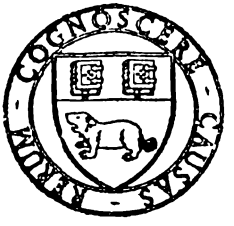
# GOVERNMENT IN RURAL INDIA

## AN INTRODUCTION TO CONTEMPORARY DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

BY

DAVID C. POTTER






LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

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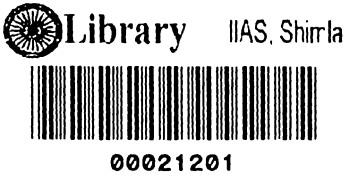


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To the Memory of
My Father

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# PREFACE

The title of this book and its slim dimensions are an indication of its purpose: to present a concise description of contemporary district administration in rural India. Emphasis is placed on rural development administration, as befits the importance of its relationship to the subject. The book seeks to fill a gap in the general literature on India, although the subject is vast and ideally should be treated separately for each state.

I obtained most of the material for the book in India during August 1960–April 1961, in the following manner:

1. Study of government publications, manuals, records and correspondence.
2. Discussion with government personnel in district administration and with village leaders.
3. Observation of government personnel and village leaders doing their work.

Examples cited in the book are based on field studies conducted primarily in portions of Nalgonda District (Andhra Pradesh) and portions of four districts in the State of Rajasthan (Ajmer, Banswara, Barmer, Sawai Madhopur).

The spelling attempts to follow that used in official documents in India today. Where Hindi words have been used, they are explained in the first instance; a glossary is appended for the reader's convenience. Diacritical marks have been omitted.

This book owes much to many people both in India and England: to the Passfield Trustees for financial assistance, which supported my work as the Research Fellow in Public Law, Government or Public Administration in the Commonwealth at the London School of Economics and Political Science during the period 1960–62, and which enabled me to visit India to collect material; to State officials, Collectors (especially T. N.

Chaturvedi, Collector at Ajmer), *Vikas Adhikaris*, extension officers, and *Gram Sevaks* in the Government of Rajasthan, and to the village people of Rajasthan, for their patient counsel and gracious hospitality; to other friends in India (especially Professor V. K. N. Menon, Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi), for their kind welcome and assistance in granting me access to valuable information; to Professor William A. Robson, for his inspiration and guidance from the very beginning; and above all, to my wife, Jennifer, for her marvellous support and encouragement in every way.

The responsibility for the result is mine.

D. C. P.

*London School of Economics and Political Science*
*November 1962*

CHAPTER I

# A NOTE ON ORIGINS[1]

This note seeks to suggest that the rudiments of contemporary district administration in India evolved gradually through the course of Indian history.

Hindu kingdoms (*c.* 500 B.C. to A.D. 1100 in north India) were divided into provinces and provincial governors were appointed directly to them by the kings. Provinces were divided into districts, each being the charge of an officer usually appointed by the provincial governor.[2] District officers exercised both judicial and executive functions in the oriental manner. A number of subordinate officers, many of them holding hereditary posts, worked under the control of the district officers—keeping the peace, administering justice on appeal from the village councils and collecting a tax on the produce of the land from groups of villages.

Most village communities appear to have been managed by a brotherhood of peasants, or village council. The composition of the council differed according to local custom, although in north India it traditionally comprised five respected villagers, including the headman, hence the name *panchayat* (council of five). A headman, who was chosen by the members from among themselves, represented the village in its dealings with the administration. A virile community life appears to have been a feature of the period and inscriptions suggest that good relations between the kings' officers and the village headmen were common.[3]

When the Turkish rulers (*c.* 1192–1398) arrived and gained

[1] An introduction to the extensive literature on district administration in the British period is found in the suggested readings at the end of the book.

[2] A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1956), p. 103.

[3] W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chatterjee, *A Short History of India*, 4th ed. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1957), p. 121.

control of northern India, and later on of parts of the south, they either appointed their own governors and other important officials to collect the revenue and keep the peace, or administered their kingdoms indirectly through Hindu kings and petty chieftains who had submitted to them and had agreed to collect and pay revenues by way of tribute.

Babur and his son Homayun (1520–40), the first of the Moghul rulers, merely sent their own followers to replace the provincial governors, much as had been done by others before them. Local administration remained substantially unaltered. In 1540, however, the Moghul Empire was temporarily broken by an Afghan, Sher Shah (Sher Khan), one of the most remarkable rulers in Indian history. After driving Homayun out of India into Persia, Sher Shah made himself master of north India, and in the space of his short rule of five years, made an attempt to establish in the rural areas a hierarchy of appointed state officials taking orders direct from his court. Akbar (1556–1605), on the advice of his brilliant Revenue Minister, Todar Mal, subsequently adapted and developed the ideas of Sher Shah in selected portions of his empire. It seems apparent that Akbar's system did not survive his death, although evidence on this point is lacking. At any rate, 'the British found the wreck of this system and admired it even in decay'.[4] They later built from this foundation.

'Assignment', however, was the most distinctive institution of the Moghul period, even during Akbar's reign.[5] Assignees conformed generally to the old Hindu system of local administration. Names were changed, but the administrative areas and hereditary posts were generally retained and the villages remained largely self-sufficient. Caste ritual and custom, which closely ordered the individual villager's life, the authority of the village council of elders and constant neglect by the assignee of the internal affairs of the village were factors which

[4] Percival Spear, *India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 238.

[5] Assignment: Every officer of the state was entitled to receive an income defined precisely in cash, out of which he had ordinarily to maintain a specified force of cavalry, available for the service of the ruler at any time; but for all the more important officers payment of this income was the exception. Ordinarily an officer's claim was satisfied by assignment of the revenue of an area estimated to yield the income due to him, and the assignee thereupon assumed the administration of that area, assessing and collecting the revenue, and endeavouring to obtain from it at least the amount of his claim, and, if possible, something more. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 455–6.

preserved the independence of the Indian village through this period.

When the British East India Company began to assert itself in India in the latter part of the eighteenth century, it understandably fell in for the moment with the system of rural administration which it found in existence.[6] After a period of experimentation, Governor-General (later Lord) Cornwallis (1786–93) adopted certain features of Akbar's system; they were first embodied in his Regulation of 1793, and later were extended by degrees over the greater part of India and prevailed in essence throughout the British period of control until 1947.[7] The local unit of administration was the district, to which an officer was appointed to perform three main functions: to keep the peace, collect the revenue and administer justice. Administrative theory suggested, and later liberal opinion in India and Britain insisted, that there should have been three district officers: Magistrate, Collector and Judge. Cornwallis's instructions at the time, however, 'required not merely justice, but also energy, simplicity, and economy, and for a time all three functions were assigned to a single officer; but in his final arrangements the Judge was distinct from the Magistrate-Collector'.[8] The foundations of the modern police force were also laid at this time; an extensive police network was established in each district, staffed by officers working under the control of the District Superintendent of Police who was himself responsible to the Magistrate-Collector.

The union of judicial and executive functions in the Magistrate-Collector had been a familiar feature of rural administration in India for centuries. It had been designed originally to provide the collector of revenue with the means of enforcing collection and it was subsequently defended during the British

[6] When, e.g. in 1760, Mir Kasim (Newab of Bengal at the time) ceded to the Company the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, in order that their revenues might defray the cost of the defence of Bengal by the Company's Army, British district officers were sent to take charge, but otherwise the personnel and methods in the districts were retained.

[7] By the time the Crown formally replaced the Company in 1858, the map of India had assumed substantially its 1947 form; roughly three-fifths of the area and 75 per cent. of the population were in British India districts, the rest in Princely states which were administered internally in a variety of ways, although they recognized the British Government as paramount power. Following independence in 1947 the Princely states were absorbed into the administrative structure of the country; e.g. in 1956 the State of Kutch became Kutch District.

[8] Moreland and Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 315–16.

period on the grounds that it worked well and suited the people.[9] The story is told, for example, of F. B. Simson, I.C.S., who was sitting one day in his district court when a villager entered and laid before him the mangled leg of his son. 'What sort of a ruler are you,' he cried, 'sitting here arguing with lawyers when a tiger is eating my son?' Simson agreed with this view of a magistrate's duty and he promptly left his court and shot the tiger. It was a view, however, which did not fit the theory of the separation of judicial and executive functions.[10] It was also privately asserted that the Magistrate-Collector could not be deprived of his judicial powers without the loss of his prestige and influence over the people, and such influence was essential to the maintenance of British rule in India. Witness Sir Fitzjames Stephen in his minute of 1872:

> It seems to me that the first principle which must be borne in mind is, that the maintenance of the position of the District Officers is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British rule in India, and any diminution in their influence and authority over the natives would be dearly purchased, even by an improvement in the administration of justice. Within their own limits, and as regards the population of their own districts, the District Officers are the Government, and they ought, I think, to continue to be so. . . . We must have all over the country real and effective governors, and no application of the principle of the division of labor ought, in my opinion, to be even taken into consideration which would not leave in the hands of District Officers such an amount of power as will lead the people at large to regard them as, in a general sense, their rulers and governors.[11]

This principle has been retained to the present day, 'partly on grounds of economy, and partly because it has not

[9] The view that this particular feature of district administration was copied by the British from the system of prefectoral administration in France is without foundation. Cornwallis had, on the basis of earlier practice, definitely laid down the pattern of district administration in 1793; French prefectoral administration was created by Napoleon in 1800.

[10] Philip Woodruff (Philip Mason), *The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953), p. 178.

[11] From the minute of Sir Fitzjames Stephen on the Administration of Justice in India, printed as No. XXXI of the Selection from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, dated 1872, and reproduced in *The Union of Judicial and Executive Functions in the Magistrates of British India Outside the Presidency Towns. A Collection of Opinions of Eminent Executive and Judicial Authorities from 1793 to 1833* (compiled by Manomahan Ghose). (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1896), pp. 44–5.

excited sufficient indignation in practice to provoke a change'.[12]

Cornwallis wished to recruit Englishmen of ability and honesty to fill the post of Magistrate-Collector, in view of the opportunities which it afforded for tyranny and corruption. To meet this need, he introduced the rudiments of a civil service, which became in time the famous Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.).[13] This method was, on the whole, successful. The Abbé Dubois, for example, after having worked for thirty years in south India, wrote in 1822 in *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* that 'for uprightness of character, education and ability it would be hard to find a body of public servants better capable of filling with zeal and distinction the offices, more or less important, that are entrusted to them'.[14] Englishmen of this calibre continued to come to India. But India was changing, and the essence of the story of the second half of the nineteenth century is 'one of an exceptionally able and high-minded bureaucracy, striving with remarkable success to do more and more for the people of India, and for the most part slow to recognize that, under the new forces and influences which had been set in motion, Indians were beginning to want to do these things for themselves'.[15] One result was the opening of the I.C.S. to Indians; by 1947, about half its complement was Indian.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the purposes of district administration in rural India were basically to keep peace, collect revenue and administer justice. By mid-century, this position began to change. In 1854, departments of public instruction were established in each province to promote elementary education in the vernacular and higher education in English; embryo departments of agriculture were established in all the major provinces following the famine of 1881; and later on health departments were started, prompted

[12] Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the West*, 3rd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 132.

