

THE
SILENT REVOLUTION

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By:
A. Ram Bhat

THE SILENT REVOLUTION

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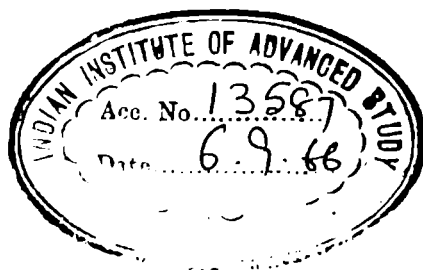
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PREFACE

India's villages hold the key to her future. During our struggle for independence, therefore, the nation's leaders made it clear that they wanted freedom not because they valued it for its own sake, but because it would make it possible to bring about social and economic development of the masses of people through raising the standard of living and reducing the inequalities perpetuated over long centuries of foreign rule.

The Community Development and National Extension Service became the first Five Year Plan's principal prongs of attack on the triple evils of poverty, hunger and ignorance, which enveloped the 558,069 villages of India accounting for 82 per cent of the country's population.

The programme today has brought about a silent revolution in the countryside, has captured the imagination of the people and covers more than half the country. It is the product of India's own genius, and several of its features distinguish it from similar programmes in other countries.

When the Community Development programme was launched in October, 1952 with the purpose of bringing about all round development in the rural areas of the country, there was a great paucity of social workers for a task which required for its implementation thousands of workers fully trained and properly orientated to undertake the stupendous task of the social and economic revolution. The Ministry of Community Development established a number of

centres to give the necessary training to provide the necessary orientation.

Further thinking on the subject led to the realisation that the success of the Community Development programme depends on the active participation in its implementation by the youth of the country, and that the problem of training of the vast number of workers could be eased if the universities could introduce the subject of Community Development in their syllabi and post-graduate courses as a part of the curriculum. In fact, the University of Delhi had already included the subject in their courses of study, and the University of Aligarh had conducted some research about the reactions of the countryside to the programme.

Consultation between the universities and the Government led to the recommendation that while institutions specialising in social work might be given a complete paper for the subject, other institutes may arrange for a series of lectures on subjects such as (1) historical background of the rural development programme; (2) philosophy and concept of Community Development programme and the importance of people's initiative and participation; (3) organisational set up of the programme at various levels; (4) various phases of the programme; (5) evaluation; and (6) Community Development work in various countries outside India.

The importance attached to the subject by the universities is clear from the fact that 18 of them have already accepted the recommendation and have started imparting education in Community Development, and 11 others are considering the implementation of the recommendation.

The 34th annual meeting of the Inter-University Board of India, held at Chandigarh on February 23 and 24, agreed to the inclusion of the subject of Community Development in the syllabi of graduate and post-graduate classes of all universities in the country, in order to promote among the students a spirit to serve the nation through the inculcation of an awareness among them of the problems confronting the rural areas and also knowledge of the methods adopted for solving the problems. The inclusion of Community Development was recommended, so that after the completion of their education, a properly equipped and orientated band of workers may be available for the successful implementation of the programme.

In order to acquaint the universities with the various aspects of the programme, a list of 21 publications was recommended. On a perusal of these books, however, one has perforce to confess that they deal with individual aspects of the programme and that there is no single volume which could make all aspects of the programme intelligible to the student.

This book, written in popular style, is, therefore, offered in the sincere hope that it would meet the growing demand of the common reader for a book which could give him an idea of the programme in its entirety.

The book does not claim to be very comprehensive. The only claim it makes is that it would give the reader a general idea about all aspects of the programme, about the philosophy and concept of the National Extension Service and Community Development, about the historical background of the movement in India, about what it had achieved in other

countries, and about the innovations it has introduced into India's administrative machinery, to bring it nearer to the people of rural India. The aim of the book is to arouse the leaders of the India of tomorrow to share the initiative and responsibility for this programme of "aided self-help". How far it has succeeded in its objective is for the readers to judge.

New Delhi.
December, 1958.

Author

Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

FOREWORD

The author appears to have taken great pains in studying the conditions prevailing in Indian villages and the role of Community Development and Extension Movements in meeting the problems of production and uplift of village society. The history and the pattern of these Movements have been comprehensively analysed. It may not be possible to agree with the author in regard to his diagnosis or all his conclusions. But, on the whole, he has made a critical and balanced analysis and appraisal of the position. Studies of certain phases of the Community Development Movement or of village life have been undertaken from time to time, but this attempt in which the author has tried to tackle the subject in its entirety is laudable.

I wish many more studies of this nature were undertaken by persons interested in this very important subject.

New Delhi.
March 5, 1959.

Sd.|- T. N. Singh,
Member,
Planning Commission.

Dy. Minister,
Community Development,
India.

New Delhi, March 7, 1959.

MESSAGE

The silent revolution brought about in the countryside by the Community Development programme is one of the most outstanding features of the post-freedom era. It has not only stirred the people of rural India but also captured the imagination of the people of several under-developed countries.

Although the subject of Community Development now forms part of the training courses for administrators of all categories, of the curriculum of degree courses of a score of universities and for questions set for competitive examinations at various levels, till now there has been no single book dealing with all aspects of this vital programme. I am very happy, therefore, that an attempt has been made in this little book to give the necessary information, in an intelligible manner, about the philosophy and concept of the Community Development. It also provides the historical background of the movement in India, its achievements and the innovations which it has introduced in India's administrative machinery so as to bring it nearer to the people of rural India.

I welcome this publication, which, I am sure, will be a useful addition to rural libraries.

Sd.|- B. S. Murthy.

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Prime Minister Nehru inaugurating Community Development Programme in Alipur Block on October 2nd, 1952.

CHAPTER I

INDIAN VILLAGER: THE FORGOTTEN MAN

When freedom came to India, people looked forward to building a new life. Their aspirations and hopes were raised. The Government, however, had to get down immediately to tackling various difficult problems.

The supreme need of the hour was the *rehabilitation* of ten million refugees who had crossed the borders of partitioned India. This task was immediately attended to.

Several other difficult problems also came up and solutions had to be found. Big multi-purpose schemes, such as Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, Damodar Valley, Tungabhadra and many similar projects, were launched to harness the waters of mighty rivers for diverting flood waters to irrigate parched fields and supply power for industries. The existing roads were widened and new ones built. The railway network throughout the country was also extended. To meet the requirements of the worn-out railway system, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works was set up.

To meet the demands of air and coastal traffic, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. and Vishakhapatnam Shipbuilding Yard were built, and to meet the requirements of machine tools a Machine Tool Factory was set up at Bangalore. Big iron and steel mills were put up to produce the wherewithals of modern economy and large-scale exploration was undertaken to search oil from the bowels of the earth. To acquire and disseminate knowledge, a chain of laboratories was set up, besides engineering and technologi-

cal institutes. Trombay became the principal centre for harnessing the energy hidden within the atom.

All these were to arm Man with tremendous powers. To ensure that these were properly used, it was necessary that Man should become enlightened.

The millenium that was being ushered in appeared to be for those living in towns and not the bulk of the 380 million people of this country. To mean something, freedom was to bring some tangible benefits to this bulk of rural India, which accounted for 82 per cent of the population and which presented a picture of naked poverty and malnutrition.

The forgotten men, of rural India, were not better placed in life than the displaced persons on whom nearly Rs. 100 crores had been spent. For several centuries their villages had been drained of all the wealth, in order to enrich life in the big cities and towns, from where foreign rulers—and their Indian proteges—had controlled the administration of the country.

While revenues from agriculture, 15 to 20 years ago, formed 50 to 60 per cent of the total revenue of State—and even today forms 20 to 25 per cent of the revenues of State Government—the expenditure incurred by the Central and State Governments on improvement of agriculture and the co-operative movement was indeed negligible. Before World War II, it amounted to Re. 0.50 per head of the agricultural population. The Grow More Food campaigns of 1947-48 and 1951-52 too covered only 2 to 4 per cent of the total cultivated area. What was true of agriculture was also true of other spheres of activity.

The people of the countryside were starved to live on marginal subsistence. Because, in recent

generations, they had known nothing better, they were advised to resign themselves to their fate, or to curse their evil destiny for the failure of the monsoon.

The officers engaged either in civic administration or in the building of roads, irrigation, agriculture and public health, etc. for the villages, surprisingly, were all picked up from a new class of people which the British rulers had brought into being. Even agricultural demonstration farms, museums, libraries and laboratories were all built in the cities.

The people from the villages had to come to the law courts and the police stations in the big towns. The doctors, the educationists and the engineers and the social workers all lived in the cities, leaving the villager to fend for himself—and suffer.

Panchayats, which had existed in villages as an important administrative unit, with large autonomy, since *times immemorial*, had gradually disintegrated and required to be built up.

Any development plan had also to be related to the material, intellectual and the spiritual life of the bulk of India's rural population.

All this called for a reversal of the one-way traffic which had drained the vitals of the Indian countryside in the direction of India's cities and towns. It called for an emphasis on providing the necessary amenities to the rural population by sending agricultural experts, doctors, educationists, engineers, social workers from the towns to the villages.

The programme also called for the evolution of a diversified economy through the provision of occupa-

tion to the enormous volume of unemployment and disguised unemployment that existed in the agricultural field, through the encouragement of cottage and small-scale industries, large-scale industries and tertiary occupations—*i.e.* occupations subsidiary to agriculture. For, owing to seasonal conditions, work in agriculture was possible only for a portion of the year, *i.e.* 3 to 4 months in over four-fifths of the country where there was no irrigation except monsoon rain, and 6 to 8 months in areas where irrigational facilities were available.

It is to tackle this gigantic task that the Government of India set up, in 1952, the Community Projects Administration, as a part of the Planning Commission. It was this Administration's job to initiate the National Extension Service and the Community Development programme. The progress of the programme was phenomenal and in September, 1956 the Community Projects Administration was replaced by a full-fledged Ministry of Community Development and the Administrator appointed a Minister of State. The programme continued to expand at a great speed, and in March, 1958, Panchayats were transferred from the Ministry of Health to the Ministry of Community Development. This was followed, in December, 1958, by the transfer of Co-operation and Co-operative Movement from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture to the Ministry of Community Development which was redesignated as the "Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation." Behind these changes lies the story of the unfolding of a great movement—the National Extension Service and Community Development and its "tools".

CHAPTER II

EXTENSION & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT : PHILOSOPHY AND CONCEPT

Extension means transmission of knowledge of the advances of science and techniques with a view to bridging the gap between research, on the one hand, and the practices of producers, on the other. Its aim is to ensure the best use of land, water and other resources through instilling in the people an ambition and a determination to work for a higher standard of life. Some of the ingredients of extension are: Education for all village people; changing of attitudes, knowledge and skills; working with men and women, young people and boys and girls, to answer their needs and their wants; helping people to help themselves; "learning by doing" and "seeing is believing"; teaching people what to want, as well as how to work out ways of satisfying these wants and inspiring them to achieve their desires; development of individuals in their day-to-day living, development of their leaders, their society and their world as a whole; working together to expand the welfare and happiness of the people with their own families, their own village, their own country and the world; working in harmony with the culture of the people; a living relationship between the village workers and the village people based on respect and trust for each other and on sharing of joys and sorrows, which results in friendship through which village extension work continues.

Extension is a two-way channel—it brings scientific information to the village people, and also takes the problems of the village people to the

scientific institutes for solutions. It is a continuous educational process, in which both learner and teacher contribute and receive.

Of the various extension methods and techniques which each extension worker uses, one is the Direct Contact method, namely face-to-face relations with village people, individually and in groups, through meetings to understand their interests, their problems and attitude etc. The Village Level Worker should be sincere in his discussions and must avoid arguments, be sure of facts and always friendly and appreciative.

There is also the Result Demonstration method which is useful in demonstrating various practices, e.g. use of improved cultivation practices, of improved seeds, fertilizers, compost green manuring, and improved implements etc. etc.

Thirdly, there is the method of Demonstration which is used for teaching the people how to do something new. It is a unique method for functioning as teachers and can be usefully employed to demonstrate—in building a smokeless chulha, planting seeds in lines, making soap, etc. etc.

The fourth extension method is the method of Working with Village Leaders. The Village Level Worker has to find out the pattern of village leadership, in formal as well as informal groups, and work through them.

When extension techniques are popularised through group mobilization or community organisation, the programme becomes one of community development for tackling common problems with a view to improving the conditions of the community. One expert has defined community development as

“organised effort to improve the conditions of community life and the capacity for community integration and self-direction”.

But definitions of “Community Development” differ with different countries and there is no hard and fast rule or model that each community must follow. In fact, we see the local genius in every country reflected in various forms. In the United States, for instance, it is generally taken to mean “community improvement”.

Nevertheless, in under-developed countries of the world, Community Development has become a universal method for bringing about social and economic uplift of the community through democratic methods, based on self-help and co-operative principles.

Some basic principles which go to make a programme one of community development are: The people must have some urgent unfulfilled needs and they must be aware of these needs. Activities undertaken must correspond to the felt and expressed basic needs of the community. There must be an active and democratic participation by the people in the planning and implementation of the programmes. The people must also be aware of their own capacity for satisfying some of the needs through their own efforts and resources and others with the assistance and guidance of the agency. Change of attitude is more important than material achievement. There must be community organisation for action through formal and informal groups and also identification, encouragement and training of local leadership. Women and youth must participate in the programme. Government should participate only in (a) administrative arrangements for financial and technical assistance and supplies; (b) recruitment and train-

ing of personnel; (c) organisation of research and evaluation; and (d) adoption of consistent policies.

As a rule, the extension and community development programmes in other countries have worked in different compartments and there has seldom been a meeting point.

CHAPTER III

EXTENSION IN INDIA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Extension techniques had been tried in India long before independence under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi near Wardha, of poet Rabindranath Tagore at Sriniketan, of Spencer Hatch of the Y.M.C.A. at Marthandam in Kerala and of F. L. Brayne at Gurgaon. Baroda State had tried the N.E.S. experiment, while Bombay had its Sarvodaya Programme and Madras its Firka Development. It would appear worthwhile to discuss these experiments a little in detail.

Gandhiji wanted the villagers to feel that it was their own country. "I shall work", he said, "for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice." He sought to make the villagers self-reliant and self-sufficient and carried on his experiments at Sabarmati and Sevagram. The first concern of every village, according to him, "will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playgrounds for adults and children. It will maintain a village hall, a village theatre, if possible, and a village school. It will have its own water works.... Education will be compulsory upto the final basic course. As far as possible, every activity will be conducted on the co-operative basis.... There will be no castes.... Non-violence with its technique of Satyagraha and non-cooperation will be the sanction of the village community. There will be compulsory service by

village guards who will be selected by rotation from the registers maintained by the village. The Government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons, annually elected by the villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. They will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. The panchayat will be legislative, judiciary and executive, combined to operate for its year of office."

The 18 items which Gandhiji included in his programme for the emancipation of villagers included: use of khadi; promotion of village industries, e.g. paddy husking, gur-making, oil crushing; weaving; production of neem oil; utilisation of dead cattle; manufacture of hand-made paper, woollen blankets; basic and adult education; rural sanitation; uplift of backward classes; welfare of women; education in public health and hygiene; economic equality; removal of untouchability; communal harmony; prohibition; use of nature cures; propaganda of the mother tongue and Rashtrabhasha.

As a part of his constructive programme he set up the All-India Village Industries Association, the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh and the Basic Education Scheme. He also created a band of constructive workers who were "bound with the poorest in the village by ties of service". The constructive worker constituted the scavenger, the nurse, the arbiter of disputes and a teacher of the children: "His house will be a busy hive of useful activities centering round spinning."

Rabindranath Tagore was also a great pioneer of rural welfare. As early as 1908 we find him exhorting the youth to work together and go to the villages for organising welfare work. In 1914, he founded *Sriniketan* in order to bring about all-round improvement of village life. He set up rural reconstruction

centres in villages Atrai, Regurampur, Raninagar, Sanahar, Tilakpur, Adamdighi, Nasaratpur and Talara in the Kaligram pargana of his Zamindari.

The programme of rural development, according to the poet, included: rural sanitation; adult education; campaign against malaria, tuberculosis and other epidemic diseases; measures to prevent infantile mortality; supply of drinking water; creation of cooperative societies; and the provision of relief in times of flood and famine. One of the important contributions of the poet to rural development work was his stress on deriving joy through work. He also tried to create a class of functionaries who were to identify themselves with the people whom they served.

Sriniketan was not a demonstration farm. Its principal objective was to study rural problems, help villagers develop their resources by adopting better methods of cultivation, improving the livestock, developing co-operation and village sanitation. It was also to create a spirit of self-help and to develop village leadership imbued with high ideals of service and sacrifice. Tagore hoped that these efforts would touch the heart of our village neighbours and help them in reasserting themselves in a new social order. "If we give a start to a few villages they would perhaps be an inspiration to some others—and my life work will have been done."

Tagore wished to illustrate a few basic principles by winning the confidence of a few villagers at first. If and when they get confidence in their power to progress, he believed, they would be able to say just when they needed professional guidance.

As part of his programme, a number of night schools were started, educational facilities for women

were organised and circulating libraries were set up. Improved implements too were introduced and mechanical workshops opened. Co-operative health societies were organised. Centres for giving training to women in cooking, embroidery and needle-work were also started.

The two principal weaknesses of this programme were an absence of scientific, economic and sociological research and of the help of State machinery. The Universities were not interested in field studies, or in establishing contacts with people in villages far beyond their immediate control. Tagore, therefore, established a rural institute attached to his university and yet not under its academic control; an institute, that is, which could have a link with the governmental agencies, but not be operated as part of the routine civil service.

The Government machinery was unwilling to take part in rural development, or to show responsibility for rural welfare. The collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order occupied most of the time of British officials who never cared to understand the problems brought to the fore by the Sriniketan experiment.

Therefore, although the results achieved in a small area and in a few villages were notable and the standard of living of the people had improved perceptibly and the people had gained self-confidence and realized the importance of self-help, the results of the experiment could not be applied on a wider scale. The poet lamented: "This work of nation-building, of building a better India, could not go ahead as this is not the work of an individual, or of a group—but of all."

The project set up in 1921 at Marthandam, 25 miles south of Trivandrum in Travancore, too, was

the result of the realization by a few leaders of the Indian Y.M.C.A. that if the poverty of India's teeming millions was to be eliminated, more of attention should be paid to rural areas, and that the Y.M.C.A. should go out from the cities and towns to the villages.

The nucleus of the experiment was about 100 village youth associations, in Marthandam and 40 surrounding villages situated within a radius of three miles, which had banded themselves for the good of their communities.

The Rural Demonstration Centre at Marthandam was thus to guide the village Y.M.C.As. into wider activities. It was, in effect, an extension centre serving the surrounding areas based on "self-help with intimate expert counsel" and provided a common platform to people of all castes and creeds. It was a non-official venture led by Dr. Spencer Hatch, according to whom the purpose of the centre was "to bring about a complete upward development towards a more abundant life for rural people spiritually, mentally, physically, socially and economically." The programme tried to embrace all aspects of rural life, also all age-groups and all castes and creeds. Effort was also made to draw up a well-adapted, comprehensive programme after thoroughly understanding the people, their lives and their needs, keeping in view the long-term perspective. Trained personnel were put on the job and work was started with simple methods of demonstrations and discussions.

