the year of exploitation and the stock is then carried over during the following years and offered for sale again and again at reduced prices.

Methods of determining returns to the societies for the exploitation of coupes

Prior to the organization of forest labourers' cooperative societies, the coupes were being auctioned to the contractors and the highest bidder used to pay the price to the Forest Department and exploit the coupe. It would have been disadvantageous to the organization of the societies if they were to be asked to bid the price for the coupes and face competition with the well established contractors. The Government, therefore, took a decision to determine an upset price for the coupe and permit the society to exploit the coupe at the upset price. Even to-day, the societies have to bid for the coupes in open auctions in some of the States in the country. The Government of the ex-Bombay State, however, took a wise decision to treat the societies on a different level when compared to the contractors and thus paved a smooth way for the development of this movement.

The Up-set price formula

The up-set price is a rough estimation of the price, a coupe would fetch. Even when the coupes were being

auctioned to the contractors, the Forest Department used to estimate the volume of the timber, the costs over exploitation and the price at which the coupe would be saleable. This price was serving as a guide line to sell the coupes in the auction. Generally, the contractors always offered a price which was higher than the upset price. The societies were, however, given the concession to have the coupes only at this upset price.

Several societies while working the coupes found that the visual estimation of the yield made by the forest officers went wrong greatly on both sides. Sometimes the estimated yield happened to be very low or at times very high when compared to the actual yield. As the societies worked the coupes by giving fair wages to the labour, it was not possible to adjust the deficits. While some of the societies made bigger profits from the system of determining the upset price, the others suffered heavy losses. ~~Sometimes~~ ^{societies} which made heavy losses had to approach the Government for redumption in the price. The Government referred such problems to the then Planning Committee and the problem of the high upset prices became a regular business of the Planning Committee. It, therefore, arrived at a conclusion that some definite formula should be drawn up to enable the societies to get the coupes at reasonable prices.

The question of evolving a new formula was considered by the Planning Committee, the sponsoring agencies and also at the Annual Conferences of the societies. After considering various aspects of the question, the Planning Committee drew up a formula and the same was accepted by the Government by a resolution in February 1953.

The Formula of 1953

This formula also relied upon determining an upset price but certain concessions were granted to avoid losses on the part of the societies. The Forest Department in consultation with the representatives of a society was required to make estimates of -

- (a) the quantity of material that could be extracted from the coupe,
- (b) the value of the estimated material, and
- (c) the operational costs.

The up-set price was then fixed as -

$$\text{Up set price} = (b) - (c + c/10).$$

Ten per cent of the operational costs were added in addition to the operational costs to serve as the overhead costs for the society. The societies were required to furnish to the Forest Department sureties for an amount equal to the upset price plus ten per cent of the price as a deposit for any misuse of the coupe or illicit cutting of the non exploitable trees. At the end of September after the exploitation of the coupe, the estimated value of the estimated material minus ten per cent of the operational costs were to be compared with the actual realization and the resultant loss or profit was to be shared between the Government and the society on a 50:50 basis, provided the Chief Conservator of Forests recommended that the loss if any, was not due to mismanagement on the part of the society. Two per cent of the prescribed wages were allowed as an item of expenditure for welfare activities for the members in addition to the above returns for a society.

The above formula was based on too many estimates which it was difficult to make within reasonable limits of accuracy. So also there came up the problems of extra

expenditure over the additional yield obtained over and above the estimated yield. In some cases, the actual yield ^a exceeded the estimated yield and the societies had to incur heavy expenditure over the exploitation of the extra yield but the Government shared the profit only according to the estimated expenditure. Quite strange cases of sharing of profits were pointed out by the Evaluation Committee (1958). Two of them have been noted in Table 5.1 as examples.

The figures for the estimated and the actual yields indicate that the actuals have been even two to three times greater ^{than} ~~from~~ the estimates. The balances left with the societies due to the extra expenditures of around Rs.40 thousands in each case, were inadequate even to pay the Government's share of 50 per cent in the profit.

Errors in estimations were thus, inevitable. The implementation of this formula brought out strange cases, not anticipated by those who framed the formula. There was a need to evolve another formula which would get rid of any estimations and would be based on the actual realizations and expenditures. The Planning Committee, therefore, gave a careful consideration to this problem and suggested a new formula which was approved by the Government in December 1959.

The Revised Formula of 1959

This formula dispensed with the need for determining the upset price. Only provisionally estimated price of a coupe was being entered in the agreement with the society while handing over the coupe. This price was being fixed on the basis of the price of the previous year's coupe in the same felling series. It was being fixed by the Conservator of Forests without the consultation of the society as the real price, the society had

Table 5.1: Cases of societies incurring losses due to the extra expenditure on extra yield

Name of the society	Type of product	Estimated yield (tons)	Actual yield (tons)	Extra yield (tons)	Extra expenditure on extra yield Rs.	Balance left with the society after the exploitation Rs.	Government share of profits as per formula Rs.	Balance left with the society after deducting the Government share Rs.
Khondbara Society (District Dhulia)	Timber	882	1004	122				
	Firewood	1050	2773	1723	43210	28293	72563	N11
Ken-dungut Society (District Thana)	Timber	326	606	280				
	Firewood	100	391	291				
	Charcoal	183	412	229	39014	50917	56980	N11

to pay was determinable after the exploitation of the coupe. The society was also not required to furnish any surety for this price. The exploitation and sale of the coupe material ~~took~~^{was to take} place under the supervision of the staff of the Forest Department such as the coupe agent mentioned earlier. The net realization of coupe working as on the 30th of June was ~~being~~^{to be} shared between the society and the Forest Department in proportions fixed by the formula as described below.

The net realization was ~~being~~^{to} arrived at in this formula by deducting actual expenditure over 32 items specified for the purpose, from the gross sale proceeds. Later, one more item was added making the total to 33. These items included the items of extraction charges, coupe depot expenses, transport costs, station or bunder depot expenses and management charges. The expenditure admitted by the Forest Department on these items was however, ~~to be~~^{to be} limited to the rates annually fixed in each circle by the Circle Wage Board.

While prescribing this formula, Government made it clear that in their opinion, 10 per cent of the net realization would be a fair return to well established societies. In the earlier formula 10 per cent of the operational costs were considered as a fair return to meet the overhead costs and profit. It was, however, conceded that the younger societies had to incur some development expenditure in the earlier period and hence there was justification for allowing them a slightly higher percentage of the net realization. The percentage shares of the societies and the Forest Department were, therefore, fixed as given in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 : Shares of the societies and the Forest Department in the net realization from the working of the coupes.

Age of the society	Society's share (per cent)	Government's share (per cent)
1 Upto 3 years old	25	75
2 More than 3 but upto 6 years old	20	80
3 More than 6 but upto 9 years old	15	85
4 More than 9 years old	10	90

Nine years period was considered as a reasonable period for a society to stand on its own and manage its affairs through its own funds. The share, therefore, went down very gradually from 25 to 10 per cent till the age of 9 years.

Modifications in the Revised Formula

Though the revised formula dispensed with the need to prepare estimates of the yield, its value and operational cost and had the merit of being based on the actuals, it gave rise to other problems. The societies were not satisfied with the expenses on the 33 items specified in the formula as they had to incur expenditure over other additional items for which they had to use amounts from the percentages granted to them. More and more items were being suggested by the societies for inclusion in the admissible costs. There was a continual demand for raising the percentage share of the societies in the net realizations. There were always some disputes between the societies and the Forest Department over the amounts of expenditure to be admitted for the various items.

The Special Committee appointed by the Government to study the working again in 1963 gave a thought to this formula. This committee made a study of 121

societies in the matters of their realizations through the shares, profits and losses for the years 1959-60 and 1960-61. The results obtained by this Committee have been noted in Table 5.3.

From the figures for the net profit or loss in the table, it is clear that in 1959-60 all societies getting 15 or above 15 per cent share in the net realization had made profits whereas all those getting 10 per cent share had incurred losses. In the year 1960-61 again the groups of societies getting 20 or 25 per cent share had made good profits whereas the groups getting 15 or 10 per cent had made considerable losses. During the two years period, the net profit also declined from Rs.2.59 lakhs to Rs.0.93 lakhs. The societies getting 20 or 25 per cent share in the net realizations had thus good chances of making profits whereas those getting 15 or 10 per cent share had only a little chance of profit. The Committee, however, thought that at least a 15 per cent share in the net realization should be adequate for making a profit and, therefore, recommended that societies more than 9 years old should also be given a 15 per cent share instead of the then practice of getting a 10 per cent share.

In spite of the implementation of the above recommendation, some of the older societies continued their demands for a higher share in the net realization. The Conference of the societies held at Kinwat in 1967 passed a resolution that societies upto 3 years age should be given 25 per cent share and all the societies above this age should be given 20 per cent share. The Estimates Committee of the State Legislature also recommended in one of its reports that all societies might be granted a flat share of 25 per cent of the net

Table 5.3: Profits and losses of 121 societies classified according to their shares in the net realizations for the years 1959-60 and 1960-61

Year	Percentage of share	Number of societies	Amount of the share of the societies in the net realization Rs.	Profit Rs.	Loss Rs.	Net profit (+) or loss (-) Rs.
1959-60	25	64	696015	289620	-	+ 289620
	20	20	257230	60610	-	+ 60610
	15	19	215855	13912	-	+ 13912
	10	18	191735	-	104728	- 104728
	Total	121	1360835	364142	104728	+ 259414
1960-61	25	56	507574	197001	16158	+ 180843
	20	39	436118	97584	46804	+ 50780
	15	19	55295	5513	29030	- 23517
	10	17	119107	1564	116614	- 115050
	Total	121	1118094	301662	208606	+ 93056

realizations. The societies in Gujarat which were the counterparts of the societies in Maharashtra in the Ex-Bombay State, were already getting a share of 20 per cent in the net realizations since 1960-61 irrespective of age. The Government of Maharashtra, therefore, passed a resolution in November 1967 that all societies be given a 20 per cent share irrespective of the age.

Another omission in this formula was that it did not visualize cases in which the gross realizations might fall even below the admissible expenditure over the prescribed items. As, such cases came to the notice of the Government, instructions were given in February 1968 that where there had been losses on account of the admissible expenditures being greater than the gross realizations, the societies should be granted the full admissible expenditure. This was also given a retrospective effect from 1966-67 but only 90 per cent of the loss on such account in the earlier period was to be borne by the Government and 10 per cent was to be made good by the societies themselves.

The Special Committee of 1963 also recommended that a committee should be appointed for suggesting a long term policy of working the coupes on the percentage basis and that this committee should collect the data and make recommendations about the percentages of shares for the Government and the societies. The Government appointed the Committee and the Committee made exhaustive efforts in the collection of data for a number of coupes. The coupes were also classified according to the nature of topography, the type of coupe material and the density of stocking, into as many as 108 categories to recommend percentages for all types of coupes. After all the labour, the Committee observed that there were such great

variations among the coupes even ^{within} ~~in their~~ a single category, that it was futile to apply a suitable percentage to even a group of coupes. This Committee, however, gave a thought to a number of methods that could be taken into account and analysed the same in the context of the objectives of fixing percentages. No recommendations were, however, feasible through all the efforts, the Committee had made. From the report of the Committee, many clues, however, became available to the Government and the Government published a White Paper in March 1970 to make its policy clear. A proposal was also made to replace the present system of exploitation of coupes by the societies by another system known as the logging system. Before considering the proposal, it is necessary to know about the logging formula which was also being applied to some societies under certain conditions.

The Logging System

Under the logging system, the societies are responsible for felling, extraction, conversion and delivery of the coupe material either at the coupe depot or the sale depot. The material is sold by the Forest Department. The societies do not get any share in the gross or net realizations. They are paid the operational expenditure on the prescribed items plus 10 per cent of such operational costs to cover their overhead expenses and profit. The Forest Department also gives advances to the societies to meet the working expenditure. The societies have not to borrow from the banks for the purpose as in the case when the coupes are exploited under the revised formula. Generally, the newly organized societies which have little experience of management and no funds, are given the coupes under the logging formula.

So also coupes which are less valuable and in which the gross realizations may not account for even the operational costs, are given on the logging basis. The societies are given an option to take the coupe either under the revised formula or on the logging basis.

The Logging Proposal

The logging proposal made by the Government envisaged the exploitation of coupes on the logging system by all societies. The Government observed that there were several limitations to the working of coupes under the revised formula system. So also the forest labourers' cooperative movement could not make perceptible economic impact on forest labour community which was the primary objective for which the movement was started. There were again great discrepancies in the profits of different societies merely due to the quality of the material obtained in the coupes. The timber exploitation fetched a very high price when compared to the exploitation of fuel. This led to great discrepancies between the societies working in the timber area and the fuel area as the societies in both areas shared the same percentages of net realizations.

After detailed examination of the factors contributing to the above situation, the Government decided that in future the forest coupes should be worked by these societies only under the logging system. It was further decided that over and above the operational cost on admissible items of expenditure, the societies should be given 10 per cent of the operational costs as its profits and a further 10 per cent should be earmarked for contributing to a Central Welfare Fund for the Adivasis. As an incentive bonus, a further 5 per cent should be earmarked for the welfare activities in respect of societies whose working will be found to be efficient according to the norms specified for the purpose. This additional 5 per cent bonus would be spent for ameliora-

tive measures in the area of operation of the society concerned.

The Government estimated that the Central Forest Labour Welfare Fund so constituted would be to the tune of Rs.36.18 lakhs annually and this would have tangible results on the welfare of the Adivasis and other forest labour communities. A special committee would implement the schemes under this fund, which would include housing, medical facilities, water supply etc.

In support of this change-over, the Government further stated that the logging system would enable the societies to get profits proportionate to the work load and irrespective of the quality of the coupe. Disparities in the earnings of the societies would get removed. It is desirable that the shares of realization of the societies should be proportionate to their actual investments and the skills involved and not to their location in the high value or low value forest areas. Award of bonus to efficient societies would further serve as a definite incentive to good work. Societies would no longer be burdened with the task of securing finances as ^{the same} ~~it~~ would be advanced by Government under the logging system. As sales ^{would} ~~will~~ be conducted by the Government, there ^{would} ~~will~~ be no loss if a coupe working proves to be uneconomic. Above all ^a ~~the~~ sizeable amount ^{would} ~~will~~ be available in the Central Welfare Fund for taking up works of Community Welfare for the forest workers.

Further changes in the decisions

This change over was not appreciated by the societies as it meant considerable reduction in the realizations of those societies which were exploiting very high value timber such as teak. There were protests from the societies on the ground that this policy would

reduce the Adivasis merely to the level of workers and they would lose their integration with forestry which was one of the objectives when the movement was lodged. It was argued that the logging system would enable the societies to get only 10 per cent of the operational costs as against 20 per cent of the net realizations as at present. This would considerably reduce the profits of the societies and the accumulation of losses would give a set back to the movement itself. The societies would further be deprived of the employment over transportation from the coupe to the depot and that over the management of the depot itself. So also the Government would have to start new depots which would involve investment over the depots as well as appointment of staff for the purpose. The depots developed by the societies would on the other hand remain unused.

The Government, therefore, reconsidered their policy and decided to allot coupes for the year 1971-72 under the revised formula only to those societies which had secured 'A' class in the previous audit. So also societies getting the 'B' class were given coupes under the revised formula for one year only on the understanding that they would obtain the 'A' class in the next audit. All other societies were given coupes under the logging system. The Government further decided that this question of allotting the coupes to the societies either under the revised formula or the logging system should be reconsidered again after observations in the field for one year.

For the present, the A and the B class societies have been, thus, allotted the coupes under the revised formula whereas the C and the D class societies are working the coupes under the logging system. As the

present survey was conducted in 1968-69, all the selected societies had worked their coupes under the revised formula. All the cost and return analysis presented in the foregoing pages is, therefore, based on the allotment of coupes to the societies under this formula.

Analysis of the costs

The costs incurred by the selected societies over the different coupes ^{exploited} explained by them in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68 have been analysed in the foregoing pages. Costs were not compiled for the coupes worked by the societies in Dhulia district for the year 1967-68 when the present survey was conducted. For Dhulia district, the costs are thus not available for the coupes worked in 1967-68. So also figures were not available for the Mondgaon society in Thana district for the coupes exploited in 1964-65. Barring such cases, the data are available for all the coupes exploited during the reference period. The total number of coupes during this period comes to 151, which appears to be quite a sizeable sample to get all dimensions of the costs.

For convenience, the 33 items prescribed by the Government for working out the operational costs have been grouped under 10 categories of items in the present analysis. These 10 categories of the 33 items have been further grouped under five heads viz., the costs over coupe work, the costs over transport, the costs over depot work, the costs over office management and the costs over welfare. The costs over each head are discussed separately below. So also for convenience, the costs over the different categories of items have been expressed in these discussions in most places as percentages to the total costs for a coupe or for all the coupes worked by a society in a year. The detailed coupewise

costs have been given in absolute figures in Appendices 5-II to 5-VII attached at the end of this chapter. The list of 33 items is also given in Appendix 5-I at the same place.

Total Costs

Before analysing the costs over each of the five heads, it is essential to know the magnitude of the total costs for a coupe and for a year. These magnitudes have been expressed in Table 5.4, in terms of the minimum and the maximum costs over a coupe and the total costs for all the coupes exploited by a society during each year of the reference period.

The table indicates that the cost of exploiting a coupe varies from even below rupees one thousand to above rupees 50 thousands ^{depending} ~~depending~~ upon the material exploitable through a coupe. In most of the cases, however, the minimum costs have been around rupees 5 thousands and the maximum around rupees 30 or 40 thousands. As in the subsequent discussions, the costs are going to be discussed in terms of percentages of the costs over various items to the total costs, it is necessary to know these magnitudes before hand.

The total costs of exploiting all the coupes during a year for a society have varied from around rupees 20 thousands to over rupees one lakh per year. The Talwada society had incurred costs over rupees one lakh in a number of years. In the cases of the other two societies in Thana district, the costs were of a smaller magnitude viz., around Rs.60 thousands. When compared to the number of members in these societies, this appears to be quite contrasting as the number of members in the Talwada society is just half the number of members in the Khandhan society. The Mondgaon society

Table 5.4: Costs per coupe and per year incurred by the selected societies in the years from 1961-62 to 1967-68

(Cost figures in Rs.)

Name of the society	1961-62			1962-63			1963-64					
	Number of coupes	Minimum cost per coupe	Maximum cost per coupe	Total cost for the year	Number of coupes	Minimum cost per coupe	Maximum cost per coupe	Total cost for the year	Number of coupes	Minimum cost per coupe	Maximum cost per coupe	Total cost for the year
<u>Thana district</u>												
Mondgaon	3	4882	24979	48091	4	5074	38966	68902	3	7032	24214	53747
Kondhan	4	3072	25609	45635	4	7263	28511	53604	4	3240	25595	61700
Talwada	3	4747	48381	58800	5	5546	54248	108616	5	5406	54174	119890
<u>Dhulia district</u>												
Nagzari	4	2223	34039	72522	4	3118	24247	63825	1	-	-	19095
Raipur	8	805	38251	103985	4	2300	26657	71340	6	5492	14853	56863
Nanchal	4	8370	22205	53290	2	25619	34711	60331	3	6772	25995	46541

Contd...

Table 5.4: (Continued)

Name of the society	1964-65			1965-66				
	Number of coupes	Minimum cost per coupe	Maximum cost per coupe	Total cost for the year	Number of coupes	Minimum cost per coupe	Maximum cost per coupe	Total cost for the year
<u>Thana district</u>								
Mondgaon		- Not available -			5	3123	32409	60088
Kondhan	4	2783	26501	57054	4	4462	39427	73751
Talwada	4	3838	51357	85882	4	4550	49909	71232
<u>Dhulia district</u>								
Nagzari	4	2967	21995	55774	2	13351	16573	29925
Raipur	6	1959	14213	53306	2	28402	34571	62973
Nanchal	5	3660	22891	74057	5	2680	33515	77273

Contd...

Table 5.4: (Continued)

Name of the society	1966-67			1967-68				
	Number of coupes	Minimum cost per coupe	Maximum cost per coupe	Total cost for the year	Number of coupes	Minimum cost per coupe	Maximum cost per coupe	Total cost for the year
<u>Thana district</u>								
Mondgaon	4	2629	19202	43326	5	2182	27657	59680
Kondhan	4	8652	23907	66315	5	2614	22634	55795
Talwada	4	2766	64637	87921	5	1113	90625	128593
<u>Dhulia district</u>								
Nagzari	3	4884	7578	19120	- Not available -			
Raipur	2	15091	37402	52494	-do-			
Nanchal	3	19838	32980	79237	-do-			

with a fairly small membership, in relation to the other two societies, had nearly a similar magnitude of costs like the Kandhan society.

^{In}~~The~~ Dhulia district, the Naⁿchal society had incurred greater costs when compared to the other two societies. There was also a progressive increase in the costs of this society, which means that there must have been also a progressive increase in the employment. There was on the contrary a progressive decline in the costs of the other two societies, the decline being more marked in case of the Nagzari society with the smallest and single village membership. The decline in case of the Raipur society is also contrasting with the large expansion of membership in this society as noted earlier.

Costs over coupe work

The coupe work is the major part of the work done by the societies. It account^s for 12 of the 33 items prescribed in the revised formula. The 12 items can be grouped into two categories such as the wages for coupe work and the supervisory charges for coupe work. Ten of the 12 items make up the wages for coupe work and they are namely, clearing the area of bush-wood and bamboos, felling of trees and trimming of sto^ops, fashioning, polishing, billeting and stacking of fire wood, dragging of timber, charcol manufacturing charges, preparation of rab, fire tracing and erection of Mandav (shelter). The supervisory charges include two items viz., the pay of the Mukadam and the pay of the coupe agent. The percentages of costs over these two classes of 12 items to the total costs over the 33 items are noted in Table 5.5.

The table gives the minimum and the maximum percentages for the coupes and the percentages for all the

Table 5.5: Percentages of costs over coupe work incurred by the selected societies in the years ^{from} 1961-62 to 1967-68

(Figures as percentages to the total costs over the thirty-three items)

Name of the society	Type of work	1961-62			1962-63			1963-64			1964-65		
		Minimum per coupe	Maximum per coupe	Total for the year	Minimum per coupe	Maximum per coupe	Total for the year	Minimum per coupe	Maximum per coupe	Total for the year	Minimum per coupe	Maximum per coupe	Total for the year
<u>Thana district</u>													
Mondgaon	A	27.2	44.6	36.4	29.6	42.3	37.3	38.7	44.0	41.5	- Not available-		
	B	5.6	22.2	7.4	5.6	25.8	8.4	4.0	17.2	6.4	-do-		
	Total	-	-	43.8	-	-	45.7	-	-	47.9	-do-		
Kondhan	A	10.9	42.7	35.7	26.3	46.7	39.9	18.3	50.6	45.9	26.7	46.5	43.0
	B	5.3	14.1	7.8	5.8	20.3	9.2	6.4	26.2	8.3	6.8	32.0	10.1
	Total	-	-	43.5	-	-	49.1	-	-	54.2	-	-	53.1
Talwada	A	34.3	43.0	35.8	23.1	48.0	33.7	21.3	58.0	30.6	22.2	57.3	29.5
	B	3.1	11.7	4.4	2.1	12.0	4.2	3.9	17.0	4.8	3.1	26.3	5.6
	Total	-	-	40.2	-	-	37.9	-	-	35.4	-	-	35.1
<u>Dhulia district</u>													
Nagzari	A	22.2	49.0	37.6	19.3	37.6	31.1	one coupe only		14.9	17.5	28.6	27.4
	B	2.3	9.7	3.3	0.9	6.7	1.9	-do-		0.7	3.9	7.3	4.3
	Total	-	-	40.9	-	-	33.0	-	-	15.6	-	-	31.7
Raipur	A	21.4	48.2	40.6	13.5	33.4	31.6	28.9	45.8	34.9	15.3	39.8	32.9
	B	4.2	38.7	6.2	3.9	18.0	5.9	5.1	10.5	7.1	5.6	12.7	8.6
	Total	-	-	46.8	-	-	37.5	-	-	42.0	-	-	41.5
Nanchal	A	26.6	38.0	27.5	27.8	32.5	30.5	19.0	37.9	34.4	19.2	40.9	34.6
	B	3.2	6.9	6.9	1.2	1.4	1.4	3.4	5.6	4.1	4.4	7.0	5.4
	Total	-	-	34.4	-	-	31.9	-	-	38.5	-	-	40.0

A = Wages for coupe work

B = Supervisory charges for coupe work

Contd...

Table 5.5: (Continued)

Name of the society	Type of work	1965-66			1966-67			1967-68		
		Minimum per coupe	Maximum per coupe	Total for the year	Minimum per coupe	Maximum per coupe	Total for the year	Minimum per coupe	Maximum per coupe	Total for the year
<u>Thana district</u>										
Mondgaon	A	40.8	51.1	47.0	31.4	45.3	39.5	28.8	50.8	45.0
	B	4.6	21.5	8.14	8.5	31.3	11.4	5.7	41.0	10.5
	Total	-	-	55.14	-	-	50.9	-	-	55.5
Kondhan	A	39.4	52.1	44.1	41.3	51.3	45.6	31.2	41.0	37.3
	B	6.3	17.2	9.0	7.1	17.6	9.9	8.2	20.5	13.4
	Total	-	-	53.1	-	-	55.5	-	-	50.7
Talwada	A	28.9	48.4	33.0	16.9	40.6	30.0	18.8	41.6	29.4
	B	3.6	23.2	7.3	3.1	24.5	5.7	2.3	22.1	5.1
	Total	-	-	40.3	-	-	35.7	-	-	34.5
<u>Dhulia district</u>										
Nagzari	A	19.6	21.5	20.6	10.9	15.6	15.5	- Not available -		
	B	3.5	2.8	3.1	5.5	15.0	10.2	"		
	Total	-	-	23.7	-	-	25.7	"		
Raipur	A	18.9	41.8	31.5	26.6	46.4	40.7	"		
	B	4.17	4.29	4.2	3.3	5.2	3.9	"		
	Total	-	-	35.7	-	-	44.6	"		
Nanchal	A	36.0	73.3	41.7	33.7	38.1	35.6	"		
	B	3.1	8.2	4.4	3.5	5.0	4.0	"		
	Total	-	-	46.1	-	-	39.6	"		

coupes exploited by a society during a year. It may be observed from the table that coupe work accounts for around 40 to 50 per cent of the costs. In case of the Nagzari society in Dhulia district however, the proportion of costs over coupe work is the lowest in some years. So also the proportion is relatively much lower in the Talwada society when compared to the other societies in Thana district. This indicates that these societies are incurring more expenditure on the other items which will be noted later.