[13] The I.C.S. filled other important posts in addition to that of Magistrate-Collector. Furthermore, some civil posts, including the post of Magistrate-Collector, were filled by soldier–statesmen during the nineteenth century, sometimes with distinction. Among these were Sir Thomas Munroe, in early nineteenth-century Madras and Sir H. H. Edwardes in mid-nineteenth-century Punjab.

[14] Abbé J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, translated by Henry K. Beauchamp, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. xxiv.

[15] Moreland and Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

by the discovery of new knowledge which made it possible to attack disease on scientific lines (e.g. in 1897 the anopheles mosquito was proved to convey the infection of malaria). Other departments and agencies were progressively established to perform related development functions. These departments and agencies posted field representatives at the district level and the Magistrate-Collector was asked to co-ordinate their work. The British Government became increasingly active in rural development work in the three decades prior to Independence; this work was conceived largely in terms of particular items of village improvement done by individual government departments.[16] Independent India has already altered this approach to rural development administration.

Although community life in the villages was not deliberately undermined by the ascendency of British rule in India, it was gradually weakened by several factors, chief among them being the influence of improved communications which weakened caste by bringing new ideas to the village from outside and by making village labourers more mobile and adventurous, and the influence of both revenue and judicial administration, which increasingly emphasized the individual in society, not the village elders of the village community. Some village *panchayats* retained their vitality, 'but over most of India they were dying and had ceased to have any real importance by the 1850's or '60's'.[17] Attempts were made in the latter part of the nineteenth century to resuscitate self-governing institutions in rural India. Following Lord Ripon's Resolution on Local Self-Government in 1882, district boards were established in many places and attempts were made to revive the *panchayats* on a statutory basis. These efforts represented in effect the deliberate introduction of an institution of a western type; the practice of elections by individual vote was quite foreign to the villagers' sense of community, and the results were discouraging.[18] A new attempt is at present being made to create local authorities in rural India.

[16] *Social Service in India* (London: H.M.S.O., 1938), pp. 113–398.

[17] Hugh Tinker, *The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (London: Athlone Press, 1954), pp. 32–3.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 95; Spear, *loc. cit.*, p. 136. Useful experience was gained by some local leaders between the two world wars, particularly on the district boards, but the allegiance of most of them was to the District Congress Committees, where attention was focused on the attainment of self-government on a national scale.

Like the British before them, the new Government of India in 1947 found it necessary to fall in for the moment with the system of district administration already in existence; and as the British developed and refined the system they found, so too there is evidence that new developments and refinements in district administration are currently taking place in order to satisfy new needs. This gradual evolution has resulted in the present (1961–62) system of district administration.

CHAPTER II

# WHAT IS DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION?

Approximately 95 per cent. of the area of India is divided into districts containing some 99 per cent. of the population of the country. The exceptions are the five Frontier Divisions which make up the North-East Frontier Agency, small portions of Jammu and Kashmir, Delhi, Manipur, Tripura, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, Pondicherry, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman and Diu, and the tiny enclaves of Mahe, Karikal and Yenam.

State governments in India create districts for administrative convenience. Districts, therefore, have no independent existence of their own. Their boundaries are artificial and accordingly can be,[1] and sometimes are, altered. District administration, then, is the total action of government in an area specified as a district by a state government. The broad purposes of district administration are to maintain law and order, collect revenue and attend to the positive welfare of the resident population.

The district administration, designed to effect these purposes, consists of a number of agencies of government working at the district level, including the District Collector and subordinate revenue/magisterial staff, the District Police, the District Judge and subordinate judges, field representatives of various development and other departments, community development personnel, municipal boards, village *panchayats* and other local authorities. These agencies each perform separate functions but, at the same time, attempt to co-ordinate their work in order to make the total action of government in the district both effective in terms of cost and time and meaningful to the district population which the district administration is designed

[1] *Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898* (as modified up to 1st January 1956), sect. 7(2).

to serve. This co-ordination is secured mainly through the Collector, the chief government officer in the district, who has wide powers and over-all responsibility for directing all the component parts of the district administration towards the common objectives of government.

CHAPTER III

# NUMBERS, TYPES AND DIMENSIONS OF DISTRICTS

There are 324 districts in India. The following table gives the all-India position in 1962:

Number of Districts in Each State

| *State* | *Number of Districts* |
|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | 20 |
| Assam | 11 |
| Bihar | 17 |
| Gujarat | 17 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | 12* |
| Kerala | 9 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 43 |
| Madras | 13 |
| Maharashtra | 26 |
| Mysore | 19 |
| Orissa | 13 |
| Punjab | 19 |
| Rajasthan | 26 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 54 |
| West Bengal | 16 |
| Himachal Pradesh† | 6 |
| Naga Hills–Tuensang Area (Nagaland)† | 3 |
| Total | 324 |

* Includes districts or parts thereof claimed and presently occupied by Pakistan and China.

† Not yet a state.

*Source:* compiled by the author from Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, *India, A Reference Annual, 1962* (1962), pp. 390–500.

By far the largest proportion of these are of a type which can conveniently be called rural districts. This is not surprising when one considers that about 82 per cent. of India's population lives in rural areas. Secondly, there are urban districts, in which the district administration is primarily concerned with urban problems. Madras District and Greater Bombay

District are examples of this type. Thirdly, there are what might be termed industrial districts, covering areas which are, on the whole, heavily industrialized. Howrah District and Purulia District in West Bengal are examples. Fourthly, there are what can be termed, for lack of a better word, scheduled districts, areas inhabited predominantly by scheduled castes and tribes. Examples are Banswara District in Rajasthan, Dangs District in Gujarat, Moraput District in Orissa and Ranchi District in Bihar. There are, of course, many districts which are a mixture of these types, but we are concerned here with districts which are predominantly rural in type.

A substantial majority of these 324 districts have an area ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 square miles. Comparatively speaking, districts tend to be smaller (1,000–3,000 square miles) in the states of Kerala, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, while the trend is towards larger districts (3,000–5,000 square miles) in the other states. The range in area is enormous: the largest (Ladakh District) is 45,762 square miles, three times the size of Switzerland; the smallest (Calcutta District) is 39 square miles. The range of population [1] is also very wide, from 6,293,758 persons in 24 Parganas District (West Bengal), to 7,025 persons in Tuensang District (Naga Hills–Tuensang Area, or Nagaland),[2] and the range of population is wide even within the same state.

There is no 'average' district in India, and it is best, therefore, to discuss representative districts in each state: for example, Tiruchirapalli (Trichinopoly) District, with a population of 3,169,599 persons, is a representative district in Madras State; Karnal District, population 1,489,679, is a representative district in Punjab; Barmer District, population 648,734, is a representative district in the western part of the State of Rajasthan. To illustrate the point that districts vary greatly in India, the following paragraphs sketch several features of five districts which, in terms of population only, can safely be described as representative of the state in which they are located.

Krishna (Kistna) District, with a population of 2,076,103 persons, is a representative district in the State of Andhra

[1] District population figures (provisional) are taken from the 1961 Census.

[2] The figure 7,025 is the 1951 Census figure (the new figure was not available); it was the least populated district at that time.

Pradesh. It has an area of 3,502 square miles and is situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal at the mouth of the great river Krishna, which forms its southern boundary and gives it the name it bears. The crude population density is about 700–800 per square mile on the flat near the coast; it is 300–450 in the western and more hilly portion. The region was ceded to the British by the treaty of 14th May 1759, granting to them the Masulipatam and Mizamapatam Sirkars.[3] It formed part of the Madras Presidency (later Madras State) until the formation of Andhra in October 1953 (Andhra Pradesh in November 1956). The boundaries of the district have changed many times. The people are primarily Hindu and speak Telegu. The district has a heavy surplus of food in normal years. Rice is the principal crop, while in the hills groundnuts and Virginia tobacco are important.[4]

Santhal Parganas District has a representative population for districts in the State of Bihar of 2,674,354 persons. It has an area of 5,470 square miles. The Collectorate at Dumka is roughly equidistant between Patna and Calcutta. The Rajmahal Hills, rising in some places to 2,000 feet elevation and still partly covered with jungle, run through the middle of the district from south to north, where they meet the Ganges River which forms the district's northern boundary. The area near the Ganges is largely under rice cultivation and, although subject to frequent inundation, helps the district to lead the State in rice production. Half of the district, in the west and southwest, is rolling country in which maize and small millet are important crops. A variety of races is found in the district; generally speaking, the Rajmahal Hills are inhabited by the Santhal tribes, while elsewhere the population comprises mainly Biharis and Bengalis. The early history of the district is filled with attempts to pacify the Santhal tribes, beginning in 1776 with the first Collector, Augustus Cleveland, who achieved momentary success and then died at his post in 1785 at the age of 29, and ending with the crushing of the Santhal

[3] Gordon Mackenzie, *A Manual of the Kistna District in the Presidency of Madras* (Madras: Lawrence Asylum Press, 1883), p. 69.

[4] The crop sketch in this and subsequent paragraphs is based on Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Department of Agriculture, *Estimates of Area and Production of Principal Crops in India 1954–55*, Vol. II (Detailed Tables). (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1958.)

Rebellion of 1855–56, during which the Santhals had been engaged in the 'slow roasting of men, torture of children, the ripping up of women, the drinking of blood, etc.' and the 'chopping up of the body of a *zamindar* into 22 pieces, one for each of his ancestors'.[5]

Trichur District, with a population of 1,634,251, is representative of districts in the State of Kerala. It has an area of 1,149 square miles; thus the crude population density is about 1,422 persons per square mile. The original district was formed with the merger of the ancient states of Travancore and Cochin in July 1949, but the boundaries have since been altered.[6] The physical configuration of the district shows the same diversity as that of other districts in Kerala. From the Western Ghats, composed of bluff ridges and conical peaks reaching in some places to 5,000 feet elevation, the land of the district slopes to the west where numerous rivers spread themselves out into a number of lakes and lagoons near the coast of the Arabian Sea. These have been connected by artificial canals to facilitate inland navigation. About one-third of the population are Christians, most of the remainder being Hindus. Almost all speak Malayalam. The principal crops are rice, coconut, tapioca, rubber, tea and pepper. Fishing forms an important industry.