The aid of rural dramas, exhibitions, inter-village competitions was properly secured. The experiment succeeded only partially, despite the efficiency and enthusiasm of trained personnel and co-ordinated

and co-operative functioning of the entire community mobilized through an active propaganda campaign.

The Sarvodaya programme which evoked great popular enthusiasm in Bombay was Gandhian in conception. Its main features were simplicity, non-violence, sanctity of labour and reconstruction of human values. It aimed at raising the standard of living, a scientific development of agriculture, promotion of cottage industries, spread of literacy, medical and health facilities, recreational facilities and the development of village panchayats.

The most important and certainly the first rural development scheme launched by Government, as distinct from private individuals, or groups of individuals or movements, was the Rural Reconstruction Scheme launched in Gurgaon in Punjab in the twenties.

This scheme, or "experiment", undertaken under the guidance of a British civilian Mr. F. L. Brayne, was based on the principle that the central figure of rural economy, i.e. the villager, should be made to take greater interest in himself and in his village before any results could be achieved, and that the role of the Government agency should be only to combine and co-ordinate these activities in order to assist, help and guide the villager. To quote Mr. Brayne, the object of the scheme was "to jerk the villager out of his old groove, convince him that improvement is possible, and also to kill his fatalism by demonstrating that climate, disease and pests can be successfully fought." The object of the scheme was also to deal with "the whole of village life," and to "take the whole district as the field of operations and to deluge the areas with every form of propaganda and publicity that we could devise or adopt or afford," to deal with uplift work as a mass movement, or as a combined assault,

so that no area, no part of life and no method of attack is neglected.

The following sub-heads under which development work was undertaken, are suggestive:— (1) Institutional work; (2) Rural sanitation; (3) Agricultural development; (4) Education; (5) Co-operation; (6) Social reform, and (7) Co-ordination and publicity.

The emphasis of the programme was on cleanliness, sanitation and improvement of homes and women, on increasing agricultural yield and stopping waste. The Village Guides, selected to work in villages, were trained in an *ad hoc* manner to attend to agricultural improvements, dairy farming, afforestation, erection of bunds, pastures, communications and encouragement of co-operation. The Gurgaon experiment fired the imagination of people and Brayne was put in charge of rural reconstruction work all over the province, but the experiment was a failure. It proved a failure because there was no permanent organisation to look after the achievements in various fields of work.

The people's enthusiasm faded after Brayne left the job. No permanent imprint of the good work was left on the culture of the people. According to Brayne himself, marvellous changes had been brought about and there was a feeling of life and movement in the air, but this could not last because it was "not being done by villagers determined to have a better life but by villagers determined to please their district officers. A good enough motive in its way, but not the motive we are looking for. There is no permanence about this kind of work."

The Firka Development scheme launched in Madhya State was also Government-sponsored. It aimed at the attainment of the Gandhian ideal of

Gram Swaraj by bringing about not only educational, economic, sanitary and other improvements in villages but also by making the people self-confident and self-reliant. The scheme was launched in the last quarter of 1946 in 34 Firkas throughout the State, and on April 1, 1950 it was extended to another 50 additional Firkas at the rate of two Firkas for each district. The selection of the Firkas was based on considerations of general backwardness of the area and the possibilities for intensifying the production of handloom cloth and other cottage industries.

The scheme, which aimed at tackling the rural problems as a whole as well as in parts, consisted of short-term plans for the development of rural communications, water supply, formation of panchayats, organisation of co-operatives and programme for sanitation, as also long-term plans to make the areas self-sufficient through agricultural, irrigational and livestock improvements and development of Khadi and cottage industries.

The Collector, who was primarily responsible for the successful working of the scheme in his district, was assisted by a Rural Welfare Officer of the rank of Naib Tehsildar, who was put in charge of two to three selected Firkas. Each Firka was divided into 5 to 10 groups of villages which were put in charge of Gram Sevaks who were of the rank of Revenue Inspectors. Each Firka or group of Firkas was provided with special staff like agricultural fieldmen, administrative mistries, P.W.D. supervisors and minor irrigation overseers. To associate the people with the implementation of the programme, Development Committees, consisting of officials and non-officials, were constituted in each Firka. At the State level there was a State Rural Welfare Board comprising the heads of departments and influential cons-

tructive workers. It was this Board that drew up the comprehensive plan of Firka Development in October, 1947.

In order to effectively stimulate a healthy competition between the official and non-official agencies, the Government of Madras decided to entrust the development schemes to non-official agencies engaged in doing constructive work. Five non-official agencies were actually selected and paid grants for doing Firka Development of (1) rural communications; (2) drinking water facilities; (3) sanitation; (4) agriculture; and (5) Khadi and other village industries.

The efforts made under the Firka Development Scheme, it was later realised, were restricted in scope and lacked co-ordination. They proved ineffective owing largely to lack of direction, support and encouragement from the central authority.

The next significant experiment was carried out at Nilokheri, originally built to rehabilitate 7,000 displaced persons and later integrated with the 100 villages surrounding what came to be the rural-cum-urban township. It was built round the vocational training centre that was transferred from Kurukshetra in July, 1948, to the 1,100 acres of swampy land on the Delhi-Ambala highway. The central figure of this project was Shri S. K. Dey, now Union Minister for Community Development and Co-operation.

The scheme, called "Mazdoor Manzil" aimed at self-sufficiency for the rural-cum-urban township in all essential requirements of life, except iron and steel, coal and cement, petroleum and allied products. It proposed to do this by training the people to work according to their native propensities, by providing the people scope for full-time work, and by reducing to the minimum transport and middleman activities,

thus enabling the transaction between the consumer and the producer to approach a virtual barter.

The author of the scheme laid down that Nilokheri shall harbour only those who would work for a living, who would not earn a rental on other people's toil and who would not have earnings other than the return of their own labour; that all citizens of the township shall be equal outside the sphere of work; that all citizens shall have equal opportunities for the fulfilment of self in the scale of life; that no citizen who is willing to work shall starve while a single other citizen has a surplus of food or the wherewithals for the procurement of the same; that children shall have equal rights to education; that the sick shall receive equal medical aid; that religion shall be a private affair of the individual and shall have no compartmental place in the group life of the community; that no man or woman shall dictate love, affection or respect from an individual or the community other than what is offered as a spontaneous gift for personal services received by the community.

The year 1949-50 started with a blitz speed of activities in all directions—construction of houses, industrial buildings, overhaul of electric generators, and machine tools procured almost exclusively from disposals. Soon there were nearly a thousand residential houses built of bricks. There were also various shopping centres and several workshops, a polytechnic, an engineering school, a high school, a hospital, a primary school and a basic school with training centres for B.D.O's, SEO's and VLW's to follow.

Seven hundred and fifty acres of swampy land were reclaimed and put under the plough, with necessary irrigational facilities. The township produced its own food requirements. Vegetable cultivation at home, with one's own sweat during off-hours,

became a religion. Agriculture for an hour, thrice a week, was made compulsory for all school children, as also for the trainees of the Polytechnic.

The polytechnic offered intensive training in all the basic crafts, such as carpentry, blacksmithy, foundry, sheet metal. It had a fitter shop and a machine shop and sections for engine mechanics, tractor mechanics, radio mechanics and courses for wireman, electrician, printing, draftsman and in commercial art. It also offered an overseer's course in mechanical and electrical engineering. The polytechnic provided hostel and allied facilities for about 400 trainees, the total student population of the township numbering 2,000.

The school's courses ranged from the nursery to the high school stage and enrolled about 1100 students who were expected to wear the same uniform, be they the children of the rich or the poor. Indeed, children of the poor were offered facilities with extra nourishment in the school at community expense. The students staged dramas and musical soirees to collect community funds, apart from the income yielded by the vegetable garden attached to the school.

The hospital offered 24 beds for male and female patients, with all the essential amenities. It was housed in a commodious, graceful building surrounded by green fields and potential orchards.

On the production side, apart from agriculture on an extensive scale, the colony ran a dairy, a poultry farm, a piggery farm, a horticulture garden, a printing press, a ready-made garments factory, engineering workshops, a mechanised wood workshop, a tannery, leather works and chemical factories producing soap, potassium nitrate from salt-petre, bone

meal, glue and fertilizer. It also had its own brick-kiln, its own power house, water works and transport, cottage industries such as handloom weaving, dyeing and calico printing, hosiery, tinsmithy, bakery, oil crushing, atta and rice mills, threadball-making, chick and polish and a multitude of other small crafts that were conspicuous for their organised activities.

The productive trades provided employment to about 1175 out of the total employable adults numbering 1400 and were designed to take in substantial additions as they grew.

The colony was not only self-sufficient in all her basic needs but, what is more important, it began to pay back, with interest on the investment by the Government of India, strictly according to the stipulations laid down in the scheme.

The industries and crafts were run predominantly on co-operative lines, or under Government auspices, Individual enterprises were an exception rather than a rule. The traditional agencies, e.g. contractors and finance-capitalists, were kept scrupulously away from the purview of the scheme.

The Nilokheri scheme, designed with an eye to the eventual balanced economy for the whole country, later drew in 100 villages in the neighbourhood, which were given a special treatment.

The experiment was further to serve as a forerunner of the total war against poverty, ignorance and disease, which was to be waged if the nation was to survive the wreckage wrought by centuries.

Nilokheri indeed was to be a bridge to New India in the sense that the sons and daughters of Nilokheri were to grow into the specimens of the first free citizens. It was to be the pilot designed to usher in a new age.

Curiously enough, and despite many precautions, to the contrary, the pilot laboratory grew also into a tower much taller than was originally conceived. Unfortunately for it, however, the tower had grown, not naturally, but through the injection of the tonic from the "big father" at Delhi.

Another interesting all-round experiment carried out about this time (1950-51) was Albert Mayer's pilot project at Etawah comprising 97 villages with a population of 79,000 and the project at Gorakhpur-Deoria comprising 100 villages. These projects were launched to "see what degree of productive and social improvement, as well as of initiative, self-confidence and co-operation, can be achieved in the villages of a district not the beneficiary of any set of special circumstances and resources, e.g. hydro-electrical development or large-scale industry or other non-typical high cost and high priority development." It was also to "ascertain how quickly those results may be attainable, consistent with their remaining permanently part of the people's mental, spiritual and technical equipment and outlook after the special pressure is lifted."

The Etawah project had two sections: (1) the operational section which was later transferred to food production department, except for a nucleus which was kept in the shape of workshop for the repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery, implements and tools, as well as for small constructional work, e.g. seed stores, residential quarters for the staff, model houses, *panchayat-ghars* and other minor works of public utility in connection with village planning, and (2) the services and supply section.

was Rs. 2,37,700, the actual expenditure amounting to Rs. 2,23,500.

The Etawah project had considerable achievements to its credit, but it led to the conclusion that a development programme must embrace all aspects of rural economy and that "until the village people gain self-confidence from a number of demonstrated successes, until the village participation methods have had a broadcasting and alerting effect and until carefully nurtured initiative begins to manifest itself spontaneously—even though partially—one must not prematurely attempt to develop or rely on leadership."

However, all these experiments by individuals, or groups of individuals, did not touch anything more than the fringe of the gigantic problem of changing the face of rural India.

Even the Grow More Food campaigns, which were launched with the object of stepping up agricultural production to meet the food shortage, it was felt, were very much restricted in scope, and the officials and non-officials associated with them had regarded the campaigns only as temporary measures. The failure of these campaigns indicated clearly that to become a success, it must be integrated with an overall programme of production of foodgrains, cotton and jute, which could meet the needs of industrial raw materials.

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, which followed, recommended an organisation for intensive rural development work which could reach every farmer and cover all fields of rural economy, so as to assist a co-ordinated development of rural life as a whole. The Committee even suggested a pattern of staff consisting of a B.D.O., four technical officers and 12 Village Level Workers for a tehsil or taluka,

at a net additional recurring cost per year of Rs. 29,400 per block of 120 villages, to be shared equally between the Central and the State Governments. The Committee's idea, of course, was that once basic staff was posted, resources of different development departments would be concentrated in the Block areas.

All these experiments of rural development work, Grow More Food campaigns and Grow More Food Enquiry proved that rural development was a continuous and indivisible process and that, to be a success, it must embrace all aspects of rural life. The experiments also provided suggestive answers to many important questions on how the rural development programme could be carried out on a priority basis under the First Five Year Plan.

The Planning Commission, therefore, thought of shaping the village development programme, so as to attack the basic problems of hunger, disease and ignorance, through a self-help programme of extension and Community Development wherein the people's leaders would take on themselves to get improved practices in agriculture, health, education, etc., accepted by the people.

CHAPTER IV

INDIA'S MULTIPURPOSE "MOVEMENT"

India's Welfare State in action required an application of the results of isolated experiments carried out by individual organisations of the people on a countrywide scale, and to all fields of activity. While extension programmes in other countries had been related to agriculture, India's villages, which had remained almost self-contained units, with economic and social progress being in a stage of arrest for several centuries, needed the application of results of research to all fields of activity in rural economy.

There were some unique features which showed that India's case was not beyond redemption. For, although the techniques of agriculture in India, except for minor changes, had kept at a level which obtained in Europe before the industrial revolution, Indian research in agriculture and animal husbandry had won international recognition. The ploughs used in India were age-old. By and large it could be said that science had not reached the average cultivator and had scarcely affected his techniques of cultivation. His attitudes were such that the planners of Sindri Fertilizers, in the early stages, entertained grave doubts whether the Indian cultivator would ever make use of chemical fertilizers for increasing food production. But the cultivator responded marvellously well and today the demand for fertilizers is phenomenal.

What was true of research in agriculture was also true of the results of research in other fields, e.g.

irrigation, animal husbandry, fisheries, cottage industries, etc.

Again, while on the one hand we had some cultivators whose yields per acre compared favourably with the highest in any part of the world—particularly in villages around every Government farm—on the other, the average yield remained very poor, if not the poorest in the world.

This was also true of other spheres of activities of the village life. The village artisan, for instance, used implements that could be traced to several thousand years ago. The advances made by modern science had not had any impact whatsoever on his techniques of production.

The problems facing rural India were, therefore, in a way, unique and called for drastic measures to remedy the situation. These measures could not be the usual ones. For, industrialisation, which had solved the acute problems of many countries, could not be the complete answer to India's problems. Nor, for that matter, could the agricultural production be the solution. Indeed, even the Fiscal Commission set up by the Government of India in 1949 emphasised that rationalisation of agriculture and industrial advance were in reality parts of a single programme in India. As has been well said in regard to backward economies, it said, "one might consider industrialisation as one chapter of agrarian reconstruction, or one might treat the improvement of agrarian production as one chapter of industrialisation. What matters is to remember that the two are inter-connected parts of one problem." Improved agriculture benefits industries by increased production and higher quality of raw materials and industrialisation, in turn, "promotes agricultural development and efficiency by providing it with power, better techniques and improved marketing, transport and other services."

The combined effect was to create an internal market for goods and services which would give added impetus to agriculture and industrial production.

Any programme of rural development in India had, therefore, to instruct the village people in advances made by agricultural and domestic science, namely improved techniques of farming and rural living, to bring them the latest results of research in regard to quality and cost, as well as the quantity of production; to draw the attention of research institutions to the agricultural and home problems that required study; and to provide opportunities for people to get together for the purpose of learning from each other and developing leadership in agricultural affairs.

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee set up by the Ministry of F. & A. in February 1952 emphasized (1) that all aspects of rural life were inter-related and that no lasting results could be achieved if individual aspects of it were dealt with in isolation, (2) that, as rural improvement is a permanent problem covering all aspects of life, and as this should be the main concern of a Welfare State, the entire machinery of the Government should be reorganised and equipped for the discharge of these responsibilities, and (3) that in a democratic society, social change can come only from the people, namely through techniques of group or community mobilization.

The Indian experiment of Community Development was a unique programme in that it utilised the group formation or community mobilization methods for popularising extension techniques. India's extension programme, in other words, aimed at developing channels between the higher centres of information, on one hand, and villages, on the other, and at training the personnel to carry the agricultural, health, educational and other types of scientific and technical

knowledge to more than 275 million villagers, through group methods to increase the spread or adoption by individuals and families of improved practices in these various fields.

In fact, the Community Development programme in India can be distinguished from the Community Development programmes in other countries by its multipurpose character; integrated planning and co-ordinated approach; principle of aided self-help and institutional development.

Another unique feature of this programme is the decentralisation of Governmental authority in an attempt to transform the structure and the methods of working of the entire administration. By constituting the Block as the Planning and Development unit, it has taken the administration nearer to the people.

Yet another important feature of the programme is that we in India are attempting to start processes of economic development, social change and evolution of democracy, in a very inter-related and balanced manner, each supporting the other. This is so because we aim at developing the three basic pillars of rural development, namely, the Panchayat, the Co-operative and the Village School.

Problems facing India needed consultants or experts who could help the villagers know about the sources of assistance and also to interpret their needs and desires to others. We had also to break the lethargy of the people, as also the inertia of village institutions, e.g. Panchayats, etc. and to make them share the responsibility for their own development through effective methods of local group formation, development of local bodies and the mobilization and organisation of responsive and responsible village communities.

The programme became a part and parcel of the nation's development programme. It devised methods which could be used by all development departments attempting to reach and serve village people with technical aid and also to provide channels and methods for reaching village people through the organisation of rural communities.

Unlike the general purpose worker in some other countries, we have a multipurpose Village Level Worker, who is the common agent of all the development departments.

India's programme thus became, in effect, the integration of the extension programme with group and community organisation. The integrated programme became a method by which all the technical services of Government were channelized to assist the growth of the development potential of hundreds and thousands of organised village groups. It promised to be success, because the long-standing poverty and low standard of living in the villages had created a latent discontent which was ready to be channelized for meeting the felt aspirations of the people. That is why the Community Development programme in India has often been called the Community Development Movement.

To quote Carl C. Taylor, an expert on Community Development :

"The community development programme in India is the most gigantically planned and governmentally administered programme of its kind in the history of the world. It has planned and tried some things which have never been tried before, probably the most significant being that of channeling technical and material assistance from all departments and agencies of Government down to villagers through a co-ordinated and integrated scheme of extension administration. It has tried some things which I

believe it could have known would not work well, had it known more about what have been the experiences gained elsewhere in the world, and had it known of the fairly well validated large body of technical knowledge concerning group formation and community mobilization. It has had successes, which, if carefully analyzed and objectively and clearly described, will not only guide its programme in the future, but will be a great contribution to other countries, especially to developing countries which want, or need, to use Community Development Extension methods and programmes of development."

CHAPTER V

THE NEW UNIT OF ADMINISTRATION

When a country is undeveloped and its people are largely uneducated, the initiative for a planned development economy must, of necessity, come from the State machinery. Such initiative, particularly in its early stages, must also be supported by administrative, financial and technical assistance.

If it is to be a success it is also necessary that the State administrative apparatus must get nearer to the people and be decentralised. This poses a question: What should be the size and population of the lowest administrative unit for development work?

For obvious financial and administrative reasons, in India's case this unit could not be the village, there being 580,069 villages in India, 27 per cent of the rural population living in villages with a population of 500 or under, and 25 per cent in villages with a population of between 500 and 1000, some of the villages in the plains and, particularly, in the hilly and tribal areas, being sparsely populated:

For equally obvious reasons, this unit should not be the district, which had been the hub of administrative machinery under the British rulers. The 230 and odd districts, each with a population of about a million, were too big to enable the administrative staff to look to the developmental interests of a large number of people in a Welfare State. So, for that matter was the revenue administrative division or the tehsil or taluka, with its population of 200,000.