In coupe work it is the wages for coupe work that account for most of the cost. The costs over supervision account for only around 5 per cent of the total costs. The wages for coupe work as well as the supervisory charges vary a great deal from one coupe to the other. The percentages of costs over wages for coupe work vary from 11 per cent as in case of one coupe worked by the kandhan society to 73 per cent in case of a coupe of the Nanchal society. With a view to know if these variations are due to the size of the total cost over a coupe, the coupes have been classified in a frequency distribution in Table 5.6 according to the total cost for a coupe and the percentage of wages over coupe work to the total cost.

The table indicates that the magnitude of the total cost for a coupe was upto Rs.40,000 in the cases of most of the coupes. For around 40 per cent of the coupes, the cost was upto Rs.10,000 and in nearly one sixth of the coupes the cost worked out to Rs.5,000. The percentages of wages for a coupe work to the total cost varied generally from 10 to 50 per cents. In around two-thirds of the coupes, however, these percentages varied from 30 to 50 per cents. The wages for coupe work which forms an important part of the costs, however, shows such variations that it may not be possible ^{to} say

Table 5.6: Distribution of coupes according to the total cost and the percentage of wages for coupe work to the total cost in the selected districts

Total cost over a coupe Rs.	Per cent of wages for coupe work to the total cost							Total
	10% and below	10.1 - 20.0%	20.1 - 30.0%	30.1 - 40.0%	40.1 - 50.0%	50.1 - 60.0%	Above 60.0%	
5000 & below	-	8	6	6	4	1	1	26
5001 - 10000	-	3	10	8	14	-	-	35
10001 - 20000	-	4	6	17	13	4	-	44
20001 - 40000	-	1	6	14	15	3	-	39
40001 - 60000	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	5
60001 & above	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total	-	16	32	48	46	8	1	151

if a coupe would provide good employment to the workers. One can, however, expect that a minimum of around 30 per cent of the total cost could be earned by the members in most of the coupe works.

The table would further indicate that the costs over wages for coupe work are not related to the total costs for a coupe. The total cost^S give an indication of the material exploited through a coupe or the size of the coupe. One cannot say that the proportion of cost over wages for coupe work would be greater if a coupe is large. Even in smaller coupes, as much as 50 per cent of the costs may go to the workers as the wages for the coupe work as indicated in the table.

The supervisory charges may, however, vary according to the size of the coupe. The coupes have been reclassified in Table 5.7 according to the total cost for a coupe and the percentage of supervisory charges to the total cost.

The table clearly indicates that the percentages of supervisory charges were smaller for the larger size coupes and vice versa. In 26 coupes for which the costs were below Rs.10,000, the supervisory costs were above 15 per cent of the total costs. In 6 coupes having costs upto Rs.5,000 per coupe, the same accounted for more than 25 per cent of the costs. The smaller size coupes, thus, consumed quite substantial parts of the total costs as the costs over supervision. The larger ~~size~~^{size} coupes were more economic as far as the supervisory charges were concerned.

Costs over transport

Another head of items of importance is the cost over transport. It includes 5 of the 33 prescribed items. For convenience these 5 items have been grouped

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Another head of items of importance is the cost over transport. It includes 5 of the 33 prescribed items. For convenience these 5 items have been grouped

Table 5.7: Distribution of coupes according to the total cost and the percentage of supervisory charges to the total cost in the selected districts

Total cost ^{for} over a coupe	Percentage of supervisory charges for coupe work to the total cost							Total
	2% and below	2.1 - 5.0%	5.1 - 10.0%	10.1 - 15.0%	15.1 - 20.0%	20.1 - 25.0%	Above 25%	
5000 & below	-	-	6	3	4	6	6	25
5001 - 10000	-	-	11	13	7	2	1	34
10001 - 20000	2	7	25	9	1	-	-	44
20001 - 40000	3	19	17	-	-	-	-	39
40001 - 60000	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
60001 & above	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	5	33	59	25	12	8	7	149*

* There were no supervisory charges in the case of two coupes as the coupes were fairly small and falling in the first two groups. They are not included in this table.

into 4 categories such as the wages for truck loading, transport expenditure, expenses over road building and other transport expenditure. The first three classes are the individual items in the prescribed list whereas the other transport expenditure consists of two items viz. cost of transit pass books for removing the material from a coupe to the depot and octroi and ferry charges. The percentages of costs over each of these four categories to the total costs are given in Table 5.8.

Only the percentages of the annual costs have been given in the table. There is no need to examine the minimum and the maximum costs for individual coupes as the transport cost is mainly a matter of the distance and the volume of the material. The table would show that there is a great variation even in the proportions of the transport cost as in the case of the costs over coupe work. The transport costs vary from as low as 11.1 per cent to 47.8 per cent. The proportions of transport cost are relatively high for the Talwada society when compared to the other societies. Consequently the proportions of cost over coupe work have been lower for this society. Roughly in a majority of the cases the transport costs are around 30 to 40 per cent as in the case of coupe work. Around 60 to 80 per cent of the costs are, thus, accounted for by these two major heads of coupe work and transport.

Among the items of the transport cost, the item of transport expenditure as mentioned in the prescribed items, accounts for most of the part of the transport cost. It is not possible to know the proportion of this part earned by the bullock cart transport and that earned by the truck transport. Where the coupes are near the depots, bullocks carts are invariably used

Table 5.8: Percentages of costs incurred over transport by the selected societies in the years from 1961-62 to 1967-68

(Figures as percentages to the total cost over the thirty-three items)

Name of the society	1961-62					1962-63					1963-64					1964-65					
	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total	
<u>Thana district</u>																					
Mondgaon	0.8	36.9	0.4	0.1	38.2	2.0	32.1	0.5	0.1	34.7	0.7	27.8	1.1	0.2	29.8	- Not available -					
Kondhan	0.2	28.5	0.6	0.1	29.4	0.1	23.4	1.2	0.1	24.8	-	23.2	1.3	0.1	24.6	-	24.9	1.8	0.2	26.9	
Talwada	-	40.1	1.2	0.3	41.6	0.8	42.6	0.4	0.3	44.1	2.2	41.3	0.5	0.3	44.3	0.6	41.6	0.5	0.3	43.0	
<u>Dhulia district</u>																					
Nagzari	2.1	35.7	0.8	N	38.6	1.4	36.6	1.6	N	39.6	-	20.6	1.6	0.9	23.1	-	30.3	1.6	1.0	32.9	
Raipur	2.8	19.5	1.7	0.1	24.1	-	30.9	0.9	0.1	31.9	-	24.2	1.4	0.2	25.8	-	25.1	1.7	2.0	28.8	
Nanchal	0.1	36.4	3.5	0.2	40.2	-	35.0	1.9	0.1	37.0	-	36.4	1.8	0.1	38.3	-	42.6	2.4	0.1	45.1	

A = Wages over truck loading. B = Transport expenditure. C = Expenses over road building.
D = Other transport expenditure. N = Negligible

Contd...

Table 5.8: (Continued)

Name of the society	1965-66					1966-67					1967-68				
	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total	A	B	C	D	Total
<u>Thana district</u>															
Mondgaon	1.1	20.1	1.0	0.1	22.3	1.9	19.5	0.8	0.1	22.3	1.3	18.4	0.5	0.1	20.3
Kondhan	-	27.7	1.1	0.1	28.9	-	21.0	1.0	0.1	22.1	-	19.8	1.0	0.1	20.9
Talwada	0.7	38.0	0.8	0.3	39.8	0.7	40.2	0.5	0.2	40.9	1.1	45.8	0.7	0.2	47.8
<u>Dhulia district</u>															
Nagzari	-	19.0	0.7	0.9	20.6	0.6	11.1	1.5	0.8	14.0	-	-	-	-	-
Raipur	-	28.8	2.5	0.2	31.5	-	25.8	2.3	0.2	28.3	-	-	-	-	-
Nanchal	-	39.3	1.9	N	41.2	-	36.1	1.4	N	37.5	-	-	-	-	-

for transporting the material. For absence of this data, it is also not possible to work out the wages earned by the Adivasi bullock cart owners and the workers. The wages over truck loading account for upto two and a half per cent of these costs. In many cases, however, no costs have been incurred on truck loading or ^{that} the costs have been negligible. This gives an indication that bullock carts must have been used as the mode of transport in such cases either solely or on a large scale as the case may be. In such cases all the 30 to 40 per cent of the costs must be being earned by the cartmen as the wages for their work and for the bullocks.

The expenses over road building are of a very small magnitude and they account for upto three and a half per cent of the costs. In most cases their proportion to the total cost is, however, around one per cent only. These roads are the 'katchcha' tracts constructed provisionally to connect a coupe to a forest road. The other transport expenses account for hardly half a per cent of the costs in most cases.

Costs over depot work

The costs over depot work comprise of seven items in the prescribed list. These seven items can be divided into two categories such as the depot management expenditure and the wages paid for depot work. The depot management expenditure is made up of three items and a part of the fourth item viz. ground rent, office rent salary of the watchmen and a part of an item giving the expenditure over printing of sale notices, advertising, lighting, water, sanitation at the depot etc. The wages for depot work ~~is~~ ^{are} made up of three items and a part of the above item. The three items

are wages for measuring the material, weighing the material and loading the material in trucks, wagons or crafts. A part of the fourth item includes the expenses for arranging the material in lots and numbering the lots for auction. The percentages of the costs over these two categories to the total costs over the 33 items are given in Table 5.9.

The table indicates that the proportions of costs over depot work are larger in all the societies in Dhulia district in relation to the societies in Thana district. No specific reason can be given to explain this difference. To some extent it appears to be due to the differences in the total costs in these two districts. The greater the total costs and the turnover, the smaller are likely to be the proportions of the marketing costs. In Dhulia district, the total costs in case of the Manchal society were fairly large in relation to the other societies. The proportions of the costs are also relatively small in case of the same society. The difference in the proportions of the costs over depot work in these two districts may, therefore, be due solely to the differences in the total costs in these two districts or in addition it might be due to spending of greater amounts over depot management as these expenses are also larger in case of the societies in Dhulia district.

The percentages of costs incurred over depot work vary from 4.3 to 10.3 per cent in Thana district and from 7.1 to 20.8 per cents in Dhulia district. In a number of cases in Dhulia district, the percentages are nearer 20 per cent which means that nearly one-fifth of the cost is accounted for merely by the depot work. The depot management expenditure accounted for

Table 5.9: (Continued)

Name of the society	1965-66			1966-67			1967-68		
	A	B	Total	A	B	Total	A	B	Total
<u>Thana district</u>									
Mondgaon	2.7	4.1	6.8	3.9	2.5	6.4	3.3	1.9	5.2
Kondhan	2.7	4.4	7.1	2.8	3.0	5.8	3.6	2.8	6.4
Talwada	5.2	2.9	8.1	3.9	2.6	6.5	2.7	1.9	4.6
<u>Dhulia district</u>									
Nagsari	9.6	8.6	18.2	13.2	5.9	19.1	- Not available -		
Raipur	5.6	7.9	13.5	8.8	4.2	13.0	-do-		
Nanchal	2.8	4.3	7.1	6.5	4.8	11.3	-do-		

about 3 to 5 per cent of the costs but in certain cases it had reached a level of 10 per cent or even more in Dhulia district. The wages for depot work, ~~however~~, showed greater variations and reached a level of 14 per cent in Dhulia district. In many cases, however, these costs were of the magnitude of 4 to 8 per cents.

Costs over office management

The costs over office management include 8 items viz., pay of the staff, stationery, postage, travelling expenses, taxes, interest on loans, commissions and depreciation on deadstock. The percentages of the costs over office management to the total costs are given in Table 5.10.

The proportions of office management costs have varied greatly from as low as 5.4 per cent to as high as 41.2 per cent. In most cases, however, these costs have been around 10 to 15 per cents. The variations in the cost appear to be related to some extent, to the total costs for the year and the number of coupes exploited. The total cost in case of the Nagzari society was only around Rs.19000 in the years 1963-64 and 1966-67 and the percentages of costs over office management to the total costs for these years worked out to around 41 per cent. Similar is the case for the same society for the year 1965-66. The greater proportion of costs over office management in this single village, stagnant membership society appears to be the main reason for the lower proportion of costs over coupe work noted earlier. Though the minor variations in the percentages may not be attributable to these variables, the major variations in the costs appear to be due to the number of coupes and the total

Table 5.10: Percentages of costs incurred over office management by the selected societies in the years from 1961-62 to 1967-68

(Figures in percentages to be total cost over the thirty-three items)

Name of the society	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
<u>Thana district</u>							
Mondgaon	10.9	13.2	13.4	*	14.6	18.5	16.2
Kondhan	16.5	15.1	12.4	15.0	9.5	15.1	19.8
Talwada	9.9	17.13	11.0	10.1	11.1	15.2	12.1
<u>Dhulia district</u>							
Nagzari	7.8	11.3	41.2	17.6	35.5	41.1	Not available
Raipur	8.9	9.5	12.8	12.5	17.7	13.1	"
Nanchal	8.9	12.4	12.5	10.0	5.4	9.5	"

* Not available

costs signifying the total workload for the society. Whatever may be the work load, the societies have to maintain a minimum of staff for the office work.

Costs over welfare

The costs over welfare is the last item in the prescribed list of items for working out the costs. An amount equal to one per cent of the wages and transport costs is permitted for expenditure over welfare in the coupes. The welfare activities include water supply and medical aid for the labour working in the coupes and construction of huts for their resting or stay during the period. The percentages of costs over welfare to the total cost are given in Table 5.11.

The table would reveal that the costs have varied from 0.2 to 2.7 per cent indicating that some of the societies in certain years did not spend adequately on the welfare activities whereas the others spent over and above the amounts earmarked for the purpose. In most of the cases, the percentages have been, however, around 1 per cent or above.

Summary of costs over different categories of items

After having analysed the various components of the costs, it should be necessary here to bring together the major inferences drawn therefrom. It must be, however, noted in the beginning that the costs over different categories have depicted a great variability. It should be possible even then to draw some generalized inferences therefrom. As noted earlier, the costs over coupe work and transport account for nearly 60 to 80 per cent of the costs in many cases. Around 10 to 15 per cents of the costs are accounted for by the office management and more or less the same proportion by the depot work. Coupe work is the main source of distribution of wages. Wages for coupe work

Table 5.11: Percentages of costs incurred over welfare by the selected societies in the years from 1961-62 to 1967-68

(Figures in percentages to the total cost over the thirty-three items)

Name of the society	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
<u>Thana district</u>							
Mondgaon	0.7	2.1	1.0	*	1.2	1.7	2.7
Kondhan	0.9	2.2	1.1	1.7	1.4	1.5	2.1
Talwada	1.0	2.4	1.7	1.5	0.8	0.9	0.8
<u>Dhulia district</u>							
Nagzari	0.8	2.0	0.9	2.3	1.9	0.2	Not available
Raipur	1.1	0.6	2.0	0.9	1.5	1.1	"
Nanchal	0.4	0.8	1.7	1.0	0.2	1.9	"

* Not available

account for more than 30 per cent of the costs in many cases and the supervisory charges for coupe work account for around 5 per cent. The transport costs consist mainly of transport expenditure which is the hire charges either for the truck transport or transport by the bullock-carts. In many cases, the bullock cart transport is used as a single mode of transport and in such cases 30 to 40 per cent of the costs must be being earned by the cartmen. Otherwise the transport costs have a very low wage component of around 2 per cent of the total costs. The wages for depot work on the contrary account for a larger proportion of the total costs viz., around 4 to 8 per cent. The welfare costs account for more than one per cent even though the permissible costs are only one per cent of certain components of the total costs. The proportion of wages over coupe work is not related to the size of the coupe or coupe exploitation as reflected through the total costs. The proportions of the overhead costs of management such as supervisory charges for coupe work, depot management costs and costs over office management, however, get declined with the increase in the size of the coupe as reflected by the same measure.

The wage component of total costs

In the earlier analysis, the costs over the 33 items were divided into 10 categories of items. Out of these 10 categories, 4 categories denote the wages paid for the different activities. These four categories are the wages for coupe work, wages for truck loading, road building and wages for depot work. These four categories are those numbered 1,3,5 and 8 in the Appendices 5-II to 5-VII. Road building is entirely a wage work as it consists of merely levelling the track for the movement of the carts and the trucks. No

material is involved in the road construction of this type, as it is purely constructed as a provisional road for the transport of the material from the coupe to the forest road. These four categories, thus, denote the wage component of the total cost, except the wages earned through the bullock cart transport wherever it may have been used. The percentages of the wages as denoted by these categories of items to the total cost are given in Table 5.12 for the selected societies for each year in the reference period.

The table indicates that the percentages vary from 23.43 to 57.98 per cents. In most of the cases, however, the percentages are around 40 to 50 per cents. The percentages have a lower value especially in the cases of the Talwada society in Thana district, ^{and} the Nagzari society in Dhulia district. The management costs were somewhat high in the Nagzari society and this must be responsible for the lower wage component of the total costs in this society. So also in the case of the Talwada society, the proportions of the costs over coupe work were lower but the proportions of the costs over transport were higher when compared to the proportions in the other societies in Thana district. The greater costs over transport may be the reason for the lower wage component in the case of this society.

The exploitation of the forest coupes would, thus, give a wage component of around 40 to 50 per cent of the costs in most cases wherever truck transport is used. Where bullock cart transport is used, this should give a wage distribution of 70 to 80 per cent of the costs including the wages for bullock labour. Not all adivasi labour may, however, be engaged in bullock transport.

Table 5.12: Percentages of costs incurred over wages to the total cost by the selected societies in the years from 1961-62 to 1967-68

Name of the society	1961-62			1962-63			1963-64		
	Total costs Rs.	Cost over wages Rs.	Percent of cost over wages to the total cost	Total costs Rs.	Cost over wages Rs.	Percent of cost over wages to the total cost	Total costs Rs.	Cost over wages Rs.	Percent of cost over wages to the total cost
<u>Thana District</u>									
Mondgaon	48091.24	19186.64	39.90	68902.76	29467.25	42.77	53747.18	25292.52	47.06
Kondhan	45635.21	18513.58	40.57	53604.21	24018.64	44.81	61700.12	31436.79	50.95
Talwada	58800.54	23159.31	39.39	108616.19	41841.95	38.52	119890.38	44852.78	37.41
<u>Dhulia District</u>									
Nagsari	72522.93	35578.98	49.06	63825.71	28264.23	44.28	19095.38	4635.23	24.27
Raipur	103985.24	60290.93	57.98	71340.01	32926.89	46.15	56863.39	26917.67	47.34
Nanchal	53290.44	24303.99	45.61	60331.21	27898.18	46.24	46541.53	18926.03	40.66

Contd...

Table 5.12: (Continued)

Name of the society	1964-65			1965-66		
	Total costs Rs.	Cost over wages Rs.	Percent of cost over wages to the total cost	Total costs Rs.	Cost over wages Rs.	Percent of cost over wages to the total cost
<u>Thana District</u>						
Mondgaon	(NA)	(NA)	-	60088.70	31961.03	53.19
Kondhan	57054.40	26767.38	46.92	73751.63	36657.08	49.70
Talwada	85882.56	31422.35	36.59	71232.77	26627.86	37.38
<u>Dhulia District</u>						
Nagzari	55774.69	22307.76	40.00	29925.58	8987.27	30.03
Raipur	53306.31	23227.26	43.57	62973.81	26451.39	42.00
Nanchal	74057.40	31116.20	42.02	77273.94	37074.29	47.98

(NA) = Not Available

Contd...

Table 5.12: (Continued)

Name of the society	1966-67			1967-68		
	Total costs	Cost over wages	Percent of cost over wages to the total cost	Total costs	Cost over wages	Percent of cost over wages to the total cost
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	
<u>Thana District</u>						
Mondgaon	43326.95	19378.73	44.73	59680.58	29104.55	48.77
Kondhan	66315.17	32902.08	49.61	55795.09	22970.42	41.17
Talwada	87921.83	29700.01	33.78	128593.29	42621.05	33.14
<u>Dhulia District</u>						
Nagzari	19120.62	4479.93	23.43	(NA)	(NA)	
Raipur	52494.57	24809.15	47.26	(NA)	(NA)	
Nanchal	79237.18	33181.81	41.88	(NA)	(NA)	

(NA) = Not Available

Implications of the present formula in the context of the costs

As mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter, the A and B class societies are now being allotted coupes on the revised formula basis and the other societies on the logging basis. The logging basis would dispose of the need of the society to transport the material and establish a depot for its sale. This would, ~~however~~^{therefore}, enable the societies to handle only 30 to 40 per cent of the present total costs which are the costs over coupe work and 10 to 15 per cent of the costs which are the costs over office management and welfare. This would again give a wage component of only around 30 to 35 per cent as against the wage component of 40 to 50 per cents under the revised formula. The wage loss would be that due to the loss of wages over truck loading, road construction and depot work. Depot work does give a good employment opportunity to the extent of around 4 to 8 per cent of the costs. Truck loading and road construction, on the contrary, provide employment only to a very small extent.

The loss of employment over cart transport would be a great loss to a society as 30 to 40 per cent of the cost is accounted for by transport. In the event of all such activities being undertaken through the Forest Department the logging system would enable the societies to employ 75 per cent of the present labour force and no employment to the cartmen. However, whether employed by the Department or by the society, the total labour employment of the area would remain the same.

Another major impact of the shift from the revised formula to the logging system would be on the management costs. The office management costs already

account for 10 to 15 per cent of the costs. There would be a small reduction in these costs as the depot clerk will not be needed for the new set up. With the societies losing nearly half of the present costs as the costs over transport and depot work, the proportion of office management costs in the new costs would, therefore, go up further.

Finance for the working of the coupes

It was noted in the earlier chapter that all the selected societies being fairly old, had accumulated their owned funds to a large extent except the Nagzari society. There was, therefore, no need for these societies in many cases to borrow funds for the purpose. Besides, the societies delayed payments to the Forest Department and made use of these amounts for the financing of their works. The Mondgaon, Kondhan and the Nanchal societies had not to borrow any amounts from the banks for their financing in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68. The T^alwada society had borrowed from the Thana District Central Cooperative Bank, an amount of Rs,30,000 in 1963-64. The Nagzari and the Raipur societies had borrowed Rs.20,000 and Rs.7,000 respectively in the years 1964-65 and 1967-68 from the Dhulia District Central Cooperative Bank. At times, the societies borrowed small advances from individuals connected with the functioning of the societies and managed their needs. In Thana district, the societies at times borrowed small amount^s within the group of societies as indicated through their balance sheets. The selected societies being financially established ones, it was not possible to know how the younger societies would be financing their works. Advances from the individuals connected with the societies, the

bank loans and loans under some special schemes were the main sources available for raising finance for such societies. The extent to which these sources were utilized would be clear from the data for the same given in Table 5.13 for the whole of Maharashtra for the years 1965-66 and 1966-67 for which these data are available.

Table 5.13 : Loans borrowed from the different sources by the Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies in Maharashtra in the years 1965-66 and 1966-67.

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentages to the total)

Year	Central Co-operative Banks (Rs.)	Government schemes (Rs.)	Other private sources (Rs.)	Total
1965-66	16,90,891 (82.5)	2,49,902 (12.2)	1,07,287 (5.3)	20,48,080 (100.00)
1966-67	18,43,313 (80.9)	3,27,831 (14.4)	1,08,641 (4.7)	22,79,785 (100.00)

The figures in the table indicate that around 80 per cent of the loans were borrowed through the Central Cooperative Banks. The various Government schemes such as The 90 per cent Government Guarantee Scheme, Block Fund Scheme and Subsidized Rate of Interest Scheme financed 14 per cent of the requirements of the societies whereas the societies had to raise loans from private sources to an extent of 5 per cent only to meet their needs.

Returns to the societies

The final accounts prepared by the societies for their annual reports and audits referred always not only to the coupe work undertaken during the year but also the disposals from the previous year's coupes and the other activities undertaken by the societies. It was not,

therefore, possible to know exactly the returns to the societies from pure coupe work in a particular year. An attempt was, therefore, made to determine such returns for a period of two years preceding the year of investigations. The same are given in Table 5.14 for the years 1966-67 and 1967-68 for the societies in Thana district and for the years 1965-66 and 1966-67 for the societies in Dhulia district.

The figures in the table are based on the actual expenditures incurred by the societies over the thirty-three items. The expenses approved by the Department may be lower than the actual expenditures and in such cases, the share would vary a little from the figures worked out in the table. It does take at times some years to know the final expenditures and net returns approved by the Government. All the material also does not get disposed of in the year of exploitation and at times stocks of old material have to be carried forward. The societies, therefore, complete their accounts tentatively. The figures in the table are based on such accounts made available for this investigation.