Sagar District, representative of districts in Madhya Pradesh, has a population of 797,055 persons living in 3,961 square miles of generally flat country at about 1,000 feet elevation. The crude population density is about 201 persons per square mile. The Collectorate is located at Sagar (the word means 'sea' and the town was so named because of the large lake round which it has been built). The major part of the district passed to the British on the deposition of the Peshwa in 1818,[7] and outlying portions (*parganas*) were acquired in various ways. Almost all the people are Hindus and speak Hindi. The principal crop is wheat, but gram and jowar are also important.

Satara District, representative of districts in Maharashtra,

[5] Bihar District Gazetteers, *Santhal Parganas*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, 2nd ed. by Rai Bahadur S. C. Mukharji (Patna: Government Press, 1938), pp. 58–9.

[6] Census of India, 1951 (Travancore–Cochin), *Trichur* (Trivandrum: Government Central Press, 1952), p. i.

[7] Central Provinces District Gazetteers, *Saugor District*, Vol. A (ed. R. V. Russell) (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1907), p. 23.

numbers 1,427,020 persons and covers an area of 4,041 square miles. The town of Satara, the seat of the Collectorate, is about 60 miles south of Poona. It sits on the western edge of the Deccan tableland, which is very rugged, though well-watered, in the western portions, and more flat and barren in the eastern portions. It includes part of the former princely state of Satara, which lapsed to the British in 1848.[8] The exact boundaries of the district have changed many times. Most of the people speak Marathi. Jowar, bajra and groundnuts are important crops.

[8] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume XIX, *Satara* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1885), p. 315.

CHAPTER IV

# PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

The purposes of district administration and the major principles which underlie their application apply in all rural districts in India. They have been brilliantly described by a long-time Collector in the districts of Uttar Pradesh, S. S. Kera, I.C.S., in a series of three lectures delivered to the Indian Institute of Public Administration in November 1957.[1] The following section is based primarily on these lectures.

The first purpose is to maintain the district in a state of law and order. There are seven fundamental principles underlying this purpose. Firstly, there is the principle of absolute priority: this means, quite simply, that law and order claim absolute priority attention by the district administration. All the other principles of law and order and, for that matter, the other purposes of district administration must, in the final analysis, give way to this principle of absolute priority. Secondly, there is the principle of safety of all. The right to safety inheres in every citizen of India and cannot be surrendered; the only limit is the availability of the forces of law and order to maintain the citizens' safety. Thirdly, there is the principle of the rule of law. Every individual or agency of government, in exercising any authority, must demonstrably derive it from the law of India. The maintenance of the rule of law is the main safeguard of the individual citizen against authority wrongfully used or attempted. Fourthly, there is the principle of the use of force. The sanction of force must lie behind the maintenance of law and order, although the measure of good district administration is that force is rarely, if ever, used. Fifthly, there is the principle of the supremacy of

[1] The three lectures were later published in S. S. Khera, *District Administration in India* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1960).

the civil authority. Under the Constitution of India, the civil authority is at all times in supreme command. Sixthly, there is the principle of respect for authority; not fear of, but positive respect for, authority under law. In a district where this respect for the executive authority is missing, or diluted, then law and order will not only become difficult to maintain but will tend towards breakdown. Finally, there is the principle of clearly established limits of tolerance which are widely known in the district. When people know how far they can go, they will tend to go to that point and stop; if they do not know, they will probe further until they reach a point where they will be stopped. There is a need to establish as clearly as possible the limits to tolerance, and attempts to exceed that limit must be taken as a challenge to the determination and ability of the executive authority responsible for maintaining law and order in the district. There is no margin for flexibility and manoeuvre, as in politics, for law and order is not a negotiable commodity.

The second purpose of district administration is to assess and collect the land revenue [2] and other taxes. The main principle of revenue administration is that revenue by definition is intended to be collected, and ought to be collected in full. Once this principle is allowed to slip and slide, there is no end to it. There are particular cases where it cannot or should not be collected, such as flood, fire or drought. In such cases, the procedure is to give full relief on outstanding amounts of revenue at once, and to come to the aid of villagers with money and materials to relieve their immediate distress and to enable them to get on with the next crop. Another principle is fair assessment. Whether it is land revenue, irrigation dues, agricultural income tax or other taxes and duties which are levied under law, an essential preliminary to collection is that assessment must be fair, and should be seen to be fair by the assessees. There is also the principle of certainty. People should know the basis of assessment, the amount assessed, and the place and time when the revenues due are to be paid or collected.

[2] Land revenue, formerly the mainstay of public finance in India, now forms only a small proportion of state revenue; the average was approximately 10 per cent. in 1961–62.

The third purpose of district administration is to administer the land. Land policy in India is based on three principles:

1. That the land should go to its tiller.
2. That the tiller should be in direct relationship with the government (i.e. there should be no intermediary between the tiller and the state).
3. That there should be a ceiling on holdings, although what that ceiling should be and how it is to be introduced is still a subject of much debate.

The fourth purpose of district administration is to administer various other control and executive functions of government, e.g. control of prices of essential commodities; administration of evacuee property; conduct of national, state and local elections; licensing of arms, explosives, petroleum and cinemas; issue of passports, extension of visas and control of foreigners; enforcement of prohibition of consumption (except for medicinal purposes) of intoxicating drinks or drugs injurious to health; protection of monuments or objects of artistic or historical interest from disfigurement, destruction or removal. Good public relations, efficiency in execution and strict accountability to the state government are three of the more important public administration principles involved in the application of this purpose.

The fifth purpose of district administration is to take immediate action to relieve distress in case of calamity or disaster such as flood, drought, epidemic, famine. Crises of this nature can occur in any district in India at any time. They challenge the district administration to the utmost and there have yet to be formulated a set of principles which apply in all cases.

The sixth and last purpose is to promote the positive progress and welfare of the people of the district. Development work occupies an increasingly important place in district administration. Attention to the welfare of the people living in a district was not merely incidental to or outside of district administration in British days, as is supposed by some Indian observers, but it is none the less true that contemporary district administration is more extensively concerned to promote the welfare of the people of the district. General objectives in this connection are contained in the Directive Principles of State Policy as stated in the

Constitution of India.[3] Contemporary principles underlying rural development administration in the district have evolved from past experience, and include the following:[4]

1. A permanent impression can be created if the administrative approach to the villager is a co-ordinated one and comprehends his whole life.
2. Programmes which are based on the co-operation of the village people have a better chance of success than those which are imposed on them.
3. Substantial results are achieved if the principal responsibility for improving rural conditions rests with the village people themselves.
4. Better results are possible if the rural development programmes are pursued intensively.
5. Advice and precept are useless unless they are backed up by practical aids—e.g. supplies of seed and fertilizers, and finance and technical guidance for solving immediate problems.
6. The approach to the villager should be in terms of his own experience and problems, and should avoid elaborate techniques and equipment until he is ready for them.

The six major purposes of district administration have been suggested and explained in terms of the principles which underlie their application. They are clearly so diverse and extensive that no single agency can undertake them all. Thus, the district administration consists of a number of officers and agencies working within the framework described in the next chapter.

[3] Esp. Arts. 38–43 and 45–8; the Directive Principles are not enforceable in any court, but are understood to be fundamental in the governance of the country. 'The State' includes, besides the national and state governments and parliaments, 'all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India.' (Art. 12).

[4] Government of India, Planning Commission, *First Five Year Plan* (1953), pp. 223–4; see also, for a more general discussion, pp. 111–51.

CHAPTER V

# THE FRAMEWORK

There are six types of administrative area within each district:

1. Sub-divisions.
2. *Tehsils* (*taluks*).[1]
3. Villages.
4. Municipalities.
5. Community development blocks.
6. *Panchayats*.

The number of each type of area varies significantly from district to district, depending mainly on its size and population. A detailed illustration for one state is given in Appendix I.

Most districts in India are divided into two or more sub-divisions, each of which is the charge of an assistant to the Collector called a Sub-Divisional Officer (Assistant Collector, Sub-Collector). The sub-division is the principal unit of land revenue administration between the district and the village in Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal.

Each sub-division is divided into two or more administrative areas called *tehsils* in Andhra Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, and called *taluks* (*talukas*) in Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra and Mysore. Each *tehsil* (*taluk*) is in charge of a *Tehsildar* (*Mamlatdar*, *Ahmildar*). *Tehsils* (*taluks*) are usually divided, for administrative convenience, into sub-*tehsils* (sub-*taluks*, *firkas*), and these are divided further into revenue circles.

Each *tehsil* usually comprises between 200–600 villages. A village in India is a specific area of land generally, but not necessarily, inhabited. In inhabited villages, several village officers, such as accountants, watchmen and others, are posted

[1] Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal excepted.

or recognized. The size of village communities varies significantly from state to state; on average, approximately 68 per cent. of the total rural population live in very small villages (less than 500 persons), 19 per cent. in small villages (between 500 and 1,000 persons), 9 per cent. in medium-sized villages (between 1,000 and 2,000 persons), 3 per cent. in large villages (between 2,000 and 5,000 persons) and 1 per cent. in very large villages (over 5,000 persons).[2]

About 18 per cent. of the Indian population live in towns or cities, ranging in size from over 1,000, small towns with populations of less than 10,000 to the six great cities of India with populations in excess of 1,000,000—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad. Town and cities form part of districts, with only two exceptions—Madras District and Calcutta District.[3] A representative rural district may have one or two large towns and a number of smaller towns, all occupying a very small proportion of its total area. Most towns form part of *tehsils* (*taluks*).

Rural areas in districts are divided, for purposes of rural development administration, into community development blocks, the area of which may or may not coincide with a *tehsil* (*taluk*).[4] Each block is in charge of a Block Development Officer, whose immediate superior is the Collector (in some states, the Sub-Divisional Officer). Blocks are further divided into ten circles, each of which is supposed to cover ten villages but, in fact, this is rarely the case. Each circle is in the charge of a Village Level Worker (called a *Gram Sevak*).

Finally, there are village *panchayats* in rural areas of districts (92 per cent. of the rural population of India is now represented by a *panchayat*). A *panchayat* is an elective, statutory body representing one or several villages. The average number of villages per *panchayat* varies significantly from state to state,

[2] The position in each state and Union Territory is detailed in Government of India, Publications Division, *India 1961*, A Reference Annual (1961), Table 21 (p. 25). The figures cited relate to the 1951 Census.

[3] District administration in Calcutta, Greater Bombay and Madras is quite different from that obtaining elsewhere, and is not discussed in this book. Delhi is not a district.