The Fiscal Commission had visualised a unit of 40 to 50 villages, placed under an extension officer, assisted by technical staff, working on a demonstration farm, as the agent of all the developmental departments, advising farmers on all questions of improvement of villages. The draft outline of the First Five Year Plan also visualised the creation of an extension officer, with 5 to 6 technical assistants, for every 50 to 60 villages, with a population of 25,000 to 30,000.

The Firka Development scheme in Madras also recognised 25 to 30 villages, split up into 3 to 5 groups of 5 villages each, as the workable unit of development. While there was one Gram Sevak for every group of 5 to 10 villages, three or four Firkas, namely 90 to 100 villages, were placed under one Firka Development Officer, who was assisted by a technical staff at the Firka level and a number of Gram Sevaks at the village level.

The experiment conducted in Etawah was also tried out in 97 villages and when the training-cum-development pilot centres were established in October 1951, with the assistance of Ford Foundation, for imparting training in extension methods, particularly in agriculture, animal husbandry, public health, sanitation and adult education, 100 villages were attached to each training centre located in areas earmarked for intensive cultivation under the Grow More Food campaign, so as to ensure that facilities of services and supplies under the campaign were made available to them.

The Community Projects launched in October, 1952 comprised of 300 villages divided into three Blocks consisting of 100 villages each. The three blocks, grouped together into a Community Project, were placed under the charge of a Community Pro-

ject Officer. The Community Project's 300 villages with an area of 450 to 500 sq. miles and population of 200,000, corresponded approximately, under the existing administrative pattern, to those of tehsil, taluka or sub-division.

One year's experience showed that even the unit of a Community Project, consisting of 300 villages with a population of 200,000, was too large for a Community Project Officer to handle. In any case, the tehsil, which corresponded to the Community Project, had already been the lowest unit of administration below the district level and the technical staff based at tehsil level had not been effective.

In the following year, therefore, the scheme of Community Projects, namely projects of 300 villages and a population of 200,000, was abandoned and a block of 100 villages with 60 to 70 thousand people was made the lowest unit of administration. The work of representatives of all the developmental departments was co-ordinated at Block level by the Block Development Officer.

The 100 villages of the Block are so situated that the B.D.O. and extension staff could reach them by jeep, which vehicle, in fact made the Community Development experiment a success whereas other means of transport had failed before. The Block was further divided into ten Village Level Worker's, or Gram Sevak's circles, each encompassing ten villages within a radius of easy walking or cycling distance.

A block of 100 villages, with a population of 60,000 to 70,000, remains the basic unit of administration for all developmental work.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATIVE PATTERN FOR DEVELOPMENT WORK

Before the attainment of freedom the administrative machinery in India had been designed to look after the functions of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order. The decision to make India a Welfare State imposed another duty on the administrative machinery, namely, to utilize to the maximum advantage the resources of the various development departments in a concerted attack on problems of rural development. This called for radical changes.

Large States had fairly well-organised development departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Panchayat, Rural Engineering, etc. at the level of the district and sometimes tehsil. The activities of these departments were not linked with those of revenue officers who touched village life at many points, or even of the local bodies which, under the law, were responsible for communications, water supply and other services in rural areas. These departments also worked independently of one another, and followed their own individual programmes, without a sense of common objectives.

The Agricultural Officer, for instance, went to villagers and told them that if they used good seeds, their production would be doubled. The animal husbandry officer, if one existed, talked to people only about improved livestock, without relation to other activities. A co-operative officer also went and formed a credit co-operative society, which gave loans until its funds got exhausted and then dragged on without

any utility for a number of years. The sanitary inspector advised people to sleep under mosquito nets and drink water after boiling it. Each of these officers worked in more or less water-tight compartments, and there was no concerted effort to improve all sides of village life through changing the outlook of the farmer and mobilizing local initiative and resources for the betterment of conditions.

The unco-ordinated activities of the different departments were directed from the district and bore little imprint at the village level.

The Community Development administration sought to bring about co-ordination between all these activities. Under its programme, village life, being one and indivisible, was to be treated as one single whole and all the developmental activities were to be co-ordinated, so as to form part of a whole conception of improvement of village life.

The administrative pattern which was evolved was actually based on the recommendations of the Planning Commission in Chapter VII of their report and recommendations contained in Chapter VI of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee's report. It was so designed as to ensure that there was co-ordinated and unified approach by the heads of departments and the activities in the N.E. Blocks and Community Projects.

Under this pattern there was to be a single line organisation, consisting of Chief Secretary and/or Development Commissioner, District Officer, Sub-Divisional Officer, Block Development Officer and Village Level Worker, at the State, district, sub-divisional, block and village levels, working with the best non-official leadership.

It was recognised that the appointment of one representative each of the departments of agriculture,

animal husbandry, co-operation, rural engineering (overseer), public health and village industries at the block level was too inadequate to cover a population of 60,000 to 70,000. It was this realization which led to the concept of the multipurpose Village Level Worker, or the Gram Sevak, who was trained in all aspects of development, and represented all aspects of the Government in his dealings with the people.

Each Block was provided with ten Gram Sevaks, each Gram Sevak catering to the needs of 6 to 7 thousand people.

While the Gram Sevak was the multipurpose representative of all the developmental departments of Government at the village level, it followed as a logical corollary that we should also provide an officer at Block level, to provide co-ordination between the various technical functionaries. This officer was called the Block Development Officer. Besides co-ordination, he was also to look after the general administrative needs, so that the technical officers dealing with various departments could be freed from administrative routine, so as to be able to devote themselves fully to the efficient implementation of the programmes relating to their own departments.

Soon afterwards, it was also realised that for introducing the programme as a whole to the village people the Block Development Officer, who functioned as the administrator and co-ordinator, would need the services of one more specialist to help build up self-reliance in the people and to enable them to plan and implement their own programme. This new functionary was called the Social Education Organiser, and he was to act as a specialist at the Block level in methods of group action and group mobilization. He was expected to work in close collaboration as a team with other specialists at the Block level and with the

Gram Sevak at the village level. Because of the multi-facet character of the programme, social education demanded organised effort. The additional functionary, namely the Social Education Organiser, could work as a staff officer attached to the B.D.O.

In due course it was felt that, while one Social Education Organiser would look to the needs of the male population, another Social Education Organiser—a woman—was required exclusively for the requirements of women.

Under the pattern of administration* which emerged, there was the Central Committee, with Prime Minister as chairman and members of Planning Commission and Ministers for Community Development and Food and Agriculture, etc., as members, to supervise the overall execution of this programme of multipurpose character, through the Community Projects Administration (now Ministry of Community Development) consisting of technical and administrative specialists who received technical guidance from the respective ministries.

At the State level, there was a State Development Committee, consisting of ministers in charge of all the developments, to lay down general policy regarding the implementation of the State's developmental programmes. The Committee was presided over by the State Chief Minister, and a very senior officer, e.g. Chief Secretary or Additional Secretary, or Development Commissioner, acted as Secretary of the Committee. The State Development Commissioner was to regard himself as the head of a team consisting of the heads of the different development departments in the State, e.g. agriculture, animal husbandry, panchayat co-operation, health, education, etc., in order to co-ordinate the activities of these various development departments, and to ensure that they

*For organisational chart please see Appendix A

worked towards the fulfilment of the overall plan for the State. The onerous nature of his task made it incumbent that the Development Commissioner be a senior officer.

Functions similar to those of the Development Commissioner were to be discharged by the District Officer, the Sub-Divisional Officer and the Block Development Officer, at the district, sub-divisional and block levels, respectively. The District Collector and the S.D.O. were, of course, to work as a team not only in development blocks but also in all areas under them. To enable the S.D.O. to perform the functions of extension, he was relieved of his other duties by a special assistant appointed for the purpose.

Although technical officers at the different—district, sub-division and block—levels were to belong to the different development departments for purposes of co-ordination they were made subject to the supervision of the general administrative officers at the appropriate level, viz. the District Officer, the Sub-Divisional Officer and the Block Development Officer.

A team of extension officers, (*e.g.* those relating to agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives and panchayat) two Social Education Organisers, an overseer and 10 V.L.Ws., were appointed in every block in order to bring about a co-ordinated impact on village life. The activities of each of these officers were to be fitted in with one another's. While the agricultural officer, for instance, was to arrange the supply of good seeds, the co-operative officer was to see that the village co-operative multiplied these seeds and issued them in kind to those who could not afford to pay. In other words, agricultural improvement and credit were to be brought together. This is true of other developmental activities also.

The multi-purpose Village Level Worker or Gram Sevak was indeed the last link in this administrative chain. In some States, e.g. Bombay, he was given training in revenue work with a view to using him also for revenue administration. But this was not the uniform practice. While, however, the V.L.W. was to form part of the general administrative staff of the district, and was to be directly under the administrative control of the district officer, in technical matters he was to bring problems from the field to technical officers at the Block level, and to receive instructions and guidance from them.

To provide incentives for good work, inter-service promotions and transfers were made more common than had hitherto been the case. The Village Level Worker was to be considered for promotion, not only to the post of Block Development Officer, but—if he showed greater aptitude for technical work than for administrative work—also for promotion in the different development departments, e.g. agriculture, co-operation, animal husbandry, social education, etc.

Technical officers at higher levels were also to be considered for promotion to the general administrative services and for holding posts normally filled by officers of one or other of the general administrative service cadres.

The general administrative services, which were to be in charge of the vital work of co-ordination, were thus to be reinforced at different levels by intake of men of exceptionally good qualifications and ability including those from various technical departments.

In sum, therefore, the only structural changes that were introduced were the addition of the Development Commissioner, the Block Development Officer, the Village Level Worker, at the State, Block and village level. The entire administrative machinery was to

be reorganised and reoriented in order that it might handle effectively the developmental programmes of a Welfare State.

To quote from the draft outline of the Five Year Plan, "The conception of the Welfare State implies a coalition of the Government with the people in a way so as to enable the components to travel hand in hand, each complementing the other's efforts for the promotion of the common objective—the greatest well being of the greatest number."

The basic objective of the new administrative pattern was not to create a separate development service as distinct from the normal machinery of the Government, but to transform the existing general administrative service into developmental and welfare service cadres.

During the British rule, the administrative machinery served the dual objectives of maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues and the common man in the village trembled at sight of the Patwari, policeman and the magistrate. He dreaded the entire administrative machinery and was even afraid of entering the agricultural demonstration farms maintained by the Government for him.

To play their due role in the implementation of the developmental programmes of a Welfare State, the officers manning the Government administration had not only to identify themselves with the people, but also to make the people feel conscious that they were the real rulers of India.

The Government officers had to be convinced that law and order itself would come to play a subordinate role, if the people were really well off economically through the developmental programmes envisaged for

the Welfare State. They had to break through the isolation or the ivory towers which they had created for themselves at the bidding of the foreign rulers. They now went to the fields to help large masses of people, not as the masters they had functioned heretofore, but as servants of the people. Their habits and outlook underwent a radical change and they adapted themselves to the new times so as to prove their mettle in this new field and in the duties which called for new faith and for comradeship.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND BLOCKS

Under a programme inaugurated by the President, the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers of States, 55 pilot projects, each with a population of 20,000, divided into three blocks, were launched on October 2, 1952, in select areas to serve as pilots for the future. These covered 25,264 villages with population of 16.4 million. These Projects were big but were treated as pilot projects because they were to assess how the people reacted to the programme and what were the pitfalls that one would have to encounter in the future propagation of the movement.

The scheme aimed at concentrating in these areas the technical resources of the government and to get the people plan for their own development, government providing Rs. 65 lakhs for three years to start the concentrated effort in all developmental fields.

The programme in regard to agriculture and allied fields related to (i) reclamation of available virgin and waste lands; (ii) provision of water for irrigation through canals, tubewells, surface wells, tanks, lift irrigation from rivers, lakes, pools, etc; (iii) provision of quality seeds, improved agricultural techniques, improved agricultural implements, marketing and credit facilities, veterinary aid, breeding centres for animal husbandry, development of inland fisheries; and (iv) soil research and manures, fruit and vegetable cultivation, arboriculture, including planting of forests, and reorganisation of dietetics.

The programme in regard to communications provided for roads, encouragement of mechanical road

transport services and development of animal transport.

The programme in regard to education provided for promotion of compulsory and free education at the elementary stage, high and middle schools, social education and library services.

The programme for health included provision of sanitation and public health measures, medical aid for the ailing, pre-natal and ante-natal care and mid-wifery services.

The programme also envisaged promotion of cottage, medium and small-scale industries, refresher courses to improve the standard of existing artisans and training of agriculturists, extension assistants, supervisors, artisans, managerial personnel, health workers and executive officers for the projects.

In the field of housing it provided for promotion of improved techniques and designs for rural housing and housing in rural-cum-urban areas.

The programme for social education and community life envisaged provision of community entertainment based on local talent and culture, audio-visual aids for instructions and recreation, organisation of local and other sports, meals, etc.

In the fields of co-operatives and panchayats, the programme envisaged promotion of co-operatives in villages as economic organs to provide facilities for credit, marketing and technical assistance to all rural citizens, especially the under-privileged, and of the panchayat as the basic institution of local self-government, which could provide a base on which democracy could grow organically from the family to the nation's Parliament.

The main objectives of this ambitious programme were more community efforts for works of benefit to the community, more co-operation, more employment and more production. It was to work for a social change—a change in the mental outlook of the people, instilling in them an ambition for higher standards of life and the will to work for them. It recognised that rural improvement was a continuous process, covering all aspects of rural life and that the main concern of every branch of administration reaching down to the district and village level was to enlist at every stage the assistance of the best non-official leadership.

To implement the programme, officers at the district level were to place before the villagers the basic idea that village life was one and indivisible that self-help was at the root of all improvement, and that it was for the villagers to tell the officers what assistance they wanted. The officers were there only to advise them and to organise their efforts, with such financial assistance as might be needed. The initiative in the selection of plans, however, was to be that of the villagers—the Village Level Workers and the extension staff being only their guides and friends.

Other movements working in the country, e.g. the Grow More Food schemes, local development programmes, which were all intended to prepare the country for N.E.S. movement, were to be integrated with the C.D. programme.

Within three months of the launching of the pilot projects, the people of the areas awoke and with their own efforts constructed hospitals, wells, roads, schools, panchayat ghars, bridges, culverts, paved lanes, even before the government machinery could be geared to issue financial assistance. This assumed the form of

a mass movement to which men and women came in increasingly large numbers.

The tremendous success of these projects also led to a universal demand for reproduction of the experiment all over India. Owing to financial stringency and shortage of trained workers, however, this could not be done. In 1953, therefore, N.E.S. blocks were launched. These were less intensive and the provision for these blocks was Rs. 4½ lakhs for three years as against a C.D. Block's Rs. 15 lakhs. The concentration in N.E.S. phase was to be on agriculture and allied subjects. It was planned to be a permanent organisation to be progressively spread over the entire country during the second Five Year Plan.

In effect, however, the National Extension Organisation and Community Projects were based on the same idea, and their methods and aims were identical. The only differences were: firstly, a higher standard of development was attempted in the Community Project areas by allotting them larger funds; and secondly, while the Community Projects were temporary for three years, the National Extension Organisation was permanent.

Also while the Community Projects were given some assistance in the shape of equipment and supplies under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Programme, the N.E.S. blocks had no foreign assistance.

Under the programme, every area was first to come under the National Extension Service. Blocks which showed good results in regard to people's response to the programme were to be selected for a somewhat higher level of development as Community Project blocks for a period of three years. After the intensive development stage, however, the areas

were to revert to the permanent form, viz. the National Extension Service. This arrangement aimed at (1) providing a blending between "C.D." as an intensive phase of development in all aspects of life in rural areas and the pattern of staffing in permanent extension agency as visualised in the G.M.F. Committee's report and (2) providing a phasing of the original Community Projects programme in three stages—N.E.S., C.D. and Post-Intensive.

The movement, therefore, had four stages which were inter-linked.

Firstly, the pre-extension stage, wherein local development programmes were to be so organised as to prepare the people for the National Extension Service. These programmes were to be prepared in consultation with the people and were to be regarded as their own programme, because they had made contributions in the form of labour and/or money.

Secondly, the extension stage wherein the National Extension Service was introduced.

Thirdly, the intensive stage where the programme of intensive development, known as Community Development programme, was adopted for three or four years.

Fourthly, the post-intensive stage, wherein the programme reverted back to the N.E.S. stage.

The introduction of the four stages, however, led to a good deal of confusion. The distinction between what were known as National Extension Service and the Community Development blocks, it was felt, was artificial.

The resources in the N.E.S. stage, it was also felt, were inadequate to meet the needs of developmental

work. The blocks which had completed the post-intensive phase of operation had generally stagnated.

The Study Team set up by the Committee on Plan Projects, under Shri Balwantrai Mehta, recommended in November, 1957, the abolition of the distinction between N.E.S. and C.D. phases of the programme and its substitution by two stages. The Central Committee on Community Development in 1958 agreed to a modified form of this proposal and re-phased the programme into two stages—Stage I and Stage II—of five years each with a provision of Rs. 12 lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs respectively for the two stages. Consequently, the blocks all over the country are now divided into Stage I and Stage II. The series shall be found in Appendix B.

CHAPTER VIII

WANTED : MORE WORKERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

To launch the C.D. programme, for providing social welfare amenities and for raising the standard of living of the people, we needed trained personnel in very large numbers. To cover the entire country with developmental blocks we shall need 5,000 B.D.Os and 5,000 Extension Officers each for agriculture, animal husbandry, co-ordination, health, village and small-scale industries, etc., 10,000 S.E.O.s and 50,000 Village Level Workers, etc. The training of such a large number of trained personnel in the understanding and propagation of C.D. methods is a very difficult task—as difficult as anything in India's developmental programmes. Actually it is owing to shortage of trained personnel, among other things, that the programme of coverage of the entire country by 1961 had to be staggered upto 1963.

When the programme was launched in 1952, India had the option of not launching the programme until field workers were adequately trained or of launching it immediately with whatever workers were available and arranging only for reorientation training, determining, in the process, the required content of the training programme and drawing up the curricula of the training courses in the light of practical village development work.

India followed the second course and actually did well in doing so, because the trainers too got some experience of field work and the subject-matter specialists were prevented from packing up the

syllabi with academic studies. In matter of time the field programme and the training programme were launched simultaneously.

The programme, in its initial phase, started with 55 projects placed under a Community Project Officer, assisted by specialists in agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, co-operation, panchayat, etc., drawn largely from the respective departments of the State Governments.

These specialists were adequately trained people. For making the optimum use, what was needed was to enthuse them with new ideas and zeal—through reorientation courses and proper assistance at the village level from the Village Level Worker, or Gram Sevak. This was what was actually done.

In doing so, however, it was recognised that well trained extension personnel was a self-renewing national resource, for the knowledge that trained personnel would transmit to villagers would be used during the entire life of the villagers and passed on to their children.

A large number of institutions were set up by several Ministries concerned for training the right type of personnel, e.g. B.D.O., S.E.O., V.L.W. and auxiliary personnel in the spheres of health, sanitation, co-operation, cottage and village industries. The number has been increasing steadily since.