The societies shared 15 per cent of the net returns in the years 1965-66 and 1966-67 whereas the share was raised to 20 per cent in 1967-68. The ~~task~~^{table} would indicate that the shares obtained by the societies varied from one society to the other. The Mondgaon society had shared 15 and 18 thousands of rupees in the two years whereas the Kondhan society had a share of rupees 10 and 12 thousands. The Talwada society had the largest shares of rupees 26 and 35 thousands in the two years. All the societies in Thana district had a larger share in 1967-68 when compared to the share in 1966-67 mainly for the reason that the share had gone

Table 5.14: Returns to the societies from coupe work

Name of the society	Year	Total value of the sales and the stock in hand exploited during the year Rs.	Expenditure over thirty three items Rs.	Net returns Rs.	Government's share in the net returns* Rs.	Society's share in the net returns* Rs.	Proportion of expenditure over thirty-three items to the total value of the material (Per cent)
<u>Thana district</u>							
Mondgaon	1966-67	148988	43326	105662	89813	15849	29.1
	1967-68	152827	59680	93147	74518	18629	39.0
Kondhan	1966-67	135885	66315	69570	59135	10435	48.8
	1967-68	118853	55795	63058	50447	12611	47.0
Talwada	1966-67	263512	87921	175591	149253	26338	33.4
	1967-68	306752	128593	178159	142528	35631	41.9
<u>Dhulia district</u>							
Nagzari	1965-66	45791	29925	15866	13487	2379	65.3
	1966-67	18422	19120	+	-	-	103.8
Raipur	1965-66	159434	62973	96461	81992	14469	39.5
	1966-67	116464	52494	63970	54375	9595	45.1
Nanchal	1965-66	190602	77273	119329	101430	17899	39.3
	1966-67	144761	79237	65524	55696	9828	54.7

* The Government's and society's shares were 80 and 20 per cents in the year 1967-68 whereas in the earlier years, the shares were 85 and 15 per cents respectively.

+ There will be a loss in this case unless the actual expenditures and the expenditures approved by the Government after the accounting are lower.

up from 15 to 20 per cent. In Dhulia district, the Raipur and the Manchal societies received a share of rupees 14 and 17 thousands but in the second year, their shares ~~also~~ dwindled to rupees 9 thousands in both cases. The Nagzari society had a share of Rs.2379 only and in the second year, the net realizations were negative according to the accounts of the society. It appears from the study of these six societies that the societies under normal conditions got around rupees 10 to 15 thousands as the net realizations from the working of the coupes. All the societies except the Nagzari society, had exploited coupes which realized a total value of more than one lakh rupees. According to the policy of the Government, the societies are given coupes which would give a total realization of around Rs.1 lakh. The Talwada society was, however, allotted coupes which realized a total value of around Rs.3 lakhs or more in each of the two years. The Kondhan society with the largest membership, had on the contrary, exploited coupes with the smallest total realizations among the three societies in the district.

The proportion of the expenditure over the thirty three items to the total value worked out in the same table varies from year to year and from one society to the other. Generally these proportions are around 30 to 40 per cent in most of the cases. For the Nagzari society, however, this proportion worked out to 65 per cent in 1965-66 and 103 per cent in 1966-67. This was for the obvious reason that the value of the material exploited by this society was itself so small that the overhead expenses ~~have~~ accounted for a larger part of the expenditure. In Thana district, the proportions appear to be somewhat larger in case of the Kandhan

society. These proportions may, however, vary from one coupe to the other depending upon the quality of the material such as fuel, teak or non-teak timber.

Profit and Loss

Besides the share in the net returns, the societies derive some income from interest, dividends and rents. They have also to incur expenditures on items not included in the prescribed list. Many a times the actual expenditures incurred by the societies happen to be greater than the expenditures that could be admitted by the Department. This results from the delay in the work or lower labour efficiency in relation to the expectations. It was, however, not possible to know the extent to which such differences arose as it takes time to finalize the accounts. The societies merely indicate their debits and credits with the Forest Department in their final accounts without reference to the work for a particular coupe or a year. These extra expenditures reduce the incomes left with the society through the exploitation of the coupes. Some of the societies also maintain a jeep and the jeep expenditure works out to rupees 3 to 5 thousands as in the cases of the Mandgaon and the Talwada societies in Thana district. So also at times peons are employed in the office for which there is no provision in the admissible expenditure. The Talwada society had spent Rs.200 merely on worshipping the coal kiln before firing the kiln in 1967-68. The societies have to pay a high audit fee equal to 1 per cent of the total value of the coupe which amount is again not provided in the admissible expenditures. So also, the district federations collect 2 per cent of the operational costs as their fees of supervision besides their annual fees. Such items of expenditure further

reduce the profits of the societies. The profits and losses made by the selected societies in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68 are noted in Table 5.15.

The table indicates that the Talwada society had made profits throughout the period. The net profit for six of the seven years for which the figures are available for this society had totalled upto Rs.1.20 lakhs. Other four societies had accumulated net profits of around Rs.30 to 40 thousands during this period but the Nagzari society had accumulated a loss of the some magnitude in the same period. The Nagzari society had made losses in five of the seven years as noted in the earlier chapter. It had made a profit of Rs.17636 in 1967-68 and this appeared to be some improvement in the functioning of the society. The Nanchal society had also suffered a loss⁴⁵ in three of the seven years but it had made profits in all the three consecutive years at the end of the period, indicating that the society had improved its activities when compared to its earlier period.

Distribution of bonus

The figures of profit get changed after the approval of the accounts by the Forest Department. Even the profit earning societies cannot, therefore, distribute an annual bonus ~~even~~ if there is a profit. Bonus distribution becomes possible only after accumulation of profits over certain years. Among the selected societies only the Talwada and the Mondgaon societies have distributed bonus in the above period. The Talwada society distributed Rs.5128 in 1963-64 and Rs.5338 in 1967-68. The Mondgaon society has distributed Rs.2500 only in the year 1965-66 during the period. When compared with the number of members, the bonus distribution

Table 5.15: Profits and losses made by the selected societies in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68

Name of the society	Profit (+) or loss (-)							Net profit (+) or loss (-)
	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	
<u>Thana district</u>								
Mondgaon	- 5903	- 1157	+13714	+15492	+15876	+ N.A.	+ N.A.	+ 38022
Kondhan	+ 1140	- 1871	+ 6315	+ 3998	+14456	+ 2449	+ 1604	+ 28091
Talwada	+ N.A.	+ 34156	+18363	+24708	+ 7473	+ 1139	+33845	+ 119684
<u>Dhulia district</u>								
Nagzari	- 2731	+ 1373	- 6283	- 8143	- 9685	- 3341	+17636	- 39174
Raipur	+ 13937	- 20398	+18445	+ 9284	- 8105	+13464	+ 4342	+ 30969
Nanchal	- N.A.	- N.A.	+11063	- N.A.	+ 4604	+ 6983	+14339	*

* The figures for losses are not available.

N.A. = Not available

works out to around Rs.22 per member for each year of distribution for the Talwada society and to Rs.15 for the Mondgaon society. The distribution of bonus and that too only for a few of the years, thus, appears to be quite meagre. The profits are, however, made use of to build up the reserve and the other funds which no doubt, have increased the financial stability of these societies.

A comparison of the shares of the societies obtainable by the revised formula and the logging system

After an analysis of the costs and the returns it should be possible now to examine how a society's share would change with the change over from the revised formula to the logging system. The data are available for the costs over coupe work and the costs over office management, the total of which would simulate the costs under the logging system. Ten per cent of such costs are proposed by the Government to be the returns to the societies. It should, however, be again noted here that the present costs over office management would get reduced to a small extent as a society would no more need a depot clerk for the depot management. All the costs might themselves get reduced to some extent as these are actual costs and are subject to the approval of the Department. The society's share in the present net realizations as worked out earlier and with which ten per cent of the logging costs are to be compared is, however, somewhat low as the share is worked out on the basis of the actual costs and not the costs that would be approved by the Department. If these costs are reduced, the net realizations would go up and so the share for the society. Both sides of the data which are to be compared here are thus not on an equal footing of being on the higher or the lower side. This is inevitable due

to the limitation of the data. The probable shares under the two systems are compared in Table 5.16 by using the data for the years 1966-67 and 1967-68 for the societies in Thana district and for the years 1965-66 and 1966-67 for the societies in Dhulia district.

The table gives indications about the returns to the societies in case if the societies were allotted the coupes on the logging system instead of the present revised formula. The analysis indicates that all the societies would have received much lower returns if the coupes were to be worked under the logging system. Only the Nagzari society would have received higher returns because the net realizations for the coupes it worked in 1966-67 were nil. The societies would have received from over rupees one thousand to upto rupees six thousands only due to the change. One important point that could be noted from the figures is that the differences between the returns for the different societies are considerably reduced when the logging system is applied. Most of the societies are getting returns of around three to four thousand rupees. If this share of 10 per cent of the logging costs is, however, raised up say upto 30 per cent it ~~might~~ compare^s better with their present returns as well as reduce^s to some extent, even the differences between the returns for the different societies. This should, however, necessitate an analysis of a much more larger number of societies.

Table 5.16: A comparison of the probable shares for the societies under the revised formula and the logging system as revealed by the data for the costs and the net realizations for the selected societies

Name of the society	Year	Costs over coupe work and office management	Ten percent of the costs in the previous column	Society's share as given in Table 5.14	Difference between the present share of the society and ten percent of the costs (Col.5-Col.4)
(1)	(2)	Rs. (3)	Rs. (4)	Rs. (5)	Rs. (6)
<u>Thana District</u>					
Mondgaon	1966-67	30085	3008	15849	-12841
	1967-68	42835	4283	18629	-14346
Kondhan	1966-67	46868	4686	10435	- 5749
	1967-68	39332	3933	12611	- 8678
Talwada	1966-67	44798	4479	26338	-21859
	1967-68	60002	6000	35635	-29635
<u>Dhulia District</u>					
Nagzari	1965-66	17741	1774	2379	- 605
	1966-67	12759	1275	-	+ 1275
Raipur	1965-66	33672	3367	14469	-11102
	1966-67	30299	3029	9595	- 6566
Nanchal	1965-66	39749	3974	17899	-13925
	1966-67	38992	3899	9828	- 5929

APPENDIX- 5-I

List of the thirty-three items prescribed by the Government for working out the operational costs

- 1 Clearing the area of bush-wood and bamboos, if necessary. (An ad-voc amount will be provided according to the nature of the coupe)
- 2 Felling of trees and trimming of stools
(Rate for 100 trees of different girth classes will be fixed)
- 3 Fashioning (amount according to the practice in the area)
- 4 Polishing (amount according to the practice in the area)
- 5 Billeting and stacking of firewood.
(Rates will be fixed by volume or weight)
- 6 Dragging of timber.
(Rate will be fixed per 50 c.ft.)
- 7 Charcoal manufacturing charges, including billeting and final delivery (Rates will be fixed per bag)
- 8 Pay of Mukadam
(One Mukadam per coupe or as decided by the Divisional Forest Officer)
- 9 Preparation of rab (Ad voc amount)
- 10 Fire tracing (Ad voc amount)
- 11 Erection of Mandav (Rs.50)
- 12 Pay of coupe agent (suitable Forest Officer's pay)
- 13 Loading of timber, charcoal and fire wood in the coupe
- 14 Transport of forest material to the sale depot
(Rate per mile basis by weight)
- 15 Construction of Kachcha roads
(Annual expense or a lump sum decided by the Divisional Forest Officer)
- 16 Cost of transit pass-books (Actual expenses)
- 17 Octroi and ferry charges (Actual expenses)
- 18 Ground rent for the sale depot (Reasonable rent)
- 19 Office rent for the sale depot (Reasonable rent)
- 20 Sales depot expenses -
 - a) arranging the material and numbering logs
 - b) printing sale notices, advertisements, lighting, water, sanitation etc.
- 21 Depot Watchman (One night watchman or more as decided by the Divisional Forest Officer)

- 22 Measuring of material. (amount per ton or 50 C.ft.)
- 23 Weighing of material (Actual)
- 24 Loading of material in trucks, wagons or country crafts (by rate auction)
- 25 Pay of staff. (Supervisor for a group of 4 or 5 societies, Secretary-cum-accountant, depot-clerk and additional office clerk if necessary)
- 26 Stationery (Rate auction)
- 27 Postage (Actual)
- 28 Travelling expenses (Actuals limited to Rs.250 per society)
- 29 Taxes (Actuals)
- 30 Interest on loans (Actuals)
- 31 Commission and dalali (Actuals)
- 32 Depreciation on deadstock (Articles direly connected with coupe work)
- 33 Welfare activities such^{as} water supply, medical aid and construction of hutments for the workers. (This should be upto 1 per cent of the wages and transport charges.)

Appendix 5 - II : Coupe-wise costs for the coupes worked by the Mondgaon Society in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68
(Figures in brackets indicate percentages to the total cost)

Item of cost	1961-62				1962-63				
	F.S.No. 9 C.No. 45 Rs.	F.S.No. 14 C.No. 22 Rs.	F.S.No. 9 C.No. 19 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No. 9 C.No. 46 Rs.	F.S.No. 14 C.No. 23 Rs.	F.S.No. 13 C.No. 23 Rs.	F.S.No. 9 C.No. 20 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.
1 Wages for coupe work	11145.67 (44.62)	4961.31 (27.22)	1389.22 (28.45)	17496.20 (36.38)	16483.56 (42.30)	4984.44 (30.92)	2745.59 (31.40)	1501.22 (29.58)	25714.81 (37.32)
2 Supervisory charges for coupe work	1404.00 (5.62)	1088.00 (5.97)	1084.00 (22.20)	3576.00 (7.44)	1920.00 (4.93)	1328.00 (8.24)	1264.00 (14.46)	1311.00 (25.84)	5823.00 (8.45)
3 Wages over Truck loading	220.68 (0.88)	113.76 (0.62)	39.48 (0.81)	373.92 (0.78)	849.16 (2.18)	210.98 (1.31)	116.94 (1.34)	189.40 (3.73)	1366.48 (1.98)
4 Transport cost	8530.27 (34.15)	8421.26 (46.20)	801.22 (16.41)	17752.75 (36.91)	13755.94 (35.30)	5420.63 (33.63)	2150.47 (24.60)	821.94 (16.20)	22148.98 (32.15)
5 Road building	125.00 (0.50)	53.50 (0.29)	17.50 (0.36)	196.00 (0.41)	134.00 (0.34)	114.00 (0.71)	50.00 (0.57)	28.00 (0.55)	326.00 (0.47)
6 Other transport cost	18.00 (0.07)	18.00 (0.10)	3.00 (0.06)	39.00 (0.08)	27.00 (0.07)	10.00 (0.06)	5.00 (0.06)	4.00 (0.08)	46.00 (0.07)
7 Depot management cost	805.00 (3.22)	755.00 (4.14)	367.43 (7.52)	1927.43 (4.01)	430.00 (1.10)	280.00 (1.74)	120.00 (1.37)	58.00 (1.14)	888.00 (1.29)
8 Wages paid for Depot work	451.22 (1.81)	612.65 (3.36)	56.65 (1.16)	1120.52 (2.33)	1173.95 (3.01)	463.31 (2.87)	212.21 (2.42)	210.49 (4.15)	2059.96 (2.99)
9 Office management	2130.00 (8.53)	2055.05 (11.27)	1064.81 (21.81)	5249.86 (10.92)	3693.37 (9.48)	2907.12 (18.04)	1753.75 (20.06)	726.77 (14.32)	9081.01 (13.18)
10 Welfare expenses	150.00 (0.60)	150.00 (0.83)	59.56 (1.22)	359.56 (0.74)	500.00 (1.29)	400.00 (2.48)	325.00 (3.72)	223.52 (4.41)	1448.52 (2.10)
Total Cost	24979.84 (100.00)	18228.53 (100.00)	4882.87 (100.00)	48091.24 (100.00)	38966.98 (100.00)	16113.48 (100.00)	8742.96 (100.00)	5074.34 (100.00)	68902.76 (100.00)

Appendix 5 - II : (continued)

Item of cost	1963-64				1965-66					
	F.S.No.9 C.No.47 Rs.	F.S.No.14 C.No.24 Rs.	F.S.No.9 C.No.21 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.9 C.No.49 Rs.	F.S.No.14 C.No.26 Rs.	F.S.No.9 C.No.26 Rs.	F.S.No.9 C.No.23 Rs.	F.S.No.9 C.No.38 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.
1 Wages for coupe work	9832.67 (43.70)	9383.45 (38.75)	3094.60 (44.01)	22310.72 (41.51)	15418.83 (47.57)	3638.68 (46.20)	2682.23 (40.80)	4906.71 (48.56)	1594.64 (51.05)	28241.09 (47.00)
2 Supervisory charges for coupe work	1267.50 (5.63)	981.50 (4.05)	1208.50 (17.19)	3457.50 (6.43)	1515.10 (4.67)	920.00 (11.68)	980.00 (14.91)	805.00 (7.97)	672.00 (21.51)	4892.10 (8.14)
3 Wages over Truck loading	190.50 (0.85)	139.73 (0.58)	52.56 (0.75)	382.79 (0.71)	290.73 (0.90)	124.00 (1.57)	96.14 (1.46)	124.74 (1.23)	3.00 (0.10)	638.61 (1.06)
4 Transport cost	4882.70 (21.70)	8967.69 (37.04)	1112.94 (15.83)	14963.33 (27.84)	6549.14 (20.21)	1464.13 (18.59)	1354.03 (20.60)	2303.67 (22.80)	400.39 (12.82)	12071.36 (20.09)
5 Road building	350.00 (1.56)	100.00 (0.41)	140.00 (1.99)	590.00 (1.10)	200.00 (0.62)	50.00 (0.63)	75.00 (1.14)	150.00 (1.48)	150.00 (4.80)	625.00 (1.04)
6 Other transport cost	37.00 (0.16)	51.00 (0.21)	9.00 (0.13)	97.00 (0.18)	35.00 (0.11)	10.00 (0.13)	9.00 (0.14)	11.00 (0.11)	4.00 (0.13)	69.00 (0.11)
7 Depot management cost	1011.12 (4.49)	791.00 (3.27)	360.39 (5.12)	2162.51 (4.02)	796.64 (2.46)	251.92 (3.20)	250.00 (3.80)	262.00 (2.59)	53.00 (1.70)	1613.56 (2.69)
8 Wages paid for Depot work	877.49 (3.90)	1060.50 (4.38)	71.02 (1.01)	2009.01 (3.74)	1927.45 (5.95)	156.19 (1.98)	121.61 (1.85)	208.52 (2.06)	42.56 (1.36)	2456.33 (4.09)
9 Office management	3752.00 (16.68)	2538.43 (10.48)	932.23 (13.25)	7222.66 (13.44)	5240.80 (16.17)	1174.53 (14.91)	919.24 (13.99)	1254.10 (12.41)	180.00 (5.76)	8768.67 (14.59)
10 Welfare expenses	300.00 (1.33)	200.77 (0.83)	50.89 (0.72)	551.66 (1.03)	435.98 (1.34)	87.00 (1.11)	86.00 (1.31)	80.00 (0.79)	24.00 (0.77)	712.98 (1.19)
Total Cost	22500.98 (100.00)	24214.07 (100.00)	7032.13 (100.00)	53747.18 (100.00)	32409.67 (100.00)	7876.45 (100.00)	6573.25 (100.00)	10105.74 (100.00)	3123.59 (100.00)	60088.70 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5 - II : (continued)

Item of cost	1966-67					1967-68					
	F.S.No.9 C.No.50	F.S.No.14 C.No.27	F.S.No.9 C.No.24	F.S.No.9 C.No.39	Total for the year	F.S.No.9 C.No.51	F.S.No.14 C.No.28	F.S.No.9 C.No.28	F.S.No.9 C.No.25	F.S.No.9 C.No.40	Total for the year
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1 Wages for coupe work	8266.60 (43.05)	4461.81 (31.37)	3298.55 (45.37)	1070.22 (40.70)	17097.18 (39.46)	14048.01 (50.79)	2796.40 (28.81)	5048.03 (46.19)	4255.63 (46.23)	740.86 (33.96)	26888.93 (45.05)
2 Supervisory charges for coupe work	1627.50 (8.48)	1305.50 (9.18)	1195.00 (16.44)	824.00 (31.34)	4952.00 (11.43)	1567.50 (5.67)	1354.50 (13.95)	1310.00 (11.99)	1135.50 (12.33)	895.50 (41.04)	6263.00 (10.49)
3 Wages over Truck loading	549.35 (2.86)	169.35 (1.19)	113.85 (1.57)	-	832.55 (1.92)	403.95 (1.46)	41.70 (0.43)	218.75 (2.00)	141.90 (1.54)	-	806.30 (1.35)
4 Transport cost	2979.88 (15.52)	3590.00 (25.24)	1404.32 (19.32)	474.60 (18.05)	8448.80 (19.50)	5245.38 (18.97)	1999.39 (20.60)	1257.12 (11.50)	2111.54 (22.94)	348.37 (15.97)	10961.80 (18.37)
5 Road building	100.00 (0.52)	50.00 (0.35)	100.00 (1.37)	100.00 (3.80)	350.00 (0.81)	100.00 (0.36)	50.00 (0.52)	50.00 (0.46)	50.00 (0.54)	45.00 (2.06)	295.00 (0.50)
6 Other transport cost	23.00 (0.12)	17.00 (0.12)	7.00 (0.10)	5.00 (0.19)	52.00 (0.12)	29.00 (0.11)	13.00 (0.13)	9.00 (0.08)	8.00 (0.09)	4.00 (0.18)	63.00 (0.11)
7 Depot management cost	883.12 (4.60)	630.62 (4.43)	146.00 (2.01)	50.00 (1.90)	1709.74 (3.95)	976.74 (3.53)	380.00 (3.91)	351.39 (3.22)	211.00 (2.29)	50.00 (2.29)	1969.13 (3.30)
8 Wages paid for Depot work	420.48 (2.19)	465.63 (3.27)	132.08 (1.82)	80.81 (3.07)	1099.00 (2.54)	610.40 (2.21)	207.26 (2.14)	122.32 (1.12)	126.07 (1.37)	48.27 (2.21)	1114.32 (1.87)
9 Office management	3952.11 (20.58)	3310.58 (23.27)	773.20 (10.63)	-	8035.89 (18.54)	3876.07 (14.01)	2510.00 (25.86)	2212.60 (20.24)	1084.39 (11.78)	-	9583.06 (16.22)
10 Welfare expenses	400.00 (2.08)	224.79 (1.58)	100.00 (1.37)	25.00 (0.95)	749.79 (1.73)	800.00 (2.89)	354.38 (3.65)	350.00 (3.20)	81.66 (0.89)	50.00 (2.29)	1636.04 (2.74)
Total Cost	19202.04 (100.00)	14225.28 (100.00)	7270.00 (100.00)	2629.63 (100.00)	43326.95 (100.00)	27657.05 (100.00)	9706.63 (100.00)	10929.21 (100.00)	9205.69 (100.00)	2182.00 (100.00)	59680.58 (100.00)

Appendix 5-III : Coupe-wise costs for the coupes worked by the Kondhan society in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68

(Figures in brackets indicate the percentages to the total cost)

Item of cost	1961-62					1962-63				
	F.S.No.33 C.No.45	F.S.No.34 C.No.45	F.S.No.37 C.No.22	F.S.No.39 C.No.22	Total for the year	F.S.No.33 C.No.46	F.S.No.34 C.No.46	F.S.No.33 C.No.20	F.S.No.37 C.No.23	Total for the year
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Wages for coupe work	10023.69 (39.14)	2730.68 (28.92)	335.70 (10.92)	3210.87 (42.76)	16300.94 (35.72)	4634.65 (36.92)	12407.78 (43.52)	2463.01 (46.67)	1916.72 (26.39)	21422.16 (39.96)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1375.67 (5.37)	1002.50 (10.62)	434.50 (14.14)	747.50 (9.96)	3560.17 (7.80)	1210.50 (9.64)	1677.50 (5.88)	1072.50 (20.32)	978.00 (13.47)	4938.50 (9.21)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	91.68 (1.22)	91.68 (0.20)	-	-	-	53.80 (0.74)	53.80 (0.10)
4. Transport cost	9239.45 (36.08)	2256.31 (23.89)	381.37 (12.41)	1120.35 (14.92)	12997.48 (28.48)	2388.30 (19.03)	7768.12 (27.25)	943.72 (17.82)	1430.62 (19.70)	12530.76 (23.33)
5. Road Building	171.00 (0.67)	52.00 (0.55)	-	34.00 (0.45)	257.00 (0.56)	196.00 (1.56)	216.00 (0.76)	130.00 (2.46)	98.00 (1.35)	640.00 (1.19)
6. Other Transport Cost	28.00 (0.11)	15.00 (0.16)	4.00 (0.13)	7.00 (0.09)	54.00 (0.12)	12.00 (0.10)	24.00 (0.08)	6.00 (0.11)	10.00 (0.14)	52.00 (0.10)
7. Depot management cost	972.30 (3.80)	714.00 (7.56)	410.00 (13.34)	444.00 (5.91)	2540.30 (5.57)	849.90 (6.77)	1227.75 (4.31)	222.13 (4.21)	513.88 (7.07)	2813.66 (5.25)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	1331.32 (5.20)	349.11 (3.69)	58.33 (1.90)	125.20 (1.67)	1863.96 (4.08)	342.70 (2.73)	1198.52 (4.20)	149.91 (2.84)	211.55 (2.91)	1902.68 (3.55)
9. Office management	2317.90 (9.05)	2174.00 (23.02)	1380.00 (44.91)	1678.28 (22.35)	7550.18 (16.55)	2518.00 (20.06)	3491.50 (12.25)	290.69 (5.51)	1773.00 (24.41)	8073.19 (15.06)
10. Welfare Expenses	150.50 (0.58)	150.00 (1.59)	69.00 (2.25)	50.00 (0.67)	419.50 (0.92)	400.00 (3.19)	500.00 (1.75)	-	277.46 (3.82)	1177.46 (2.20)
Total Cost	25609.83 (100.00)	9443.60 (100.00)	3072.90 (100.00)	7508.88 (100.00)	45635.21 (100.00)	12552.05 (100.00)	28511.17 (100.00)	5277.96 (100.00)	7263.03 (100.00)	53604.21 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-III : (continued)