[4] See, for example, the position in the State of Rajasthan: of a total of 232 blocks, 113 are co-terminous with a *tehsil*, 76 comprise less than one *tehsil*, 30 comprise parts of more than one *tehsil*, 12 comprise two *tehsils*, and 1 comprises three *tehsils*. Source: Government of Rajasthan, *Letter No. F 156 (Gen)QPR/Stat/DD/60/27859-999*, dated 10th February 1961 (unpublished).

from 1·4 in Madras to 20 in Orissa and 22 in Himachal Pradesh. The average population per *panchayat* also varies, from 755 in Uttar Pradesh to 11,996 in Kerala.[5] The all-India position, broken down for each state, is given in Appendix II.

It is on the basis of this framework that the main components of the district administration organize their work. The law, order and land revenue components are organized in the main on a district-sub-division-*tehsil*-village basis; the community development and *Panchayati Raj* components are organized on a district-block-*panchayat* basis.

[5] These are only *average* figures for each state; one *panchayat* in Kerala, for example, has a population of 36,000.

CHAPTER VI

# LAW, ORDER, LAND REVENUE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

The judicial administration in each state is headed by a High Court. The territorial jurisdiction, year of establishment and seat of each High Court is given in Appendix III.

The principal civil courts of original jurisdiction in India are located at the district level.[1] A District Judge presides over each court. He is appointed by the Governor of the state in consultation with the High Court. In addition, there are usually subordinate judges working in the sub-divisions and/or the *tehsils*. The civil courts hear suits and also act as the initial appellate authority in a number of categories of cases affecting civil rights which are dealt with by administrative officers or tribunals in the first instance. Appeals from subordinate judges lie to the District Judge, although in suits valued at more than a specified amount of rupees, appeals lie to the High Court, as do appeals from the District Judge.

Administration of criminal justice is based primarily on the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian Penal Code.[2] The principal authority in each state is the High Court. High Courts mainly try appeals from the decisions of Sessions Judges. The jurisdiction of a Sessions Judge is usually, but not always, co-extensive with the district, and when it is, the District Judge for civil suits is also Sessions Judge for criminal cases in his district. He takes cognizance of more serious criminal cases within his jurisdiction after they have been committed to him by a magistrate or other executive personnel following a preliminary enquiry. He can inflict any punishment authorized by the Indian Penal Code, although a sentence

[1] *Code of Civil Procedure, 1908* (as modified up to 1st June 1960), sect. 2(4).
[2] *Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898* (as modified up to 1st January 1956); *Indian Penal Code, 1860* (as modified up to 1st July 1960).

of death requires the confirmation of the High Court.[3] He also hears appeals against the decisions of magistrates.

The trial of various crimes of a comparatively minor nature is entrusted to magistrates of three grades: a first-class magistrate may pass a sentence of two years' imprisonment and 2,000 rupees fine; a second-class magistrate one of six months' imprisonment and 500 rupees fine; and a third-class magistrate one of one month's imprisonment and 100 rupees fine.[4] The District Magistrate has first-class magisterial powers, the Sub-Divisional Officers are first-class magistrates and *Tehsildars* usually have second-class magisterial powers in those states where separation of executive and judicial functions has not taken place. Cases may come to them in the form of private complaints and police arrests. They also administer preventive criminal law; for example, they take measures on their own initiative to prevent a breach of the peace during festivals or elections. In rural areas in many states, there are honorary magistrates. They do not exercise any of the ordinary powers automatically conferred on magistrates under the Code of Criminal Procedure, but they do perform such functions as authenticating documents and recording dying declarations. It is the District Magistrate alone who can issue orders for the distribution of business among the different magistrates.[5] In nearly all judicial acts, the magistracy is subject to the control of the High Court.

A general movement is taking place in the states to implement the Directive Principle of the Constitution of India regarding the separation of the judiciary from the executive (Article 50). Separation is now (1962) in force in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, West Bengal, and in a majority of districts in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Committees to consider separation have been set up by the governments of Assam and Rajasthan, and although the committees have reported, action has yet to be taken.

The position in the State of Madras gives an illustration of

[3] *Code of Criminal Procedure*, sect. 31(2).

[4] *Ibid.*, sect. 32(1). The rupee exchange holds at roughly 4·7 to the dollar and 13·2 to the English pound; *International Financial Statistics*, Vol. XV, No. 7 (July 1962).

[5] *Ibid.*, sect. 17(1).

separation schemes. Functions of a magistrate under the Code of Criminal Procedure and other relevant statutes fall into two broad categories:

1. Functions which are administrative in character such as those involved in handling unlawful assemblies and the issue of arms licenses.
2. Functions which are essentially judicial in character, such as the trial of criminal cases involving the sifting of evidence, pronouncement of decisions involving penalty or punishment, or the sending of individuals for trial to another court.

The Madras scheme divides the functions accordingly. For the discharge of magisterial functions of a purely judicial character, a separate hierarchy of judicial magistrates has been created in the district under the control of the High Court. The Collector, Sub-Divisional Officer and *Tehsildar* remain as executive magistrates. The Collector is called the 'Additional District Magistrate' and continues to control the police. In a few matters, such as power of arrest, the functions are exercised conjointly by judicial magistrates and executive magistrates. Separation in Madras is reportedly working well.

In some states, separation has also been applied to the *panchayats*. For example, until December 1960, *panchayats* in the State of Rajasthan exercised both judicial and municipal functions within their jurisdiction. Since December 1960, these *panchayats* have devoted their attention exclusively to municipal and development work, while separate *Nyaya Panchayats* have been constituted, for not less than five and not more than seven contiguous *panchayat* areas, to attend to civil and criminal justice at the village level. Each *panchayat* elects one member to the *Nyaya Panchayat*. No member of the *Nyaya Panchayat* may hear any suit or case arising in the *panchayat* area from which he is elected. A *Nyaya Panchayat*'s criminal jurisdiction extends to fifty minor offences under the Indian Penal Code—e.g. fouling the water of a public spring or reservoir; it is not competent to impose, on conviction, any sentence other than a fine not exceeding 50 rupees.[6] Its civil

[6] *The Rajasthan Panchayat Act, 1953* (as amended up to 24th August 1960), sect. 27B.

jurisdiction extends to trial of a limited number of matters, suits not to exceed 250 rupees.

Each state has its own police department, headed by an Inspector-General of Police. The main police force, excluding various special branches, is organized on a district basis. Virtually every district has a Superintendent of Police who is responsible for police affairs throughout the district, subject to the direction of the District Magistrate. His primary functions are concerned with the maintenance of order, prevention and detection of crime, collection of political intelligence and anti-corruption work. The District Superintendent of Police is assisted by one or more Deputy Superintendents, a number of circle inspectors and other officials. The number of police stations and outposts in the district depends partly on the size and population of the district and partly on the extent of crime prevalent in the area; the strength of the district police remains fluid. There is at least one Police Station (*Thana*) or Police Outpost in every *tehsil* (*taluk*). Most village communities have either hereditary or stipendiary village watchmen who attend to a number of important police matters such as arrest of a person who has committed a crime (and handing him over within twenty-four hours to a police officer, together with all articles useful as evidence), collection of police intelligence for both magistrates and police officers, rendering prompt relief to shipwrecked persons and assisting travellers.

In the land revenue and general administration component of the district administration, the Collector is the responsible officer, and his more important subordinate officers are, in most states, Sub-Divisional Officers, *Tehsildars* and *Patwaris*.

The *Patwari* (*farnam, talati, shambhog*) is the representative of the government in his charge of one or several villages. His salary is paid by the state government. His usual appellation of 'village accountant' is inadequate, for he is much more than this. His local knowledge is so extensive that there is little in the way of information about the village and its occupants which he does not know or cannot guess; consequently he is referred to, not unrealistically, as 'the eyes and ears of the Collector'. His primary function is to keep up to date the land records: e.g. a map of the village together with an index showing various fields and their numbers, record of rights of tenants,

register of proprietary rights, register of collections. These records are initially prepared at the time of settlement.

Settlement is the process of agreeing with a particular person, or body of persons, that he is singly, or they are jointly, responsible for paying the land revenue assessed on a particular field. Settlement is either permanent, as in north-east India, or temporary, as in the other parts of India. In the latter case, settlement is for thirty to forty years, although this may be extended by a state government up to eighty years. Shorter settlements are possible, for example, when the crop pattern is suddenly changed or when flood or other calamity alters significantly the quality of the soil. Settlement is made with the cultivators, whether owners or occupiers, in most of India; this type of land tenure is called *ryotwari*. In *zamindari* areas, where the owner pays revenue after receiving rent from the cultivator, settlement is made with the landowner, or *zamindar* (*jagirdar*). Most of the *zamindar* tenancies in India have now been abolished.[7] Settlement of a district takes three years and consists of survey (preparing maps and other documents of each village), soil classification and assessment (calculating the land revenue payable on a particular area). Assessment is a complex subject, but the general position is that the settlement of revenue is usually assessed at 40–50 per cent. of the net assets, paid in two instalments each year. There are elaborate scales prescribing remission or suspension in case of loss. The Collector is the Settlement Officer in the first year, in addition to his other duties, while special Settlement Officers complete the settlement in the second and third years. The *Patwari* is intimately involved throughout this complex and important procedure. His primary function between settlements is to renew or correct each year (or as need arises) the records made at the time of settlement. To accomplish this he continually moves in his village (or villages) from field to field, noting important points in his diary and submitting a copy of it to his superior officers.

The *Patwari* also prepares and files at the *tehsil* office other data based on his intimate knowledge such as area under cultivation and yield per acre, which are later compiled at dis-

[7] Most of the *zamindar* and other intermediary tenancies have now been resumed by the states. Only a few minor tenures remain in Assam, Gujarat, Madras and Maharashtra. See *India—A Reference Annual, 1962*, p. 245.

trict, state and even national levels. They are the primary source for agriculture and land statistics and form the basis for policy decisions on these matters. In addition, the *Patwari* reports on matters relating to police work, agriculture, irrigation and public health. He also acts as census taker every ten years, attends *panchayat* meetings each month and identifies voters at local, state and national elections. He is perhaps alone in being able to perform this function, which is essential to India's democracy. In many places, the *Patwari* is still the only person in the village who can read and write, let alone understand the law regarding land tenure and revenue. If this situation exists together with inadequate supervision from superior officers, then opportunities for petty graft present themselves, which some *Patwaris* undoubtedly have been unable to resist. Better salaries for *Patwaris* would help; even more, the spread of education in the village and the strengthening of local authorities in rural areas would provide correctives.