The B.D.O. and Gram Sevak were indeed the two key functionaries created for the implementation of the C.D. programme. The former, apart from being a capable administrator who understood the mechanism and working of the government machinery, had to be a great humanist with sympathy, insight into, and understanding of, the lives and aspirations of the

village people. He was also to be a firm believer in the democratic way of life, so that he could exemplify in his day-to-day life the kind of leadership and human relations that are needed in a Welfare State, as also to organise, systematically catalyse and guide all the village groups in a block.

The Ministry of Community Development started three Development Officers' training centres at Nilokheri, Ranchi and Himayatsagar which held courses for candidates drawn from the existing administrative and technical cadres and also from the general public, depending upon the familiarity and aptitude for the human side of administration. Later, two more were added—at Bakshi-ka-Talab and Udaipur.

The Social Education Organisers' training centres, started by the same Ministry, held 5-month courses for candidates drawn from among graduates with history and rural economics, with experience of, and interest in, rural life, so as to increase the effectiveness of the Social Education Organisers in methods and techniques of group and community organisation with a view to making the people self-reliant and responsible citizens, capable of making wise decisions and of effective participation in the programme as free citizens in a democracy.

In 1958, provision was also made for refresher training to all block functionaries, as well as district heads of technical departments concerned with Community Development. The Development Officers' training centres were converted into Orientation Training Centres, with the object of providing orientation training to the B.D.O.s at the Block level and also orientation training to district heads of departments. These orientation training centres were ultimately to become wings of administrative training schools set up in some other States.

Refresher training courses for extension officers at the Block level are being held at subject-matter colleges and training centres. While the B.D.O.s get refresher training at the Orientation Training Centres, the training of group level workers and Social Education Organisers is conducted at the respective job training centres or colleges by the concerned Ministries.

The Gram Sevak was the lynchpin of the programme. He was the multipurpose worker who represented all the development departments at the village level and maintained a liaison between each and every cultivator in the ten villages under his charge, on the one hand, and the State Development Departments, on the other.

The most important consideration in selecting people for the post of Gram Sevak was what may be called the "village approach". Development experiments in the past, we know, had failed because the representatives of the development departments were the collar-and-necktied personnel, often, if not always, graduates.

It was laid down that persons selected as V.L.W.s under the Community Development programme should not be more than matriculates, which, in fact, meant the selection of boys reared in the villages and trained in what village development work is. The trained Gram Sevak was essentially an educator and had an understanding of the needs of the people, on which his programme and plan for development work was based.

The object of the training for V.L.W.s was not to create a specialist, but a generalist multipurpose worker who could transmit technical knowledge

methods and supplies of different technical departments.

The training of V.L.W.s or Gram Sevaks was undertaken by Extension Training Centres set up by the Food and Agriculture Ministry in various States. These centres which admitted boys with rural background and with a matric certificate with one year in agricultural school, gave intensive training in agriculture, animal husbandry, public health, co-operation, panchayat, social education and village industries for six months.

The C.O.P.P. Team on Community Development in 1958 emphasised that, although the principle of integration had been accepted in the training of Gram Sevaks, some of the institutions had assumed that this integration would be completed by merely grafting extension on basic agriculture. This in itself was not sufficient for this purpose and it was felt that integration must start from the beginning of the course. The third conference of principals of extension training centres and basic agricultural schools in 1957 also had emphasised that there should be an integrated course for imparting training in basic agriculture and extension. In pursuance of the recommendations of these two bodies, the Gram Sevak since 1958 has been made to undergo a two-year integrated course, instead of the 18-month course.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture also set up Extension Training Centres to impart training in extension methods to various specialists at Block level, e.g. those relating to agriculture, animal husbandry, etc. Extension training centres have also been provided with home science camps for training Gram Sevikas who could look after the needs of women and children. The same Ministry, with the help of the Reserve Bank of India, also set up training centres

for imparting training to extension officers for co-operation, at the Block level, as also refresher courses for officers in the States.

Similarly, the Ministry of Health set up training centres for public health staff, as also for instructors in public health at extension training centres.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry set up regional institutes of small-scale industries in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi for training Extension Officers (Industries).

Under some fundamental changes introduced in the training programme during 1958-59 the training programme relating to all categories of personnel connected with the Community Development programme, ranging from the Village Level Worker to the Development Commissioner, was reorganised.

An important aspect of the reorganised programme was that the State Governments undertook to take active and useful part in implementing, co-ordinating and supervising the training programmes in their own States, through a suitable machinery which they themselves set up.

An institute has been established to train the trainers, namely Principals and Instructors, who take charge of the training programme at the orientation training centres, social education organisers' training centres and women workers' training centres. Those being trained at this institute also include the staff members of the extension training centres, basic agricultural schools and co-operative training centres.

While there were several training institutions for staff at the ground level, the operation of the programme led in 1958 to the fruition of the idea of a

Central Institute for Research and Study in Community Development. This gives training to administrators and technical key personnel, including Development Commissioners, Deputy Development Commissioners, Heads of Departments and Collectors. The establishment of this Institute was the logical development of thinking and action spread over five years and its principal objective was to stimulate thinking in the key personnel engaged in the Community Development, with a view to creating in them better understanding of its aims, approaches and techniques. Apart from experienced administrators holding positions of high responsibility in the State Governments, persons given training at the institute include experienced non-officials, such as members of Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies.

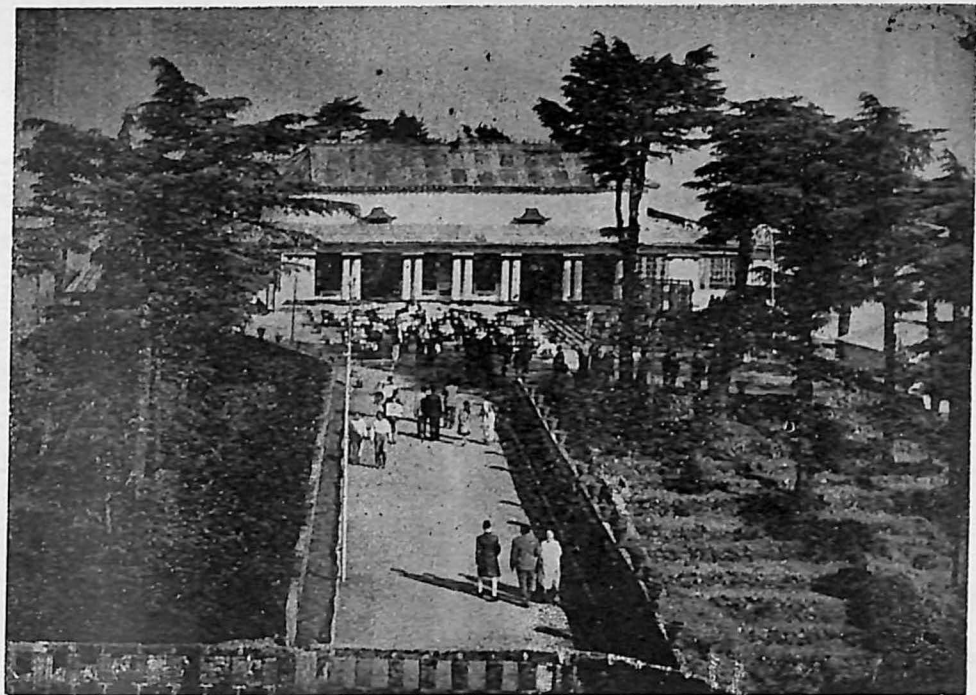
Training at the institute, given through talks, discussions and self-study, enables the trainees to exchange ideas and experiences, so as to equip them better to tackle the difficulties in the field. The syllabus for the orientation course at the institute consists of a wide range of subjects, such as the philosophy, concepts and objectives of Community Development, evolution of socialistic society and the Welfare State, problems of under-development in rural communities, techniques of C.D. including methods and processes, public administration and transformation of the law and police state into a Welfare State. It also includes all facets of the programme, such as agriculture and allied subjects, co-operation, village industries, public health, sanitation, etc.

The Central Institute of Study and Research does not have formal classrooms, or teachers or examinations. The trainees divide themselves into groups, each studying some facet or the other of the Community Development programme in detail. After a

thorough discussion and study each group prepares a paper, each member contributing a chapter. The paper is considered and discussed by the group and, if found to be of general interest, it is taken up for discussion in a meeting of all the trainees.

The institute which is the first of its kind in Asia has already become a useful adjunct to the fast expanding programme of Community Development. It has a library containing books on C.D. programme in various parts of the world.

It is proposed that in due course the institute will also have a research wing which would utilize the experiences of State Governments and other agencies for implementing projects under its guidance and control.



Central Institute of Study Research, Mussoori.

CHAPTER IX

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

A village community is the best agency for organising people's participation, on a systematic basis, for works of common benefit and the mobilization of manpower, ingenuity and enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of people in India's villages; for making them share the responsibility, for meeting their felt needs and desires, is at the root of the concept of community development. To make the Community Development programme one of the people's it is necessary that the people and their representatives are actively associated at all levels with the planning and execution of development programmes.

Although, therefore, the State worked as a catalytic agent, it was laid down that the title deed of initiative should be transferred to the people, and that the C.D. programme must be a people's programme of aided self-help. The people had to voluntarily contribute to the maximum extent possible, in cash, kind and labour, towards the construction of roads, schools, irrigation works, etc. etc.

In fact, when the C.D. programme was launched in 1952, the people responded marvellously well. New schools, hospitals and community centres were put up overnight. New wells were built and old ones reconditioned. Village lanes were paved, and drains were constructed. Fruit and vegetable gardens sprang up. So did agricultural demonstration plots and also breeding and artificial insemination centres. That the people's response, which has been made the accepted yardstick of the success of the programme and a pre-

requisite for the allotment of pre-extension blocks and the conversion of pre-extension blocks into Stage I blocks, has been startling is evident from the fact that the people's voluntary contribution in cash, kind and labour *has* announced to more than 64 per cent of the Government's expenditure on the programme.

Ever since 1953, people's voluntary contribution has in fact been made a condition for undertaking development schemes in the project areas: it was only when the people's response was good that an area qualified for allotment of a development Block.

While there was no limit to their maximum contribution, a rough scale was prescribed. This was not rigid and could be altered in exceptional cases, *e.g.* in scheduled and tribal areas, which are poor.

As the bulk of expenditure on minor irrigation consists of labour costs, the usual percentage of contribution towards the construction of irrigation works has to be fairly large. In the case of drainage and drinking water supply it amounts to 25 per cent of the expenditure. Villagers are expected to construct all kuchha roads at their own cost. The block only contributes to the construction of culverts and pucca roads. In all, total government contribution is not to exceed 75 per cent of the total cost, including the cost of kuchha roads. The people are also to meet 25 per cent of the cost of buildings of dispensaries and 50 per cent of the capital cost of community and recreation centres. For the school buildings or additional buildings, too, they are to contribute 25 per cent. On November 14, which is National Children's Day, gifts to the Prime Minister, of schools, land and equipment for schools have been a regular feature of the C.D. programme.

Emphasis on people's voluntary contributions in cash, kind and labour has been laid because this is the surest way of making them feel that what they construct is their own and that they have also a responsibility for continuing interest in their future.

Above all, it is their own contribution which brings out the best in them and makes them self-reliant and conscious of their latent energies.

People and their representatives have also been drawn in the programme in various other ways, for instance, through the elected representatives and the village organisations which are now being called upon to play an active part in the planning and execution of the developmental programmes.

CHAPTER X

GRAM SAHAYAKS

Before the Community Development programme could complete five years of operation, it was found that the benefits of extension were limited to a few progressive farmers in a village, or in a Gram Sevak's circle of 10 villages. As the Gram Sevak could not devote due attention to 1500 families, he concentrated only on the few in the upper strata of village society namely, those who readily availed of the aid and the improved practices. The yield of the few farmers on whom the Gram Sevak concentrated could compare favourably with the maximum in any part of the world.

But the programme had aimed at taking the benefits of extension and Community Development to the largest numbers.

One of the possible answers to the problem could, of course, be the multiplication of the staff. In the absence of adequate training facilities, of supervisory personnel and, most important of all, in the absence of adequate resources, this was not a practical solution.

The only other way out was some scheme of training of villagers on a mass scale. Under a scheme that was drawn up, five people in each village in each Gram Sevak's circle, viz. 50 potential village leaders, were brought to a camp in one of the villages in the circle for three days or so.

Such camps are to be ultimately organised for five groups of subjects: (1) Agriculture, animal hus-

bandry and minor irrigation; (2) Panchayat, co-operation and village communications; (3) Village industries and rural housing; (4) Education, social education, public health, etc.; and (5) Women and Children's programme.

In view of the urgency of increasing food production, priority was given to the Agricultural group of subjects.

Emphasis under this programme was laid on simple items such as improved agricultural practices, eradication of weeds before the flowering stage and diverting of cow-dung from being used as fuel to be used as manure. Technical exhibitions, which form a part of the camps, lay emphasis on the use of improved agricultural implements, insecticides, pesticides, chemical and green manures, improved seeds and varieties of fodder, as also fruits and vegetables grown locally under the improved practices. The training was imparted mostly by demonstrations and also in theory by way of talking points.

The villages for holding camps were selected on the basis of progress made by them in a particular field.

And villagers for these camps were selected on the basis of qualities of leadership, special interest by them in the particular group of subjects, enthusiasm and willingness to work for collective benefit.

The scheme aimed at providing functional leadership, designed to organise the people in rural areas on an institutional pattern. The villagers, during their stay at the camps, studied the new techniques and exchanged and pooled their experience and knowledge. Personal contacts were not temporary. These led to periodic visits.

This meant the growth of leadership for planning and implementation of development programmes at the village level, energising, in the process, the technical agencies functioning in the rural areas.

The camps threw up problems from the ground level and created a significant change in the outlook of the village communities. They proved a tremendous success and had to be continued for another year or two. Gram Sahayaks became adjuncts of Gram Sevaks and took on the responsibility for introducing and popularising improved agricultural techniques in their various fields and for educating other farmers in their own villages. They thus reduced the pressure on the technical personnel.

A quantitative assessment of the reports received from the States indicated that the training camps had generated great enthusiasm among the village people. The trained Gram Sahayaks on their return to the villages introduced the improved agricultural practices, prepared compost and green manures for use in their fields, reared pedigree animals and raised kitchen gardens.

In a large number of areas, villagers volunteered to bear the entire expenditure of running the camps held in their villages without any financial assistance whatsoever from the Government. The Gram Sahayaks who had received functional training found the camps so useful that they expressed a desire to attend the second round of camps.

CHAPTER XI

DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION

The basic objective of the Community Development programme is the development of the material and human resources of Indian rural communities. Material resources imply a higher standard of living for rural people through increased agricultural production and also the progress of rural industries. Human resources imply the development of village institutional leadership based on principles of self-help and mutual help, which strengthen democratic values and create community sense and co-operative spirit among the people.

The constitutional edifice of India is based on democratic values, and democracy, to strike roots, has to be broadbased. For, unless we strengthen popular institutions at the lower levels, our democratic structure would stand on shaky grounds.

The C.D. programme which aims at being a people's programme must make the people and their representatives the principal partners in the adventure and enable them to shoulder the responsibility of planning and executing the programmes. It has taken various steps to enlist the active participation and help of the people's representatives at all levels, and also of the people and their "associate" institutions, in the formulation of policies through consultation.

At the national level, an Informal Consultative Committee of Members of Parliament, drawn from both Houses, was constituted in early 1957. A study

circle of Members of Parliament, to enable them to study the philosophy and objectives of the C.D. programme, was also set up in 1958. To enable the Members of Parliament to attend meetings of the Block Development Committees, it is ensured that such meetings are held during the time when Parliament is not in session. Also, during the off season, it is made possible for members of the Informal Consultative Committee to visit blocks in their constituencies, with a view to studying how the programme is functioning and what problems are arising in the field. Experience gained there is of value to other blocks also and is helpful in making suggestions to the Development Commissioners. Members of the Committee also visit training centres set up by the Central as well as State Governments, mix freely with the trainees and the staff, and study how training is being imparted. This enables them to suggest ways and means for improving the quality of training. In the process, they also get an opportunity to check up the methods of recruitment followed for various categories of personnel, as well as the suitability and adequacy of training by observing the performance of the personnel trained at the training institutions.

Informal Consultative Committees, consisting of members of State Legislative Assemblies, have also been constituted at the State level. These committees co-opt members of the Informal Consultative Committee of Parliament at the Centre as ex-officio members.

While Parliament and State legislatures today function admirably, in spite of the difficulties which they meet from time to time, there is no institution of people below the State legislature which could interpret the proper expression or motivation of the people. Even the advent of the Community Development pro-

gramme in 1952, it has been felt, adversely affected the growth of local self-governmental institutions at village level, and today even the district boards are being abolished because they have not been functioning properly.

In the initial stages of the programme the participation of the people at project or block level was brought about through the constitution of project or block advisory committees. Members of these committees were, however, generally nominated—by the collectors—and did not have a representative character.

To make the C.D. programme a people's programme with Government participation, it was thought necessary to invest Block Advisory Committees with responsibility, power, executive authority and financial resources, so as to enable the C.D. movement to bind together the block and village programmes in different fields of development in the national and State plans, and, alongside the administrative organisations, aim at the close co-operation with the best non-official leadership at every stage. Measures have also been considered to draw in the people's "associates", namely, non-officials and allied institutions, such as the Sarva Seva Sangh, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Indian Co-operative Union, the recently started Indian Panchayat Union, the Kasturba Trust, the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, the Adimjati Seva Sangh, the Servants of India Society, the Depressed and Backward Classes' organisations and other similar agencies, constituting the "second front", as against the "first front" consisting of officials who worked with the people and the people's representatives which, since the programme was launched on October 2, 1952, had given a good account of itself. These steps have been taken with a view to ensuring the full

impact of the programme at village, block and district levels.

At the district level, the development plans of various blocks in the district are finally integrated into the district plans by the District Development Committee, consisting of prominent non-officials, *e.g.* M.P.s, M.L.A.s, etc., as well as Heads of technical departments at the district level.

At the Block level, the Block Committee, consisting of M.L.A.s and M.P.s of the area and representatives of panchayats, co-operatives, as also progressive farmers, plan and devise means to execute the block development plans.

To emphasise the positive role of the Block committees in regard to planning and development, the Block Advisory Committees have recently been re-designed as Block Development Committees as the transition to the statutory Block Samitis.

At village level, the working of panchayats—which, according to Sir Charles Metcalfe, used to be “little republics having nearly everything they wanted themselves” and were the traditional institutions that stood the stress and strain of thousands of years—has been hampered in recent times by various factors, *e.g.* caste, political party considerations, etc.

The Committee on Plan Projects, presided over by Shri Balwantrai Mehta, which went into the working of the C.D. programme in all its details, emphasised that “democratic government operating over large areas, through its executive machinery, cannot adequately appreciate local needs and circumstances” and it thought it necessary that “there should be a devolution of power and a decentralisation of machinery” so as to ensure that such power is exercised and

such machinery controlled and directed by popular representatives of the local area. The underlying idea, of course, was to create a village polity in the shape of village panchayat with a sense of responsibility and proper authority at that level.

The Committee also recommended the constitution of Panchayat Samitis at Block level and Zila Parishads at district level. The Panchayat Samiti, according to the Committee, is to be statutory and elective body, comprehensive in its duties and functions, equipped with necessary executive machinery and in the possession of adequate resources, without being cramped by too much control of Government or Government agency. It is to have the power to make mistakes and to learn by experience. The Samiti is thus to be an organic link with the village panchayats, and will have some kind of supervisory functions over them. It will be responsible for Community Development programmes in the block.