Item of cost	1963-64					1964-65				
	F.S.No.33 C.No.47 Rs.	F.S.No.34 C.No.47 Rs.	F.S.No.37 C.No.24 Rs.	F.S.No.39 C.No.24 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.34 C.No.48 Rs.	F.S.No.33 C.No.48 Rs.	F.S.No.39 C.No.25 Rs.	F.S.No.37 C.No.25 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.
	1. Wages for coupe work	7292.25 (43.59)	12947.58 (50.59)	7502.21 (46.49)	594.72 (18.35)	28336.76 (45.93)	12316.25 (46.47)	8786.96 (43.22)	2697.57 (36.27)	742.43 (26.67)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1371.00 (8.20)	1640.25 (6.41)	1245.00 (7.71)	848.50 (26.19)	5104.75 (8.27)	1800.95 (6.80)	1800.04 (8.85)	1283.75 (17.26)	890.05 (31.98)	5774.79 (10.12)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	4008.21 (23.96)	5454.87 (21.31)	4279.48 (26.52)	596.85 (18.42)	14339.41 (23.24)	5496.08 (20.74)	4313.63 (21.22)	1476.51 (19.85)	693.63 (24.92)	11979.85 (21.00)
5. Road Building	250.00 (1.49)	350.00 (1.37)	100.00 (0.62)	122.00 (3.76)	822.00 (1.33)	350.00 (1.32)	250.00 (1.23)	113.00 (1.52)	50.00 (1.80)	763.00 (1.34)
6. Other Transport Cost	14.00 (0.08)	19.00 (0.07)	13.00 (0.08)	6.00 (0.19)	52.00 (0.09)	15.00 (0.06)	14.00 (0.07)	6.00 (0.08)	6.00 (0.21)	41.00 (0.07)
7. Depot management cost	643.00 (3.85)	1009.41 (3.94)	548.00 (3.40)	208.34 (6.43)	2408.75 (3.90)	1394.75 (5.26)	1135.00 (5.58)	372.30 (5.01)	61.00 (2.19)	2963.05 (5.19)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	594.84 (3.56)	1072.54 (4.19)	496.50 (3.08)	114.15 (3.52)	2278.03 (3.69)	673.31 (2.54)	562.54 (2.77)	124.13 (1.67)	101.19 (3.64)	1461.17 (2.56)
9. Office management	2351.00 (14.06)	2785.84 (10.89)	1817.00 (11.26)	715.42 (22.08)	7669.26 (12.43)	3969.30 (14.98)	3141.00 (15.45)	1229.98 (16.53)	214.41 (7.70)	8554.69 (14.99)
10. Welfare expenses	203.00 (1.21)	315.91 (1.23)	135.82 (0.84)	34.43 (1.06)	689.16 (1.12)	486.00 (1.83)	328.50 (1.61)	134.50 (1.81)	24.64 (0.89)	973.64 (1.71)
Total Cost	16727.30 (100.00)	25595.40 (100.00)	16137.01 (100.00)	3240.41 (100.00)	61700.12 (100.00)	26501.64 (100.00)	20331.67 (100.00)	7437.74 (100.00)	2783.35 (100.00)	57054.40 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-III : (continued)

Item of cost	1965-66					1966-67				
	F.S.No.33	F.S.No.34	F.S.No.35	F.S.No.39	Total for	F.S.No.33	F.S.No.34	F.S.No.37	F.S.No.39	Total for
	C.No.49	C.No.49	C.No.26	C.No.26	the year	C.No.50	C.No.50	C.No.27	C.No.27	the year
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Wages for coupe work	15534.55 (39.40)	8440.70 (50.12)	6781.96 (52.08)	1806.92 (40.50)	32564.13 (44.15)	8990.53 (41.32)	12266.52 (51.31)	5007.86 (41.75)	4005.07 (46.29)	30269.98 (45.65)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	2492.00 (6.32)	2038.55 (12.11)	1318.00 (10.12)	766.20 (17.17)	6614.75 (8.97)	1767.50 (8.12)	1697.50 (7.10)	1561.00 (13.01)	1526.00 (17.64)	6552.00 (9.83)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	14324.61 (36.33)	2805.23 (16.66)	2443.01 (18.76)	847.06 (18.98)	20419.91 (27.69)	5401.19 (24.82)	4204.36 (17.59)	2863.52 (23.87)	1478.77 (17.09)	13947.84 (21.03)
5. Road Building	200.00 (0.51)	300.00 (1.78)	200.00 (1.54)	125.00 (2.80)	825.00 (1.12)	195.00 (0.90)	150.00 (0.62)	160.00 (1.33)	150.00 (1.73)	655.00 (0.99)
6. Other transport cost	31.00 (0.08)	8.00 (0.05)	26.00 (0.20)	4.00 (0.09)	69.00 (0.09)	18.00 (0.08)	9.00 (0.04)	9.00 (0.08)	12.00 (0.14)	48.00 (0.07)
7. Depot management cost	893.92 (2.27)	580.00 (3.44)	345.00 (2.65)	162.43 (3.64)	1981.35 (2.69)	613.23 (2.82)	647.00 (2.71)	316.00 (2.63)	272.47 (3.15)	1848.70 (2.79)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	2248.28 (5.70)	387.96 (2.30)	481.33 (3.70)	150.38 (3.37)	3267.95 (4.43)	927.49 (4.26)	619.42 (2.59)	303.15 (2.53)	127.04 (1.47)	1977.10 (2.93)
9. Office management	3303.00 (8.38)	1915.00 (11.37)	1226.00 (9.41)	548.41 (12.29)	6992.41 (9.48)	3479.07 (15.99)	3842.51 (16.07)	1690.35 (14.09)	1034.09 (11.95)	10046.02 (15.15)
10. Welfare expenses	400.00 (1.01)	365.00 (2.17)	200.50 (1.54)	51.63 (1.16)	1017.13 (1.38)	368.57 (1.69)	470.84 (1.97)	84.39 (0.71)	46.73 (0.54)	970.53 (1.46)
Total Cost	39427.36 (100.00)	16840.44 (100.00)	13021.80 (100.00)	4462.03 (100.00)	73751.63 (100.00)	21760.58 (100.00)	23907.15 (100.00)	11995.27 (100.00)	8652.17 (100.00)	66315.17 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-III : (continued)

Item of cost	1967-68					Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.33 C.No. 51 Rs.	F.S.No.34 C.No. 51 Rs.	F.S.No.37 C.No. 28 Rs.	F.S.No.39 C.No. 28 Rs.	F.S.No.34 C.No. 25 Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	4799.51 (34.94)	9178.11 (40.55)	3690.86 (36.39)	2080.71 (31.21)	1072.62 (41.03)	20821.81 (37.32)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1767.13 (12.86)	1873.65 (8.28)	1957.19 (19.30)	1370.33 (20.56)	512.00 (19.59)	7480.30 (13.41)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	2962.52 (21.56)	5518.04 (24.38)	1487.22 (14.66)	584.79 (8.77)	514.80 (19.69)	11067.37 (19.84)
5. Road Building	120.00 (0.87)	150.00 (0.66)	175.00 (1.73)	50.00 (0.75)	80.00 (3.06)	575.00 (1.03)
6. Other transport cost	12.00 (0.09)	15.00 (0.07)	6.00 (0.06)	6.00 (0.09)	3.00 (0.11)	42.00 (0.07)
7. Depot management cost	487.11 (3.55)	761.82 (3.36)	357.83 (3.53)	359.81 (5.40)	50.40 (1.93)	2016.97 (3.61)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	495.31 (3.61)	806.53 (3.56)	129.61 (1.28)	60.77 (0.91)	81.39 (3.11)	1573.61 (2.82)
9. Office management	2785.34 (20.27)	3901.60 (17.24)	2138.00 (21.08)	1919.08 (28.79)	286.11 (10.95)	11030.13 (19.77)
10. Welfare expenses	309.75 (2.25)	429.62 (1.90)	200.00 (1.97)	234.75 (3.52)	13.73 (0.53)	1137.90 (2.13)
Total Cost	13738.67 (100.00)	22634.37 (100.00)	10141.71 (100.00)	6666.24 (100.00)	2614.10 (100.00)	55795.09 (100.00)

Appendix 5-IV: Coupe-wise costs for the coupes worked by the Talwada society in the period 1961-62 to 1967-68

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentages to the total costs)

Item of cost	1961-62				1962-63			
	F.S.No.21 C.No.45	F.S.No.21 C.No.19	F.S.No.21 C.No.34	Total for the year	F.S.No.21 C.No.46	F.S.No.21 C.No.20	F.S.No.21 C.No.35	F.S.No.21 C.No.6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Wages for coupe work	15895.44 (34.27)	3298.86 (43.00)	1841.45 (38.79)	21035.75 (35.78)	19756.52 (36.42)	2916.35 (48.02)	1686.31 (30.40)	6066.55 (38.32)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1433.80 (3.09)	628.00 (8.19)	554.00 (11.67)	2615.80 (4.45)	1170.00 (2.16)	615.00 (10.13)	665.00 (11.99)	1068.00 (6.75)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	-	518.28 (0.95)	30.96 (0.51)	32.00 (0.58)	142.26 (0.90)
4. Transport cost	20303.65 (43.78)	2126.93 (27.73)	1139.32 (24.00)	23569.90 (40.08)	22451.11 (41.39)	1707.22 (28.11)	2183.63 (39.37)	6367.77 (40.23)
5. Road building	529.00 (1.14)	50.00 (0.65)	155.00 (3.26)	734.00 (1.25)	124.00 (0.23)	30.00 (0.49)	60.00 (1.08)	130.00 (0.82)
6. Other transport cost	141.74 (0.31)	17.45 (0.23)	13.22 (0.28)	172.41 (0.29)	126.14 (0.23)	13.22 (0.22)	14.50 (0.26)	40.26 (0.25)
7. Depot management cost	2060.83 (4.44)	535.00 (6.97)	308.00 (6.49)	2903.83 (4.94)	2888.40 (5.32)	174.00 (2.87)	130.00 (2.34)	622.00 (3.93)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	1277.32 (2.75)	71.25 (0.93)	40.99 (0.86)	1389.56 (2.36)	1669.33 (3.08)	287.19 (4.73)	303.79 (5.48)	447.25 (2.83)
9. Office management	4339.48 (9.36)	844.00 (11.00)	612.75 (12.91)	5796.23 (9.86)	4090.74 (7.54)	198.90 (3.27)	371.57 (6.70)	746.00 (4.71)
10. Welfare expenses	400.00 (0.86)	100.00 (1.30)	83.06 (1.74)	583.06 (0.99)	1454.45 (2.68)	100.00 (1.65)	100.00 (1.80)	200.00 (1.26)
Total cost	46381.26 (100.00)	7671.49 (100.00)	4747.79 (100.00)	58800.54 (100.00)	54248.97 (100.00)	6072.84 (100.00)	5546.80 (100.00)	15830.09 (100.00)

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Appendix 5-IV: (Continued)

Item of cost	1962-63		1963-64					Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.43 C.No.23 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.44 C.No.24 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.36 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.21 Rs.	F.S.No.43 C.No.24 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.47 Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	6228.21 (23.14)	36653.94 (33.75)	6490.67 (21.30)	2376.94 (43.97)	5832.42 (58.01)	4722.32 (23.87)	17211.25 (31.77)	36633.60 (30.56)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1060.00 (3.94)	4578.00 (4.21)	1189.00 (3.90)	918.00 (16.98)	1057.50 (10.52)	1313.50 (6.64)	1334.73 (2.47)	5812.73 (4.85)
3. Wages over truck loading	103.20 (0.38)	826.70 (0.76)	-	-	2588.56 (25.75)	-	-	2588.56 (2.16)
4. Transport cost	13539.66 (50.30)	46249.39 (42.58)	15826.10 (51.93)	1224.52 (22.65)	-	8123.16 (41.07)	24323.05 (44.90)	49496.83 (41.29)
5. Road building	56.00 (0.21)	400.00 (0.37)	50.00 (0.16)	170.00 (3.14)	25.00 (0.25)	130.00 (0.66)	200.00 (0.37)	575.00 (0.48)
6. Other transport cost	100.52 (0.37)	294.64 (0.27)	121.16 (0.40)	5.99 (0.11)	22.50 (0.22)	17.29 (0.09)	183.97 (0.34)	350.91 (0.29)
7. Depot management cost	1442.71 (5.36)	5257.11 (4.84)	900.00 (2.95)	125.00 (2.31)	25.00 (0.25)	1100.00 (5.56)	1979.38 (3.65)	4129.38 (3.44)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	1253.75 (4.66)	3961.31 (3.65)	1794.39 (5.89)	110.58 (2.05)	127.83 (1.27)	621.48 (3.14)	2401.29 (4.43)	5055.62 (4.22)
9. Office management	2333.44 (8.67)	7740.65 (7.13)	3604.00 (11.83)	475.00 (8.79)	275.00 (2.74)	3253.00 (16.45)	5645.51 (10.42)	13252.51 (11.05)
10. Welfare expenses	800.00 (2.97)	2654.45 (2.44)	500.00 (1.64)	-	100.00 (0.99)	500.00 (2.52)	895.24 (1.65)	1995.24 (1.66)
Total cost	26917.49 (100.00)	108616.19 (100.00)	30475.32 (100.00)	5406.03 (100.00)	10053.86 (100.00)	19780.75 (100.00)	54174.42 (100.00)	119890.38 (100.00)

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Appendix 5-IV: (Continued)

Item of cost	1964-65				Total for the year Rs.	1965-66		
	F.S.No.21 C.No.48 Rs.	F.S.No.44 C.No.25 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.22 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.37 Rs.		F.S.No.21 C.No.38 Rs.	F.S.No.44 C.No.26 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.23 Rs.
	1. Wages for coupe work	13187.97 (25.68)	4233.65 (22.19)	6654.34 (57.31)		1245.00 (32.44)	25320.96 (29.48)	1522.14 (33.44)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1601.13 (3.12)	1165.00 (6.11)	1010.00 (8.70)	1010.00 (26.31)	4786.13 (5.57)	1058.00 (23.25)	939.35 (16.21)	1455.00 (13.25)
3. Wages over truck loading	224.30 (0.44)	94.90 (0.50)	182.70 (1.57)	20.30 (0.53)	522.20 (0.61)	23.43 (0.51)	118.36 (2.04)	131.12 (1.19)
4. Transport cost	20165.47 (39.26)	11273.47 (59.10)	3160.93 (27.22)	1149.01 (29.94)	35748.88 (41.63)	565.01 (12.42)	1490.50 (25.72)	2299.29 (20.95)
5. Road building	175.00 (0.34)	50.00 (0.26)	150.00 (1.29)	50.00 (1.30)	425.00 (0.49)	100.00 (2.20)	40.00 (0.69)	150.00 (1.37)
6. Other trans- port cost	151.00 (0.29)	75.44 (0.40)	16.79 (0.15)	15.97 (0.42)	259.20 (0.30)	12.45 (0.27)	7.14 (0.12)	13.65 (0.12)
7. Depot manage- ment cost	3162.11 (6.16)	337.00 (1.77)	100.00 (0.86)	100.00 (2.60)	3699.11 (4.31)	350.00 (7.69)	173.32 (2.99)	450.00 (4.10)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	3323.82 (6.47)	1545.89 (8.10)	186.49 (1.61)	97.99 (2.55)	5154.19 (6.00)	69.90 (1.54)	73.32 (1.27)	116.39 (1.06)
9. Office manage- ment	8713.43 (16.97)	-	-	-	8713.43 (10.15)	825.00 (18.13)	125.00 (2.16)	1550.00 (14.12)
10. Welfare expenses	653.46 (1.27)	300.00 (1.57)	150.00 (1.29)	150.00 (3.91)	1253.46 (1.46)	25.00 (0.55)	25.00 (0.43)	50.00 (0.46)
Total cost	51357.69 100.00)	19075.35 (100.00)	11611.25 (100.00)	3838.27 (100.00)	85882.56 (100.00)	4550.93 (100.00)	5795.26 (100.00)	10976.95 (100.00)

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Appendix 5-IV: (Continued)

Item of cost	1965-66		1966-67				1967-68	
	F.S.No.21 C.No.49 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.50 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.24 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.39 Rs.	F.S.No.44 C.No.27 Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.51 Rs.
1. Wages for coupe work	14419.25 (28.89)	23506.16 (33.00)	17613.00 (27.25)	4938.17 (40.63)	469.33 (16.96)	3371.07 (40.30)	26391.57 (30.02)	27008.85 (29.80)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1780.00 (3.57)	5232.35 (7.35)	2007.00 (3.11)	1488.50 (12.25)	678.00 (24.51)	865.00 (10.34)	5038.50 (5.73)	2050.20 (2.26)
3. Wages over truck loading	211.75 (0.42)	484.66 (0.68)	259.50 (0.40)	181.03 (1.49)	-	194.25 (2.32)	634.78 (0.72)	857.72 (0.95)
4. Transport cost	22721.21 (45.52)	27076.01 (38.01)	30460.23 (47.12)	2633.20 (21.67)	482.80 (17.45)	1775.48 (21.22)	35351.71 (40.21)	46740.76 (51.58)
5. Road building	250.00 (0.50)	540.00 (0.76)	255.00 (0.39)	150.00 (1.24)	-	18.00 (0.22)	423.00 (0.48)	500.00 (0.55)
6. Other transport cost	149.35 (0.30)	182.59 (0.26)	186.20 (0.29)	15.00 (0.12)	3.80 (0.14)	10.40 (0.12)	215.40 (0.24)	192.20 (0.21)
7. Depot management cost	2733.27 (5.48)	3706.59 (5.20)	2228.79 (3.45)	575.00 (4.73)	292.00 (10.56)	366.00 (4.38)	3461.79 (3.94)	2024.08 (2.23)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	1837.43 (3.68)	2097.04 (2.94)	1893.98 (2.93)	181.86 (1.50)	55.70 (2.01)	119.12 (1.42)	2250.66 (2.56)	1833.82 (2.02)
9. Office management	5385.31 (10.79)	7885.31 (11.07)	9047.07 (14.00)	1940.00 (15.96)	760.00 (27.47)	1621.00 (19.38)	13368.07 (15.21)	8689.54 (9.59)
10. Welfare expenses	422.06 (0.85)	522.06 (0.73)	686.35 (1.06)	50.00 (0.41)	25.00 (0.90)	25.00 (0.30)	786.35 (0.89)	728.18 (0.81)
Total cost	49909.63 (100.00)	71232.77 (100.00)	64637.12 (100.00)	12152.76 (100.00)	2766.63 (100.00)	8365.32 (100.00)	87921.83 (100.00)	90625.35 (100.00)

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Appendix 5-IV: (Continued)

Item of cost	1967-68				Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.21 C.No.25 Rs.	F.S.No.21 C.No.40 Rs.	F.S.No.44 C.No.28 Rs.	F.S.No.43 C.No.28 Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	5111.60 (41.58)	434.38 (39.00)	2315.45 (26.72)	2993.74 (18.83)	37864.02 (27.45)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1620.00 (13.18)	246.00 (22.09)	1449.00 (16.72)	1203.00 (7.57)	6568.20 (5.11)
3. Wages over truck loading	286.90 (2.33)	-	157.10 (1.81)	101.45 (0.64)	1403.17 (1.09)
4. Transport cost	2835.32 (23.07)	396.94 (35.64)	2407.92 (27.79)	6618.90 (41.64)	58939.84 (45.88)
5. Road building	140.00 (1.14)	-	50.00 (0.58)	190.00 (1.20)	880.00 (0.69)
6. Other transport cost	15.40 (0.13)	7.60 (0.68)	7.00 (0.08)	40.20 (0.25)	262.40 (0.20)
7. Depot management cost	400.00 (3.25)	-	400.00 (4.62)	700.00 (4.40)	3524.08 (2.74)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	158.50 (1.29)	28.90 (2.59)	54.46 (0.63)	398.18 (2.51)	2473.86 (1.92)
9. Office management	1625.00 (13.22)	-	1725.00 (19.90)	3550.00 (22.33)	15589.54 (12.12)
10. Welfare expenses	100.00 (0.81)	-	100.00 (1.15)	100.00 (0.63)	1028.18 (0.80)
Total cost	12292.72 (100.00)	1113.82 (100.00)	8665.93 (100.00)	15895.47 (100.00)	128593.29 (100.00)

Appendix 5-V : Coupe-wise costs for the coupes worked by the Nagzari society in the period 1961-62 to 1966-67

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentages to the total costs)

Item of cost	1961-62					1962-63		
	F.S.No.IX C.No.1-B	F.S.No.IX C.No.1-C	F.S.No.X C.No.20-B	F.S.No.X C.No.20-C	Total for the year	F.S.No.IX C.No.2-B	F.S.No.IX C.No.2-C	F.S.No.X C.No.2- Ø B
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Wages for coupe work	7296.80 (34.45)	7391.38 (49.03)	494.75 (22.25)	12077.69 (35.48)	27260.62 (37.59)	5507.00 (30.90)	7006.50 (37.60)	603.25 (19.34)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	700.00 (3.30)	720.00 (4.78)	215.00 (9.67)	775.00 (2.28)	2410.00 (3.32)	420.00 (2.36)	362.62 (1.95)	210.00 (6.73)
3. Wages over truck loading	640.00 (3.02)	216.00 (1.43)	19.92 (0.90)	633.50 (1.86)	1509.42 (2.08)	105.00 (0.59)	77.00 (0.41)	63.00 (2.02)
4. Transport cost	9001.96 (42.50)	3146.76 (20.87)	266.14 (11.97)	13443.80 (39.49)	25858.66 (35.66)	5981.75 (33.56)	5724.00 (30.7)	314.95 (10.10)
5. Road Building	378.00 (1.78)	228.00 (1.51)	1.25 (0.06)	-	607.25 (0.84)	380.00 (2.13)	333.00 (1.79)	35.00 (1.12)
6. Other Transport cost	7.00 (0.03)	6.00 (0.04)	3.00 (0.13)	-	16.00 (0.02)	3.00 (0.02)	3.00 (0.02)	2.00 (0.06)
7. Depot management cost	643.08 (3.04)	654.66 (4.34)	500.22 (22.49)	603.40 (1.77)	2401.36 (3.31)	717.70 (4.03)	716.70 (3.85)	317.35 (10.18)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	938.56 (4.43)	1131.90 (7.51)	103.73 (4.66)	4027.50 (11.83)	6201.69 (8.55)	1901.63 (10.67)	2282.80 (12.25)	137.79 (4.42)
9. Office management	1412.03 (6.67)	1413.02 (9.37)	488.49 (21.96)	2347.49 (6.90)	5661.03 (7.81)	2487.12 (13.95)	1810.27 (9.71)	1115.27 (35.76)
10. Welfare expenses	166.00 (0.78)	168.00 (1.12)	131.48 (5.91)	131.42 (0.39)	596.90 (0.82)	320.15 (1.79)	320.15 (1.71)	320.15 (10.27)
Total Cost	21183.43 (100.00)	15075.72 (100.00)	2223.98 (100.00)	34039.80 (100.00)	72522.93 (100.00)	17823.35 (100.00)	18636.04 (100.00)	3118.76 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-V : (continued)

Item of Cost	1962-63		1963-64		1964-65			Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.X C.No.2-C	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.X C.No.3-C	F.S.No.IX C.No.3-B	F.S.No.IX C.No.3-C	F.S.No.X C.No.3-B	F.S.No.X C.No.3-C	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	6730.13 (27.76)	19846.88 (31.10)	2844.50 (14.90)	5913.43 (27.44)	6284.04 (28.57)	520.75 (17.55)	2544.21 (27.48)	15262.43 (27.36)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	210.00 (0.87)	1202.62 (1.88)	140.00 (0.73)	836.64 (3.88)	897.89 (4.08)	-	679.69 (7.34)	2414.22 (4.33)
3. Wages over truck loading	644.00 (2.66)	889.00 (1.39)	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	11330.08 (46.73)	23350.78 (36.59)	3927.27 (20.57)	7581.21 (35.17)	7491.72 (34.06)	546.89 (18.43)	1284.97 (13.88)	16904.79 (30.31)
5. Road Building	270.00 (1.11)	1018.00 (1.59)	304.00 (1.59)	248.00 (1.15)	384.00 (1.74)	24.00 (0.81)	250.00 (2.70)	906.00 (1.62)
6. Other Transport Cost	5.00 (0.02)	13.00 (0.02)	168.53 (0.88)	195.22 (0.91)	252.89 (1.15)	2.00 (0.07)	96.43 (1.04)	546.54 (0.93)
7. Depot management cost	730.25 (3.01)	2482.00 (3.89)	2191.95 (11.48)	745.08 (3.46)	745.08 (3.39)	423.30 (14.26)	560.50 (6.06)	2473.96 (4.44)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	2188.13 (9.02)	6510.35 (10.20)	1486.73 (7.79)	2707.37 (12.56)	2464.52 (11.20)	262.68 (8.85)	704.76 (7.61)	6139.33 (11.01)
9. Office management	1819.97 (7.50)	7232.63 (11.33)	7864.40 (41.18)	2895.87 (13.44)	2895.87 (13.17)	1148.21 (38.69)	2895.87 (31.28)	9835.82 (17.63)
10. Welfare expenses	320.00 (1.32)	1280.45 (2.01)	168.00 (0.88)	429.87 (1.99)	579.87 (2.64)	40.00 (1.34)	241.86 (2.61)	1291.60 (2.32)
Total Cost	24247.56 (100.00)	63825.71 (100.00)	19095.38 (100.00)	21552.69 (100.00)	21995.88 (100.00)	2967.83 (100.00)	9258.29 (100.00)	55774.69 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-V : (continued)