The officer in charge of a *tehsil* is called a *Tehsildar*—literally, treasury officer. He is a member of a state civil service cadre. He and his assistants have jurisdiction over a number of villages, say 400, and through the *Patwaris* he keeps in close touch with the rural population as regards day-to-day revenue affairs and a wide range of other matters. His principal duties are to see that the land revenue and other government dues are collected in his *tehsil* in time and in full and without tyranny, to keep in safe custody all government money and property entrusted to him, to supervise the land record work in his *tehsil*, to see that the *Patwaris* and other revenue personnel carry out their duties properly, and to report to his immediate superior (the Sub-Divisional Officer in most cases) any unusual occurrences.

Basic administrative records of most subjects relating to district administration are kept and maintained at the *tehsil* headquarters. A small office staff attends to this work. The *Tehsildar* has magisterial powers, as has been indicated above, and he works closely with the police in the area. He is also, among other things, usually the appointing authority for inferior village servants, superintendent of the sub-jail at his headquarters, the sub-treasury officer [8] in that area and the chair-

[8] There is a 'treasury' at each district headquarters which receives and makes governmental payments; there are also sub-treasuries in most *tehsils* (*taluks*).

man of the *Tehsil* (*Taluk*) Development Board if there is one. A *Tehsildar* moves freely about his *tehsil* in order to acquire personal knowledge of it. He is required to tour for at least one-third of his working time in most states; efficient *Tehsildars*, in fact, tour almost incessantly. He submits a tour diary every month to the Collector showing villages visited and giving brief accounts of local inspections.

Most districts have several Sub-Divisional Officers or Assistant Collectors. Such an officer resides either at the district town or outside in his sub-division. He is either a junior member of the Indian Administrative Service (to be discussed) or a member of the state civil service who has had extensive experience in subordinate positions. In general, his responsibilities are similar in breadth of scope to those of the Collector. In particular, for example, he inspects his *tehsils* at least twice a year, continually supervises the work of the revenue personnel in the sub-division, tours through the sub-division keeping in close touch with the general public, and adjudicates revenue cases either on the spot or in court. He is generally responsible for criminal administration in the sub-division and maintains liaison with the police. He also visits jails and lock-ups and sees that the inmates are well looked after. He prepares inspection notes and sends them to the Collector for *tehsil* inspections and the Inspector-General of Prisons (or his equivalent) for jails and lock-ups. In some states, he also supervises the work of the community development personnel working in the sub-division. He has a small office staff.

It is useful to distinguish three types of Sub-Divisional Officers:

1. Weak, where he does not reside in his sub-division (as in Uttar Pradesh).
2. Strong, where he is resident (as in Madras).
3. Very strong, where he is resident and *Tehsildars* are non-existent (as in West Bengal).[9]

In making these distinctions, emphasis is placed on the fact that significant differences do obtain from state to state in the

[9] The position in Punjab is an exception to these three types, where Sub-Divisional Officers are, for the most part, non-existent. Supervision of revenue work in Punjab is organized mainly on a functional basis, not a territorial one.

organization of the land revenue and general administration component of the district administration.

Technical and other departments of the state government post field representatives throughout the state. Their jurisdiction usually coincides with district boundaries, although there are exceptions—e.g. certain officers of the Irrigation Department and the Forest Department. The following is a sample list of such district level officers:

Principal Medical and Health Officer
Executive Engineer, Public Works Department (Buildings and Roads)
Executive Engineer, Public Works Department (Irrigation)
Deputy Director of *Ayurvedic* [10]
District Industries Officer
District Agriculture Officer
District Animal Husbandry Officer
Labour Officer
Social Welfare Officer
Inspector of Schools
Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies
Public Relations Officer
Assistant Mining Engineer
Assistant Commissioner, Excise and Taxation Department
District Employment Officer
District Statistician
Tourist Assistant
District Social Education Officer

It is not possible here even to indicate the position and functions of all these important officers, but the work of representatives of the state departments actively engaged in community development administration is discussed in the following chapter.

[10] Indigenous system of medicine.

CHAPTER VII

# COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development in India means voluntary self-help by village communities. Its purpose is to transform the social and economic life of the villages. Its principal assumption is that social and economic development will not be sustained unless village people are convinced of the need for such development and participate actively in the work. Its distinctive characteristic is that it is induced from 'without'; 'without' meaning trained government personnel who live in or near the villages, who attempt to stimulate village communities to become dissatisfied with certain features of their present environment and way of life, who attempt to convince them that they can overcome these dissatisfactions by their own effort, and who then help village communities to satisfy these recognized needs by teaching them new skills, by bringing advanced technical knowledge to bear on these village needs and by obtaining financial assistance from government funds to support voluntary community effort.

The Community Development Programme is designed to support this voluntary community effort. It consists of a number of individual schemes each of which falls under one of the following broad aspects of rural community life:

1. Agriculture
2. Animal husbandry
3. Irrigation and reclamation
4. Health and rural sanitation
5. Education
6. Social education (including welfare of women and children)
7. Communications
8. Rural arts, crafts and industries
9. Housing

Since a number of departments and other units of government are involved in the administration of this multi-purpose Programme, a series of co-ordinating committees and controlling authorities have evolved at the national, state and district levels, and separate units called community development blocks have been created within the districts to act as common agencies for all these development departments. This arrangement attempts to satisfy the administrative requirements of co-ordination and planning in relation to village development.

Each Collector exercises general control over community development administration in the district. One of his most important duties in this connection is to co-ordinate at the district level the work of the development departments specifically concerned with community development; examples of such departments are the Agriculture Department, the Medical and Health Department, the Education Department, the Small Scale and Cottage Industries Department and the Public Works Department (in respect of minor projects only).[1] The Collector also formally inspects each block in the district at least once every two years, and usually he is touring in all the blocks more frequently, in connection with his other duties.

The Community Development Programme was initiated by the Government of India on 2nd October, 1952 (Mahatma Gandhi's birthday),[2] when work commenced in only seventy-seven blocks scattered over India. More blocks were opened from year to year as finance and trained personnel became available. At the present time (March 1962), 83 per cent. of the country's villages are covered by active blocks. Thus, every district in India has most of its rural area under block administration.[3]

When blocks are opened each year, they begin a 'life' of eleven years.[4] They receive funds and have a complement of personnel depending on their 'stage' of development. There

[1] Exact titles of these departments vary from state to state.

[2] Gandhi's rural uplift work in the 1920's and 30's provided inspiration for those who designed the Programme; some of the administrative features of the Programme owe their inspiration to Albert Mayer's Pilot Project at Etawah (see the suggested readings at the end of this book).

[3] It is expected that the Programme will completely cover rural India by 2nd October, 1963.

[4] This is the position since April 1958, under the Revised Programme of Community Development.

are three stages: a Pre-Extension Stage in the first year, Stage I in the following five years and Stage II in the final five years. Thus, every block in India at any given time is either Pre-Extension, or Stage I, or Stage II. (As illustration, see the all-India position in March 1961 as detailed in Appendix IV.)

During the Pre-Extension Stage, a few of the personnel are assigned to the block to do initial survey work and start agricultural demonstrations in the villages. When the block enters Stage I, a period of intensive development ensues; the principal aim of the full complement of community development personnel is to ensure that *panchayats*, village schools, village co-operatives, and statutory organizations at the block and district levels are established and begin to function well. During Stage II, a post-intensive stage of five years, the responsibility for rural development is to be entrusted gradually to these organizations so that central financial assistance can be withdrawn.[5]

Each Stage I and Stage II block is provided with community development funds according to the provisions of a schematic budget prescribed from New Delhi; details of these budgets are given in Appendix V. Each Stage I block works within a maximum of 1,200,000 rupees for the five-year period; Stage II blocks each have a maximum of 500,000 rupees for a similar period.

The full complement of block personnel is supposed to be posted to every Stage I and Stage II block. The only distinction is that whereas in Stage I the medical personnel are paid from block funds, in Stage II their cost is borne by the Public Health Department in each state. The full complement consists of the following:

One Block Development Officer
Eight Extension Officers, one each for
- agriculture
- animal husbandry
- rural engineering
- social education
- programme for women and children

[5] Central Assistance will not be available to the blocks after they complete Stage II; see Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Department of Community Development, *Report, 1960–61*, p. 3.

co-operation
rural industries
*panchayats*
Ten Village Level Workers
Two Women Village Level Workers
Other supporting staff (progress assistants, clerks, jeep drivers, etc.)

There is also a Medical Officer for the Primary Health Centre, with supporting medical personnel. Each block has a Primary Health Centre, usually located at block headquarters.

The Block Development Officer (hereafter called a B.D.O.) is the controlling authority at the block level. The Village Level Workers (hereafter called *Gram Sevaks*) are multi-purpose extension workers, with primary emphasis on agriculture, and serve as the link between the development departments and the village communities. Each *Gram Sevak* is supposed to have charge of about ten villages, each working in a section (called a 'circle') of the block. The *Gram Sevaks* receive technical support from the extension officers. These officers are borne on the cadres of their respective departments (known as their 'parent departments') and are responsible technically to the district level officer of their parent department. For administrative and operational purposes, however, both the extension officers and the *Gram Sevaks* are controlled by the B.D.O. The B.D.O.'s immediate superior is, in most states, the Collector.

Each state is supposed to prescribe in detail the functions and duties of the community development personnel working in the blocks. However, it is possible and useful to indicate them in a manner which would be recognized as applicable throughout India.

Each B.D.O. is responsible for organizing all attempts to ensure that the objectives, methods and contents of the Programme are understood by the village people throughout the block. He takes responsibility for designing an integrated working plan for the block. He guides and supervises the work of the other staff in the block under his control. He is responsible for the proper utilization of funds placed at his disposal in connection with the Programme and for maintaining prescribed accounts and records. He attempts to develop programmes in

such a manner that initiative is gradually transferred to the village communities. He ensures compliance with all government orders and instructions about the Programme. He is responsible for building up stocks of equipment necessary for community development activities, for arranging for its proper storage, and for establishing and maintaining supply lines in order to achieve timely execution of the plans. He calls frequent staff meetings (usually once a month) to acquaint his staff with the particulars of detailed schemes and rules sent to the block from higher authorities, to check the progress of work as stated in the monthly diaries of his staff and to see that his staff are proficient in the skills required, and if they are not, to arrange for their training to meet these deficiencies. He organizes the block office so that office help and facilities for all specialist staff can be arranged as advantageously as circumstances will allow. He is expected to tour in the block area for a prescribed number of days.

Most B.D.O.s are members of an existing cadre of government personnel, usually the state administrative service. A number of *Tehsildars* have also served in these posts. When appointed to a block, these officers receive a one-month course in orientation training in company with other block officers, and a further two-months' course of job training on their own. This training is given at eight Orientation and Study Centres run by the Indian Government's Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation.