The Zila Parishad, according to the committee, is to consist of the presidents of panchayat samities, members of Parliament and State legislatures, and district level officers of development departments. The Parishad, presided over by the collector, is to be an advisory-cum-supervisory body, with obligatory duties, permissive functions and advisory functions, including co-ordination duties at the district level. It is not to have any executive functions, because such powers might kill local initiative.

The Balwantrai Mehta Committee's recommendations were generally accepted by the National Development Council and the States were requested to implement the same in the manner that suited the local conditions in each State. Nearly all the State Governments have accepted the principle of transfer of authority as outlined by the Committee and they

are now working out the details having regard not only to the local conditions but also local requirements.

According to recent thinking on the subject, the primary unit for implementing the development programme at the village level is to be the Panchayat helped by the village co-operative and the village school.

Indeed, the C.O.P.P. Team had pointed out that co-operation and rural self-governing institutions were so closely connected with the programme of Community Development that it would be useful if they were brought under the Ministry which deals with the co-ordination of rural development activities all over the country, namely, the Ministry of Community Development.

The Government accepted the suggestion and Panchayats were transferred from the Ministry of Health to the Ministry of Community Development in March, 1958, and Co-operation transferred from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture to the Ministry of Community Development on 30th December, 1958.

The three principal village institutions—the Panchayat, Co-operative and School—are now to be the basis of all activities in the village, and the sole agencies through which the development programmes are to be implemented at the village level, panchayats exercising all administrative and regulatory functions, co-operatives aiming at social and economic development and schools looking after the educative needs of the entire community.

To charge the panchayats and other village institutions with the responsibility for planning and executing developmental schemes, the schematic budget of the developmental blocks has been divided into distinguishable categories.

The National Development Council had agreed that in every block the block organisation and the village organisation should, from the very beginning, be regarded as basic units for formulating and carrying out different programmes. Of Rs. 12 lakhs to be spent in five years in a stage I block, an amount of Rs. 55 lakhs is to be spent on agriculture, irrigation, rural arts and crafts. To the extent possible, this amount is to be spent through the agency of village co-operation. Of the remaining amount, a sum of Rs. 2.9 lakhs is to be incurred invariably through the agency of panchayats and other local institutions and not through the departmental agency. Following is the item-wise break-up: Education and Social Education Rs. 130,000; Drinking water supply Rs. 50,000; Drainage and sanitation Rs. 25,000; and Communication Rs. 85,000. Powers for making allotments in this category are to be vested in the Block Development Committee. The Schematic Budget of Rs. 5 lakhs for five years of a Stage II block is similarly to be divided and allotted.

Panchayats are to function as small little republics comprising non-rigid broadbased functional groups. They are to constitute functional sub-committees of two or three members each, and through them to keep in live contact with voluntary "associate" institutions dealing with various groups of subjects, e.g. Farmers' Forums, Yuvak Mandals, Mahila Mandals, etc., the sub-committees exercising necessary powers to associate other villagers willing to help them in the furtherance of the programmes. The panchayat sub-committee dealing with women's programme would, for instance, have representatives of the Mahila Mandal co-opted.

The formation of these functional sub-committees, it has been felt, would offer scope for wider participa-

tion to people who, for some reasons of their own, may not have stood for panchayat election, but may have the desire and the capacity for public work.

The question of strengthening the panchayat was considered by the 4th meeting of the Central Council on Local Self-Government, which recommended the devolution of authority to panchayats. To make such devolution of power a success, the Council also agreed that people in the villages should be given training and orientation, so that they may understand their obligations fully and function in an effective manner. This training is to embrace (i) Panches and Sarpanches of panchayats as also Panchayat Secretaries at the village level; (ii) non-official members of Block Development Committees as also Block Extension Officers (Panchayats) at the Block level and (iii) Panchayat Officers at the district level.

Training to Panches and Sarpanches of Panchayat is to be on the lines of the Gram Sahayak Training camps, attended likewise, for three or four days, by about 50 trainees. This training is to be imparted by the Block Staff assisted by the concerned district level officers.

Unlike the training to Panches and Sarpanches, the training of Panchayat Secretaries is to be of the institutional pattern extending over a period of about three months, ten weeks at the training centre and two weeks in the field. Each district is to have one training centre. The Block Extension Officers (Panchayat) are to be imparted orientation training at the existing centres for other Block Extension Officers and job training by the State Governments through their own officers at the State and district level, so as to familiarize them with the State Panchayat Acts and rules and regulations.

The programme of training to non-official members of the Block Development Committees envisages (i) training in approach and attitude, general awareness of rights and responsibilities, and (ii) subject matter training through discussions with technical experts for different subjects. This programme is to be undertaken as far as possible by non-official voluntary organisations—educational, social service and others who can provide the necessary facilities.

The training programme for district panchayat officers envisages a 3-month orientation training to bring about a proper appraisal of the work of panchayats in their own areas.

What is true of the village panchayat is largely true of the village co-operative also. For, though co-operative societies have been functioning in India for nearly 50 years, it has been felt that, after all these years, even in areas where co-operation was best developed, only 30 per cent of the families engaged in agriculture were eligible for obtaining credit on terms on which co-operative societies can offer it to them. The movement for co-operation, it is felt, did not take root because it was not linked with production plans for the entire village.

Every co-operative society to be a success must ensure that (i) every loan—in money or kind—is linked with a plan for increased production; (ii) every family is assisted to come into the movement in its own right, by using loans for productive purposes; (iii) every family makes a saving out of increased production, and invests it in the society so that within a short time all the credit needed by its members may be provided by the village itself; and (iv) every family makes a saving for investment in the National Small Savings Movement.

At the end of 1955-56, there were nearly 7.8 million members of about 160,000 village societies, about two-thirds of which worked at a profit only about one-third running at loss—a remarkable record achieved by non-official workers at all levels, in spite of the poor state of subsistence agricultural economy. Each village is now to have a co-operative society.

If the picture envisaged by the Planning Commission proves true, there will eventually be in the country about 2,50,000 primary multi-purpose societies (with as many panchayats with identical jurisdiction)—each village society having, on an average, 200 to 300 members, with transactions of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS OF THE PROGRAMME

The Community Development programme includes all aspects of socio-economic development in the rural areas. The original draft outline had given top priority to (1) agriculture, (2) animal husbandry, (3) irrigation, (4) co-operation, (5) health, (6) social education, and (7) cottage and small-scale industries. The salient features of the achievements in these, and other, fields from the beginning of the programme till September 30, 1958, are indicated in the following pages. Data on progress in some cases relate only to the period upto June, 1958, because all blocks had not sent the up-to-date information.

Agriculture

Since the prosperity of India's rural sector depends largely on agriculture, its improvement was the main feature of the Community Development programme. In fact, the Sixth Development Commissioners' conference, at Mussoorie, in 1957, decided to increase agricultural production by 50 per cent in the irrigated and assured rainfall areas and by 30 per cent in dry areas.

During six years of the programme, ending September 1958, farmers have been educated to use improved seeds, plants, grafts, fertilizers, plant production equipment, etc. Agricultural implements were made available so that improved techniques of production could be adopted on a wide scale. It has been estimated that chemical fertilizers distributed totalled 39,039,000 maunds, improved seeds distributed

15,798,000 maunds, agricultural demonstrations held numbered 4,851,000.

In addition, large areas of land were reclaimed with a view to effecting permanent agricultural improvements.

Changes in cropping patterns were also brought about through the introduction of more remunerative crops, like potatoes, groundnut, cotton, coconut, pepper, cashewnut, etc., in the different areas. Work relating to distribution of fertilizers and improved seeds would have been better, if our production had been greater, if the stringency of foreign exchange had not come in the way of large-scale imports of fertilizers, and if there had been no delay in the establishment of seed farms.

To intensify the production of organic manures locally, green manures, weeds, loppings of shrubs and night soil, a scheme to train leading farmers was launched and compost inspectors were appointed in some of the blocks of the earlier series. This measure was to (1) promote self-reliance which is the principal objective of the Community Development programme, and (2) save foreign exchange required for meeting increased imports of fertilizers. Compost pits dug during six years numbered 5,015,000.

Green manuring was also taken up on a campaign basis in most of the States in the C.D. and N.E.S. areas and the area brought under green manuring under C.D. totalled 4,150,000 acres.

To sustain the tempo of activities in the fields of agriculture, seminars on agriculture and allied subjects were organised in all the states at the district, divisional and State levels and also at the National level.

Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry forms an integral part of agriculture, because the development of livestock is of fundamental importance to the agrarian economy. Key village centres have been set up to improve the country's inferior cattle through the (1) elimination of scrub bulls by castration; (2) upgrading of local inferior cattle by pedigree bulls, both by natural service and by artificial insemination, and (3) raising the nutrition level of cattle through feeding, so that the results of breeding improvements may manifest and not suffer for want of proper feeding. To ensure that the improvements resulting from the above measures were not nullified through losses from disease, preventive and curative measures against livestock epidemics were intensified.

The programme also included popularisation of poultry farming through the distribution of poultry and hatching eggs of exotic or improved breeds and the development of inland fisheries by stocking water-spreads with fingerlings of improved fish. During six years ending September, 1958, pedigree animals supplied numbered 45,600. The demand for improved breeds was so great that the supply line could not cope up with it. Pedigree birds supplied numbered 627,000.

Upto the end of September, 1958, 4,281,000 animals were castrated, while 30,042,000 animals were treated in the veterinary institutions, including full-fledged dispensaries, stockmen centres and first-aid institutions which were in position in the blocks during the period under review. Under the rinderpest education campaign sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture, millions of cattle were protected against the disease. This useful scheme was pursued vigorously in all the

States, especially in the block areas, with a view to eliminating the diseases altogether from the country.

Minor Irrigation

Since irrigation is one of the quickest means to step up agricultural production, it has been given a good deal of emphasis in the project areas. It has been observed that as the programme progressed, more and more people took to the construction, management and operation of irrigation sources. Cultivators in some parts of the country learnt the various engineering aspects of irrigation work and were able to initiate schemes themselves, sometimes with the guidance of irrigation authorities, to harness the water resources with their own efforts. The development of irrigation through co-operation also became a marked feature. A number of irrigation co-operative societies sprang up in Godavari district of Andhra and lift irrigation and tubewell irrigation co-operative societies came into being in Bombay and Punjab States. Minor irrigation works also helped the development of irrigation in the newly constructed river valley projects, or in areas where water was already stored.

In addition to the utilisation of block budget provision there was also considerable amount of non-project in-put in the C.D. and N.E.S. areas.

The progress in the utilisation of minor irrigation provision in the block budget was not, however, satisfactory because of all-round shortage of engineers and overseers, and also due to the insistence on a fixed percentage of public participation. Taking into account the emergent circumstances and the need for timely utilisation of the entire provision it was decided to relax the fixed percentage of public participation and the ceilings imposed on the utilisation of these funds for the State-managed works.

The necessity of a close liaison between the Development Commissioners and the Irrigation Department, besides the creation of a separate organisation at the State level for minor irrigation, was recognised. Most of the State Governments are trying to implement it.

Rural Health and Sanitation

The integrated pattern for the development of health services, set up in Community Development areas, combines curative and preventive measures with emphasis on prevention. Medical aid has been made available without difficulty to those in the block areas. The primary health centres set up in the blocks consist each of a dispensary, consulting room with facilities for diagnosis and a ward of about a dozen beds. The centre, which is adequately staffed and equipped, is the focal point from which medical and health services radiate into the areas covered by the Community Development blocks. The services provided by the centre include (1) medical relief, (2) maternal and child welfare work, (3) control of communicable diseases with priority for malaria, (4) health education, (5) school health, and (6) improvement of environmental sanitation with emphasis on provision of safe drinking water supply and hygienic disposal of human excreta. In addition to the primary health centres, there are also three maternity sub-centres placed under the charge of a qualified mid-wife, at three different places in the block.

It has been felt that the villager is becoming conscious of the need for healthy living and prevention of disease. People have come forward to help build these primary health centres and maternity sub-centres. Problems of malaria, filaria, tuberculosis and venereal diseases continued to be tackled on a national scale, with the block organisation rendering

every assistance. Environmental sanitation, health education and control of communicable diseases also received due attention. The shortage of suitably trained and qualified staff of various categories, however, constituted a serious bottleneck.

Provision of suitable drainage for the villages, pavement of streets, introduction of smokeless chulhas, etc. were also attended to. During six years, 507,000 rural latrines were introduced. Drains constructed numbered 18,615,000 and smokeless chulhas installed numbered 197,800. Village lanes paved totalled 8,450,000 yards. Drinking water wells constructed numbered 129,000, and drinking water wells renovated 195,000.

Greater emphasis was also placed on Family Planning and State Governments have not only set up Family Planning Boards but also appointed experts at the State level to guide the activities under the scheme.

Rural Housing

In consultation with the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, 100 rural housing projects covering 500 villages have been allotted to the States. These are to be located in selected blocks. The States have been requested to set up rural housing cells and Central Government have agreed to share 50 per cent of the cost. Socio-economic and technical surveys of the selected villages are under way.

Education

A minimum programme in regard to education has been agreed to and it has been suggested that the educational activities in a block should be looked after by an educational sub-committee of the Block Develop-

ment Committee. State Governments are taking steps to implement this recommendation. A few States have been asked to start Pilot Projects for Universal Primary Education, in order to investigate the problems and difficulties that may face such work. These projects are to be preceded by an educational survey, under a programme of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research. Such surveys are being undertaken in a number of States.

Under the programme, basic schools have been started and basic bias introduced into the existing schools. Most of the universities have also accepted the recommendations to include Community Development as a subject in their syllabi of courses of study in graduate and post-graduate stages. Some of the universities have already taken action in the direction.

Stimulus has also been given to the scheme for granting apprenticeship to university students and teachers in village development, in collaboration with the Ford Foundation. 32 universities have participated in the programme and selected students and teachers have benefited from the scheme.

Social Education

Satisfactory progress has been made in the starting of adult education centres and the organisation of Youth Clubs, Farmers' Unions, Mahila Samitis. The number of all these organisations has appreciably increased. There has been restatement of the role of the S.E.O., and his duties in recent years have been more clearly specified and he has also been given distinct responsibilities in the Block programme. Efforts are also being made to give the S.E.O. a greater security of service by absorbing him in the regular cadres of the Education Department of the States.

This is expected to add to the efficiency of this functionary.

The State Governments have accepted the recommendations to have Social Education Organisers both at the district and the State level, in order to supervise and guide Social Education Programme in the villages. District Social Education Organisers have already been appointed in most of the States.

By September, 1958, the number of Community Centres started had reached the figure of 103,000, while that of the adult literacy centres 87,000, reading rooms 45,100 and adults made literate 2,968,000. During the period, 84,700 youth and farmers' clubs, with 935,000 members, were established. The number of Mahila Samitis stood at 19,100, with a membership of 299,000. Village camps organised numbered 20,562 and the number of villagers trained at 1,014,000. Through these institutions it has been possible to mobilise the people, and particularly the youth, in the villages for development work.

A minimum programme for women's and children's welfare in the blocks has also been agreed to. Its implementation has been handicapped by the acute short supply of suitable women workers with a rural background to work as Gram Sevikas or lady S.E.O.s. co-ordination has been brought about between the Ministry of Community Development and the Central Social Welfare Board.

Rural Communications

Communications play a vital role in the rural economy and the Community Development programme has given due attention to this phase of the programme. Kacha roads constructed totalled 78,600 miles and existing kacha roads improved 91,400 miles. Culverts constructed numbered 51,100.

Tribal Welfare

For intensive development of the areas predominantly inhabited by tribal people, 42 special multi-purpose projects have been started in selected areas located in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Manipur and Tripura. The object underlying the scheme is to cater to the special requirements of the tribal people, retaining, at the same time, their own culture and traditions. The total allocated expenditure per project is Rs. 27 lakhs, of which Rs. 12 lakhs are contributed by the Ministry of Community Development and the balance of Rs. 15 lakhs, by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Village and Small-Scale Industries

Difficulties experienced in the field of cottage and small-scale industries, it has been felt, have been greater than in any other item of the programme. The minimum programmes drawn up have not proved realistic because of want of adequate finances to implement the schemes. Although there is a general feeling that the answer to large unemployment is to promote more and more village and small-scale industries, the marketing of products of village and small-scale industries has posed difficult problems. In fact, production has been found to be easier than marketing.

Another important aspect of the programme was the creation of a number of Boards and the Khadi Commission, which posed problems of co-ordination.

To bring about co-ordination between the Ministries of Commerce and Industry and Community Development, a committee was set up in July 1957, under the chairmanship of the Minister for Commerce

and Industry. The Ministry of Community Development, the all-India Boards and the Khadi Commission are represented on this committee. Similar co-ordination committees are being set up under the chairmanship of the Chief Ministers or Industries Ministers in the States.

The programme in regard to industries in the Community Development areas has been mainly in conformity with the State plans, as also the programme of activities of the All-India Boards.

The chief objective of this facet of the programme has been to intensify efforts for a speedy and systematic implementation of various schemes on a co-ordinated basis with the funds allocated to State Governments by the various Boards commissioned for providing employment to the unemployed and fuller employment to the underemployed.

The activities taken up under the programme have been under the following heads:—

- (a) Programme with the funds available under the arts and crafts budget of the Block.
- (b) Minimum programme for cottage and small-scale industries.
- (c) Pilot projects for industries.
- (d) Industrial Estates.
- (e) Industrial Co-operatives.
- (f) Co-ordination at the State level and also at the Centre with the agencies concerned.

There was a grant provision of Rs. 50,000 during the intensive period of a Block to supplement the programme of activities under different all-India Boards. The Ministry recently decided to allow the State Governments to spend a sum of Rs. 10,000 for indus-

trial activities during the National Extension Service period, provided there is an Extension Officer (Industries) posted in the block.

These allocations are utilised for training of artisans, either in basic skills or for the improvement of their existing skills. The Community Development funds are also used for giving stipends to persons deputed for training in institutions outside the Block, as well as for giving assistance to industrial co-operatives.

A long-term programme, on a comprehensive basis, for the development of cottage and small-scale industries depends on a thorough survey and study of various factors, including availability of raw materials, labour, existing and projected demands etc. Detailed surveys of industrial potentialities have been completed in the case of many of the pilot projects.

The following items of industries have been recommended under the minimum programme:—(a) Blacksmithy, including tin-smithy; (b) carpentry; (c) bricks and tiles making; (d) leather goods; (e) tailoring; (f) khadi spinning and weaving, including Ambar Charkha; (g) ghani oil crushing; (h) soap making; (i) bee keeping; (j) village pottery; (k) handloom weaving; and (l) handicrafts.

The minimum programme for village and small-scale industries can be taken up only in accordance with the common programme of all-India Boards.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry has asked the State Governments to earmark a certain percentage of the State allocation for small-scale industries for the development of small-scale industries in Community Development areas. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission has also allocated funds for

development of village industries in the Community Development areas.