Item of Cost	1965-66			1966-67			
	F.S.No.III C.No. I	F.S.No.IV C.No. I	Total for the year	F.S.No.1 C.No. 2	F.S.No.3 C.No. 2	F.S.No.4 C.No. 2	Total for the year
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Wages for coupe work	3560.27 (21.48)	2622.04 (19.64)	6182.31 (20.66)	1466.04 (19.35)	726.41 (10.91)	763.93 (15.64)	2956.38 (15.46)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	472.50 (2.85)	472.50 (3.54)	945.00 (3.16)	847.83 (11.19)	365.90 (5.50)	733.48 (15.01)	1947.21 (10.18)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	68.86 (0.91)	-	49.61 (1.02)	118.47 (0.62)
4. Transport cost	3746.99 (22.61)	1929.24 (14.45)	5676.23 (18.97)	772.32 (10.19)	956.98 (14.37)	402.03 (8.23)	2131.33 (11.15)
5. Road Building	100.00 (0.60)	125.00 (0.94)	225.00 (0.75)	60.00 (0.79)	160.00 (2.40)	60.00 (1.23)	280.00 (1.46)
6. Other Transport Cost	133.40 (0.81)	135.09 (1.01)	268.49 (0.90)	67.82 (0.89)	30.94 (0.46)	45.91 (0.94)	144.67 (0.76)
7. Depot management cost	1432.45 (8.64)	1432.45 (10.73)	2864.90 (9.57)	777.24 (10.26)	871.73 (13.09)	871.71 (17.85)	2520.68 (13.18)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	1569.84 (9.47)	1010.12 (7.57)	2579.96 (8.62)	453.24 (5.98)	410.85 (6.17)	260.99 (5.34)	1125.08 (5.89)
9. Office management	5305.59 (32.01)	5308.60 (39.75)	10614.19 (35.47)	3064.75 (40.44)	3110.82 (46.73)	1680.23 (34.40)	7855.80 (41.09)
10. Welfare expenses	252.55 (1.53)	316.95 (2.37)	569.50 (1.90)	-	24.04 (0.37)	16.96 (0.34)	41.00 (0.21)
Total Cost	16573.59 (100.00)	13351.99 (100.00)	29925.58 (100.00)	7578.10 (100.00)	6657.67 (100.00)	4884.85 (100.00)	19120.62 (100.00)

Appendix 5-VI : Coupe-wise costs for the coupes worked by the Raipur society in the period 1961-62 to 1966-67

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentages to the total cost)

Item of cost	1961-62								Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.VII C.No.1-B	F.S.No.VII C.No.1-C	F.S.No.VII C.No.20-A	F.S.No.VII C.No.20-C	F.S.No.VIII C.No.1-B	F.S.No.VIII C.No.1-C	F.S.No.VIII C.No.20-B	F.S.No.VIII C.No.20-C	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	1223.06 (48.18)	6134.98 (40.47)	1502.25 (26.11)	15470.65 (40.44)	246.80 (30.62)	5213.65 (44.96)	962.12 (21.41)	11439.99 (45.06)	42193.50 (40.58)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	553.33 (21.80)	870.64 (5.74)	405.82 (7.05)	1610.34 (4.21)	311.66 (38.67)	678.33 (5.85)	405.82 (9.03)	1610.34 (6.34)	6446.28 (6.20)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	2906.07 (7.60)	-	-	-	-	2906.07 (2.80)
4. Transport cost	247.80 (9.76)	3171.42 (20.92)	692.87 (12.04)	9140.26 (23.90)	202.66 (25.15)	1809.12 (15.60)	555.21 (12.36)	4490.90 (17.69)	20310.24 (19.53)
5. Road Building	125.00 (4.93)	108.00 (0.71)	54.90 (0.96)	330.00 (0.86)	-	267.00 (2.30)	175.50 (3.91)	692.50 (2.73)	1752.90 (1.69)
6. Other transport cost	6.00 (0.24)	25.00 (0.16)	8.00 (0.14)	21.00 (0.05)	1.00 (0.12)	8.00 (0.07)	4.00 (0.09)	36.00 (0.14)	109.00 (0.10)
7. Depot management cost	193.23 (7.61)	1068.36 (7.05)	1008.36 (17.53)	1125.95 (2.94)	3.00 (0.37)	1068.36 (9.21)	828.36 (18.44)	1008.36 (3.97)	6303.93 (6.06)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	122.41 (4.82)	1995.49 (13.17)	446.78 (7.77)	5420.32 (14.17)	17.34 (2.15)	1037.58 (8.95)	272.85 (6.07)	4125.69 (16.25)	13438.46 (12.92)
9. Office management	50.00 (1.97)	1636.58 (10.80)	1569.63 (27.28)	1719.92 (4.50)	19.25 (2.39)	1393.63 (12.02)	1269.63 (28.26)	1669.63 (6.58)	9323.27 (8.97)
10. Welfare expenses	17.46 (0.69)	148.00 (0.98)	64.42 (1.12)	507.15 (1.33)	4.28 (0.53)	120.22 (1.04)	19.46 (0.43)	315.55 (1.24)	1196.54 (1.15)
Total cost	2538.29 (100.00)	15158.47 (100.00)	5753.03 (100.00)	38251.66 (100.00)	805.99 (100.00)	11595.89 (100.00)	4492.95 (100.00)	25383.96 (100.00)	103935.24 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-VI : (continued)

Item of cost	1962-63				Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.VII C.No.2-B Rs.	F.S.No.VII C.No.2-C Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.2-B Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.2-C Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	7327.00 (33.44)	8687.00 (32.59)	310.75 (13.51)	6189.00 (30.23)	22513.75 (31.56)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	862.66 (3.94)	1485.98 (5.57)	413.33 (17.96)	1455.52 (7.11)	4217.49 (5.91)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	7173.98 (32.74)	9444.53 (35.43)	-	5410.44 (26.43)	22028.95 (30.83)
5. Road Building	200.00 (0.91)	200.00 (0.75)	-	250.00 (1.22)	650.00 (0.91)
6. Other transport cost	55.00 (0.25)	-	1.00 (0.04)	32.00 (0.16)	83.00 (0.12)
7. Depot management cost	1193.63 (5.45)	1222.52 (4.59)	1013.87 (44.07)	1426.38 (6.97)	4856.40 (6.81)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	3236.30 (14.77)	3756.48 (14.09)	89.17 (3.88)	2681.19 (13.10)	9763.14 (13.69)
9. Office management	1756.37 (8.02)	1755.87 (6.59)	367.41 (15.97)	2921.87 (14.27)	6801.52 (9.53)
10. Welfare expenses	105.19 (0.48)	105.19 (0.39)	105.19 (4.57)	105.19 (0.51)	420.76 (0.59)
Total cost	21910.13 (100.00)	26657.57 (100.00)	2300.72 (100.00)	20471.59 (100.00)	71340.01 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-VI : (continued)

Item of cost	1963-64						Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.VII C.No.3-B Rs.	F.S.No.VII C.No.3-C Rs.	F.S.No.VII C.No.6-A Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.3-B Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.3-C Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.6-A Rs.	
	1. Wages for coupe work	4178.65 (35.67)	4561.13 (30.71)	2740.31 (30.90)	2550.21 (37.89)	4211.51 (45.76)	
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	838.94 (7.16)	933.50 (6.28)	555.00 (6.26)	706.55 (10.50)	466.66 (5.07)	538.41 (9.80)	4039.06 (7.10)
3. Wages over truck loading	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
4. Transport cost	3360.20 (28.69)	4935.23 (33.22)	2551.02 (28.77)	787.20 (11.69)	1379.97 (14.99)	772.96 (14.07)	13786.58 (24.25)
5. Road Building	200.00 (1.71)	137.75 (0.93)	50.00 (0.56)	100.00 (1.49)	200.00 (2.17)	125.00 (2.28)	812.75 (1.43)
6. Other transport cost	33.14 (0.28)	57.39 (0.39)	23.00 (0.26)	6.00 (0.09)	12.00 (0.13)	-	131.53 (0.23)
7. Depot management cost	603.65 (5.15)	603.65 (4.06)	603.65 (6.81)	603.65 (8.97)	585.65 (6.36)	603.65 (10.99)	3603.90 (6.34)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	1103.48 (9.42)	2178.39 (14.67)	945.70 (10.66)	571.95 (8.50)	1007.92 (10.95)	467.56 (8.51)	6275.00 (11.03)
9. Office management	1209.34 (10.32)	1259.84 (8.48)	1209.35 (13.64)	1218.34 (18.10)	1152.90 (12.53)	1209.34 (22.02)	7259.11 (12.77)
10. Welfare expenses	187.09 (1.60)	187.09 (1.26)	190.09 (2.14)	187.09 (2.77)	187.09 (2.04)	187.09 (3.41)	1125.54 (1.93)
Total Cost	11714.49 (100.00)	14853.97 (100.00)	8868.12 (100.00)	6730.99 (100.00)	9203.70 (100.00)	5492.12 (100.00)	56863.39 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-VI : (continued)

Item of cost	1964-65						Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.VII C.No.4-B Rs.	F.S.No.VII C.No.4-C Rs.	F.S.No.VII C.No.7-A Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.4-B Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.4-C Rs.	F.S.No.VIII C.No.7-A Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	2499.09 (30.61)	5527.97 (39.85)	319.74 (16.32)	3661.77 (33.09)	4524.36 (31.83)	1022.33 (25.37)	17555.26 (32.93)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1038.87 (12.72)	1038.87 (7.49)	110.00 (5.62)	943.87 (8.53)	943.87 (6.64)	480.31 (11.92)	4555.79 (8.55)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	2029.93 (24.86)	3814.86 (27.50)	92.81 (4.74)	2628.08 (23.75)	3842.54 (27.03)	963.93 (23.92)	13372.15 (25.08)
5. Road Building	200.00 (2.45)	200.00 (1.44)	58.00 (2.96)	100.00 (0.90)	270.71 (1.90)	106.00 (2.63)	934.71 (1.75)
6. Other transport m cost	22.00 (0.27)	42.00 (0.30)	2.00 (0.10)	217.60 (1.97)	292.15 (2.06)	57.65 (1.43)	633.40 (1.19)
7. Depot management cost	668.03 (8.18)	751.24 (5.42)	367.20 (18.74)	928.59 (8.39)	952.62 (6.70)	706.36 (17.53)	4374.04 (8.21)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	638.61 (7.82)	1229.64 (8.86)	48.82 (2.49)	836.74 (7.56)	1638.35 (11.53)	345.13 (8.56)	4737.29 (8.89)
9. Office management	989.32 (12.12)	1119.28 (8.07)	953.29 (48.66)	1631.61 (14.75)	1631.53 (11.48)	316.30 (7.85)	6641.33 (12.46)
10. Welfare Expenses	79.04 (0.97)	149.09 (1.07)	7.19 (0.37)	117.51 (1.06)	117.51 (0.83)	32.00 (0.79)	502.34 (0.94)
Total cost	8164.89 (100.00)	13872.95 (100.00)	1959.05 (100.00)	11065.77 (100.00)	14213.64 (100.00)	4030.01 (100.00)	53306.31 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-VI : (continued)

Item of cost	1965-66			1966-67		
	F.S.No.I C.No.1 (63-A part) Rs.	F.S.No.II C.No.1 (54 part) Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.II C.No.63-A part Rs.	F.S.No.II C.No.2 54 part Rs.	Total for the year Rs.
1. Wages for coupe work	14452.89 (41.81)	5383.05 (18.95)	19835.94 (31.50)	17371.80 (46.45)	4015.87 (26.61)	21387.67 (40.74)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	1442.90 (4.17)	1219.36 (4.29)	2662.26 (4.23)	1250.24 (3.34)	786.22 (5.21)	2036.46 (3.88)
3. Wages over truck loading	=	=	=	=	=	=
4. Transport cost	11373.44 (32.90)	6742.21 (23.74)	18115.65 (28.77)	10044.50 (26.86)	3472.16 (23.01)	13516.66 (25.75)
5. Road Building	1169.20 (3.38)	431.00 (1.52)	1600.20 (2.54)	801.30 (2.14)	400.60 (2.65)	1201.90 (2.29)
6. Other transport cost	81.00 (0.23)	32.00 (0.11)	113.00 (0.18)	64.00 (0.17)	20.00 (0.13)	84.00 (0.16)
7. Depot management cost	1255.28 (3.63)	2253.39 (7.93)	3508.67 (5.57)	2361.33 (6.31)	2235.61 (14.81)	4596.94 (8.76)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	2924.92 (8.46)	2090.33 (7.36)	5015.25 (7.96)	1708.79 (4.57)	510.79 (3.39)	2219.58 (4.23)
9. Office management	1065.03 (3.08)	10108.49 (35.59)	11173.52 (17.74)	3437.41 (9.19)	3437.40 (22.78)	6874.81 (13.10)
10. Welfare expenses	806.73 (2.34)	142.59 (0.51)	949.32 (1.51)	363.42 (0.97)	213.13 (1.41)	576.55 (1.09)
Total cost	34571.39 (100.00)	28402.42 (100.00)	62973.81 (100.00)	37402.79 (100.00)	15091.78 (100.00)	52494.57 (100.00)

Appendix 5-VII : Coupe-wise costs for the coupes worked by the Nanchel society in the period 1961-62 to 1966-67

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentages to the total cost)

Item of cost	1961-62				Total for the year Rs.	1962-63		Total for the year Rs.
	F.S.No.V C.No.1-B Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.1-C Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.20-B Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.20-C Rs.		F.S.No.V C.No.2-B Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.2-C Rs.	
1. Wages for coupe work	2614.52 (26.63)	8431.68 (37.97)	3795.95 (29.44)	2302.93 (27.51)	17145.08 (32.17)	7123.91 (27.80)	11221.88 (32.53)	18415.79 (30.53)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	520.00 (5.30)	725.00 (3.26)	440.83 (3.42)	580.83 (6.94)	2266.66 (4.25)	424.44 (1.66)	407.50 (1.17)	831.94 (1.33)
3. Wages over truck loading	=	=	=	66.00 (0.79)	66.00 (0.12)	=	=	=
4. Transport cost	3757.36 (38.26)	8370.31 (37.70)	5028.79 (39.00)	2229.93 (26.64)	19386.39 (36.38)	8768.77 (34.23)	12374.33 (35.65)	21143.10 (35.05)
5. Road Building	250.00 (2.55)	458.00 (2.06)	725.00 (5.62)	412.00 (4.92)	1845.00 (3.46)	450.00 (1.76)	690.00 (1.99)	1140.00 (1.89)
6. Other transport cost	28.00 (0.28)	26.00 (0.12)	19.00 (0.15)	12.00 (0.14)	85.00 (0.16)	40.00 (0.16)	22.00 (0.06)	62.00 (0.10)
7. Depot management cost	572.08 (5.82)	572.08 (2.53)	572.08 (4.44)	572.08 (6.84)	2238.32 (4.30)	1189.89 (4.64)	1195.14 (3.44)	2335.03 (3.95)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	820.71 (8.36)	2405.67 (10.83)	1043.99 (8.09)	977.54 (11.68)	5247.91 (9.85)	3466.74 (13.53)	4875.65 (14.05)	8342.39 (13.83)
9. Office management	1199.20 (12.21)	1159.08 (5.22)	1212.14 (9.40)	1159.14 (13.85)	4729.56 (8.88)	3898.26 (15.22)	3597.76 (10.37)	7496.02 (12.42)
10. Welfare expenses	57.63 (0.59)	57.63 (0.26)	57.63 (0.44)	57.63 (0.69)	230.52 (0.43)	257.47 (1.00)	257.47 (0.74)	514.94 (0.85)
Total Cost	9819.50 (100.00)	22205.45 (100.00)	12895.41 (100.00)	8370.08 (100.00)	53290.44 (100.00)	25619.48 (100.00)	34711.73 (100.00)	60331.21 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-VII : (continued)

Item of cost	1963-64				1964-65					
	F.S.No.V C.No.3-B Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.3-C Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.3-A Rs.	Total for the year Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.4-B Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.4-C Rs.	F.S.No.V C.No.7-A Rs.	F.S.No.IX C.No.4-B Rs.	F.S.No.IX C.No.4-C Rs.	Total for the year Rs.
	1. Wages for coupe work	4907.31 (35.64)	9843.52 (37.87)	1283.88 (18.96)	16034.71 (34.45)	5802.75 (35.50)	9372.12 (40.94)	1043.50 (28.51)	1983.07 (19.22)	7401.72 (35.52)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	472.50 (3.43)	1448.50 (5.57)	-	1921.00 (4.13)	1016.12 (6.22)	1016.12 (4.44)	237.50 (6.49)	610.15 (5.91)	1112.09 (5.34)	3991.98 (5.39)
3. Wages for truck loading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	5168.83 (37.53)	10621.64 (40.86)	1139.64 (16.83)	16930.11 (36.38)	6128.02 (37.49)	8552.09 (37.36)	1624.32 (44.38)	3445.99 (33.40)	8879.61 (42.61)	28630.03 (38.66)
5. Road Building	330.00 (2.40)	354.00 (1.36)	159.00 (2.35)	843.00 (1.81)	200.00 (1.22)	300.00 (1.31)	200.00 (5.46)	370.00 (3.58)	510.00 (2.45)	1580.00 (2.13)
6. Other Transport cost	16.00 (0.12)	37.00 (0.14)	10.00 (0.15)	63.00 (0.14)	34.00 (0.21)	6.00 (0.03)	4.00 (0.11)	2.00 (0.02)	10.00 (0.05)	56.00 (0.03)
7. Depot management cost	666.99 (4.84)	612.97 (2.36)	824.97 (12.18)	2104.93 (4.52)	415.87 (2.54)	442.84 (1.93)	165.86 (4.53)	659.87 (6.39)	415.87 (1.99)	2100.31 (2.84)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	446.19 (3.23)	1258.76 (4.84)	343.17 (5.06)	2048.32 (4.40)	978.85 (5.99)	1430.35 (6.25)	138.13 (3.77)	687.23 (6.66)	693.48 (3.35)	3933.04 (5.31)
9. Office management	1505.48 (10.93)	1505.24 (5.79)	2802.67 (41.38)	5813.39 (12.49)	1610.54 (9.85)	1610.60 (7.04)	85.76 (2.34)	2495.64 (24.19)	1610.64 (7.73)	7413.18 (10.01)
10. Welfare expenses	260.00 (1.88)	314.00 (1.21)	209.07 (3.09)	783.07 (1.68)	161.20 (0.98)	161.20 (0.70)	161.19 (4.41)	64.61 (0.63)	201.50 (0.96)	749.70 (1.01)
Total Cost	13773.30 (100.00)	25995.83 (100.00)	6772.40 (100.00)	46541.53 (100.00)	16347.35 (100.00)	22891.32 (100.00)	3660.26 (100.00)	10318.56 (100.00)	20839.91 (100.00)	74057.40 (100.00)

(continued)

Appendix 5-VII : (continued)

Item of cost	1965-66						1966-67			
	F.S.No.I	F.S.No.I	F.S.No.II	F.S.No.III	F.S.No.IV	Total for	F.S.No.	F.S.No.2	F.S.No.3	Total
	C.No.1	C.No.26	C.No.26	C.No.26	C.No.26	the year	C.No.2	C.No.2	C.No.2	for the
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	year (Rs.)
1. Wages for coupe work	4235.31 (35.99)	1965.10 (73.31)	13882.00 (41.42)	8448.06 (42.80)	3693.95 (38.60)	32224.42 (41.70)	6787.27 (34.21)	8900.98 (33.69)	12553.45 (38.06)	28241.70 (35.64)
2. Supervisory charges for coupe work	590.00 (5.01)	220.00 (8.21)	1026.08 (3.06)	1026.15 (5.20)	506.15 (5.29)	3368.38 (4.36)	986.66 (4.97)	1035.00 (3.92)	1165.00 (3.53)	3186.66 (4.02)
3. Wages over truck loading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Transport cost	3412.62 (29.00)	278.97 (10.41)	14474.67 (43.19)	8427.88 (42.70)	3750.33 (39.19)	30344.47 (39.27)	5912.95 (29.81)	10439.79 (39.52)	12229.94 (37.08)	28532.68 (36.07)
5. Road Building	262.50 (2.23)	98.90 (3.69)	480.00 (1.43)	345.00 (1.75)	325.00 (3.40)	1511.40 (1.95)	375.00 (1.89)	200.00 (0.76)	525.00 (1.59)	1100.00 (1.39)
6. Other Transport	6.00 (0.05)	5.00 (0.19)	6.00 (0.02)	6.00 (0.03)	2.00 (0.02)	25.00 (0.03)	5.00 (0.03)	10.00 (0.04)	16.00 (0.05)	31.00 (0.04)
7. Depot management cost	724.87 (6.16)	42.48 (1.58)	550.71 (1.64)	276.95 (1.40)	550.69 (5.75)	2145.70 (2.78)	1730.63 (8.72)	1730.64 (6.55)	1730.62 (5.25)	5191.89 (6.55)
8. Wages paid for Depot work	465.68 (3.96)	58.92 (2.20)	1645.56 (4.91)	851.84 (4.31)	316.47 (3.31)	3338.47 (4.32)	1019.83 (5.14)	1081.09 (4.09)	1739.19 (5.27)	3840.11 (4.85)
9. Office management	1999.31 (16.99)	11.12 (0.41)	1403.58 (4.19)	357.33 (1.81)	385.54 (4.02)	4156.88 (5.38)	2521.34 (12.71)	2521.35 (9.54)	2521.34 (7.65)	7564.03 (9.55)
10. Welfare expenses	72.30 (0.61)	-	46.46 (0.14)	-	40.46 (0.42)	159.22 (0.21)	499.71 (2.52)	499.70 (1.89)	499.70 (1.52)	1499.11 (1.89)
Total Cost	11768.59 (100.00)	2680.49 (100.00)	33515.06 (100.00)	19739.21 (100.00)	9570.59 (100.00)	77273.94 (100.00)	19838.39 (100.00)	26418.55 (100.00)	32930.24 (100.00)	79237.18 (100.00)

Chapter 6

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF THE WORKERSBackground of the analysis

The earlier chapter was based entirely on the data collected for the selected societies. The two chapters which are to follow now have their base in the data collected through the schedules canvassed for the selected families. It should be, therefore, recapitulated here that 388 member and non-member worker families were selected for the survey. The member and managing committee member families made up 53 per cent of this sample.

The non-member worker families were in the process of becoming members of these societies as 5 per cent of the wages earned by them were being collected by the societies as their contribution to the share capital to convert them into members in the long run. This was, however, not being followed strictly in the cases of all the non-member workers. But the provisions in the bye-laws and instructions from the Government had this objective of membership expansion in the process of coupe exploitation itself. It should not be, therefore, necessary in the present analysis to treat these two groups of the sample as entirely different. Where there is likely to be a difference between these two groups, they will have to be analysed separately to note the extent of the difference. For other purposes, the two groups can be grouped together as they were all prima facie Adivasi forest workers.

Being the illiterate Adivasis and speaking a dialect different from the local language of the area, it was somewhat difficult to interrogate them for the information. Though it was easier to obtain information on their

demographic characteristics and assets, the enquiries about their magnitudes of employment and income created some difficulties. It was difficult for them to report the number of days, they worked during the year. Families marginally employed during a very few days in a year, tended to report themselves as self employed. In some cases persons reported themselves as labourers but when asked about the wages, they made it clear that they did labour on their own farms. Though efforts were made to avoid such discrepancies, it might be possible that they might have remained unnoticed in a few cases where they were unavoidable.

Distribution of earners in the selected families and their association with coupe work

The members and earners in the selected families have been classified societywise in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 for the Thana and the Dhulia districts respectively. The number of earners engaged in wage work and those engaged in coupe wage work are also noted in the same tables. The wage work included even the coupe wage work. There are 106 member families and 89 non-member families in the sample for the Thana district and 101 member families and 92 non-member families in the sample for the Dhulia district. The 195 families in Thana district have 1262 members in the families. This gives an average family composition of 6.5 members per family for the Thana district. The same composition works out to 6.8 members per family in Dhulia district, indicating that there is no significant difference in this respect in the families in these two districts.