Extension officers have several functions and duties in common. They assist and advise the B.D.O. in all matters concerning their respective specialities. They collect and supply to village people and their organizations all available technical knowledge and other relevant data on the basis of findings of research institutions. They attempt to answer satisfactorily, as far as possible, questions raised by village people about the methods they are advocating; if the problems presented to them require expert opinion or analysis beyond their knowledge or beyond the facilities available at the block, they present the problems in detailed form to higher authorities or experts for study and advice. They collect and supply information about detailed schemes in their field, including conditions for obtaining external help or supplies and financial aid, and take every

possible step to secure such help when individuals or groups are entitled to it. They keep in touch with policy decisions and other developments in their parent departments (they study all important directives issued by their department, which they receive as a matter of course), and for this purpose correspond with the district officers of their parent departments and maintain close personal touch with them—usually by attending monthly or quarterly meetings at district headquarters. They provide technical support for all the *Gram Sevaks* working in the block, and they tour throughout the block area for a prescribed number of days.

Each extension officer has a number of particular duties and functions relating to his speciality. These are normally prescribed by the parent department.

Agricultural Extension Officers continuously study the work of the district and regional research institutions of agriculture, explain to villagers recommended measures for improving yields if they have relevance to the block area, conduct demonstrations either directly or through *Gram Sevaks* or *panchayats*, and keep and use charts and other exhibition materials emphasizing the agricultural programme. They also establish personal contact with all progressive farmers, registered seed growers and other village leaders whose example is followed by others and whose lead is expected to strengthen the agricultural programme.

Extension Officers for Animal Husbandry work as veterinary officers in charge of a dispensary, educate and assist the village people in the proper care, improvement and use of cattle, encourage co-operative effort in production and marketing of milk and other produce, take steps to improve grasslands and other fodder crops and encourage fisheries development where this is practicable.

Extension Officers for Rural Engineering (called Overseers) prepare plans and estimates for all construction work undertaken on a grant-in-aid basis under the Programme, supervise all such construction work from time to time and arrange for release of grant-in-aid funds promptly, and advise village people undertaking private constructions.

Social Education Organizers make arrangements for adult literacy classes and follow-up activities (such as newsletters,

pamphlets and circulating libraries) in order to prevent relapse into illiteracy, create interest among formal and informal village organizations in solving village problems through community action, organize village youth in groups and clubs and suggest useful projects in which they can participate and arrange cultural and recreational activities.

Extension Officers for Women and Children (*Mukhya Sevikas*) organize village women's committees (*mahila mandals*) in the village where they have their headquarters and, if possible, in all the other block villages. Where this is not practicable, committees are organized in the headquarters village and in at least ten additional villages not already under the supervision of the Women Village Level Workers. They strengthen *mahila mandals* by suggesting to them suitable projects for their benefit according to local requirements, supervise the work of the Women Village Level Workers and *Gram Kakis* ('village aunts' working voluntarily), organize campaigns to persuade parents to send their children (particularly girls) to school, to promote habits of cleanliness among children and to encourage literacy and the use of various home improvements among women.

Extension Officers for Co-operation encourage every family in the block to belong to some co-operative society, help to organize new co-operatives, inspect regularly (through their assistants) all co-operative societies in the block area and take steps to ensure that co-operative societies get financial aid and supplies without undue delay.

Extension Officers for Industries help individual artisans and their co-operative societies in the supply of equipment and the marketing of goods, supervise and periodically inspect village industrial institutions and training centres in the block and assist the development, by training and location of financial assistance, of such industries—depending on local circumstances—as carpentry, brick-making, tailoring, ironwork, weaving, pottery and bee-keeping.

Extension Officers for *Panchayats* encourage the resuscitation of moribund *panchayats*, inspect the existing *panchayats* and assist them in framing their budgets, explain to the members the meaning of the state *Panchayat* Acts and supporting rules and regulations and help in the organization and management of training programmes for *panchayat* members.

Extension officers are recruited either directly from colleges giving the degrees necessary for the post, from the ranks of the parent department concerned or from promotions of *Gram Sevaks*. When drawn into the block team, Overseers and extension officers for agriculture and for animal husbandry are given one month's orientation training with the Block Development Officers at the Orientation and Study Centres. Social Education Organizers also attend this course, and then receive a job-training course of six months' duration at one of twelve Social Education Organizers' Training Centres. The other officers are trained in separate institutions.[6]

Each of the two Women Village Level Workers in a block confines her work to a group of five villages. She encourages home improvements, gives instruction in knitting, tailoring and other craft work, arranges literacy classes for women and takes steps to improve the personal hygiene of village children and to establish reading and recreational facilities for them.

The *Gram Sevak*'s duties and functions reflect in microcosm the purposes and scope of the community development organization. His specific jobs have been grouped into seven classifications in a most helpful manner by the Committee on Plan Projects Team.[7] His first and by far his most important group of jobs is classified as educative and informative; examples are:

1. Demonstration of the use of improved seed, manure and improved implements
2. Organizing campaigns for greater use of fertilizers and artificial insemination

[6] As of 1961: *Mukhya Sevikas* separately receive one month of orientation training and nine and a half months of job-training at one of ten *Mukhya Sevika* Centres; Extension Officers for Co-operation undergo a course of eleven months' duration at one of eight training centres specially run for this purpose by the Central Committee of the Reserve Bank of India; Extension Officers for Industries take a one-year course consisting of four months of training at one of four Small Industries Service Institutes (at Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta) run by the Ministry of Commerce and Industries, and eight months of training in centres run by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission (a statutory body accountable to the same Ministry); Extension Officers for *Panchayats* take a forty-five-day course at the Institute for Instruction in Community Development, Rajpur, Dehra-Dun (U.P.).

[7] Committee on Plan Projects, *Report of the team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service*, Vol. II (1957), pp. 143–5; an excellent study of the *Gram Sevak*'s work precedes their classified list, pp. 126–59.

3. Giving advice on balanced feed for milch cattle, digging of compost pits, rainwater drainage, chlorination of water and rural housing
4. Organizing fairs and exhibitions in the villages and distributing or displaying posters, films, pamphlets, leaflets and other audio-visual aids

The second group of jobs is classified as ameliorative; examples are use of first-aid kits for minor ailments, distribution of medicines, first-aid treatment of animal cases for minor ailments and assistance in inoculations and vaccinations of both human beings and cattle. The third group is classified as supply and service jobs; examples are distribution of improved seeds, improved implements, manure and fertilizers and the conduct of soil and water tests. The fourth group of jobs, having to do with construction activities, includes assessment of needs and resources of the village for undertaking works items, assistance in preparation of statements of expenditure, assistance in obtaining administrative approval and technical verification of works schemes and collection of public contributions. The fifth group, organizing villagers for development, covers such activities as organizing crop competitions, sanitation campaigns and youth clubs. The sixth and seventh classifications are concerned with the collection of statistics (*ad hoc* surveys and census work) and administration. Administrative duties include:

1. Receipt and recommendation of applications for loans
2. Maintenance of office records
3. Preparation of progress reports, charts, maps and statements
4. Maintenance of equipment and other stores
5. Attending monthly, fortnightly and emergency meetings
6. Showing visitors around the circle

The *Gram Sevak*'s main function is to change attitudes and practices in the village through the application of various educative techniques. However, he must also perform some service and supply functions, in the absence of effective local authorities.[8]

[8] Effective rural authorities are in the process of being created at the village, block and district levels. This development is discussed in the next chapter.

All *Gram Sevaks* receive two years of training at one of ninety-three Extension Training Centres in India. Preliminary selection is made in each district by a special committee chaired by the Collector. General appearance, personality, knowledge of agriculture and good memory are some of the criteria applied in selecting the candidates. Successful candidates are then sent to one of the Extension Training Centres in their home states where they are given aptitude and other tests. Many candidates are eliminated during this final selection period, for they must be able to pass intelligence tests, walking tests, hard manual labour tests, agriculture tests (the candidate demonstrating to the examiner his acquaintance with jobs ordinarily expected of persons from rural areas), a public speaking test and a games test. Every candidate must be able to play *kabbaddi*, a popular village game requiring strength and skill and absolutely no equipment, and he must also be able to cycle. They are eliminated if they are either physically incapable of doing sustained manual work or appear disinclined to do such work. Successful candidates are rated and as many of them as are needed are retained for training. The training consists of classroom instruction and practical work in actual field conditions. The syllabus includes such subjects as agricultural engineering, soil management, plant protection, agronomy, animal husbandry, co-operatives, public health, social education, rural industries and extension methods. Trainees sleep in barracks and eat in a common dining-hall. This feature in their training programme is designed to discourage strong caste feelings in people who must learn to work with all types of villagers. For at least ten weeks during the latter part of the training the trainees work independently in a village near the Extension Training Centre. On completion of training, the new *Gram Sevak* is posted to a block, usually in his home district.

When a trained *Gram Sevak* first enters a village (say, for example, in the Pre-Extension Stage), he explains the objectives and methods of community development, sounds out possible village interest in development work, tries to discover to whom the village people look for leadership and tries to learn what the villagers consider to be their chief problems and what interest they have in solving them. A *Gram Sevak* has been trained to exercise restraint and tact, and as he is slowly

accepted in the village as a friend, he begins, with extreme caution, to prepare the village for action. In so doing, he works mainly through village leadership. Friendly or hostile, progressive or conservative, village leaders guide village thinking and action; by working through them, stimulation for action from without can become village-wide thinking from within. Although each leader in a village community has his own interests, occasionally these coincide or can be seen to coincide under the guidance of the *Gram Sevak*; for example, villagers can be made to see that an approach road is advantageous to all. When this is so the interest of the villagers can be aroused at a village meeting convened by the *Gram Sevak* and action can be initiated by the village leaders. Indeed, community development is truly achieved only when the decision to act comes from the village people themselves.

A *Gram Sevak* at work in a village must strike a balance between compulsion and self-determination. Most rural communities will change their way of living only if forced to change or if highly motivated to do so. Change can be forced, of course, but unpleasant side-effects may follow. An example of this nature was made known to the author during his field studies in southern Rajasthan: a concerted campaign was launched by a religious sect to persuade a tribal community to desist from drinking alcoholic beverages and eating meat. The campaign was successful, with the result that the tribal community shortly began to suffer from malnutrition, due to the absence of any other nutritionally valuable food in their traditional diet. The lesson is that community development methods, which are methods of persuasion, may be so effective that the traditional way of life in the village is disrupted unless compensating measures are provided to counteract the undesirable effects of the change. Furthermore, to press for change, or for a series of changes, may simply overwhelm those expected to make the change, and may result in frustration or active resistance on the part of those affected. At the same time, however, any programme of rural development is expected to achieve results in the foreseeable future. This is particularly so when public funds are involved. And if the assumption is correct that an attitude of resignation typifies the thinking in rural India, then there must be an element of

compulsion, or induced 'felt needs', if community development is to take place at all.