Twenty six pilot projects were launched with a view to (i) "developing cottage and small-scale industries in a co-ordinated and integrated manner, taking into consideration the various schemes of the six all-India Boards; (ii) developing a pattern of industrial extension service that would be necessary in undertaking a rural industrial programme in Community Development Blocks and National Extension Service areas; (iii) acting as laboratories for controlled observations to find possible solutions to problems that have come up in the field of cottage and small-scale industries; (iv) studying the possibilities of planning for rural industries with people's participation; (v) studying the possibilities of developing markets for products of cottage industries locally, with the participation of people and project staff; and (vi) assessing experiences of these pilot projects and making use of such experience in the field of development of cottage and small scale industries in other Community Development blocks and National Extension Service areas in the country."

Every pilot project has been placed in charge of a Community Project Officer (Industries), who is assisted by an Extension Officer (Industries) for each Block. There is also some supervisory staff to assist him.

The pilot projects have high-lighted some of the weak points in the rural industrialisation programme. These are: (a) rigidity of rules for grant of loans to artisans; (b) want of adequate supervision of the State at the district level, etc; (c) lack of co-ordination between various State Boards, Industries Department and Community Project work; (d) delay in registration of industrial co-operatives; (e) need of

marketing products of village industries, particularly locally; (f) getting necessary technical assistance; (g) getting adequate finances; (h) getting necessary materials, such as iron and steel; (i) need to decentralize powers to State Governments to sanction schemes; (j) need to decentralise powers relating to implementation by State Government to Industries Department, district officers and other local officers, and (k) need to follow up training very closely so that the trainees are profitably settled in the trades for which they are trained.

Corrective measures are being taken to remove these bottle-necks and difficulties.

To ensure orderly growth of industries in a planned way, nine small industrial estates, costing about Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs each, were sanctioned by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Work on schemes and plans in most of the estates is under way.

In addition to the industrial estates, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has also earmarked 20 rural industrial estates for Community Development blocks, each costing about Rs. 2 to 3 lakhs, with a view to helping the growth of industries on a decentralised basis. State Governments have selected the sites for locating these estates.

CHAPTER XIII

ANNUAL CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

To promote an integrated outlook on the Community Development programme, it is necessary not only to facilitate exchange of views and experiences among officers at different levels, but also to ensure co-ordination and such exchanges of views between representatives of various ministries at the Centre.

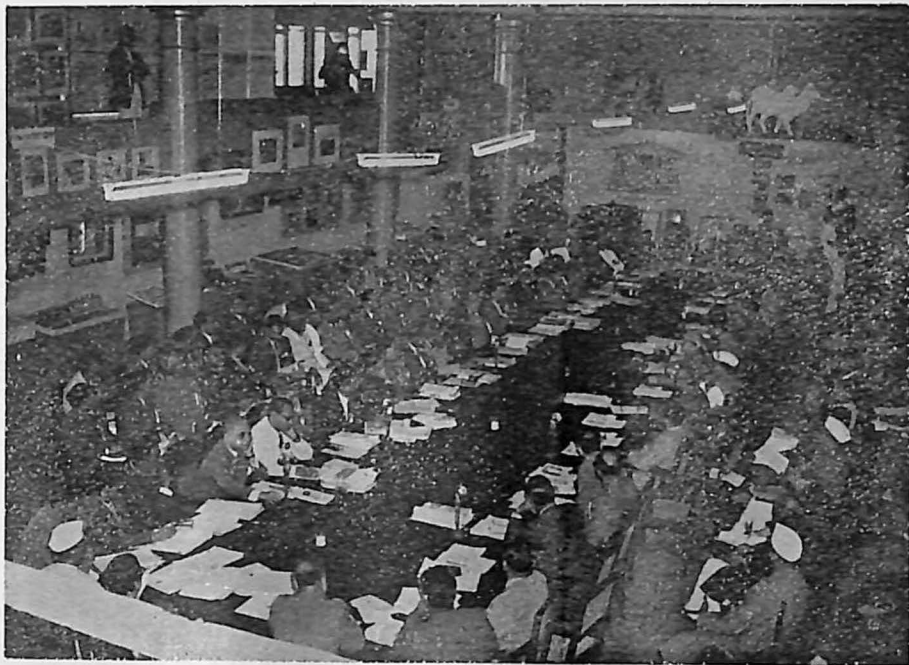
At the lowest level, take the case of Village Level Worker. After training he is given directions and told of targets and is posted to a circle of ten villages. He indicates the results achieved, and some time also the difficulties that he comes up against, to the Block headquarters.

Now, what appears difficult to him may possibly have been solved by some other V.L.W. in the same block, or may be in the State.

It would naturally be fruitful if an opportunity could be provided to the V.L.W.s of a block, or at the higher levels, to get together, so that they can share their experiences.

What is true of V.L.W.s is also true of the Block Development Officers, heads of Development Departments and State Development Commissioners.

To achieve overall success of the developmental programmes, it is necessary to ensure that successes of the programme are not limited to just a few areas, or to a few States. These must be uniform on all fronts and in all parts of the country.



*A view of the Fourth Development Commissioners' Conference
which commenced in Simla on May 9, 1955.*

This, however, calls for a study of the reasons which may have made the programme in a particular area a success and also the application of the results of such analysis to areas where success has been limited.

To evolve a common approach based on such experiences, therefore, the Ministry of Community Development introduced—perhaps for the first time in this country—the State Development Commissioners' conferences at the all-India level, regional or inter-State seminars for a group of States, as also intra-State seminars. All these are part of the In-service training programme for key staff at different levels.

Discussions in the early stages of the Community Development programme centred mainly round administrative and organisational problems, and delegates to the seminars included people drawn mostly from the administrative ranks.

With the awakening and the enthusiasm generated among the people, and also with a better understanding of the programme, it was felt that a stage had been reached when subjects, such as agriculture, industries, public health, social education etc. required a closer study, through bringing together the Development Departmental staff at all levels, as also persons connected with research on the subject. This, it was realised, would help arrive at an assessment of the working of the programme from a technical standpoint.

The Development Commissioners themselves recognised the paramount need of energising and revitalising the technical agencies of their own States, so as to integrate the working of the experts and the administrators in the field.

The administrative measures which they envisaged for revitalising the technical agencies included the substitution of technical, or subject-matter, seminars for the general administrative seminars at three levels—the national, the State and the divisional.

In association with the concerned Ministries at the Centre, these seminars were held in subjects, e.g. (i) Agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation and agricultural co-operatives, (ii) Village industries, rural housing and industrial co-operatives, (iii) Panchayats, medical and public health, and (iv) Education, social education, (v) Women's and children's programme. Participants in these seminars included heads of relevant departments of the States, the Development Commissioners and others associated with the subjects at district and block levels.

Delegates to such seminars could not naturally be restricted to the States within the zone in which the venue of the seminar was located, but were drawn from all the States.

The regional or intra-State seminars and the annual conferences of State Development Commissioners have also reviewed the programmes and provided an open forum for free and critical discussions of issues which have come up from the ground level.

While at the regional level participants included personnel from all levels of administration, participants in the intra-State seminars included not only the V.L.W.s but also some of the district and block staff and village people.

At the national level, the conference of Development Commissioners—which has been an annual feature since 1952—has reviewed the progress, taken stock of the situation on the basis of Programme

Evaluation Organisation's reports and also discussed the problems thrown up from bottom. It has laid down the policy for the following year. The conference has gradually grown in size, as a result of the inclusion of representatives of Planning Commission and Union Ministries dealing with development programmes, e.g. those of F. & A., Transport, Health, etc.

In 1957 for the first time the Heads of departments of the State Development Departments were also included and, in accordance with the decision taken at this conference in May, 1957. since the following year, i.e. 1958, this conference has been called the National Conference on Community Development.

CHAPTER XIV

PROGRAMME EVALUATION

Evaluation means measurement, assessment or appraisal of progress made in any undertaking with a view to improving the operational efficiency of any given programme. It is also "an analysis by which one is able to understand and appreciate the relative merits of deficiencies of persons, groups, programmes, situations, methods and processes" with a view to "determining how far an activity has progress and how much further it should be carried to accomplish the objectives".

It is an essential part of the organisational process, because "organisations that neglect it risk decay."

The principal object of programme evaluation is to point the way to progress, by checking and testing the methods and procedures against needs and accomplishments, so that changes could be brought about in the light of findings.

While, on the one hand, evaluation is only census-recording, on the other hand, it involves fundamental research. The findings serve as a valuable guidance to field workers, and also provide a periodic check on the extension methods and procedures, thus giving direction to the continued improvement of the programme.

Evaluation also helps to determine whether or not major objectives and specific purposes of any particular programme have been achieved and fur-

nishes data which provide a sound basis for the future planning of programmes. Incidentally, it gives satisfaction to field workers through an understanding and appreciation of what has been achieved, and helps the people to devise means for concentrated efforts and develop confidence among them as well as the workers.

Analysis and assessment necessary for successful execution of individual projects can be undertaken by persons and organisations connected with the execution of projects. But to be objective, reliable and simple, evaluation has to be undertaken by an agency which is not burdened by the day-to-day problems of planning and execution of the programme and which is independent.

Evaluation presumes a certain scale of values, because, except in relation to objectives, it would be meaningless. It is to be done in relation to the main goals or objectives of the development programme. Evaluation, therefore, proceeds on the basis of "identification of the important objectives to be achieved, the definition of these objectives, in terms of the behaviour which would characterize them, the observation and collection of the data, the use of norms and standards to judge the adequacy of the behaviour."

Following are some of the current methods and devices of evaluation :—

1. To determine the importance and value people place on things. (Value Scale)
2. To determine how people feel towards a particular social programme or problem. (Attitude Scale)

3. To determine the replies, in 'yes' or 'not'.
(Opinion Poll)

4. To find out if a person understands and can apply the knowledge taught. (Knowledge or understanding test for schools)

5. To find out the interest and impressions of people. (Interest Scale)

6. To judge the amount and degree of skill or performance. (Skill and performance test)

7. To find out whether a certain recommended practice is followed or not. (Adoption Test)

8. To study the problem of an individual family.
(Case History)

Most of the above methods are based on the personal judgments of people and, therefore, subject to error, bias and differences in outlook. To be thorough, evaluation requires the use of a combination of methods.

Practical methods are surveys, interviews, questionnaires, case studies and success or failure stories. To assess the qualitative and quantitative progress of the programme such studies can be conducted either in an informal or in a formal way.

The C.D. and N.E.S. programme in India aims at bringing about a social and economic regeneration of the countryside by kindling a desire for better living among the poor and illiterate village folk. People's participation is the essence of the whole programme. To ensure its success, the implementation of the programme has to be vigilantly watched, so as to detect, in time, any methods or techniques which are unsuccessful, *i.e.* before they become too costly. Successful methods have to be publicized so as to promote wider

adoption elsewhere. It is also essential to ascertain how far the fundamental aims are being achieved and what are the weak and strong points of the movement.

The all-India conferences and the regional and intra-State seminars all, in a way, help evaluate the operations of the programme. They also assist in drawing up plans to guide the next year's programme. These seminars and conferences, however, are an integral part of the Community Development Ministry's activities. To ensure a continuing and objective assessment of the working of the programme—its plans, activities and development—from year to year, it appeared desirable to have an organisation, completely independent of the C.P.A., to evolve methods of approval and to evaluate results so essential to gauge the success of the movement from time to time and also to indicate the directions in which the programme needed modification.

Hence the establishment of the Programme Evaluation Organisation, which is directly under the Planning Commission. The organisation is perhaps the only such body to be set up by any Government and certainly by the Government of India. It makes a scientific and concentrated analysis of current operations and policies, which helps planners and administrators to effect improvements, and which informs the public so as to influence public opinion as also legislators.

The organisation's annual reports, based on an objective study and on an analysis of the extent to which the programme is reaching all segments of village people, have proved extremely useful for future programme guidance. These reports are looked upon as a friendly and constructive activity, involving both research and education.

The Programme Evaluation Organisation was constituted with the assistance of Ford Foundation which agreed to make a substantial contribution towards the establishment of this organisation for three years.

The principal functions of the Programme Evaluation Organisation were as follows :—

- (1) Current appraising of progress towards accomplishing programme objectives;
- (2) Pointing out extension methods which are proving effective and those which are not;
- (3) Helping to explain why some practices are adopted, while others are rejected by the villagers; and
- (4) Furnishing an insight into the impact of the Community Development programme upon rural economy and culture.

While at the Centre we have the Programme Evaluation Organisation, one evaluation centre has also been started in nearly every State, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee for evaluating methods of approach and of results. These organisations work in close liaison with the Central organisation, and in conformity with the methods suggested by it. The centres at State level are staffed by a project evaluation officer each and some assistants.

Formal and methodical evaluation by the Programme Evaluation Organisation at the Central or State level being impossible in all the blocks and also about all the activities, it is absolutely necessary that Block staff should constantly resort to self-evaluation. Such an assessment is done at Block level by the B.D.O. and at village level by the Village Level

Worker. The B.D.O. has to continually evaluate his progress and success in (1) his relations with the Block staff, (2) the staff's relations with the villagers, and (3) the progress made by village people in assuming leadership for guiding and mobilizing the village to participate in village development programmes.

The Block staff also evaluate their own methods of work, their successes in securing people's participation and their interpretation of the programme's objectives etc.

The C.D. and N.E.S. staff has always been aware that the greatest danger to the programme is a sense of complacency and a feeling that there is no scope for further exploration and new approaches. They maintain an open mind and develop a self-analytical attitude about themselves, the programmes, the objectives, methods and accomplishments.

In addition to the factual statements, reports, etc., the Programme Evaluation Organisation and other organisations have also conducted special investigations and surveys:—

The Bench-Mark Survey is to determine (a) the extent of adoption by villagers of improved practices, especially in Agriculture and their participation in works of Community Development, and (b) the effects of such adoption and participation upon production, employment and levels of living of the rural people. This Survey is so called because it establishes the base line, or bench-mark, studies of village groups or factions, of health and levels of living, of farm expenses and activities and of administrative counterparts of developmental programmes.

While the Bench-Mark Survey brings out, among other things, the extent of adoption of improved agri-

cultural practices or participation by people in works of collective benefit, the purpose of an Acceptance of Practice enquiry is to probe further, and, by more intensive questioning of a smaller number of respondents, to throw light on such points as (1) the reasons for incentives for adoption, partial adoption or non-adoption of particular programmes sponsored by the project, (2) attitudes of the people towards specific programmes which they have adopted, whether their experience has been one of success and satisfaction, or otherwise, whether adoption is likely to increase in future as a result of their past experience, and (3) facilities obtained by people for adopting these programmes, and facilities desired by them for effective adoption in the future.

Such studies have been conducted by all evaluation centres in the same villages in which the Benchmark Surveys had been carried out earlier. Each centre has covered about 250 families, comprising of about 25 per cent of the total number of families.

An Input Requirements Study is undertaken for obtaining data regarding agricultural input of a current nature (excluding capital investment), in relation to certain important crops affected by the agricultural development programme. For each of these crops and also for each of the selected villages, a budget of resources required for the current input per acre is to be constructed by discussions with knowledgeable farmers.. The input data collected on the basis of this survey are used also to establish a baseline position with regard to the use of different items, such as seeds, manures, labour, water etc. so that in future studies the same could be compared and the changes could be assessed.

Such studies have been carried out in 9 blocks in respect of specified crops, *e.g.* paddy in Smalkot,

Kolhapur, Mandya, Bhadrak and Bhathat; cotton in Morsi and Bhadson; wheat in Batala; surgarcane in Kolhapur and potatoes in Kufri and Narkanda in Himachal Pradesh. Samples from about 60 cultivators growing the crops concerned were selected for this purpose in each block.

Sociological Surveys relate to studies of social organisations, factions and leadership and the impact of the development programme on village social life.

The Coverage Enquiry in terms of the programme has been related to 41 items, dealing with different aspects of rural, social and economic activity. In the 702 villages that were surveyed for the purpose of assessing physical achievements, from 17 evaluation centres; it was found that there were practically no villages which had not been covered by one or other of the 41 items.

On analysis of the figures in regard to individual items in the programme it was found that there was a greater degree of variation in achievements. The most successful item in terms of coverage was that of improved agricultural practices, no less than 95 per cent of the sample villages having been covered by one or other of the items of improved agricultural practices, sample villages in 11 project areas having a coverage of 100 per cent.

An attempt was made during the course of the Coverage Enquiry to assess the extent to which a positive change was in evidence in the use of improved agricultural practices.

Data on acceptance of one or other of improved practices, irrespective of the number of persons involved, were classified under distinguishable categories: (i) positive change of rising degree of acceptance and movement from a lower to a higher cate-

gory, (ii) a negative change devoting movement from a higher to a lower category and (iii) no change, denoting absence of movement. As the same village contained more than one item of improved practice, it could have, simultaneously, the attributes of positive change, negative change and no change. All these attributes taken together indicated the general nature of the change taking place in the village.

An Aspect of Social Change enquiry was undertaken for the first time to study more specifically items related to assessment of social change. Owing to paucity of basic statistical data, and also to the concepts and methods in this field being not well developed, this assessment was a difficult task. In building up a picture of the changing economic and social life of these villages, therefore, the data of this study were complementary to the quantitative data collected through these two latter surveys.

The six criteria selected for this study included (1) awareness among the rural people of possibilities of improvement through adoption of scientific methods in various fields of activity—agricultural, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, cottage industries, etc., (2) confidence in their own ability to adopt these practices, (3) realisation of advantages of co-operative action, (4) community life, (5) understanding and co-operation between officials and non-officials, and (6) awareness of possibilities of economic and social improvement, through the development programmes, and a feeling of participation in these, among the under-privileged groups. The changes in attitude were inevitably to be expressed in concrete terms—adoption or rejection of an item in community action and the working of an institution in which officials and non-officials come together, etc. etc.

The method of the study consisted of the Evaluation Officers' stay in each of the three selected villages

for a period of one week, when he was engaged in observations of village life and interviews with respondents belonging to different social and economic groups.

The Evaluation Officers had, of course, known these villages over a period of more than three years. They had conducted the Bench-Mark Surveys, the Acceptance of Practices surveys and other developments in these areas. Besides the one-week stay for the specific purpose of this study, the Evaluation Officers' acquaintance with these villages for this entire period had gone into their observations.

Besides stay and interviews in the selected villages, each Programme Evaluation Organisation holds discussions with project and departmental officials and selected non-officials on various questions included in the study. These discussions are particularly important for the portions dealing with the attitude of the officials towards the people, and co-operation between officials and non-officials.

The Programme Evaluation Organisation at the Centre also undertook in 1957 studies on the (i) working of the Block Advisory Committees; (ii) working of the Community Centres; (iii) People's participation in Community Projects (iv) people's attitudes to Community Projects; (v) impact of Community Projects on Harijans; (vi) the B.D.O. and the specialist staff; (vii) problems of administrative co-ordination at the Block and State levels; and (viii) programmes for women and children.

These studies were undertaken and completed in 22 Blocks which were selected on an objective basis. The results of this study were embodied in the COPP's Report.

CHAPTER XV

EXTENSION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The Community Development programme in one form or another is now being implemented in most countries of America, Europe and Asia.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations recommended in 1953 concerted international action in the social field, particularly the promotion and implementation of Community Development policies and programmes, including training facilities, and the strengthening of organisations for administering social programmes relating to Community Development.

The basic elements or guiding principles of the Community Development programme, as recommended by the Council, were as follows :—

- (1) Activities undertaken must correspond to the basic needs of the community; the first projects should be initiated in response to the expressed needs of the people.
- (2) Local improvements may be achieved through unrelated efforts in each substantive field; however, full and balanced community development requires concerted action and the establishment of multi-purpose programmes.
- (3) Changed attitudes in people are as important as the material achievements of community projects during the initial stages of development.