The family compositions for the member and the non-member family groups are, however, different. The family composition for the member families in Thana district works out to 6.9 members per family and that

Table 6.1: Classification of the family members and the earners in the families selected in Thana district

Name of the society	Type of family	Number of families	Number of members	Number of earners					Wage earners in the total earners		
				Adults			Non-adults	Total	Adults		
				Male	Female	Total			Male	Female	Total
				Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Mondgaon	Member	35	236	66	63	129	8	137	35	13	48
	Non-member	30	164	50	46	96	5	101	40	25	65
Kondhan	Member	35	244	74	60	134	14	148	48	15	63
	Non-member	30	182	57	50	107	6	113	47	19	66
Talwada	Member	36	250	73	72	145	18	163	53	22	75
	Non-member	29	186	54	56	110	5	115	52	34	86
Total	Member	106	730	213	195	408	40	448	136	50	186
	Non-member	89	532	161	152	313	16	329	137	78	217
	Total	195	1262	374	347	721	56	777	275	128	403

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Table 6.1: (Continued)

Name of the society	Type of family	Proportion of adult wage earners to total adult earners (per cent)			Coupe wage earners among the wage - earners			Proportion of adult coupe wage earners to the adult wage earners (per cent)		
		Male	Female	Total	Adults			Male	Female	Total
					Male	Female	Total			
Mondgaon	Member	53.0	20.6	37.2	26	7	33	74.3	53.8	68.8
	Non-member	80.0	54.3	67.7	39	15	54	97.5	60.0	83.1
Kondhan	Member	64.9	25.0	47.0	36	-	36	75.0	-	57.1
	Non-member	82.5	38.0	61.7	39	3	42	83.0	15.8	63.6
Talwada	Member	72.6	30.6	51.7	42	5	47	79.2	22.7	62.7
	Non-member	96.3	60.7	78.2	48	24	72	92.3	70.6	83.7
Total	Member	63.8	25.6	45.5	104	12	116	76.5	24.0	62.4
	Non-member	86.3	51.3	69.3	126	42	168	90.6	53.8	77.4
	Total	73.5	36.9	55.9	230	54	284	83.6	42.2	70.5

Table 6.2: Classification of the family members and the earners in the families selected in Dhulia district

Name of the society	Type of family	Number of families	Number of members	Number of earners					Wage earners in the total earners		
				Adults			Non-adults	Total	Adults		
				Male	Female	Total			Male	Female	Total
				Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Nagzari	Member	34	229	62	61	123	10	133	44	43	87
	Non-member	30	184	51	46	97	19	116	44	43	87
Raipur	Member	32	251	63	73	136	13	149	25	11	36
	Non-member	32	204	53	54	107	9	116	41	29	70
Nanchal	Member	35	254	86	78	164	6	170	36	27	63
	Non-member	30	189	63	52	115	7	122	54	38	92
Total	Member	101	734	211	212	423	29	452	105	81	186
	Non-member	92	577	167	152	319	35	354	139	110	249
	Total	193	1311	378	364	742	64	806	244	191	435

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Table 6.2: (Continued)

Name of the society	Type of family	Proportion of adult wage earners to total earners (per cent)			Coupe wage earners among the wage earners			Proportion of coupe wage earners to the adult wage earners (per cent)		
		Male	Female	Total	Adults			Male	Female	Total
					Male	Female	Total			
Nagzari	Member	71.0	70.5	70.7	20	7	27	45.4	16.3	31.0
	Non-member	86.3	93.5	89.7	34	14	48	77.3	32.6	55.2
Raipur	Member	39.7	15.0	20.5	17	4	21	68.0	36.4	52.3
	Non-member	77.4	53.7	65.4	38	23	61	92.7	79.3	87.1
Nanchal	Member	41.9	34.6	38.4	18	-	18	50.0	-	28.6
	Non-member	85.7	73.1	80.0	38	4	42	70.4	10.5	45.7
Total	Member	49.8	38.2	44.0	55	11	66	52.4	13.6	35.5
	Non-member	83.2	72.4	78.1	110	41	151	79.1	37.3	60.6
	Total	64.6	52.5	58.6	165	52	217	67.6	27.2	49.9

for the non-member families to 5.9 members per family. Similarly the compositions in Dhulia district work out to 7.2 and 6.2 members per family respectively. This positive difference between the member and the non-member families in both districts gives an indication that larger and may be perhaps more influential families are associated with the present membership.

The percentage of earners to the family members works out to 61.3 and 61.8 per cents for the members and the non-member families in Thana district respectively and to 61.6 and 61.4 per cents for the same in Dhulia district. Around 60 per cent of the family members, thus, earn for the families. The male female ratio among the adult earners, is around 50:50 for both groups in both districts, with small variations of upto 6 per cent on either side. A number of non-adults also earn their livelihood. They constitute around 7.5 per cent of the number of earners in each district. The similarities in such respects in both districts appear to be more or less a result of the demographic characteristics of the Adivasis.

Not all earners are engaged in wage work. The proportion of adult earners engaged in wage work to the total adult earners works out to 56 per cent in Thana district and 58 per cent in Dhulia district. The remaining ^{earners} work mostly on their own farms. If we consider the males and the females separately, it would be observed that the proportion of male adult earners engaged in wage work to the total male adult earners works out to 73 and 64 per cents for the Thana and the Dhulia districts respectively. In case of the female earners, however, similar proportions work out to 37 and 52 per cents only. Though the male and the female members contribute 50:50

to the total earning force in Thana district, the contribution of the female members gets halved where wage earning is concerned. The contribution of the female members in Dhulia district does not get reduced to that extent.

There appears to be a very significant difference between the proportions of wage earners in the two groups of the member and the non-member families. Forty-five per cent of the earners from the member families in Thana district are engaged in wage work whereas around 70 per cent of the earners from the non-member families are engaged in the same. Similar proportions for the Dhulia district are 44 and 78 per cents respectively. The non-member families thus swing more to the side of being labour families when compared to the member families. This does not appear to be appropriate with the objectives of the movement as the forest labourers' co-operative societies were organized principally and in principle for the labour families. The above trends for the two groups of families hold good for the male and the female earners as well as for the families selected around each society. In the cases of the Kondhan and the Nagzari societies, however, the magnitude of the difference between the two groups is small.

The earners engaged in coupe work bear proportions of 70 and 50 per cents to the total wage earners in the Thana and the Dhulia districts respectively. The proportion of wage earners working in the coupes is, thus greater for the Thana district when compared to the Dhulia district. Eighty-three and 67 per cents of the male wage earners and 42 and 27 per cents of the female wage earners in Thana and Dhulia districts respectively work in the coupes. The female labour force, thus, also gets

employment in the coupe work. The magnitude of this employment is, however, small as the male female coupe wage earner ratios work out to nearly 2.5 : 1 and 4 : 1 for the Thana and the Dhulia districts. Though a larger proportion of the female members participate in the wage work in the Dhulia district, their proportion gets much reduced in relation to that in the Thana district in case of the coupe work.

The member and the non-member family groups depict considerable differences in the proportions of wage earners engaged in coupe work to the total wage earners. These proportions for the member and the non-member family groups work out to 62 and 77 per cents in Thana district and 35 and 60 per cents in Dhulia district. A very small proportion of the wage earners in the member families in Dhulia district is, thus, engaged in coupe work. The proportions would, however, go up a little if we consider only the male wage earners. For the male wage earners these proportions work out to 76 and 90 per cents in Thana district and 52 and 79 per cents in Dhulia district.

As the male labour force plays the major role in wage work, it should be necessary here to examine the proportions of the male coupe wage earners to the total male wage earners for the individual societies. For all the societies in Thana district, these proportions are quite high and ranging from 74 to 97 per cents. For the societies in Dhulia district, they are high only in case of the Raipur society but quite low for the other two societies. Even for the member family group of the sample in Thana district the proportions have a range of 74 to 79 per cents and a range of 83 to 97 per cents for the non-member families. In Dhulia district, however, only half of the male wage earners from the member families

around the Nagzari and the Nanchal societies are engaged in coupe work. The proportion is a little higher viz. 63 per cent for the member families around the Raipur society.

The above analysis thus brings out certain important points which can be noted in brief below. The family compositions of the member and the non-member family groups differ distinctly from each other. Around 60 per cent of the family members from both groups contribute to the earning force. A little more than half of this earning force is, however, engaged in wage earning. Though the male and the female contribute 50:50 to the earning force, the female contribution gets reduced where wage earning is concerned. There is a further decline in this contribution in respect of coupe wage earning to an extent that the male female ratios for coupe work drop down to as low as 2.5 : 1 and 4 : 1 in the two districts. The two groups of the member and the non-member families show such differences in their earner compositions, wage earning characteristics and participation in the coupe wage work that the non-member families appear to be not only more labour oriented but much more forest labour oriented when compared to the member families. The member family participations in the coupe work are relatively low for the Nagzari and the Nanchal societies in Dhulia district as these samples indicate.

Classification of the families according to the number of earners in a family

From the earlier tables, the number of earners per family works out to 4.0 and 4.1 for the families in Thana and Dhulia districts respectively. Some of these families have a very small earning component whereas the others have a large one. The selected families ~~ka ka~~ are, therefore, classified in Table 6.3 according to the

Table 6.3 : Classification of the families and the members and earners in the families according to the number of earners in a family for the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Number of earners in the family	Thana district				Dhulia district			
	Number of earners	Number of families	Number of members	Proportion of the number of earners to the number of members (per cent)	Number of earners	Number of families	Number of members	Proportion of the number of earners to the number of members (per cent)
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	116	58	231	50.2	114	57	262	43.5
3	123	41	228	54.0	93	31	170	54.7
4	132	33	204	64.7	136	34	228	59.7
5	100	20	147	67.9	115	23	170	67.7
6	138	23	209	66.0	114	19	153	74.5
7	63	9	99	63.6	98	14	137	71.5
8	32	4	43	74.4	32	4	46	69.6
9	18	2	25	72.0	63	7	93	68.0
10	10	1	12	83.3	30	3	40	75.0
11	33	3	49	67.3	11	1	12	91.6
12	12	1	15	80.0	-	-	-	-
Total	777	195	1262	61.5	806	193	1311	61.4

number of earners in a family to note how the earning force in these families ~~has~~^s varied.

The table indicates that a little more than one fourth of the families in both districts have only two earners per family. Nearly one half of the families have 3 to 5 earners per family and the remaining one fourth of the families have earners varying from 6 to 12. Nearly three fourth of the families have, thus, upto 5 earners per family. The families having 6 or 7 earners, however, contribute substantially to the total earning force as nearly one fourth of the earners belong to these two categories. ^eTh~~ose~~se comments hold good for both districts.

The proportion of the earners to the number of family members goes up with the increase in the number of earners per family in both districts. The families having a larger number of earners also have a larger proportion of earners among the family members when compared to the families having a smaller number of earners. This may be due to either a proportionately smaller number of non-adults in these families or due to relieving a proportionately larger number of family members for work outside due to the larger size of the family or a joint family.

Classification of the earners engaged in different activities according to the number of earners in a family

The number of earners engaged in wage work and coupe wage work as noted earlier, are classified in Tables 6.4 and 6.5 according to the number of earners in a family to note if the number of earners influences the supply of labour for wage and coupe work. The tables indicate that in both districts, the wage earners and the coupe wage earners are supplied in a larger proportion from among the earners mainly from the families having a smaller

Table 6.4 : Classification of the earners engaged in wage work and coupe wage work according to the number of earners per family for the families selected in Thana district

Number of earners in the family	Number of adult male earners			Number of adult female earners			Total number of adult earners
	Earners	Wage earners	Coupe wage earners	Earners	Wage earners	Coupe wage earners	
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	58	55	49	58	34	11	116
3	58	45	36	55	24	11	113
4	62	48	39	57	24	11	119
5	47	32	23	44	19	7	91
6	67	49	39	59	15	8	126
7	34	22	20	25	10	6	59
8	16	7	7	14	2	-	30
9	8	1	1	10	-	-	18
10	4	4	4	4	-	-	8
11	15	8	8	17	-	-	32
12	5	4	4	4	-	-	9
Total	374	275	230	347	128	54	721

Table 6.5 : Classification of the earners engaged in wage work and coupe wage work according to the number of earners per family for the families selected in Dhulia district

Number of earners in the family	Number of adult males			Number of adult females			Total number of earners
	Earners	Wage earners	Coupe wage earners	Earners	Wage earners	Coupe wage earners	
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	57	54	45	57	40	11	114
3	40	32	24	43	25	10	83
4	67	43	24	57	34	9	124
5	58	41	22	42	22	6	100
6	52	29	19	51	26	8	103
7	44	23	16	49	26	8	93
8	9	4	3	17	8	-	26
9	28	16	10	30	10	-	58
10	17	1	1	13	-	-	30
11	6	1	1	5	-	-	11
Total	378	244	165	364	191	52	742

number of earners. In families having a larger number of earners, a large proportion of the earners are self employed. So also female labour participation in wage work gets reduced with the increase in the number of earners per family and there are no female wage earners in families having more than 8 earners in Thana district and 9 earners in Dhulia district. Their participation in coupe wage work even ceases earlier. The proportion of male coupe wage earners to male wage earners, however, goes up with the increase in the number of earners in a family in Thana district and to some extent even in Dhulia district. This is probably for the reason that in the larger earner groups, those who are doing wage work, work mainly in the coupes. The class of the well-to-do Adivasis, if the larger earner class families are supposed to belong to this class, appears to have a greater preference for the forest wage work when compared to the non-forest wage work. Such a situation might also result where the societies are themselves inclined to provide a preferential employment to the more influential class. The degree of such employment in the total may, however, be low as the earners in the larger size classes are very few in relation to the earners from the lower size classes.

Number of days worked by the earners engaged in coupe work

The number of days worked in coupe work by the earners have been noted in Table 6.6. Not all the earners could report the number of days worked. Out of the 501 coupe wage earners in the selected families, it was possible to know the number of days in case of 490 earners. These earners had worked for 15924 labour days in Thana district and for 8013 labour days in Dhulia district.

Table 6.6 : Number of days worked by the earners engaged in coupe work in the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the society	Number of earners engaged in coupe work	Number of earners engaged in coupe work reporting about the number of days worked	Number of days worked in coupes	Average number of days per reporting earner engaged in coupe work
Thana district				
Mondgaon	87	87	7869	90
Kondhan	78	76	3757	49
Talwada	119	119	4298	36
Total Thana district	284	282	15924	-
Dhulia District				
Nagzari	75	75	2172	29
Raipur	82	74	3188	43
Nanchal	60	59	2653	45
Total Dhulia district	217	208	8013	-
Total	501	490	23937	-

This difference must be due to the difference in the total expenditures and the resultant employment already noted in the earlier chapter. The average number of days for the earners around the different societies vary from as low as 29 days per earner in the case of the Nagzari society to 90 days per earner in the case of the Mondgaon society. The other four societies had their averages nearby 40 to 50 days. The coupe work thus provides employment hardly for two months in a year but it should be possible to extend this to even upto three months or more as the average for the Mondgaon society indicates.

Wage income per earner

The wage incomes earned by the persons doing wage work in agriculture and those doing wage work in the coupes are noted in Tables 6.7 and 6.8 for the earners in Thana and Dhulia district^S respectively. The wage earners have been separated in these two categories on the basis of their main occupations.

The tables indicate that in Thana district, the wage incomes from agriculture varied from Rs. 105 to Rs. 350 per earner and those for wage work in the coupes, from Rs. 105 to Rs. 250. In Dhulia district, these varied from Rs. 71 to Rs. 729 for agriculture and from Rs. 65 to Rs. 160 for coupe work respectively. The earners from the member families had a greater per earner income from coupe wage work in case of all societies when compared to the income from coupe wage work of the earners from the non-member families. The degrees of these differences, however, differed for the different societies. Though the proportion of earners doing wage work in the coupes was larger for the non-member families, the earners from the member families earned greater incomes from coupe work when compared to the earners from the non-member families. In agriculture, the earners from the non-member families had higher incomes in all the societies in Dhulia district but a lower income in two of the societies in Thana district.

The average incomes worked out for the districts indicate that the earners from the member and the non-member families in Thana district earned Rs. 191 and Rs. 123 respectively from the coupe work whereas those in Dhulia district earned Rs. 125 and Rs. 90 for the same. Around Rs. 150 in Thana district and around Rs. 100 in Dhulia district, appear to be the magnitudes of incomes available to the workers from coupe work.

Table 6.7 : Wage income for the earners, engaged in wage work in agriculture and wage work in forestry, in the families selected in Thana district

Name of the society	Family type	Number of earners	Number of earners engaged in			Wage income from		Wage income per earner	
			Farming	Wage work in agriculture	Wage work in the coupes	Wage work in agriculture	Wage work in the coupes	From wage work in agriculture	From wage work in the coupes
						Rs.	Rs.		
Mondgaon	Member	137	89	15	33	3835	8240	255.7	249.7
	Non-member	101	36	11	54	3651	7026	332.0	130.1
Kondhan	Member	148	85	27	36	9451	5751	350.0	159.8
	Non-member	113	48	24	42	4980	6115	207.5	145.6
Talwada	Member	163	88	28	47	3480	8193	124.3	174.3
	Non-member	115	29	14	72	1481	7568	105.8	105.1
Total	Member	448	262	70	116	16766	22184	239.5	191.2
	Non-member	329	113	49	168	10112	20709	206.4	123.3

Table 6.8 : Wage income for the earners, engaged in wage work in agriculture and wage work in forestry, in the families selected in Dhulia district

Name of the society	Family type	Number of earners	Number of earners engaged in			Wage income from		Wage income per earner	
			Farming	Wage work in agriculture	Wage work in the coupe	Wage work in agriculture	Wage work in the coupe	From wage work in agriculture	From wage work in the coupe
						Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Nagzari	Member	133	46	60	27	4927	2647	82.1	98.0
	Non-member	116	29	39	48	5043	3159	129.3	65.8
Raipur	Member	149	113	15	21	1484	2741	98.9	130.5
	Non-member	116	46	9	61	6926	6279	769.6	102.9
Nanchal	Member	170	107	45	18	3215	2888	71.4	160.4
	Non-member	122	30	50	42	4311	4208	86.2	100.2
Total	Member	452	266	120	66	9626	8276	80.2	125.4
	Non-member	354	105	98	151	16280	13646	166.1	90.4

Wage income per family

As the earners have to be classified on the basis of their main occupation, the marginal income which they earn from their subsidiary wage occupation does not get reflected in the analysis. The average income per family can, therefore, give a better idea about the income distribution from wage work in agriculture and the coupes. The average incomes per family are given in Table 6.9 along with the average number of earners per family engaged in the particular type of wage work.

The table indicates that around 94 per cent of the families in Thana district and 87 per cent of the families in Dhulia district were engaged in wage work including coupe wage work. The remaining families were self earning families depending upon their cultivated land. These proportions got further reduced in case of the coupe work. Only 83 per cent of the families in Thana district and 73 per cent of the families in Dhulia district were engaged in coupe work. As the non-member workers were selected on the basis of the work they had done in the previous year, it is possible that both member and non-member families have not participated in the coupe work in the present year.

The average number of earners per family reporting wage work including coupe wage work, varies from 1.9 to 2.9 for the families around the different societies. Roughly, 2 to 2.5 earners per family participate in the total wage work. These figures get reduced for the coupe wage work and the averages for Thana and Dhulia districts drop down to 1.7 and 1.5 per family reporting coupe wage work respectively.

The average per family income from wage work including coupe wage work, works out to Rs. 377 and Rs. 283

Table 6.9 : Average number of earners and the average income per family for families engaged in wage work and coupe wage work in the sample of families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the society	Number of families	Number of families reporting income from wages	Number of earners reporting wages from families in the earlier column	Average number of wage earners per reporting family	Number of families reporting income from wages for coupe work	Number of earners reporting wages from the families in the earlier column	Average number of coupe wage earners per reporting family	Total wages reported	Average wage per earner family	Coupe wages reported	Average coupe wage per family reporting coupe wages
Thana District											
Mondgaon	65	61	113	1.9	53	87	1.6	22752	372.98	15266	283.04
Kondhan	65	62	129	2.1	57	78	1.4	26297	424.15	11866	208.17
Talwada	65	62	161	2.6	53	119	2.2	20722	334.23	15761	297.38
Total	195	185	403	2.2	163	284	1.7	69771	377.14	42893	263.15
Dhulia district											
Nagzari	64	62	174	2.8	47	75	1.6	15776	254.45	5806	123.53
Raipur	64	53	106	2.0	47	82	1.7	17430	328.87	9020	191.91
Nanchal	65	54	155	2.9	47	60	1.3	14622	270.78	7096	150.98
Total	193	169	435	2.6	141	217	1.5	47828	283.01	21922	155.48

for Thana and Dhulia districts respectively. The same from coupe wage work, work^s out to Rs. 263 and Rs. 155 for these two districts respectively. The wages from coupe work bear a proportion of 61 per cent to the total wages in Thana district and 46 per cent in Dhulia district. Coupe work, thus, accounts for a little more than half of the total wages in Thana district and a little less than half of the wages in Dhulia district.

A societywise distribution of these average incomes shows that the incomes vary from one society to the other. The average per family coupe wage incomes are very low viz. Rs. 123 and Rs. 150 for the Nagzari and the Nanchal societies in Dhulia district and are quite high viz. Rs. 288 and Rs. 297 for the Mondgaon and the Talwada societies in Thana district. Even the average total wages are lower for the societies in Dhulia district. The per family wage including the wage for coupe work varies from around Rs. 250 to Rs. 325 for the societies in Dhulia district and from Rs. 350 to Rs. 425 for the societies in Thana district.

/ Wages from transport

Besides the wage income, a few of the selected families were engaged in transport work mostly for the forest products. The wages such families earned, either through the society or through the Forest Department, are noted in Table 6.10.

Thirty-five out of the 195 families in Thana district had earned transport wages. In Dhulia district, however, only 13 families out of the same size of the sample had earned such wages. The average ^{wage} ~~was~~ per wage reporting family in Thana district varied only from Rs.208 to Rs. 240. In Dhulia district, however, there was a considerable variation in these wages and they varied from Rs.37 to Rs.137 for the families in the different societies.

Table 6.10 : Transport wages earned by the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the society	Total number of families	Number of families reporting transport wages	Amount of transport wages Rs.	Average transport wage per family reporting transport wages Rs.
<u>Thana district</u>				
Mondgeon	65	12	2825.00	235.40
Kondhan	65	9	2160.50	240.00
Talwada	65	14	2924.00	208.88
<u>Dhulia district</u>				
Nagzari	64	2	75.50	37.75
Reipur	64	7	449.50	64.21
Nanchal	65	4	550.00	137.50

Cultivation of the land

In addition to the wages from agriculture, coupe work and transport, cultivation of the land was a source of income to many of the families. Though attempts were made to get the information on the land cultivated, no attempts were made to derive the income from the land for each family. The land cultivated by the selected families may be noted from Table 6.11. It may be noted here that due to the abolition of tenancy in Maharashtra, all cultivators had become the owners of the land so that the cultivated land cannot be differentiated from the owned land.

The table indicates that 75 per cent of the families in Dhulia district and 86 per cent of the families in Thana district cultivated land. Their proportions, however, varied from one society to the other. This proportion

Table 6.11 : Land cultivated by the families selected in
Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the society	Number of families	Number of families cultivating land	Proportion of families cultivating land (percent)	Land cultivated	Average cultivated land per land cultivating family (acres)
<u>Thana district</u>					
Mondgaon	65	56	86.1	212.00	3.78
Kondhan	65	54	83.1	219.55	4.07
Talwada	65	59	90.8	229.50	3.88
Total	195	169	86.6	661.05	3.91
<u>Dhulia District</u>					
Nagzari	64	43	67.2	326.00	7.58
Raipur	n 64	47	73.4	697.52	14.84
Nanchal	65	55	84.6	708.45	12.88
Total	193	145	75.2	1731.97	11.94

was the lowest for the families around the Nagzari society and it was the highest for the families around the Talwada society. Though the proportion of land cultivating families was larger for the families in Thana district, their average cultivated holding was much smaller in relation to that for the families in Dhulia district. The average cultivated holding was 3.9 acres for the families in Thana district and 11.9 acres for the families in Dhulia district. This difference is explicable on the ground that the forested areas of Thana district were a paddy and hill millet economy whereas those of the Dhulia district were a jowar, cotton and inferior millet economy.

Wage rate for coupe work

The wage rate fixed by the societies and the Forest Department was Rs. 2.50 per day on the daily basis. The members as well as the non-members were being paid at the same rate. To avoid supervision over the labour as far as possible, the workers were being assigned their specific works for the day, after the completion of which they were made free of the day's work. Generally the workers started their work around 8 a.m. and were able to finish their jobs by 2 to 4 p.m. A number of case studies of workers revealed that when the societies paid Rs. 2.50 per day, the wage rate outside was only Rs. 2 per day for the farm work or for the forest work with a private contractor. Though the contractor was completely eliminated from the Government forests in the selected areas, the contractors were still exploiting the forests on the private farms owned by the big farmers. The workers, however, pointed out that though the contractors or the other agencies paid a lower rate of wages, the quantum of work load was also always smaller in their cases. The societies at times assigned the jobs on the piece rate basis and this enabled the workers to earn even a higher rate of wage.

It should be possible here to derive the wage rate, the workers actually received through work on the daily basis or the piece rate basis, from the data presented in the earlier analysis. An attempt is made here to derive such a rate for the two districts.

The members and non-members had reported to have worked for 15924 labour days in Thana district and 8013 labour days in Dhulia district. So also they had earned a coupe wage of Rs. 42893 in Thana district and Rs. 21922 in Dhulia district. This gives a wage rate of Rs. 2.69

for the Thana district and Rs. 2.73 for the Dhulia district. The wage rates, the workers had earned through the forest co-operatives were, thus, quite satisfactory when compared with the rates prevailing outside.

Estimation of the per capita income

For an estimation of the per capita income it should be necessary to know about the total income. The derivation of the total income is, however, difficult here as it was not possible to know about the income from agriculture from the present survey. A study of some cases had, however, made available the necessary data about the per acre agricultural income. An attempt is, therefore, made here to derive the per capita income by using the figures given in the earlier analysis and the figures obtained from such case studies.

As the conditions in the two districts were somewhat different, it should be necessary to derive the per capita income for each district separately. The earlier analysis had shown that the wage income was Rs. 69771 for the families in Thana district and Rs. 47828 for the families in Dhulia district. The transport wages were Rs. 7909 in Thana district and Rs. 1075 in Dhulia district.

A number of case studies in Thana district showed that the average per acre income for the selected families was Rs. 231 per acre. The land cultivated by the selected families in this district was 661 acres. This gives a farm income of Rs. 1,52,691. Similar case studies, though few in number, indicated that the per acre income for the selected families in Dhulia district was Rs. 36 per acre. The difference in the per acre incomes in these two districts was due to the quality of the land and the cropping pattern as noted earlier. The land cultivated by the selected families in Dhulia district was 1732 acres.

This gives a farm income of Rs. 62352.