Technical and financial assistance are ordinarily given only when the village community is prepared for community development.

Technical assistance for community development is provided by a two-way channel of communication between the block personnel and research stations or scientific institutes. It brings scientific information regarding village activities directly to village people through trained personnel who can interpret this information to them by relating it to their environment. It also takes village problems to research stations and scientific institutes for solution.

Financial assistance for community development is provided by grants-in-aid; in some cases loans and subsidy are also used. The distinctive character of this assistance is the attempt to encourage self-help in the village by insisting that a certain proportion of 'people's participation' is guaranteed before release of funds. This participation may take the form of cash, labour or materials. Cash may be either in the form of taxes raised by the *panchayat* or donations from individuals. Villagers who contribute labour on a particular work are also contributing to the cost of the work; this labour is calculated on the basis of Public Works Department estimates of work load in terms of man-hours, and its rupee value is fixed according to prevailing wage rates in the district or region for the type of labour offered. Contributions in kind are valued at prevailing market rates.

Grants-in-aid are intended to benefit the community at large, not individuals or certain specified groups of individuals. Examples of authorized items of activity for which grants-in-aid are available under the Community Development Programme are construction or repair of public drinking-water wells, roads, culverts, schools, dispensaries and community centres. Construction or maintenance of compost pits, houses and handlooms, on the other hand, are items of individual benefit and are therefore not eligible for grants-in-aid.

Loans are granted primarily for activities which are expected to give specific economic benefit and for which there would seem to be a reasonable chance of repayment. For example, it

is common to grant loans for irrigation works. Subsidies are not ordinarily granted as a method for stimulating community development. But when a programme is new and its usefulness has not been demonstrated, a subsidy is granted as an inducement for undertaking it. Part of a loan, for example, may be extended as subsidy to induce particularly backward classes to undertake certain schemes.

The essence of the procedure in each block is to maintain direct, frequent and informal contact with as many of the block population as possible. It is arranged as follows in the blocks known to the author: the B.D.O. and the extension officers tour throughout the block in support of the *Gram Sevaks*, and the *Gram Sevaks* tour in their respective circles, dealing with the village people directly. The B.D.O. and several extension officers sometimes move out from block headquarters together in the block jeep, each officer getting off at the particular *Gram Sevak* circle where he will be touring for a day or two. Usually, officers will be on tour in the block for four or five days running, visiting several contiguous circles. Officers also move alone by bus to a particular circle, then by bicycle, horseback, camel or on foot within the circle. Officers take their own bedding and food with them on tour. They make their night halt at the *Gram Sevak*'s house or the *panchayatghar* (*panchayat* house) in the larger, more impersonal villages. If they find it necessary to halt in smaller villages, they are invited by village families to share a meal and spend the night, as is the custom in this hospitable land.

Seen in broad perspective, the present approach to rural development administration in India is to create a separate unit for planning and development within the district called the block; to give it a unified organization consisting of government personnel specially trained to work with village people; to provide it with assured funds in the schematic budgets; to establish it as the common agency for all development departments working in rural India; and to ensure its efficient working through a series of co-ordinating committees and controlling authorities at the district, state and national levels.

CHAPTER VIII

# *PANCHAYATI RAJ*

The term *Panchayati Raj* refers to a three-tier structure of rural local self-government in each district. It calls for a transfer of responsibility for much of rural development administration to these local authorities. At the present time, *Panchayati Raj* legislation has either been passed or is being considered by every state legislature in India.

An increased role for local authorities in rural development work was stressed in the First Five Year Plan;[1] *panchayats* were rejuvenated or created afresh in many places during the Plan and Block Advisory Committees (later Block Development Committees) were established in each community development block. Exhortations flowed from the Centre to the states emphasizing the importance of bringing the *panchayats* and the block committees more directly into rural development administration; and although much lip-service was paid to this need in the states, in fact, little action was taken. The Government of India found occasion in the Second Five Year Plan to call attention again to 'the need for creating a well-organized democratic structure of administration within the district'.[2] The Second Plan went on to specify that, in the proposed structure, *panchayats* should be linked with popular organizations at higher levels, and it suggested that clear functions in the broad field of development administration be assigned to them. District development councils and block or *tehsil* (*taluk*) development committees were suggested in this connection, although their role was envisaged as an advisory one.[3]

More specific and detailed proposals appeared the following

[1] Government of India, Planning Commission, *First Five Year Plan* (1952), pp. 138–41.
[2] Planning Commission, *Second Five Year Plan* (1956), p. 160.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

year in the *Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service.* This team, which was appointed in January 1957, visited selected blocks in every state during that year. Following discussions with local and state officials and with village leaders, they formulated tentative conclusions and recommendations which were sent to each state government. The team then went to each state to discuss their findings with the respective governments, and having obtained substantial agreement on many of them, finally completed their Report in November 1957. The Report, which contained more than 300 distinct recommendations on rural development administration, was immediately recognized as the most important study in this field since Independence. The team's foremost discovery is summarized in the following paragraph from their Report:[4]

> Admittedly, one of the least successful aspects of the C.D. and N.E.S. work is its attempt to evoke popular initiative. We have found that few of the local bodies at a level higher than the village *panchayat* have shown any enthusiasm or interest in this work; and even the *panchayats* have not come into the field to any appreciable extent. An attempt has been made to harness local initiative through the formation of *ad hoc* bodies mostly with nominated personnel and invariably advisory in character. These bodies have so far given no indication of durable strength nor the leadership necessary to provide the motive force for continuing the improvement of economic and social conditions in rural areas.

The Team then plunged immediately into the question of what new bodies should be established in the districts to provide a suitable structure for rural development. They answered this query by recommending 'Democratic Decentralization' of development work. Under this new arrangement the old district boards were to be replaced by a new district authority, supplemented by other local authorities at the block and village levels. The general pattern outlined was a three-tiered system of rural local self-government, the tiers linked by a system of indirect elections.

On 12th January 1958, the National Development Council [5]

[4] Committee on Plan Projects, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

[5] The National Development Council is composed of the Prime Minister, the Chief Ministers of all the state governments and the members of the Planning

of the Government of India endorsed the proposals for democratic decentralization—words unmusical to the Indian ear and uncomfortable to the Indian tongue which were shortly given the translation of *Panchayati Raj*. Each state was asked to evolve a system of *Panchayati Raj* to suit its own conditions. Five principles were emphasized:

1. There should be a three-tiered structure of local self-governing bodies from village to district levels, with an organic link from the lower to the higher ones.
2. There should be a genuine transfer of power and responsibility to these bodies.
3. Adequate financial resources should be transferred to these bodies to enable them to discharge these responsibilities.
4. All development programmes at these levels should be channelled through these bodies.
5. The system evolved should be such as to facilitate further decentralization of power and responsibility in the future.

Two spurs drove the states quickly to consider and to implement the recommendations. One was the mounting criticism of the Community Development Programme, to which *Panchayati Raj* provided a nice rejoinder. The other, a consequence of the first, was the active support given to *Panchayati Raj* by the Congress Party.

Corruption, careless extravagance, administrative inefficiency, failure to achieve objectives—these failings of the Community Development Programme were frequently alluded to in official reports, independent studies and press headlines. The King of Saudi Arabia, during a visit to Rattangarh village (Punjab) in 1956, gave 10,000 rupees to the village *panchayat*. The Block Development Officer acknowledged receipt of the donation on 4th January 1956, but no money was credited to the *panchayat* fund. This was one of many rather sensational disclosures revealed in the Annual Report of the Punjab Audit Department (1957–58), which revealed some 726 cases of embezzlement and misappropriation.[6] On 5th November 1958 the Hindi newspaper *Navrashtra* (Patna) extensively quoted

Commission. Its functions are to review the working of the Five Year Plans from time to time and to recommend measures for achieving the aims and targets of the Plans. It is the highest planning authority in India.

[6] Reported in the *Statesman*, 5th December 1959, p. 5.

from a memorandum, submitted by the Joint Secretary of the Bihar Parliamentary Congress Committee to the All-India Congress Committee, which made allegations of bribery and corruption in the community development blocks in Bihar. 'The observations of a responsible man like the Secretary of the Bihar P.C.C.', the paper added, 'cannot be considered exaggerated.'[7] During their visits to many states the Committee on Plan Projects Team noticed that items of imported equipment were standing idle in storage because they could not be used under conditions prevailing in the area. Examples cited were heavy grain threshers, heavy tractors and X-ray sets operating on frequencies not in vogue in India.[8] After an exhaustive analysis of the planning process in community development, the Project Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission summed up in the following words: 'If the wide differences between the schematic and the actual budgets suggests rough and ready planning at the top level, the divergence between the latter and actual spending imply both imperfect planning and inadequate execution at the district and block levels.'[9] Under the heading 'CD Movement a Flop Says Mysore Report', in the *Hindustan Times* of 5th December 1960, it is reported that the Estimates Committee of the Mysore Legislative Assembly said: '. . . except for a few buildings here and there the impact of the movement has not been felt by the people.' Over and over again newspapers carried such headlines as: 'C.D. Programme has not Improved Villager's Lot',[10] 'Krishak Samaj Criticizes Community Projects',[11] 'Rural Institutions Lack Initiative',[12] 'Slow Pace of Progress in Community Development',[13] and 'Failure of Punjab C.D. Movement'.[14] Even Mr. Nehru was

[7] Reported in *Kurukshetra*, December 1958, p. 281.
[8] Committee on Plan Projects, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 117.
[9] Planning Commission, Project Evaluation Organization, *The Sixth Evaluation Report on Working of Community Development and N.E.S. Blocks, June, 1959* (1959), p. 28.
[10] Revealed by a socio-economic survey of thirteen selected villages in the Punjab, as reported in the *Times of India*, 24th October 1960, p. 5.
[11] In a memorandum submitted to the Planning Commission, as reported in the *Hindustan Times*, 14th November 1960, p. 5.
[12] Sample survey conducted in one of the oldest blocks in the Punjab, as reported in the *Statesman*, 20th December 1960, p. 7.
[13] Report of the Reserve Bank Review, as reported in the *Times of India*, 8th February 1961.
[14] Admitted by the Punjab Government's Community Development Department in a reply to a non-official Evaluation Committee's Report of the previous year, reported in the *Hindustan Times*, 1st March 1961, p. 7.

moved in late 1958 to say: 'I regret to say that the Community Development Movement has only very partially succeeded. Why is it so? Why?'[15] The answer to Mr. Nehru's question was put succinctly by the *Times of India* (19th October 1960): 'It is only by making a success of *Panchayati Raj* that the Government can hope to put the Community Development work in the rural areas on a stable basis.'