- (4) Community Development aims at increased and better participation of the people in community affairs, revitalization of existing forms of local government and transition towards effective local administration where it is not yet functioning.
- (5) The identification, encouragement and training of local leadership should be a basic objective in any programme.
- (6) Greater reliance on the participation of women and youth in community projects invigorates development programmes, establishes them on wide basis and secure long-range expansion.
- (7) To be fully effective, communities' self-help projects require both intensive and extensive assistance by the government.
- (8) Implementation of a Community development programme on a national scale requires adoption of consistent policies, specific administrative arrangements, recruitment and training of personnel, mobilization of local and national resources and organisation of research, experimentation and evaluation.
- (9) The resources of voluntary non-governmental organisations should be fully utilised in Community Development programmes at the local, national and international level.
- (10) Economic and social progress at the local level necessitates parallel development on a wider national scale.

An attempt has been made in the pages that follow to give a brief account of the progress of the

Community Development programme in some of the important countries.

United States of America

The Land Grant Colleges in U.S.A. provided educational facilities in agriculture and home economics to their students. Farmers living at a distance from the agricultural colleges evinced interest and wanted that the college staff should go out into the field, reach the farmers and teach them the new techniques of farming based on the results of research. To meet the farmers' needs the colleges started extending knowledge. Thus came into being what is known as the Extension Service. By 1914 it had assumed nation-wide importance.

Extension to the American people means "out of school, roadside education" aimed at "better homes and better farms" which could "feed, clothe, and strengthen the nation." It is an educational programme, affecting lives on farms and in homes, in communities and countries, in order to bring about social changes. The range of subjects it covers is wide and relates to community life, agricultural farms and homes. The overall objective is the improvement of the individual.

Some of the concrete objectives of extension services in the U.S.A. are (1) to convey technical knowledge and help to the farmer, to improve his farming practices and to increase his income, thereby raising his standard of living; (2) to train youth to take his place as a member of the family, community and society; (3) to promote the social, cultural, recreational, intellectual and spiritual life of the rural people; (4) to provide opportunities to rural people for the development of their talents,

through work, recreation, social life and leadership; and (5) to build a self-reliant, independent and efficient rural citizenry, proud of its occupation and with a love of home and country at heart.

The extension work in the U.S.A. is sometimes known as "Co-operative Agricultural Extension work." The county extension agent, who constitutes the most important link in this organisation, looks after agricultural work and youth organisation. In addition, there is a home demonstration agent, who works with rural women, for domestic matters. Sometimes, there is also a separate 4-H Club for work among rural boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 20 years.

At the head of the Federal Extension Service is an Extension Director with his counterpart in each State. Below them is the county agent who visits farms and homes, gives demonstrations and holds individual and group discussions.

United Kingdom

Extension in the United Kingdom started with private agencies. Originally it was confined to agricultural education and research only. When, however, the Board of Agriculture (constituted in 1889) was authorised by an Act in 1890 to give funds to the county councils for technical education, the councils organised a programme of agricultural education in the form of starting classes, giving lectures, starting agricultural colleges or departments of agriculture in the universities.

The Development Fund Act, passed in 1909, provided that funds upto 75 per cent of the expenditure were to be made available for agricultural education

and research. As a result of this enactment, Farm Institutes came into existence in some counties. These institutes provided instructions in practical farming to boys and girls of 16 years or more for a period of one year. And institute became in due course a meeting place for farmers who derived benefits from the demonstrations, as also from the results of various research projects. The *institutes* also gave birth to organisations such as the Young Farmers' Clubs, etc.

Extension work in agriculture in the United Kingdom has been carried on by (a) the Community Agriculture Services and (b) the Agriculture Advisory Services, organised by an Agricultural Committee of a County Council.

For the operation of Advisory Services the county was divided into advisory provinces, with headquarters at an Agricultural College or the Agriculture Department of a University.

The county organiser functioning at county level was the chief functionary. Generally he was the principal of the Farm Institute, if one happened to be there. Otherwise he had his headquarters at the county capital. Counties of a fairly large size also provided for specialists in different subjects.

The Department of Agriculture, the National Farmers' Union and other organisations provided lectures, films and other educational activities. As the scope of extension work expanded, the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs and Women's organisations were also formed while the rising generation of young farmers found opportunities to develop the personalities of youth. Women's Institutes did good work to improve home conditions in rural

areas. The two participated in lectures, discussions, music, drama, rural handicrafts, fruit preservation etc. etc.

World War II saw the introduction of several grow more food schemes, designed to step up agricultural production, Farm Surveys, Farm Walks campaigns etc. The National Milk Testing and Advisory Scheme improved the quality of milk. The Victory Garden movement created interest in gardening. Farmers themselves started producing vegetables in large quantities. Domestic Poultry Keepers Clubs provided encouragement to backyard poultry-keeping.

All extension organisations have since been amalgamated into the National Advisory Service, which is centrally controlled, and financed. The number of Farm Institutes has also increased.

China

Chinese farmers, who constitute 80 per cent of the total population, for centuries past have followed old traditions and patterns of living. They had few amenities of life. The National Committee of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. in 1915 sponsored a lecture tour for reafforestation. The programme, carried on for about two decades, met with enthusiastic response from the people. The Agricultural College of Nanking University also introduced extension system to improve cotton production, and, on the advice of an American specialist, some new varieties of cotton were introduced, and knowledge was extended to the farmers. The Mass Education Movement started by Dr. Y. C. James Yen organised literacy campaigns, agricultural and economic reconstruction work, rural health programmes and citizenship education. Nanking Univer-

sity, which set up an Extension Division in the College of Agriculture in 1924, also did good work in agricultural training, experimentation and extension. Lingnan University of Canton Province too did useful work in seed selection, fruit culture, soil analysis, insect control, crop rotation, home economies etc.

The Chinese National Government set up the National Committee of Agricultural Extension Service, which in 1929 organised three Divisions, namely, Land-Administration, water conservation commission and Farmers Bank of China.

In 1943, the Chinese Agricultural Association prepared an outline for postwar agricultural reconstruction in China, under which it was proposed to start nine bureaus in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. One of these was to be the Central Extension Office with the following four Divisions:—

- (a) Rural Co-operation, including Agricultural Production, Processing, Marketing etc.
- (b) Land use, planning and development farm implement, and irrigation.
- (c) Information activities.
- (d) Field co-ordination.

Regional offices were to be attached to the Central Extension Office, each maintaining a travelling demonstration team composed of subject matter specialists who would keep close contact with different extension officers in the country under the Central Extension Office.

Owing to illiteracy, lack of conservation and communications, trained leadership and proper supervision of specialists, and owing to social unrest, the extension programme in China made very little progress.

Then came the Revolution of 1949-50. This brought about some revolutionary changes in the Chinese agrarian economy. Among the first things done by the Communists was the abolition of landlordism and the distribution of lands amongst the tillers. Next came the Mutual Aid Teams campaign, whereunder peasants worked on their own and others' farm lands. This led to the mass movement for co-operativisation in 1955. By 1956 there were 110 million households organised into 750,000 co-operatives.

The primary agricultural co-operatives, in due course, were followed by the advanced and bigger producers' co-operatives of about 100 households. The taking over of the lands by co-operatives in the early stages did not mean the abolition of the peasants' rights in property and each member, or his household, got a share in the dividend on the land it had placed in the common pool of the co-operative. It nevertheless proved to be the first step to collectivization. The labour force was small and the resources and the productive capacity of the co-operatives were limited.

In August, 1958, came what has been called the 'Leap Forward' movement, which, through the merger of co-operatives brought into being the communes. This meant abolition, at one stroke, of the private ownership of land, or means of production. The commune of seven to eight thousand households, became the unit of social and economic organisation. It is now the commune which looks to industrialising, urbanising and communising the countryside through the help of the units of local People's Militia. To bring about discipline, organised life and the capacity for defence, the production programme and the military training have been merged into one. In 1956

the sown area increased by more than 16 million acres. Co-operatives enabled rationalised use of machinery, pest control, etc. There were also mass campaign for multiple cropping of practices, afforestation reclamation of marshy lands and swamps, improvement of soil, etc.

The Leap Forward movement of communisation of agricultural and other production is on a very big scale indeed. Intellectuals, teachers, administrators all have been mobilised to help the villagers. Leaders and party cadres spend several months on agricultural work, and themselves cultivate the experimental demonstration plots. There are also on-the-spot conferences to systematise experiences to resolve local problems. China has thus tapped its tremendous human resources for capital formation.

Under the Leap Forward programme, considerable emphasis has been laid on provision of (i) adequate supply of water, through storage, construction of small projects through co-operative effort and mobilization of people for combining the big, medium and small projects, the State looking after only the big projects, (ii) use of plenty of manure, (iii) use of deep ploughing for the improvement of soil, (iv) use of improved seeds, (v) close planting and (vi) field management. Particular attention has been paid to irrigation. Millions of people have been mobilised to build irrigation works and, if press reports are to be believed, the additional area brought under irrigation during eight months totalled more than 66 million acres, as against 16 million acres in 1956. This is nothing short of a miracle. Considerable quantities of manure, chemical and farmyard, were also used. In addition, the use of improved seeds, improved ploughs for deep ploughing, and close planting have had a deep impact in increasing production of food-grains. It has been claimed by the Chinese authorities

that the estimated figure of production in the autumn of 1958 was nearly double of the peak production before World War II and 70 per cent more than 1957's. This means that the increase has been brought about on a countrywide scale. This anyway has enabled them to claim that they are within sight of the Communistic goal of "each one according to his ability; to each one according to his needs" (as against "each one according to his work").

Japan

Almost all the arable land in Japan has been exhaustively brought under cultivation. Agriculture consists of small farm households whose farming practices depend mostly on unpaid family labour. The land is intensely cultivated, and the yield per hectare of most crops is the highest among the Far Eastern countries, more so in the case of paddy cultivation. The scale of Japan's agriculture is very small. Its capital outlay too is small. The rationalisation of agricultural production and raising of the farmer's standard of living are the most outstanding problems which are being solved by the Government through an extension service which is carried out by a large number of extension workers who advise farmers on farming and home-making. The extension service is rendered jointly by the Central and Local Governments. There are today about 1500 home advisors, and 700 subject-matter specialists who extend knowledge and guide the farmers in all aspects of agricultural practices and home improvements.

Yugoslavia

Community Development programme in Yugoslavia forms part of the country's general economic and social development programme. The importance attached to the programme is clear from the fact that

there is a permanent commission on community development within the framework of the National Assembly, the commission being the consultative and evaluating organisation to advise the Government's executive branch on problems in this field of activity.

The implementation of Yugoslavia's community development programme has some unique features, arising largely out of the general administrative structure, under which local government is based on municipal and district divisions in the half a dozen Republics of the Federal Government.

The local agencies proceed on the basis of community management of health services, social welfare and education etc.

The municipality in Yugoslavia is responsible for a number of activities, socio-economic, educational, social and cultural. Each municipality prepares its own plans of development on the basis of its revenues and the assistance that it receives from the Federal or the Republic Government for activities such as educational and health.

The Central Government agencies, and those of the Republics delegate powers and authority to the local agencies *i.e.* at the municipal and district levels. The resources available to the local communities have in recent years been increased in the light of the overall national plans for the particular districts and municipalities. An effort is made to ensure the participation by the people in taking decisions on problems affecting the community as a whole.

To bring the local government closer to the people and to make it possible for certain acts of direct interest to the citizens of the particular communities

to be performed by the communities themselves the municipal government is headed by a people's committee which is elected for a three-year period. In municipalities of bigger size, however, citizens form local committees within their communities.

Co-operatives play a very important and useful role in fields *e.g.* child care, educational, home economics etc. programmes. Various co-operative organisations have sponsored education in improved methods of agriculture through model farms. They have established village libraries or radio centres. Some of these activities have grown out of the consumers' marketing or credit co-operatives. Peasant co-operatives, based on collective farming, have been established in many parts of the country, particularly in order to take care of the needs of the landless and poor peasants.

Generally speaking, every community in Yugoslavia has a co-operative general agricultural association, which provides agricultural implements and machinery, breeding livestock, bank credit etc., to stimulate collective production by setting up smaller agricultural co-operative plants for the processing of agricultural produce, purchasing agricultural produce and so on. Such co-operatives number nearly 7,000 with a membership of over three million, that is, over 38 per cent of all peasant farms. These village co-operatives receive technical service in agricultural veterinary, industrial, and other fields through the district co-operative union.

The municipalities have also built co-operative homes as centres for economic, educational, political and other activities. A "co-operative home" or "hall" often includes a theatre for several hundred people, a co-operative store and offices, a gymnasium, a restaurant, reading and game rooms, rooms for classes in home economics and perhaps a health centre.

Yugoslavia has no agricultural extension service. However, agricultural specialists and veterinary doctors are available to advise peasant co-operatives which have to pay for the services. While the research institutes and experimental and demonstration centres are directed primarily to the needs of larger production units, there are several sponsoring agencies which provide services, such as home improvement, sanitation homecrafts, domestic science, child-care, nutrition, livestock improvement and loans for equipment for the farmers.

Public health services are normally located in the municipal centres or district towns. A uniform health service, based on curative and preventive measures, is being introduced slowly in each district and each municipality. Special emphasis is being laid on maternity and child welfare activities.

There is also the general policy of extension of family aids within the community. These aids include day nurseries, creches, summer vacation homes, school kitchens, children's homes, playgrounds etc., established by municipalities and social organisations, or schools. The social organisations interested in children's welfare themselves enlist the help of parents, health and educational workers and other citizens of the State.

Voluntary associations play an important role in local government and collaborate with organs of local government, initiating actions or projects forming part of local policies. These include, among others, the people's Youth Union, the Union of Communists and the Socialist Union of the Working People which is the "main mobilising force in taking collective initiative and stimulating active participation of the broadest masses of citizens in the development of their local communities."

Extension work on well-organised lines is also being done in the other Balkan countries and every country has some achievements in agriculture, home-making and health, under the aegis of Ministries of Agriculture. The programme, however, suffers from several handicaps, e.g. inadequacy of finance, lack of training facilities, lack of cooperation from voluntary organisations etc.

Arab States

The *Fellahn*, or farmer in Arab countries, is generally illiterate and ignorant and he continually needs credit and is always under debt. Land problem, coupled with low agricultural yield, makes his position really difficult. Extension work, in its real form, however, is still in the formative stage. In each country, there is the Ministry of Agriculture, which has agricultural experimental stations for improving crops and livestock. A small number of agricultural agents has been appointed for field work, but they are unable to do any real educational service to the cultivator.

Egypt leads other countries in many respects. Its Ministry of Agriculture has a separate section for extension, whose function is to make available agricultural knowledge to the cultivators. Agricultural centres have also been established for every 15000 acres of land. The Ministry of Social Affairs has established a special *Fellah Bureau* which runs Rural Welfare Centres.

Israel

Extension work in Israel has been done through village schools where agriculture is a part of the school curriculum. Demonstration plots laid out in school compounds serve as quick extension media. The

scope of work has been widened to include, besides agriculture, health, recreation and home welfare.

Pioneering work has been done by the Institute of Rural Life in Lebanon and Syria. The Institute has started a voluntary organisation, called the Village Welfare Service, which has done good work in the field of agriculture, health, literacy, recreation and home welfare by organising camps.

Iraq too has also taken long strides recently in the field of agriculture improvement through experimental stations, field agents and other educational and training activities.

Pakistan

Pakistan launched its village Agricultural-Industrial Development Programme (Village AID Programme) in 1953. Its specific objectives were: (a) to raise rapidly the productive output and real income of the villager by bringing to him the help of modern techniques of farming, sanitation and health, co-operatives, cottage industries, etc.; (b) to multiply the community services available in rural areas, such as schools, dispensaries, health centres, hospitals, sources of pure water supply etc. thereby increasing the national assets; (c) to create a spirit of self-help, initiative, leadership and co-operation among the villagers; (d) to create conditions for a richer and higher life through social activities—for both men and women; (e) to co-ordinate the working of different departments of the Government, and to extend their activities to the villages by providing an extension service to the contry; and (f) to give a welfare bias to the entire administrative structure of the Government.

The Village AID Programme, in short, is a multi-purpose programme designed to develop rural areas on aided self-help principle.

The three multipurpose workers in this programme are the village worker, the development officer, the village supervisor. The village worker is the keyman. He acts as a liaison between the villagers and the nation-building departments. The development officer is in charge of a development area consisting of about 150 villages with a population of about 1 lakh. He is assisted by village supervisors, technical officers for agriculture, education, animal husbandry, public health, public works, as well as co-operatives and marketing, one sanitary overseer, one part-time film operator, the social education officers (one man and one woman), thirty five village AID workers (30 men and 5 women), 15 secretaries for co-operatives and 7 adult literacy teachers.

For each development area, there is one advisory committee and efforts are made to secure people's participation in all the developmental programmes. Besides the villagers AID programme, community development programme has also been initiated in a few urban areas.

Burma

Burma Community Development Programme, launched under the Mass Education Programme, was designed "to lift the masses out of the slough of disease, want and ignorance... and to equip them with the necessary fundamental education so that they may conscientiously discharge their responsibilities as citizens of a free country." The objectives of the programme included: (1) to improve national health; (2) to create opportunities for self-expression and for fuller and better integrated life; (3) to promote agricultural development through co-operative efforts; (4) to eradicate illiteracy through co-operative efforts; and (5) to promote democratic traditions.

The Mass Education Council, which is responsible for the formulation and execution of the Mass Education programmes in collaboration with the Ministry of Social Welfare has three functional units: (1) the administrative body, (2) the Training Centre for mass education organisers, and (3) the cadre of the mass education organisers; who are given one year's training, including one month's probation, four month's theoretical training, three month's practical field work and apprenticeship and four months for discussion and preparation of thesis.

Mass education centres are started in places where adult education classes are already organised, and activities, like education, health and hygiene, livelihood and voluntary services, under way.

A new programme of community development was launched in 1952 in backward areas. Mobile teams of six workers each were formed to work in groups of 15 villages. Each team consisted of one social worker, one community development organiser, and two women for work on the family and domestic aspects.

A multipurpose community development pilot project was started in 1954 at Payagi in Pegu district. It aimed at developing economic, social and cultural aspects of rural life. The villagers, however, failed to identify themselves with the facilities established, and there was very little people's participation in planning. A second project was started in 1956 in the Meiktila Dis' rict.

APPENDIX—A

ALLOTMENT OF BLOCKS

1952-53	..	210½
1953-54	..	62
1954-55	..	20½
1955-56	..	350
1956-57	..	743½
1957-58	..	793½
1958-59	..	255
Total		2405

THE YEAR-WISE PHASING OF THE FUTURE PROGRAMME UPTO OCTOBER, 1953, IS AS FOLLOWS :

April, 1959	..	150
October, 1959	..	150
April, 1960	..	200
October, 1960	..	200
April, 1961	..	250
October, 1962	..	300
April, 1962	..	300
October, 1962	..	300
April, 1963	..	400
October, 1963	..	400
Total		2,600

STAGEWISE COVERAGE OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Series	No. of Blocks allotted	No. of villages covered (approx.)	Population covered in millions. (approx.)
1	2	3	4
<i>C.D. Blocks including Special Multipurpose blocks</i>			
1956-57	252½	36,017	18.59
1957-58	189½	26,651	11.84
STAGE I BLOCKS			
1954-55	20½	2,977	1.83
1955-56	190½	26,143	13.30
1956-57	491	66,815	33.30
1957-58	604	65,922	39.95
1958-59	255	22,387	14.58
STAGE II BLOCKS			
1952-53	210½	26,904	15.35
1953-54	62	7,693	3.91
1955-56	159½	21,438	12.40
TOTAL	*2,405	302,947	165.05

*Excludes pre-extension blocks allotted for April and October, 1959.