After totalling the incomes from wages, transport and agriculture, the total income for Thana district works out to Rs. 2,30,371 and that for the Dhulia district to Rs. 1,11,255. The total number of members in the families selected in Thana district was 1262 and that for the families in Dhulia district was 1311. These figures give a per capita income of Rs. 182 for the selected families in Thana district and Rs. 86 for the families in Dhulia district. The difference in the per capita incomes in these two districts appears to be partly due to the paddy economy in Thana district against the millet economy in Dhulia district and partly due to the more efficient working of the societies in Thana district as the data itself has revealed throughout the analysis. Even if we take into account only the wage income, the per capita wage income works out to Rs. 62 for the Thana district and to Rs. 37 for the Dhulia district. The per family total incomes would also indicate the same magnitude of the difference between these two districts. The per family incomes work out to Rs. 1181 in Thana district and Rs. 576 in Dhulia district.

Chapter 7

IMPACT OF THE MOVEMENT ON THE ADIVASISLimitations of the impact

As noted in an earlier chapter, around 25 per cent of the families in a village are associated with the membership of a society. The ratio of the number of member families participating in coupe work to the number of non-member families participating in the same, being nearly 1 : 1, it can be said that nearly half of the families came under the influence of the societies. Whatever be the direct impact of the movement, it is, thus, restricted to half of the Adivasi population in the villages under the area of influence of the societies. Again, all the villages in the vicinity of the forest areas, do not come under the influence of a society. There are a number of villages from which hardly one or two families are associated with the membership of the societies. If this is taken into account, the proportion of families coming under the direct influence of the societies would get reduced further.

Secondly, the wages through coupe work constitute only around 50 to 60 per cent of the total wages. If the agricultural income is taken into account, then the wages from coupe work would account for hardly one-fifth of the total income in each of these districts. These are the extents to which the incomes of the participating families are influenced by the work they are provided by the societies. Whatever may be the impact of the societies on the people and the area, it is, thus, limited to the magnitudes discussed above.

There are some limitations to the analysis of the impact itself. The analysis is handicapped by the absence

of any data for the benchmark period when these societies were formed. What is possible, therefore, is merely a logical analysis of what must have happened as could be visualized from the existing facts.

Leadership

The major impact of the forest labour co-operative movement was that it created leadership from among the Adivasis themselves. This was evident from the present leadership in the societies which was made entirely of the Adivasis. Though the sponsoring agencies and sympathizers had to be relied upon to give the leadership in the initial stages of the movement, they could be replaced by the federations of societies and the Adivasi leaders even in the early sixties. The sponsoring agencies had no more a role to play in the organization of new societies. The district federations of the societies were made responsible for organizing new societies and guiding and supervising their activities. So also a severe restriction was introduced on the enrolment of the sympathizer members and it was severe to such an extent that a society could hardly have one sympathizer member on its managing committee. The organization of the societies on a large scale thus created new leadership of Adivasis which today serves the needs not only of the forest labour co-operative societies but also of the other social and economic spheres of the Adivasi life.

Employment and wages

Whether the coupes are exploited by the societies, the Department or the contractors, the quantum of employment generated in the area through coupe work would remain the same. If at all any increase may be there in the employment in the area due to the working of a larger number of coupes when compared to the earlier periods, it

would be attributable to the policies of the Forest Department and not to the organization of the societies. No attempts have been made by the societies to generate additional employment in the area. Only one society had started a saw-mill lately. What the societies have then achieved in the sphere of employment of the Adivasis? The major achievement of the societies appears to be the rationalization of the wage rate which otherwise was very low and fluctuating widely according to the dictates of the contractors. Even today, the societies pay a flat wage rate of Rs. 2.50 per day when the wage rates prevailing outside are Rs. 2 per day or even less as the needs of the employers be. The workers also prefer to work on this daily wage. Where piece works were assigned to the workers, it was found that their daily earnings from such works were many a times below Rs. 2.50 per day but rarely above it. Some on the spot studies conducted in Dhulia district showed that for a piece work of pulling the logs out of the coupe, the wage rate worked out to Rs. 2.04 per day and that for logging worked out to Rs. 2.16 per day. The gang-leader or the captain of the group who distributes the wages in a piece work, may also be responsible for such lower rate of wages for the workers. The major complaint against the wage distribution through the society was that wages were being paid only once a fortnight or a month. The Department and the contractors, on the contrary, paid the wages immediately after the work for the day was over. The societies were, however, paying some advances to the workers at intervals and were deducting the same from the pay bills for the fortnight or the month.

In spite of such grievances, the workers were contented with the higher wage rate and the continuity of

employment in the coupe work. They were freed from the dictates of the contractor who not only paid lower wages and exerted his right of employing a person according to his will but also tried to make them indebted to earn heavy interests from them.

Provision of amenities and auxilliary benefits

Though not all, a few of the societies had provided some amenities and auxilliary benefits to the members and the area around the societies, which otherwise would not have been possible in the absence of the societies. The societies in Thana district had helped the schools and the famine relief works and had taken part in extension activities to educate their members. In Dhulia, one society had started a saw mill and the other society was running a shop for the benefit of its members. Considered in the context of the period for which these societies were functioning, these activities, however, appeared to be somewhat meagre.

The major benefits the members were getting through these societies were the medical aid and the shelter, they were getting while working in the coupes. Some of the societies as noted earlier, had even spent over and above the admissible expenditures available for these amenities. Recreational activities were also being provided by a few of the societies for the benefit of their members. No such amenities were available when the coupes were being exploited by the contractors. Slates, pencils and books were at times being distributed among the children in the member families. A few of the members had received poles for house construction at concessional rates from the societies.

Participation of the Adivasis in the management of the societies

A major benefit of the forest labourers' co-operative

movement was that it provided scope for the Adivasis to enter co-operative business organizations and get the training and experience of business management which otherwise would not have become possible, for them. Except for one society in Thana district, all the other societies had a chairman from among the Adivasis. All other managing committee members were also invariably Adivasis.

The Adivasi youths were availed of the opportunity for the first time, to get employment as secretaries, accountants and clerks in their own organizations. Adivasi youths did not, however, command such positions in all the selected societies. The secretaries of all the selected societies in Thana district and two of the three societies in Dhulia district were non-Adivasis. The posts of clerks, 'mukadams' and watchmen were, however, being largely occupied by the Adivasis.

Training of Adivasis for holding such managerial posts was a matter of time. There appears to be much improvement in the employment of the Adivasis for the various posts in the societies in the State as the details for the posts given in Table 7.1 for the Maharashtra State for the period 1959-60 to 1969-70 show.

The table indicates that the proportion of Adivasis in the total number of employees has gone up from around 50 per cent to 70 to 75 per cent during the period of 11 years. For the posts of the secretary, the proportion has gone up from 25 per cent to 66 per cent and for the posts of the accountant, from 16 to 55 per cent. The proportions for Mukadams, coupe agents, and watchmen were already around 60 per cent in the initial part of the period and they have even gone quite up at the end of the period. All the watchmen in the year 1969-70 were Adivasis. The proportion of Adivasis in the Depot-clerks has, however,

Table 7.1: Proportion of Adivasis among the office staff employed by the forest labourers' cooperative societies in Maharashtra during the period 1959-60 - 1969-70

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentage to the total number of employees)

Posts	1959-60		1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64		1964-65	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Secretary	191	47 (24.61)	191	46 (24.08)	247	65 (26.32)	308	78 (25.32)	309	88 (28.48)	352	91 (25.85)
Accountant ^g	71	12 (16.90)	95	6 (6.32)	59	16 (27.12)	40	18 (45.00)	93	16 (17.20)	59	27 (45.76)
Mukadams	361	264 (73.13)	486	333 (68.52)	520	385 (74.02)	704	487 (69.18)	597	419 (70.18)	589	470 (79.80)
Coupe- Agent	238	122 (51.26)	310	102 (32.90)	410	237 (57.80)	542	348 (64.21)	500	324 (64.80)	520	336 (64.62)
Depot- Clerk	158	101 (63.92)	150	50 (33.33)	289	219 (75.77)	353	211 (59.77)	303	135 (44.55)	317	179 (56.47)
Watchman	223	134 (60.09)	288	180 (62.50)	265	67 (25.28)	324	97 (29.94)	380	259 (68.16)	409	278 (67.97)
Others	154	44 (28.57)	136	67 (49.26)	159	105 (66.05)	93	72 (77.42)	156	43 (27.56)	135	57 (41.48)
Total	1396	724 (51.86)	1656	784 (47.34)	1949	1094 (56.13)	2364	1311 (55.46)	2338	1284 (54.92)	2381	1438 (60.39)

A = Total number of employees
B = Number of Adivasis among the employees

Contd...

Table 7.1: (Continued)

Posts	1965-66		1966-67		1967-68		1968-69		1969-70	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Secretary	356	107 (30.06)	381	157 (41.21)	416	190 (45.77)	359	125 (35.0)	362	239 (66.0)
Accountants	64	23 (35.94)	78	39 (50.00)	76	39 (51.3)	89	52 (58.4)	82	45 (54.8)
Mukadams	652	513 (78.68)	603	490 (81.26)	620	501 (80.8)	675	560 (82.9)	711	606 (85.2)
Coupe- Agent	426	290 (68.08)	415	279 (67.23)	426	299 (68.5)	386	267 (69.0)	467	340 (72.8)
Depot- Clerk	363	147 (40.50)	343	171 (49.85)	336	177 (50.3)	324	164 (50.6)	318	182 (57.0)
Watchman	429	307 (71.66)	394	289 (73.35)	434	342 (78.8)	414	283 (68.8)	342	342 (100.0)
Others	636	274 (43.08)	270	249 (92.22)	270	249 (90.0)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Total	2926	1661 (56.77)	2484	1674 (67.39)	2588	1797 (69.0)	2318	1548 (60.8)	2262	1754 (75.7)

declined during this period from around 63 to 50 per cent.

Though there is an increase in the proportion of Adivasis in the total number of employees, the progress appears to be somewhat slow in the context of the length of the period considered here. Perhaps, this trend might continue even at the same rate as the societies would have to take a crucial decision of replacing the present experienced staff with freshly recruited Adivasi staff.

Livestock and implements owned by the Adivasis

Many of the families had acquired land under the new tenure through tenancy legislation or the land distribution programme in the State. The proportion of land cultivating families cannot, therefore, be a measure of the progress of the Adivasis as a result of the forest labour co-operative movement. The livestock and implement resources owned by them can, however, give some indications of their present status though a comparison of such resources for the two points of time would have been a better measure for the same. The livestock owned by the selected families is given in Table 7.2 and its value in Table 7.3.

Table 7.2 indicates that around 60 to 70 per cent of the families around each society except the Kondhan society, owned bullocks and cows. The proportion was slightly lower for the families around the Kondhan society. Compared with the proportion of families cultivating the land as given in Chapter 6, these proportions were, however, lower for the Thana district but nearly identical for the Dhulia district. On an average, there were 2.5 to 3.5 bullocks per family, which were quite adequate. The average number of cows per family also worked out to around the same figures. The proportion of families owning

Table 7.2: Live-stock resource owned by the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the society	Total No. of families	Bullocks				Cows			
		Number of families owning bullocks	Proportion of families owning bullocks	Number of bullocks owned	Average No. of bullocks owned per reporting family	Number of families owning cows	Proportion of families owning cows	Number of cows owned	Average No. of cows owned per reporting family
<u>Thana district</u>									
Mondgaon	65	45	69.23	113	2.5	44	67.69	88	2.0
Kondhan	65	31	47.69	79	2.5	37	56.92	84	2.3
Talwada	65	43	66.15	127	3.0	46	70.77	116	2.5
<u>Dhulia district</u>									
Nagzari	64	42	65.63	109	2.6	37	57.81	82	2.2
Raipur	64	50	78.13	175	3.5	45	70.31	153	3.4
Nanchal	65	55	84.62	178	3.2	40	61.54	89	2.2

Contd...

Table 7.2: (Continued)

Name of the society	Total No. of families	He-buffaloes				She-buffaloes			
		Number of families owning he-buffaloes	Proportion of families owning he-buffaloes	Number of he-buffaloes owned	Average No. of he-buffaloes owned per reporting family	Number of families owning she-buffaloes	Proportion of families owning she-buffaloes	Number of she-buffaloes owned	Average No. of she-buffaloes owned per reporting family
<u>Thana district</u>									
Mondgaon	65	11	16.92	23	2.1	7	10.77	16	2.3
Kondhan	65	5	7.69	13	2.6	5	7.69	10	2.0
Talwada	65	7	10.77	18	2.6	7	10.77	11	1.6
<u>Dhulia district</u>									
Nagzari	64	4	6.25	4	1.0	8	12.50	11	1.4
Raipur	64	2	3.13	2	1.0	4	6.25	5	1.3
Nanchal	65	4	6.15	4	1.0	7	10.77	13	1.9

Table 7.3 : Value of livestock owned by the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the Society	Number of families	Number of families reporting livestock	Proportion of families reporting livestock	Value of livestock	Average value of livestock per livestock reporting family
<u>Thana district</u>					
Mondgaon	65	61	93.85	37280	611.15
Kondhan	65	59	90.77	28214	478.20
Talweda	65	64	98.46	45558	711.84
<u>Dhulia district</u>					
Nagzari	64	62	96.88	64709	1043.69
Raipur	64	55	85.94	107461	1953.84
Nanchal	65	63	96.92	110965	1761.35

he-buffaloes varied from 7 to 16 per cent in Thana district and 3 to 6 per cent in Dhulia district. He-buffaloes which are used for working in the paddy fields, therefore, compensated for lower proportion of families owning the bullocks in Thana district. She-buffaloes were owned by around 6 to 12 per cent of the families in both districts. The average number of he-buffaloes came to over 2 he-buffaloes per family in Thana district and to one he-buffalo per family in Dhulia district. The average for the she-buffaloes worked out to 1.3 to 2.3 per family for the two districts.

The proportion of families owning livestock of all types as given in Table 7.3 varies from 86 to 98 per cent for the families around different societies. The value of livestock per family varies from rupees one to two thousands in Thana district and from rupees five to seven hundreds in Dhulia district. The entire discussion on livestock

shows that these Adivasi families owned quite adequate number of livestock.

The ownership of implements and tools and their value are noted in Table 7.4. More than 90 per cent of the families own tools and implements. The proportion is 100 per cent in case of the families around three societies. The average value of implements per family, however, varies from Rs. 141 to Rs. 419 for the Thana district and from Rs. 78 to Rs. 115 for the Dhulia district. Though the number of implement owning families is quite satisfactory in both districts, the average value of the implements for the Dhulia district appears to be somewhat small in relation to the jowar, cotton, millet economy in the area.

Table 7.4 : Number of families owning implements and tools and their value for the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the society	Number of families	Number of families reporting implements	Proportion of families reporting implements	Value of Implements Rs.	Average value of implements per implement reporting family Rs.
<u>Thana district</u>					
Mondgaon	65	65	100.00	5086	78.25
Kondhan	65	64	98.46	7403	115.67
Talwada	65	65	100.00	6270	96.46
<u>Dhulia district</u>					
Nagzari	64	62	96.88	8803	141.98
Raipur	64	59	92.19	20097	340.63
Nanchal	65	65	100.00	27275	419.61

On the whole, the Adivasis in both districts are well equipped with livestock and implements. They do not appear to be that downtrodden as once Mr. Symington described them in his famous report which led to the organization of forest labour co-operatives. They have become quite resource conscious as the study of their resources indicates.

Housing conditions

It should be but apparent that the Adivasis should live in houses made of the material available locally in the forests such as wood, bamboos and grasses. The extent of introduction of tiles and bricks in place of such local materials should, therefore, indicate the degree of the impact of the urban improvements over their habitats. The characteristics of the houses owned by the selected families in the two districts are noted in Table 7.5 with a view to note the degree of this impact.

The table shows that the use of tiles for roofing in place of the grasses has become very common in Dhulia district. In Thana district, however, the grasses are still being largely used for thatching. The slower rate of replacement of the grasses by the tiles in Thana district, may be due to the availability of the rice straw in plenty with every rice cultivating family. Yet one fourth of the member families are staying in tiled houses. There is a very significant difference between the member and the non-member families in respect of the roofing material as the proportion of tile using non-member families is much less than the proportion of tile using member families in both districts.

The use of stones and bricks has not become so common with these families. Only 5 member families and one non-member family are staying in brick and stone houses

Table 7.5: Characteristics of houses owned by the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

District	Number of households	Proportion of houses having roof made of				Proportion of houses having walls made of			Proportion of houses having number of rooms as			
		Grass (%)	Tiles (%)	Grass and tiles (%)	Not specified (%)	Bamboos reeds & allied material (%)	Stones and/or bricks (%)	Other material (%)	One room (%)	Two rooms (%)	Three or more rooms (%)	Not specified (%)
<u>Thana</u>												
Members	106*	73.6	23.6	1.9	-	95.3	4.7	-	37.8	56.7	3.8	0.9
Non-members	89	94.5	3.5	1.2	-	98.6	1.4	-	53.3	46.7	-	-
<u>Dhulia</u>												
Members	101*	3.1	92.1	0.9	3.9	100.0	-	-	6.3	56.8	36.9	-
Non-members	92*	13.1	72.8	5.4	8.7	97.9	-	2.1	13.3	64.6	21.9	-

* One household in each of these groups does not own a house but stays along with some relative.

in Thana district but none in Dhulia district. The costs of replacement which are quite high in case of the walls when compared to the roofs, may be the factor responsible for slower rate of change in this respect.

Nearly 50 per cent or even more families are staying in two-room houses. The proportion of single room houses is very small in Dhulia district but one third of the member families and one half of the non-member families in Thana district are dwelling in one room houses. The proportion of families staying in three room houses is, on the contrary, small in Thana district but fairly large in Dhulia district. If bamboo and grass house is assumed to be the mode of housing in the past for these areas, the housing conditions appear to have far improved in Dhulia district when compared to the Thana district.

Indebtedness

The indebtedness of the families can also give some indication of the impact these societies have made on the economic conditions of the Adivasis. The number of families reporting loans outstanding and the amounts reported are given in Table 7.6 while the amounts outstanding against the different sources of borrowing are noted in Table 7.7.

Table 7.6 indicates that 45 to 60 per cent of the families around the different societies in Thana district and 45 to 75 per cent of the families around the societies in Dhulia district had reported loans outstanding. The average amounts of loans outstanding per family varied from Rs. 134 to Rs. 243 for the families in Thana district and from Rs. 261 to Rs. 530 for the families in Dhulia district. Not only a greater proportion of families in Dhulia district were in debts but their amounts of loans outstanding were also greater when compared to the families

Table 7.6 : Number of families reporting loans outstanding and the amounts of loans reported by the families selected in Thana and Dhulia districts

Name of the society	Total number of families	Number of families reporting loans	Proportion of families reporting loans	Amount of loans outstanding Rs.	Average loan outstanding per reporting family Rs.
<u>Thana district</u>					
Mondgaon	65	29	44.62	3892	134.21
Member	35	18	51.43	3372	187.33
Non-member	30	11	36.67	520	47.27
Kondhan	65	39	60.00	8822	226.21
Member	35	26	74.29	7909	304.19
Non-member	30	13	43.33	913	70.24
Talwada	65	39	60.00	7209	184.85
Member	36	25	69.44	6090	243.60
Non-member	29	14	48.28	1119	79.93
<u>Dhulia district</u>					
Nagzari	64	29	45.31	7574	261.17
Member	34	17	50.00	5245	308.53
Non-member	30	12	40.00	2329	194.08
Raipur	64	41	64.06	21803	531.78
Member	32	27	84.38	14325	530.56
Non-member	32	14	43.75	7478	534.14
Nanchal	65	50	76.92	18195	363.90
Member	35	25	71.43	11400	456.00
Non-member	30	25	83.33	6795	271.80

in Thana district. So also a greater proportion of the members were in debts when compared to the non-members in both districts. The amounts of loans outstanding were also greater in case of the members.

The sources of loans given in Table 7.7 indicate that the other societies which included mainly the Seva Sahakari societies and grain banks, and the moneylenders

Table 7.7: Amounts outstanding against the different sources of borrowing in case of the families selected in Thana and Dhulia district

Name of the society	Total amount of loan outstanding Rs.	Amounts outstanding against									
		Government		Forest labourers' Co-op. Soc.		Other societies		Money lender		Others (amount) Rs.	
		No. of families	Amount Rs.	No. of families	Amount Rs.	No. of families	Amount Rs.	No. of families	Amount Rs.		
Thana district											
Mondgaon	Members	3372.00	-	-	-	-	13	1917.00	-	-	1455.00
	Non-members	520.00	4	190.00	-	-	6	310.00	-	-	20.00
Kondhan	Members	7909.00	5	420.00	4	685.00	18	3994.00	7	2410.00	400.00
	Non-members	913.00	6	218.00	-	-	6	595.00	2	60.00	40.00
Talwada	Members	6090.00	4	555.00	7	747.00	16	2073.00	12	2055.00	660.00
	Non-members	1119.00	1	15.00	1	50.00	7	530.00	6	465.00	59.00
Total	Members	17371.00	9	975.00	11	1432.00	47	7984.00	19	4465.00	2515.00
	Non-members	2552.00	11	423.00	1	50.00	19	1435.00	8	525.00	119.00
Dhulia district											
Nagzari	Members	5245.00	1	250.00	-	-	2	500.00	17	4295.00	200.00
	Non-members	2329.00	-	-	-	-	5	846.00	8	1398.00	85.00
Raipur	Members	14325.00	10	5750.00	-	-	11	3270.00	17	5170.00	135.00
	Non-members	7478.00	1	350.00	-	-	6	1485.00	13	5643.00	-
Nanchal	Members	11400.00	1	2000.00	1	1000.00	8	3290.00	16	4660.00	450.00
	Non-members	6795.00	-	-	1	1000.00	2	450.00	23	5150.00	195.00
Total	Members	30970.00	12	8000.00	1	1000.00	21	7060.00	50	14125.00	735.00
	Non-members	16602.00	1	350.00	1	1000.00	13	2781.00	44	12919.00	280.00

were the major sources for loans. In Thana district 47 member families and 19 non-member families had borrowed loans from the other co-operatives and 19 member families and 8 non-member families had borrowed loans from the money-lenders. Quite contrary was the case in Dhulia district in which as many as 50 member families and 44 non-member families had borrowed from the moneylenders. Ninety-four out of the 193 families in this district were, thus, under the grip of the moneylenders even after the organization of forest labour co-operatives and the other co-operative societies in the area.

A few of the families were given tagal loans and loans for the redemption of the old debts. The forest labourers' co-operative societies had given loans to 12 families in Thana district and 2 families in Dhulia district. In Dhulia district, the loans from the money-lenders formed such a large part of the total loans that the obvious conclusion would be that the forest labourers' co-operatives or the other co-operatives could not achieve their objective of making the Adivasis free from the grip of the moneylenders even after the passing of a long period after their initiation.

A resume

The organization of forest labourers' co-operative societies had, thus, a two way impact, firstly a general impact on the area and secondly an impact on the families directly connected with the societies. The movement helped the creation of leadership and made the Adivasis more conscious of their rights and privileges. It helped to train the Adivasis in business management. There was a rationalization of wages. In the absence of the societies, the wage rates would not have come up to the level of Rs. 2.50 per day as even today the contractors and the

private land owners are trying to employ them at only Rs.2 per day. The Adivasis have now become more resource conscious and have tried to discard their huts and improve their houses. They could not, however, get rid of the moneylenders. So also the welfare measures undertaken by the societies have proved to be quite meagre. There can be yet no doubt that the conditions of the Adivasis have been much improved after the period when Mr. Symington wrote his report. The up-liftment of the Adivasis since then cannot be, however, entirely attributed to the organization of the societies. The societies created the leadership, brought the people into urban contact, freed them from the exploitation of the contractors and rationalized their wages and employment; these coupled with the extension efforts, must have led to making the Adivasis conscious of their resources, rights and privileges as seen through the earlier discussions.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

A number of results were available from the analysis of the different aspects of a forest labourers' co-operative society and the movement attempted in the ^{earlier} ~~certain~~ chapters. It is the objective of this chapter to bring these results together and analyse them further if necessary. In doing so, it would be but proper to discuss and analyse them in the context of some overall issues and questions which may have to be answered to know about the progress of the movement and the shape it has taken so far. This is, therefore, done in the following pages with reference to the few broad issues which emerge out of the discussions.

Nature of membership

As the forest labourers' co-operative societies were organized for the benefit of the down-trodden Adivasi forest workers, one should expect to find mainly the lower section and the working class among the Adivasis becoming the members of the societies. A model society could be expected to be the one in which all the members participate in the work. The data for the selected societies shows that this objective was to a great extent achieved by only two of the societies namely the Nagzari and the Raipur societies in Dhulia district and partly by two of the societies namely the Mondgaon and the Talwada societies in Thana district. The second characteristic of a model society could be that the members in such a society are enrolled in an adequate number and not much reliance is needed on the employment of non-members. Considered in this context, only the Kondhan and the Raipur societies appear to have enrolled members adequate for their

coupe work. In the Kondhan society, however, the number of members is more than adequate to such an extent that a much larger part of the membership in this society is superfluous.

A model society could be, again, the one in which the genuine forest workers from the lower stratum among the Adivasis are enrolled as the members. The present study, however, shows that mainly the Adivasis from the upper stratum have been enrolled as the members in these societies and those from the lower stratum are working as non-members. It may be but quite obvious that the families from the upper economic strata may give a larger response to the membership in the promotional organization of a society. All the selected societies are, however, quite old and the differences, they carry between the two groups of the members and the non-members clearly indicate that these societies are at present made up of members who are distinctly from the upper stratum of the Adivasis. This may be also the reason for the larger proportion of non-working members among the membership of some of the societies and greater reliance upon non-member workers. The families of the members are distinctly larger than the families of the workers. A much smaller proportion of the earners from the member families is engaged in wage work and still a smaller proportion in coupe wage work when compared to those from the non-member families. The member families are, thus, much less labour oriented and even lesser forest labour oriented in relation to the non-member families. A reshuffling of the membership by enrolling the non-member workers as members and discontinuation of the membership of those members who do not work in the coupes over a continuous period of some years, can change this present structure of the societies and provide

greater scope for the genuine forest workers to participate in their working.

Size of the society

Among the selected societies, two societies namely the Kondhan and the Raipur societies had very large memberships of over 500 persons spread over a large area of around 25 villages in each case. To the other extreme was a society viz., the Nagzari society, with a small number of members coming mainly from a single village. Another society namely the Mondgaon society had a smaller size of membership but the membership was well spread to a number of villages. The remaining two societies were medium sized societies when compared to these two extremes. One of the two large size societies, namely the Kondhan society had even a superfluous membership as noted earlier.

Not very conclusive evidence is, however, available about the impact of the size of a society from the study of these six societies which may be due to the small size of the sample. The two large size societies had the largest proportions of members in the work force. One of the two small size societies viz. the Mondgaon society had the smallest proportion and the two medium size societies had also a smaller proportion of members in the working force. The larger size of these societies, thus, appears to be due to converting as far as possible all workers into members and the small size of the societies appears to be due to restricting the number of members to a particular section among the Adivasis.

A comparison of the small and the large size societies may be attempted here. One finds that the number of days worked and the wages earned per earner are the least for the Nagzari society. These figures are on the contrary, the largest for the Mondgaon society which was

also a small size society. The Nagzari society was running in losses for a considerable time and the Mondgaon society had also suffered losses in two of the seven years' period studied. Though the working of the Nagzari society was not satisfactory it was not so with the Mondgaon society. One does not, therefore, find similarities even in two small size societies. The average membership for the societies for the whole State being, however, only around one hundred per society, one cannot visualize the real impact of smallness of the societies as even the smallest size societies in the sample had the membership size of over 150 members.

Both the large size societies had, however, shown a good performance in many respects. Based on the study of these two societies, it appears that larger size societies in the field of forest exploitation may not be a handicap to the functioning of the societies. The large scale participation of the members from as many as 25 villages in the areas of the Kondhan and the Raipur societies indicates that forest labourers' co-operative societies can have a large expanse of both area as well as membership to the extents demonstrated by these societies. It should be emphasized here again that these comments are based on the study of only two societies.

The major handicap in the working of the small size societies is the proportion of the costs over office management and the overheads. Generally small size societies can exploit a smaller number of coupes and hence the office management costs in such cases are bound to be quite high in relation to the total costs. In the Nagzari society for example, these costs were as high as 40 per cent of the total costs, in three of the seven years period studied for this society. A larger society having

a total cost structure of at least Rs. 50,000 per year may be a proper pattern of size for these societies. The average membership of around 100 members per society and the working of even less than two coupes with a total business (not costs) of even less than rupees fifty thousand per year per society for the State does not, therefore, give a rosy picture for the movement at the aggregate level when considered in the context of these six societies.

Financial position of the societies

The selected societies being quite old, they had accumulated quite substantial amount of funds except in the case of the Nagzari society. These funds varied from Rs. 32,000 to Rs. 1,30,000 per society for five of these societies whereas the Nagzari society had accumulated only Rs. 10,000. The per member funds varied from Rs. 60 to Rs. 810 for the different societies. At the aggregative level for the State, however, a society had on an average accumulated only upto Rs. 7,000 of total funds. This progress was yet commendable as the labour contract societies, which are the counterparts of the forest labourers' societies in the non-forest areas, had on an average accumulated only Rs. 1650 of total funds per society. The number of such labour contract societies was 1060 in 1969-70, which was more than double the number of forest labourers' co-operative societies in the State.¹

It would be interesting here to compare the funds available with the societies with the total costs incurred by them for coupe exploitation. This is done in Table 8.1. As the total costs vary from one year to the other, the

¹ Review of Co-operative Movement in India - 1968-70. Reserve Bank of India, p. 173.

Table 8.1 : Total funds and total costs for the societies selected in Thana and Dhulia district

Name of the society	Total funds	Average total costs per year for the period 1965-66 and 1966-67	Difference between the total funds and the total costs (Col.3 - Col.2)
(1)	Rs. (2)	Rs. (3)	Rs. (4)
<u>Thana district</u>			
Mondgeon	1,30,561	51,707	+ 78,855
Kondhan	1,12,200	70,033	+ 42,167
Talwada	37,023	79,576	- 42,553
<u>Dhulia district</u>			
Nagzari	10,032	24,522	- 14,490
Raipur	32,125	57,733	- 25,608
Nanchal	51,197	78,255	- 27,058

costs in the table are expressed as an average of total cost for two years, viz. 1965-66 and 1966-67, for which the costs are available for all societies.

The differences between the total funds and the total costs indicate that the Mondgeon and the Kondhan societies had a great surplus of funds when compared to the costs whereas the Talwada society had a great deficit. This was so merely for the reason that the Talwada society was registered in 1957 whereas the other societies were registered in the forties at the inception of the movement. The Talwada society had also accumulated large amounts of profits especially after 1965 but the distribution of profits had not yet been made. The bonus distributed by this society in 1963-64 and 1967-68 was for the profits made in 1959-60 and 1964-65 respectively. The society had, thereafter, earned huge profits which were not distributed among the various funds.

The differences for the societies in Dhulia district were small and they were of the magnitude of around one third to one half of the total costs. The societies had, thus, earned a good financial stability despite their operations among the Adivasis. This was the result of the Government policy of dovetailing these societies on proper lines through the very elaborate organizational structure evolved through experience and the facility given for the societies to share even the net realization from the activity.

Problems in the distribution of share to the societies

The entire evolution of the system of sharing the net realizations through coupe exploitation was traced in an earlier chapter. The latest change in the policy was to allot the coupes to the societies on the logging basis. As an interim measure it was decided to allot coupes to the societies getting A and B classes in the audits, on the revised formula basis and ^{to} the other societies on the logging basis. It was also seen that if the present shares of the societies are to be compared with the probable shares from the logging system, it would be necessary to give the societies upto 30 per cent of the logging costs to match with their present system of sharing. One way or the other the Government policy implied nearly the same as the societies were to be given 10 per cent of the logging costs as their profits plus 5 per cent for the welfare in the area if the society functioned according to certain norms plus 10 per cent for a Central Welfare fund for the Adivasis. As the societies were not undertaking much of the welfare activities despite giving them a share in the incomes from forestry, the Government took the decision to bring about the welfare through adopting a different channel for the same funds. Not all societies were making

good profits in spite of their getting shares in the income from forestry and the societies were, therefore, agitating for getting larger and larger share in the incomes from forestry. The Percentage Committee had analysed the data for a number of societies to determine if the societies could be flatly given a share in the gross value of the produce. As this was found to be not practicable, the Committee had discussed various other percentage bases one of which was to relate the share to the total costs. The Committee had given a thought to giving the societies a share of 20 per cent of the total costs and a further 5 per cent of the same to the societies working according to certain norms. The Committee itself did not recommend such an arrangement for the following reasons -

(1) that this arrangement would not get rid of the disputes between the societies and the Forest Department in determining the operational costs,

(2) that the arrangement would increase a society's profits in direct relation to the total costs and this would give an incentive to the societies to inflate their total costs, and

(3) that the members of the societies would get reduced to the status of mere labourers as the societies would not get their present status of partnership with the Forest Department on account of getting the share even in the forest income.

The policy of allotting the coupes on the logging basis as adopted by the Government is going to have the same defects as mentioned above. In addition, it would deprive the societies of handling the transport and the arrangements for sale at the depots. Transport and depot costs account for nearly half of the total costs. The

sale of the material and the sharing of a part of the incomes therefrom no doubt, lead to the disparities in the incomes of the societies. If the societies are, however, assigned all the jobs upto the point of selling the material, it should not, ~~therefore~~, have any greater disadvantages when compared to merely logging the material. In addition, it would also contribute to the employment potential of the societies as the depot work does constitute an important part of the wage component of coupe exploitation. The costs over transport account for nearly the same proportion as the cost over actual coupe work, viz. 30 to 40 per cent of the total costs and hence this would be an added advantage to a society where cart transport is largely in use. When compared to the logging formula, any formula which relates the society's share to the total costs would thus have some additional advantages though it would retain all the disadvantages of the logging system.

An attempt can, therefore, be made here to examine what percentages of the total costs would have to be given to the societies to simulate their present shares through coupe working, in case if the share of the societies was to be related to the total cost to get some additional advantages over the logging system. This has been worked out in Table 8.2 with reference to the two years' data for the six societies which was used in the earlier analysis.

It should be, however, noted in the beginning that the analysis is restricted to only six societies. So also the figures for the net realizations as worked out earlier, are based firstly on the actual costs incurred by the societies and not on the costs approved by the Department and secondly, only on the estimated value of the material as all the material was not sold during the year. In the

Table 8.2 : Percentages of total costs that would simulate the present shares of the societies

Name of the society	Year	Society's share as given in Table 5.14 Rs.	Total costs Rs.	Percentage of total costs necessary to simulate the share of the society (Per cent)
<u>Thena district</u>				
Mondgaon	1966-67	15,849	43,326	36.6
	1967-68	18,629	59,680	31.2
Kondhan	1966-67	10,435	66,315	15.1
	1967-68	12,611	55,795	22.5
Talwada	1966-67	26,338	87,921	29.9
	1967-68	35,635	1,28,593	27.7
<u>Dhulia district</u>				
Nagzari	1965-66	2,379	29,925	7.9
	1966-67	-	19,120	-
Raipur	1965-66	14,469	62,973	22.1
	1966-67	9,595	52,494	18.2
Nanchal	1965-66	17,899	77,273	23.2
	1966-67	9,828	79,237	12.4

context of all these limitations, the present analysis has, therefore, to be considered merely as an exercise in working out a better mode of determining the share for the societies.

It should be recapitulated here that the shares of the societies were worked out at 15 per cent of the net realizations for the years 1965-66 and 1966-67 and at 20 per cent of the same for the year 1967-68 according to the changes in the Government policy. Many other inferences can also be drawn from the data in the table besides the main point of analysis.

From the large variations in the percentages worked out for the different societies, it appears that certain

societies had obtained quite large shares in relation to the costs they had incurred. For the Mondgaon society for example, the share was above 30 per cent of the total costs. This shows that the costs were smaller in relation to the outturn and the society must have worked the better forests leading to more net realizations therefrom. The figures for the Talwada society also indicate more or less the same case.

The second point emerging from these figures is that the raising of the share from 15 per cent to 20 per cent has not got reflected in raising the shares of the societies in relation to the costs involved which also indicate the employment provided. The figures at 20 per cent were applicable only to the societies in Thana district and hence this point can be examined only for the societies therefrom. The shares in the net realization for all societies in this district, have gone up in absolute terms from the year 1966-67 to 1967-68 but not in relation to the costs incurred or the employment provided. For the Kondhan society for example, the total costs have fallen in 1967-68 but the society's share has gone up. The present shares have, therefore, no relevance to the total costs or the wage distribution but are merely the fruits of getting allotted a more valuable forest or a less valuable one. The lower percentages of total costs needed to simulate the society's shares in Dhulia district indicate that the costs were higher in relation to the outturn and that the forests were less valuable in this district in relation to those in Thana district.

The present shares of the societies had thus, no relevance to the total costs or to the wage distribution. Now if this relevance was to be established it would be necessary to fix up some percentage of the total costs for

the share of the society. The figures worked out for the six societies in the table, however, indicate that not one percentage would satisfy all societies if their present shares are to be taken into account. A minimum of 20 per cent of the share as thought over by the Percentage Committee should be adequate for these societies as it would still give a substantial share to the societies in Thana district and raise the share of the societies in Dhulia district, thereby even reducing the disparities in the incomes of different societies. It should be, however, re-emphasized here that the above analysis is merely an exercise just with six societies.

Employment and income of the Adivasis

The Adivasis are staying in somewhat larger families when compared to the non-Adivasi communities. The family compositions of the selected families worked out to 6.5 and 6.8 members per family for the Thana and the Dhulia districts respectively. Normally the non-Adivasi communities have family compositions varying between 5 and 6. The member families had, however, a greater family size than the non-member families, the difference being of an extent of around one person per family on an average. The cultivator and the labour families among the Adivasis had depicted a similar trend in one of the surveys conducted by the Gokhale Institute on the problems of tribal development in Nasik district which lies in between the two selected districts. The cultivating Adivasi families in this district had a family size of 7.2 persons per family and the labour families had a size of 5.5, giving an average size of 6.6 persons per family for the area.¹ These figures

1 Problems of tribal development, A case study - Harsul Block, Nasik district (Maharashtra) - M.G. Kulkarni, Gokhale Institute Mimeograph Series No. 3, p. 107.

are quite synchronizing with the figures available through the present survey as after all, they depict the characteristics of the Adivasi life.

Sixty-one per cent of the members in these families belong to the category of earners. Around 55 per cent of the earners are engaged in wage earning and the remaining are self employed. Only 45 per cent of the earners in the group of the member families are, however, engaged in wage earning whereas around 75 per cent of the earners from the non-member families are engaged in the same. Both districts depict a great similarity in these characteristics which are again the ways of the Adivasi life.

The means available for employment however, appear to divulge some of the other characteristics in the two districts. Only 50 per cent of the wage earners in Dhulia district participate in coupe work whereas in Thana district the participation goes up to 70 per cent. The member and non-member groups show again a considerable difference in the coupe wage employment. The proportion of coupe wage earners in the wage earners falls to such an extent in the member families in Dhulia district that the proportion works out to only 35 per cent. Only a third of the wage earners from the member families in Dhulia district are thus, engaged in coupe work.

Nearly three-fourth of the families have upto 5 earners per family. Only around one fourth of the families are, thus, quite large. The proportion of earners to the number of family members goes up with the number of earners per family. This appears to be the effect of the large size joint families. Quite similar observations were made about the Adivasis in the aforementioned study made by the Gokhale Institute in Nasik district. It was observed in this district that the villages in which joint families

were in a majority showed higher proportion of earners in the total number of members in such villages.¹ The earners in the large families also showed a preference for coupe wage work when compared to the non-coupe wage work. In families having more than seven earners per family, all wage earners were engaged solely in coupe wage earning.

The ^{forest} ~~present~~ work, as noted earlier, provided work to the Adivasis hardly for a period of two months. It is only in case of the Talwada society that the families had reported on an average an employment for three months. The families around the Nagzari society were, on the contrary, employed hardly for one month. In Thana district, the workers on an average reported a coupe wage income of around Rs. 150 per earner and in Dhulia district, around Rs. 100 per earner. Due to the employment of more than one earner per family, the incomes of the families from forest exploitation go up a little higher. The per family incomes from coupe work amount to around Rs. 250 in Thana district and around Rs. 150 in Dhulia district. In the survey conducted in Nasik district it was again observed that the labour families had earned Rs. 127.2 per family and the cultivating families, Rs. 174.5 per family ^{/from coupe work} during the year 1965 when the survey was conducted.² There were a number of forest labourers' co-operative societies in the area surveyed.

The wages from coupe work bear a proportion of around 60 per cent to the total wages in Thana district

1 Problems of tribal development, A case study - Harsul Block, Nasik district (Maharashtra) - M. G. Kulkarni, Gokhale Institute Mimeograph Series No. 3, p. 119.

2 Problems of tribal development, A case study - Harsul Block, Nasik district (Maharashtra) - M. G. Kulkarni, Gokhale Institute Mimeograph Series No. 3, pp. 157 and 165.

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and around 45 per cent to the same in Dhulia district. The Adivasi families in Dhulia district have thus, lower incomes from forestry when compared to those from Thana district. In the total income positions, however, the families in both districts derive around one fifth of their total income from forestry. This is for the reason that the incomes from agriculture in Dhulia district are also lower as in the case of the incomes from forestry.

The families in Thana district earn higher incomes from forestry for the obvious reason that the societies in this district exploit a larger number of coupes involving larger total expenditures. In addition, all the societies in Thana district undertake manufacture of coal which does not become possible for the societies in Dhulia district due to the lack of market demand and the transportation facilities. It would be interesting here to note the costs over coal making, the entire part of which goes to the labour as wages. These costs which were included in the costs over coupe work in the earlier discussions have been noted separately here in Table 8.3 in the form of percentages to the total costs. Only the societies in Thana district had prepared coal out of the small twigs and branches which otherwise have to be left in the coupes.

The table indicates that for the Mondgeon and the Talwada societies, the costs over coal making varied from around 10 to 20 per cent of the total costs. The proportions were lower for the Kondhan society. The costs over coupe work in these societies were around 30 to 40 per cent or even more of the total costs. A large proportion of these costs was thus accounted for by the costs over coal making. The coal manufacturing thus, contributes substantially to the costs over coupe work and hence to the wage employment through it.

Table 8.3 : Percentages of costs over coal manufacturing to the total costs over the 33 items, for the societies selected in Thana district

Year	1961- 62	1962- 63	1963- 64	1964- 65	1965- 66	1966- 67	1967- 68
Name of the Society							
Mondgaon	12.34	14.27	18.53	N.A.	22.39	17.74	22.00
Kondhan	4.19	1.29	5.76	5.04	5.96	9.39	6.48
Talwada	15.46	12.35	12.68	11.78	13.92	10.95	13.15

N. A. - Not available.

None of the selected societies had undertaken other forest works such as the collection of minor forest produce or other non-forest works such as the public works on labour contract. At the State level also only a few societies had participated in such work. The per society wage distribution through such works was, however, fairly large to an extent that it was nearly two times the average wage distribution through the normal coupe work.

Tapping such additional avenues of employment appears to be the major means of creating additional employment through the societies. The organization of the federation at the State level which has been assigned a multiplicity of functions as noted earlier, could be expected to initiate some wood based industrial development in the areas. If large scale industries are undertaken through the State and the district federations, it is possible that the ancillary component manufacturing industries could be assigned even to the individual forest labourers' co-operative societies in the State.

The importance of the societies in the Adivasi economy

Having analysed some of the major issues and problems of the societies, a question may now be asked as to what

has been the importance of these societies in the Adivasi economy. The societies have no doubt played a good role in creating leadership which had all its impacts on the social development of the Adivasis. The rationalization of wages was, however, the only advantage ^{on} of the economic side among the advantages noted earlier.

The impact of the societies on the Adivasi economy, even if any, has to be measured in the context of the proportion of the direct beneficiaries from the societies. Only one fourth of the families in the villages from which these societies draw their membership are associated with the societies. There are also a number of villages from which either there are no members or the number of members is even less than 5. Even if an equal proportion of the non-member worker families is added to these member families, not a very large proportion of the families gets the benefits from these societies. The members and the non-members again show such differences that the beneficiaries appear to be mainly those who belong to the class of the cultivating families and not the labour families if these groups are to be made on the basis of the incomes earned through these two sources.

In spite of the debt redumption efforts made by the extension agencies in the area, there are still a number of both member and non-member families who are indebted to the moneylenders. As many as 94 families in a sample of 193 families in Dhulia district are indebted to the moneylenders. The number is, however, small viz. 27 for the Thana district. The societies appear to have not succeeded at all in making the Adivasis totally free from the grip of the moneylenders. The absence of co-ordination between the credit societies and the forest labourers' co-operative societies may be the reason for this failure. It is on

the same lines of inter-linking marketing of the produce with credit in the agricultural co-operatives, that this problem of replacing the private credit by the co-operative credit may have to be handled. It should not be difficult for the forest labour co-operatives to collect the credits of the service co-operatives through deducting the same from the wages of the workers to enable them at least to change over their loans from the fantastic interest rates of the moneylenders to the reasonable rates of the co-operatives.

The absence of exploiting any additional sources of employment by these societies appears to be the main reason for their not having exerted much of an economic impact on the Adivasis. The duties assigned to the State Federation might change this picture if there is a proper and speedier implementation of the same.

Characteristics of the societies in the State

Having drawn some conclusions on the basis of the study of a few societies, an attempt can be now made to re-examine the characteristics of the societies for the State as a whole, in the context of these best societies. This^S should help to know where the movement stands at present and the gap existing between a good end and an average society.

The number of societies in Maharashtra State doubled in a decade after the reorganization of the States. The membership has also doubled during this period, maintaining an average of around 100 members per society throughout the period. Though the number of societies is gone up, there is not much progress in the size of the societies, which may be due to the constant additions of a few new societies every year with smaller initial membership.

The membership of the societies in the State has itself a smaller magnitude. There were 402 societies in

1964-65 and including the liquidations there was a net addition of 62 societies upto 1968-69 in a period of 4 years. The membership increased from 40,228 to 47,012 during this period. If we assume that these 62 societies were registered only with 50 members to start with their membership would come to 3,100. If we deduct this membership from the membership of 47,012 in 1968-69, we would get a membership of 44,012 for the 402 societies existing in 1964-65. This gives an average membership of only 110 in 1968-69 for the societies which were existing in 1964-65. This shows that the size of an average society in the State is quite small in relation to even the smallest societies studied earlier.

The smaller size may have all its consequences as noted earlier. A smaller proportion of members in the working force, working of a smaller number of coupes, lower wage distribution and proportionately high costs over management are the probable consequences of maintaining the membership at a lower level. A society in the State was working on an average only around 1.7 to 1.8 coupes per annum giving on an average an annual turnover or value of the business of around Rs. 34 to 47 thousands per society. The total expenditure of the selected societies was even greater than the average annual turnover of the societies in the State. The average society in the State was, thus, quite small in respect of membership, coupe working as well as the annual turnover.

The annual turnover per society had again shown a somewhat declining tendency during the decade like the societies studied in Dhulia district. Similar was the case with wage distribution. There was, however, some recovery in these respects in the later part of the decade. These declines may be due the organization of new societies in

areas such as for example Vidarbha wherein the movement had yet not taken firm roots.

The average wage distribution per society was only around Rs. 10,000 per annum. In the selected societies, the wage distribution was of the magnitude of Rs. 20 to 30 thousands per annum. The average per worker wages in the State amounted to Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 during the different years. At the rate of Rs. 2.50 per day this should have provided an employment for even less than two months per worker. There is much similarity between the societies in Dhulia district and an average society in the State in these respects. Due to the smaller size of the societies the members constitute only around 60 per cent of the working force in the State. The membership is also made up of a large proportion of non-working members which make up 40 per cent of the total members.

Though the membership of the selected societies was made up mostly of the Adivasis the proportion of Adivasis in the membership for the societies in the State as a whole was 86 per cent. This proportion had dwindled from 93 per cent in 1966-67 to 86 per cent in 1969-70. Among the non-member workers also this proportion decreased from 96 per cent in 1965-66 to 60 per cent in 1969-70. There was no doubt a considerable reduction in the total number of non-member workers during this period. It is difficult to say if the non-Adivasi workers were retained and the Adivasis were discontinued due to this reduction in the employment of the workers. The inference from these figures could anyway be that the participation of the Adivasis in the works undertaken by the societies has dwindled considerably in the later part of the decade.

Though the number of societies has considerably gone up during the decade, the functioning of the societies has

not improved to any extent. There is even a slight decline in the number of societies getting 'A' and 'B' audit classes. There is a considerable increase in the number of 'D' class societies and ^{in the} cases of misappropriation of funds by the end of the decade. Nearly 10 per cent of the societies are in the 'D' class. So also as many as 8 per cent of the societies are involved in the misappropriation of funds. Though the study of the few best societies gives a very satisfactory picture of the performance of the movement at their level, at the aggregative level, however, it gets strewn with the problems of smaller size of the societies, non-participation of the members in the work, greater reliance on non-member workers, declining tendencies in the turnover, wages and employment of Adivasis but an increase in the number of D class societies and ⁱⁿ the cases of misappropriation of funds. It is necessary that such defects in the movement should get removed as early as possible.

Achievement of the objectives and scope for further development

It may be recapitulated here that the movement was lodged with the four objectives of eliminating the contractors, ensuring the Adivasis of a full wage and a share in the profit from the forest work, training them in the management of the co-operative life and bringing about an all round development of the Adivasi communities. From the earlier analyses, it is evident that the objective of ensuring a full wage and a share in the profit has been fully achieved whereas the other objectives are only partly achieved.

The contractors are still exploiting around 40 per cent of the coupes. Even in the Thana circle wherein the societies had made a good progress, the contractors had exploited 314 coupes and the societies, 294 coupes in the year 1968-69. In the Nasik circle in which Dhulia district

is located, however, only one coupe was allotted to the contractor during that year. Much progress, therefore, has to be made as yet to achieve the objective of eliminating the contractor fully from all areas.

All efforts are being made to train the Adivasis in the management of co-operative life but this objective is also partly achieved as a number of posts in the societies are still held by the non-Adivasis. The difficulties in the replacement of the experienced staff and the availability of competent experienced Adivasis must be the main handicap in the fuller achievement of this objective.

The last objective of bringing about an all round development of the Adivasi communities through the societies is again only feebly achieved. Except for creating the leadership, bringing the Adivasis in urban contact and rationalizing the wages, there do not appear to be any major impacts of the societies in inducing an all round development of the Adivasis. The step taken by the Government to constitute a Central Adivasi Welfare fund, therefore, appears to be an appropriate step to do something more to achieve this objective.

Despite these partial achievements, the role which the forest labourers' co-operative societies have played in the Adivasi life, cannot be under-estimated. This has been explicit in all parts of the earlier analyses. Though there are certain defects in the societies at the aggregative level, the study of the best societies suggests that considerable improvements can be made in the societies in the State to make the movement an instrument of welfare of the Adivasis. There should be therefore, good scope for organizing many more societies throughout the State. If it is assumed that around 1900 coupes are available for exploitation every year in the State and that a reasonably

sized society should exploit around three to four coupes every year the number of societies could go up to even 600. It may not be, however, worthwhile to merely boost up the number of societies as a very reasonable volume of the material must be made available to every society for the exploitation. The spatial distribution of the societies appears to be a very important consideration in the future growth of the movement.

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