APPENDIX—B

C.O.P.P. STUDY TEAM'S REPORT : A SUMMARY

The Committee on Plan Projects in December, 1956, appointed a Study Team consisting of Sarvashri Balwantray G. Mehta, Shankar Dayal Sharma, B. G. Rao, I.C.S., Phool Singh, G. Ramachandran, D. P. Singh, I.A.S. (Member-Secretary), and Shri R. K. Trivedi, Joint Secretary, to study and report on the Community Projects and National Extension Service, with a view to economy and efficiency, with specific reference to the content of the programme and the priorities assigned to different fields of activity; the intensification of activities in the sphere of agricultural production; co-ordination between the different Ministries or Departments at the Centre, the Centre and the States; and the different agencies within the Community Projects Administration and other State Government organisations and Departments; the organisational structure and methods of work with a view to securing a greater speed in the despatch of business; the requirements of personnel and examination of existing training facilities in order to meet the growing requirements of personnel; the extent to which the movement has succeeded in utilising and in creating institutions to ensure continuity in the process of improving economic and social conditions in rural areas; the methods adopted for reporting upon the results attained by the Community Projects and National Extension Service. The Team was also directed to make a special investigation into the district administration for ensuring that village panchayats are organically linked with popular organisations at a higher level.

The Team toured all the States, visited selected blocks and held discussions with the local public, local officers, district-level officials and others directly or indirectly connected with Community Development work and submitted a report which runs into 124 pages and has 18 sections dealing with various aspects of Community Development. Following are the highlights of the Team's report :—

Democratic Decentralisation :

Development cannot progress, according to the Report, without responsibility and power. Community Development can be real only when the community understands its problems, realises its responsibilities, exercises the necessary powers through its chosen representatives and maintains a constant and intelligent vigilance on local administration.

The Team, therefore, recommended "an early establishment of statutory elective local bodies and devolution to them of the necessary resources, power and authority." Government, it suggested, "should divest itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolve them on to an elected self-governing body, which will have the entire charge of all development work within its jurisdiction co-extensive with the development block.

The functions of this body, to be constituted by indirect election from the village panchayats and called the Panchayat Samiti, should cover the development of agriculture in all its aspects, animal husbandry, promotion of local industries, public health, welfare work, administration of primary schools and collection and maintenance of statistics.

The Panchayat Samiti should also act as an agent of the State Government in executing special schemes of development entrusted to it. Such a body "must have the power to make mistakes, and to learn by making mistakes, but must also receive guidance which will help it to avoid making mistakes. In the ultimate analysis, it must be an instrument of expression of the local people's will in regard to the local development."

The Team which was told of the fear that a block area may not be able to find competent persons in adequate numbers to function as Chairman and Members of this block body, said that it did not share these fears. "The country has found competent persons to take charge of its affairs at other levels; the needs and circumstances of the block level body will discover adequate personnel within its area."

Funds for Panchayat Samiti

The Team suggested that the following sources of income should be assigned to the Panchayat Samiti: a certain percentage of land revenue; cess on land revenue; tax on professions; surcharge on duty on transfer of immovable property, etc.

It also urged the State Governments to give adequate grants-in-aid, some conditionally, others unconditionally, and some others on a matching basis with due regard to economically backward areas.

All Central and State funds to be spent in a block should invariably be assigned to the Samiti, to be spent by it directly or indirectly.

The annual budget of the Panchayat Samiti, the Team suggested, should be approved by the Zila

Parishad, Government retaining a certain amount of control over the Samiti in public interest.

Village Panchayats

Dealing with village panchayats and their functions, the Team said that the compulsory duties of the village panchayats should include, among others, provision of water supply, sanitation, lighting, maintenance of roads, land management, collection and maintenance of record, and other statistics and the welfare of backward classes. The panchayats should be used as the agency for the collection of land revenue—and be paid some commission—and might be graded on the basis of their performance in the administrative and development fields; and only those which satisfied a certain basic minimum efficiency would be invested with this power. The village panchayats, in their turn, would receive from the panchayat samiti a statutorily prescribed share, upto three-fourths of the net land revenue assigned to the latter.

Apart from an organic link between the village panchayat and the panchayat samiti, the Team thought it necessary that a similar connection should exist between the Gram Sevak and the village panchayat. This could be secured by making him the development secretary of the Gram Panchayat, or, if there are more panchayats than one, of a committee of the village panchayats, within the jurisdiction of each Gram Sevak. This committee, composed of the sarpanches and upsarpanches of each of the village panchayats, should co-ordinate the budgets and formulate and execute the plans of all the village panchayats in the circle. Of this circle committee, the Gram Sevak should be the development secretary, so as to ensure that his own activities and the programmes of the various village panchayats are in complete consonance.

To ensure necessary co-ordination between the panchayat samitis, the Team suggested the setting up of a Zila Parishad, presided over by the Collector and consisting of the presidents of the Samities concerned, members of the State and Central Legislatures representing the area and the district-level officers.

Three Tier Scheme

If this experiment of democratic decentralisation is to yield maximum results, the Team thought it necessary that all the three tiers of the scheme, namely, village panchayat, panchayat samiti and Zila Parishad, should be started at the same time and operated simultaneously in the whole district. "While we are convinced", it said, "that devolution of power to a smaller body would be the most effective method of democratic decentralisation, we do not refuse to visualise similar devolution to a district body, instead. Such a district body will have to be fully empowered by statute, to carry out all developmental activities in the district in the same manner as we have recommended for the panchayat samiti, though on a correspondingly larger scale."

Appropriate funds for the panchayat samiti, the Team said, should be available to this district body; as also the requisite field staff and the supervisory staff at district headquarters.

People's Role in Planning

While the States, according to the Team, have to lay down broad objectives, the general pattern and the measure of financial, technical and supervisory assistance available, it was for the people's representatives, assisted by the development staff, to work out and execute the details of the plan. The fixation of targets should be the joint responsibility of the

State, on the one hand, and the local representative institutions, on the other. Such responsibility, to be clearly defined, had to be firmly interlinked.

Referring to complaints that the fixation of targets and priorities had been arbitrary and unrealistic, the Team said that the district and block level local representative of organisations should work out priorities and phasing within the frame-work prescribed by the Centre and the States.

Schedule for Plan-making

To enable finalization of the plan by March, the process of plan-making and its annual revision should begin by September and in February.

To remove the serious cause of dislocation and consequent waste in the works on account of delay in sanction of funds, the Team suggested (a) that the old proposal that the budget year should commence on October 1 be re-examined, (b) that work on continuing schemes should not be held up for want of financial sanction and (c) that sanctions should be communicated within a reasonable time of passing of the budget.

C. D. Programme's Re-Phasing

Referring to the distinction between the three phases of Community Development Programme, commonly known as the N.E.S. stage, the intensive development stage and the post-intensive development stage, the Team said: "We do not consider this division necessary, useful or convenient. The N.E.S. is basically a staffing pattern for extension services. The assumption that, after a few years, this staffing pattern takes a block to a stage where intensive development is possible and later on to another stage

when the intensity of development can be relaxed, does not seem to be justified. As a matter of fact, we found that the post-intensive development blocks presented a picture of inactivity and frustration. Community Development is a continuing programme which needs active planning and provision of funds. The present system under which heavy amounts are available over a short period, preceded and followed by periods of inadequate resources, leads to two-fold waste and frustration on account of non-availability of resources during the pre-intensive and post-intensive stages, and availability of easy money in the intensive stage with a hurry to spend it before the close of the period."

The Team, therefore, recommended that the C.D. Programme should move in two phases of six years each, and the unspent funds of each year should be allowed to be carried forward to the following year within limits. The original budget ceiling of Rs. 15 lakhs, it added, should be restored and the first phase of six years followed by another one, with a budget ceiling of Rs. 5.5 lakhs.

The Team also expressed the view that, owing to limited financial resources and shortage of technical personnel and supervisory staff, the decision to cover the entire country with N.E.S. blocks during the Second Plan should be revised and extended by at least three years. "This will no doubt create a certain amount of disappointment in some areas, but we have to bear in mind that Community Development is not achieved by a mere increase of the number of blocks; the increased number should be accompanied by effective work, and this is conditioned by various factors which have to be explained to the people."

Co-ordination

The Team also made a number of recommendations in regard to co-ordination between the Central

Ministries and the State Governments, as also between the Central Ministries themselves, in the execution of the rural development programme. In subjects assigned to the States, it said, the activities of the Central Government should be confined to assisting the State Governments with finances, co-ordinating research at the highest level and to evolving, in consultation with the States, a common national policy consonant with the various Five Year Plans.

In fields where the States and the Centre can exercise concurrent jurisdiction, the State Government should function alone, either in its own right, or as the agent of the Centre, with wide discretion in regard to administrative details. The Planning Commission and the Central Ministries dealing with rural development, it further recommended, should evolve a procedure whereby once a scheme is included in the Plan it should not need further detailed examination in a Central Ministry, unless fresh and unforeseeable circumstances developed. The activities of the various Central Ministries in respect of rural development in the block areas and co-operation and rural self-governing institutions which were not receiving adequate attention in the Ministries concerned and were closely connected with the programme of Community Development should be brought under the Community Development Ministry.

Organisational Pattern

Dealing with the existing organisational structure and the methods of work in the development blocks, the Team suggested that the area of operation of the Gram Sevak should be reduced. To make him really effective the Team suggested that the number of Gram Sevaks per Block be increased to

about 20, a Gram Sevak's circle not exceeding 800 families or 4,000 persons.

The reduction of the Gram Sevak's area of operation, according to the Team, would not only lead to an increase in the number of Gram Sevaks, but also have certain financial implications, which ought to be limited by pooling the staff in the different fields of development and assigning their duties and functions to the Gram Sevak within his reduced charge. A closer link should be established between the Gram Sevak and the village panchayat immediately, the Gram Sevak working as Development Secretary of the village panchayat, but not burdened with any administrative or office work.

In certain States where the Revenue Officer is also the Block Development Officer, the Team pointed out that the block being too large, the officer was overworked and the cadre inadequate for development work. These defects, it was stated, must be removed and an additional Tehsildar|Mamlatdar provided to assist the B.D.O., if the functions were to be combined in the functionary.

The Team also emphasised that at the village level there should be complete separation between functions of the Gram Sevak and of the Talati or the village accountant—one working on the development side and the other on the revenue and administrative side. To relieve the Collector of the general administrative duties, so that he could function effectively as the District Development Officer and ensure the co-ordination of development activities at the district level, he should have a whole-time additional collector. Both at the regional as well as the State level, also there should be similar co-ordination, and the Development Commissioner, the heads of departments and secretaries should meet periodically to review progress and resolve difficulties.

Welfare of Women and Children

The objective of welfare work among women and children in development blocks, according to the Team, had not been properly defined. Stress, it said, had been laid on different aspects of welfare work at different times and in different parts of the country. The Central direction now vested in two bodies, namely, the Ministry of Community Development and the Central Social Welfare Board, and the dual control was undesirable. Complete responsibility, the Team therefore thought, should be vested in the States, the Centre functioning, from one single point, as the adviser, and co-ordinating and financing agency. A satisfactory programme of child welfare, limited to a few lines only, should also be evolved for a few selected areas in the first instance and the existing projects of the Central Social Welfare Board be transferred to State Governments which should arrange for their administration and supervision either through departmental agencies, or through local statutory bodies.

Welfare Work in Tribal Areas

The Team also made a number of suggestions regarding welfare work in tribal areas, in particular regarding the type of workers to be recruited and the problems of shifting cultivation, and of supplying credit to the people not yet conversant with money economy.

Training Programme

The Team made comprehensive suggestions for improving the training programme for the different categories of officials at the village as well as the block level. These include follow-up work with periodic refresher courses and in-service training in specific fields, in order to bring the various categories of personnel upto the mark.

Agricultural Production

The Team discussed agricultural production in Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks. The all-India average of additional food production in the C.D. and N.E.S. blocks, it said, came to only 10.8 per cent, varying in individual States from 2.7 per cent to 19 per cent, only Andhra Pradesh showing 41.4 per cent. These figures, the Team added, "make unhappy reading and merely emphasize the need for greater attention to the agricultural sector in our schemes of Community Development." It, therefore, recommended, *inter alia*, distribution of improved seeds, setting up of seed multiplication farms, increasing local production of chemical fertilizers, encouraging use of green manures, and maximum use of farm yard manure and night soil compost. Other measures included extensive soil conservation measures, improved farming practices and effective policy regarding land reforms and its rapid implementation.

The Team also laid emphasis on the need for eliminating pests and diseases affecting agricultural production through running of plant protection centres by the State Governments, either on their own or on behalf of the Central Government, and, not by the latter directly, except for purposes of research and locust control.

Co-operation

According to the Team, a multipurpose co-operative society for a village, or a group of villages, working in close association with local panchayat, or panchayats, as against societies for different lines of activity, was the only correct course to be followed.

Both in areas where co-operatives existed, as well as in those where they did not exist, the Team said,

the farmers should be able to have productive loans at an interest not exceeding $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Loans should be timely and leave a sufficient margin of time for making repayment from the proceeds of crops.

In advancing loans in the field of rural co-operative credit creditworthiness of the borrower should give place to creditworthiness of purpose. Measures like capitalisation through insurance fees and credit loans for production and improvement, and also on such social occasions as birth etc., were recommended for study and adoption by State Governments. The entire rural credit, it added, should be progressively canalised through the agency of co-operatives to avoid duplication and differing interest rates.

Co-operative farming, according to the Team, had still to pass through the experimental stage. To begin with, one co-operative farm may be organised in each district in a selected Community Development Block.

Cottage and Small Scale Industries

Characterising the development of rural industries for providing employment to the unemployed and under-employed as the 'weakest spot in our programme', the Team suggested that, in the field of rural industries, planned co-ordination in the working of cottage, village and small scale industries was needed, so that they did not cut into, and pull down, each other. An effective programme of collaboration and co-ordination among various all-India boards, it added, should be worked out by pooling funds, personnel, agencies of supervision and inspection, to avoid waste and inefficiency. Quality control, along with provision of credit and marketing facilities, and introduction of modern designs, necessary to bring about considerable expansion of the market, were recommended.

the farmers should be able to have productive loans at an interest not exceeding 6½ per cent. Loans should be timely and leave a sufficient margin of time for making repayment from the proceeds of crops.

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Primary Health Centres

The Team also discussed the inadequacy of the action so far taken to implement the programme for the establishment of primary and subsidiary health centres and recommended greater attention to environmental sanitation than had so far been given.

Social Education

Dealing with the social education programme, the Team said that the aim of social education should be: (a) to acquaint people with the meaning of citizenship and the way democracy functions; (b) to induce citizens to learn how to read and write; (c) to impart proper training for refinement of emotions; and (d) to instil a spirit of toleration among citizens.

To enable him to function effectively, the Social Education Organiser, according to the Team, deserved to be assigned a definite position in the education department and assisted by Gram Sevaks and village teachers, and local leaders where available.

Literacy programme, the Team said, should be drawn up separately for men and women, after a preliminary survey of adult illiteracy and camps and intensive drives organised in all the blocks. Follow-up programmes should also be worked out to prevent neo-literates from relapsing into illiteracy.

Pooling of Personnel

Citing a number of instances of irregular, improper or unwise expenditure, the Team said that the practice of financing projects outside the block from out of the block funds, as well as initiating schemes involving heavy expenditure, should be avoided. To ensure efficiency and economy, it recom-

mended that the personnel in all the blocks in a State should be treated as a pool, out of which expenditure on staff in each block should be met according to actual requirements, provided that the necessary complement of staff of all categories was provided in each block and the formula for sharing the costs by the State and the Centre was not affected.

About 50 per cent of the grants-in-aid, it said, should be spent on productive purposes and the remaining 50 per cent on amenities.

Jeeps to be Withdrawn

All jeeps, according to the Team, ought to be withdrawn from the blocks, the only exception being in the case of the Mukhya Sevika. Frequent meetings and seminars with considerable pomp, and repeated visits by outsiders to specially selected blocks, should be stopped.

The issue of too many similar publications printed on expensive paper, with unnecessary pictures and a number of articles irrelevant to the purpose, the Team said, needed careful re-examination by the Ministries concerned.

Programme Evaluation

In regard to evaluation of the work in the Community Development and National Extension Service areas, the Team suggested that, besides the P.E.O., another body should make a review, after every few years, of the progress made and problems encountered, so as to advise on future lines of action in connection with the Community Development programme.

Non-official Agencies

The Team made a special study of the Sarvodaya scheme operating in Bombay, the Sanghan Kshetras

worked by the All-India Khadi and Village Commission and Village Industries Commission and the Gramdan Movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, and made a number of suggestions, to enable these non-governmental agencies to participate in Community Development work by giving them ample discretion to plan and work out the programme, and also by making funds available for the purpose.

Dissenting Note

One member of the Team, Shri B. G. Rao, in a note of dissent, said that he was unable to agree with his colleagues on three points, viz.,

- (a) the appointment of the Gram Sevak as the Development Secretary, either of the village panchayat or of the Committee of village panchayats within his circle;
- (b) co-ordination by an organisation at the Centre of the various Community Development activities in the country; and
- (c) the field organisation for social education.

Shri Rao expressed the view that the Gram Sevak's appointment as Development Secretary of the panchayat would inevitably emphasise the tendency to prefer desk work to field work, and he might even have to devote less attention to his primary functions as extension worker or as a service agency. The Ministry of Community Development, according to Shri Rao, had no policy-making functions. As between the various Ministries and the Ministry of Community Development, there was often overlapping and duplication of functions, sometimes a lack of co-ordination, and always the possibility of contrary action.

An examination of the distribution of work among the senior officers of the C.D. Ministry, Shri Rao added, had revealed that there was little that could not be appropriately and usefully re-allotted to the Ministries concerned. The conversation of the C.P.A. into a Ministry had not resulted in any perceptible usefulness, so far as the rural development work was concerned and had resulted in the increase in the number of officers at the higher level. "I see no demonstrable advantage, nor justification, for the existence of a separate Ministry of Community Development, and recommended that it be abolished, as being not merely unnecessary and wasteful, but also likely to lead to a lack of co-ordination and blurring of responsibilities."

As an alternative to the Ministry, he suggested a Division within the Planning Commission, to secure co-ordination between the activities of the various Ministries concerned.

In regard to the Ministry taking over the work dealing with co-operatives and panchayats, Shri Rao said: "I find no work which a Central Ministry can perform in either of these fields, without inviting the criticism of encroachment upon the States' functions, and, what is more important, seriously crippling the initiative of the States and the local self-governing bodies or the co-operative organisations."

Dealing with recommendations regarding the S.E.O.'s role, Shri Rao held that its main objectives could flow only "from constant contact between the block level extension officers and the Gram Sevak, on the one hand, and the people, on the other. To introduce any other State agency, either working independently, or as a liaison between the official workers and the people, is, in my opinion, a wrong approach to the problem."

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