The Congress Party, which controlled the centre as well as all the state legislatures during 1959–62, actively pushed the cause of *Panchayati Raj*. At the annual Congress Session held at Bhavnagar in January 1961, the following resolutions, on which the Congress would go before the electorate in the General Elections of February 1962, were drafted: 'National Integration', 'Third Five Year Plan' and '*Panchayati Raj*'. As to *Panchayati Raj*, the resolution states: 'The Congress welcomes this movement and congratulates the states which have already adopted it. It trusts that the remaining states in India will also establish *Panchayati Raj* in the course of this year and transfer responsibility to the *panchayats* in as large a measure as possible.'[16] Speaking on the resolution, Prime Minister Nehru said that '*Panchayati Raj* would bring about a revolution in the entire rural life of India.'[17]

Adulatory comments from the nation's leaders continued to come forward. In a debate in the *Lok Sabha* on 3rd August 1960,[18] support for *Panchayati Raj* was voiced from all sides of the House. Even the Speaker, in a move without precedent in the history of Parliament in India, spoke for the first time as a Member of the House and praised the work of *Panchayati Raj* authorities in his home district in Andhra Pradesh. Elsewhere, the Minister of Community Development and Co-operation wrote to his colleagues in the states: 'We dream about *Panchayati Raj* in this sputnik age',[19] and later, '*Panchayati Raj* institu-

[15] Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Trust the Peasant', *Kurukshetra*, December 1958, p. 262.

[16] *Indian Express* (Bombay), 5th January 1961, p. 6.

[17] Reported in *Evening News of India* (Bombay), 7th January 1961; the edition had a two-inch headline on the front page: 'Motion on *Panchayati Raj* Adopted at Congress Session.'

[18] *Lok Sabha Debates* (Eleventh Session), Vol. XLIV, No. 3, 3rd August 1960, cols. 742–94.

[19] S. K. Dey's Monthly Letter, Serial No. 2/60, dated 7th May 1960 (unpublished).

tions can then offer patterns before which Plato's Republic will pale into insignificance'.[20]

In a striking manner, *Panchayati Raj* has swept India. As early as 1959, legislation began to be introduced in several states to give effect to the recommendations and by the end of that year, *Panchayati Raj* was operating in Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Rajasthan. By early 1962, *Panchayati Raj* was operating in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra had passed the necessary legislation; a Bill was being considered in the Gujarat Legislature; Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala and West Bengal were considering legislation. Each piece of legislation conforms generally to the five principles laid down in 1958 by the National Development Council. Beyond these principles, however, each one differs markedly in many important respects and it is impossible to synthesize them into a coherent pattern for descriptive purposes. In addition, most of them are only just coming into being. It is only for illustrative purposes, then, that the remainder of this chapter looks briefly at some of the major features of the oldest system of *Panchayati Raj* in India.

The Government of Rajasthan accepted the recommendations of the National Development Council in 1958. After extensive private discussions on the decision among high-level officers in the administration and political leaders, a Bill to provide for the constitution of *Panchayati Samitis* and *Zila Parishads* in the state was introduced in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly on the 13th May 1959, and referred to a Select Committee five days later. The Bill, having been copiously amended by the Committee, was passed by the Assembly on 2nd September 1959 and received the assent of the President of India on the 9th of that month. *The Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act, 1959* (hereafter called *The Act*)[21] took effect from 2nd October 1959. *The Act* also amended extensively *The Rajasthan Panchayat Act, 1953* (hereafter called *The Panchayat Act*).[22] *Panchayati Raj* in Rajasthan embraces the

[20] S. K. Dey's Monthly Letter, Serial No. 3/61, dated 14th August 1961 (unpublished).

[21] Government of Rajasthan, *The Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act, 1959* (1959).

[22] Government of Rajasthan, *The Rajasthan Panchayat Act, 1953* (as amended up to 24th August 1960) (1960).

form and functions of all three layers of local self-government in each of the twenty-six districts in the state, as provided for in *The Act* and *The Panchayat Act* (as amended). The basic aim of the legislation is to create representative institutions in the district which are capable of evoking local participation and initiative in rural development work.

There are twenty-six *Zila Parishad* areas in Rajasthan, one for each district. The state is divided into 232 *Panchayat Samiti* areas, each of which corresponds precisely to the area of each community development block (actual and notional);[23] the number in each district is given in Appendix I. Each *Panchayat Samiti* area is divided into a number of *Panchayat* areas; there are 7,395 in Rajasthan. Each *Panchayat* area includes one or several villages.

A *Panchayat* in Rajasthan is an elective, statutory body representing about 1,000–3,000 persons in one or several villages.[24] It consists of twelve to fifteen members: one *Sarpanch* (elected by the entire *Panchayat* electorate), eight to ten *Panches* (one elected from each ward), and three to four co-opted members (women, representative of scheduled castes and tribes). A *Sarpanch*, besides possessing the qualifications of a *Panch*, must be able to read and write Hindi. The *Panchayat* appoints its own secretary. The present *Panchayats* were formed as a result of the *Panchayat* elections of December 1960. They have a life of three years.

A *Panchayat Samiti* is a statutory body embracing a number of *Panchayats*; it is impossible to give a rough figure because *Samiti* populations vary from 30,000 to 100,000.[25] A *Samiti* consists, first and foremost, of all the *Sarpanches* elected to the *Panchayats* in the block area. These *Sarpanch* members co-opt additional members to ensure representation of certain interests (women, scheduled castes and tribes) as well as two persons 'whose experience in administration, public life or rural development would be of benefit to the *Panchayat Samiti*.' An

[23] Notional blocks in Rajasthan, i.e. those not yet brought under the Community Development Programme, are called 'shadow blocks'.

[24] Actually, the population range is as follows: less than 1,000: 146 *Panchayats*; 1,000–1,500: 1,471 *Panchayats*; 1,500–2,000: 4,183 *Panchayats*; 2,000–5,000: 1,551 *Panchayats*; over 5,000: 44 *Panchayats*.

[25] Government of Rajasthan, *Letter No. F 156 (Gen) QPR/Stat/DD/60/27859–999*, dated 10th February 1961 (unpublished); to be read with the understanding that the 1961 Census figures put population in Rajasthan up 26 per cent. over the 1951 totals.

average *Panchayat Samiti* consists of forty-two members, eight of whom are co-opted. These members elect a *Pradhan* (Chairman) from among themselves. Members of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.s) are Associate Members of the *Samiti(s)* located in their constituency. The chief executive officer of the *Samiti* is the Block Development Officer (who assumes the title of *Vikas Adhikari*); the extension officers, *Gram Sevaks* and other supporting staff also function within the jurisdiction of the *Panchayat Samiti.* These block personnel are expected to carry out the policy of the government as before, but with the difference that they are also asked to serve the *Panchayat Samiti* loyally.

A *Zila Parishad* is a statutory body at the district level. It consists of the following members:

1. The *Pradhans* of all the *Samitis* in the district.
2. Members of the *Rajya Sabha* residing in the district.
3. Members of the *Lok Sabha* elected from a constituency which forms part of or is included in the district.
4. M.L.A.s elected from the district.
5. The President of the Central Co-operative Bank.

These members co-opt additional members—women, representatives of scheduled castes and tribes and two 'experienced persons'. The number of members depends on the number of *Samitis* in the district and the number of M.L.A.s and M.P.s elected from the district.[26] An average *Zila Parishad* has twenty-five members, nine of whom are *Pradhans.* The members elect a *Pramukh* (Chairman) from among themselves. The Government of Rajasthan appoints a Secretary to each *Zila Parishad.*

The Collector is an '*ex-officio* member of the Zila Parishad', which means that he attends its meetings but does not vote on its resolutions. His role can be summarized as that of presiding from without over the decisions and activities of the *Panchayat Samitis* and the *Zila Parishad* in the district, with distinct powers of intervention to ensure that these new authorities do not deviate from their prescribed functions.[27]

[26] Data in Appendix I show that the number of *Samitis* in a district varies from 3 (Jaisalmer) to 19 (Udaipur).

[27] The Collector's powers *vis-à-vis* the *Zila Parishads* and the *Panchayat Samitis* are in *The Act*, sect. 59, 66(3), 66A, 67, 68, 69, 91.

The prescribed functions of the *Panchayats*, *Panchayat Samitis* and *Zila Parishads* are detailed in *The Act* and *The Panchayat Act*. *Zila Parishads* co-ordinate and consolidate the plans prepared by the *Panchayat Samitis*, supervise the activities of the *Samitis* and advise and report to the state government on various activities undertaken in the district in connection with the Five Year Plans.[28] *Panchayat Samitis* have prescribed functions across the whole field of 'development work'—i.e. community development, agriculture, animal husbandry, health and rural sanitation, education, social education, communications, co-operation, cottage industries, miscellaneous.[29] *Panchayats* have similar responsibilities in the same field.[30]

*Panchayats may* impose a tax on buildings, an octroi on animals and goods brought within the *Panchayat* area for consumption or use there, a vehicle tax, a pilgrim tax, a tax for arranging the supply of drinking water within the *Panchayat* area and a tax on commercial crops.[31] In practice, they have not done so.[32] Most *Panchayats* visited by the author meet minimum establishment costs—i.e., salary of secretary, cost of paper and stamps, by constructing a small enclosure into which roving cattle found in the *Panchayat* area are placed; owners wishing to retrieve their stray animals do so by paying to the *Panchayat* a sum reckoned according to the duration of each animal's stay in the enclosure (usually two rupees per animal per twenty-four hours). The amount realized from this novel arrangement is usually just enough to meet the cost of the *Panchayat*'s establishment. Otherwise, *Panchayats* rely on grants-in-aid from the *Panchayat Samiti*.

The *Panchayat Samitis* have three general sources of revenue. Firstly, Stage I and Stage II *Panchayat Samitis* receive all the community development funds allocated to the blocks. The funds must be used almost entirely in accordance with the priorities specified in the schematic budgets. Secondly, a number of schemes formerly administered by development departments have been transferred to the *Samitis*, along with funds necessary to carry out the schemes. For example, the Educa-

[28] *The Act*, sect. 57.
[29] *Ibid.*, the Schedule.
[30] *The Panchayat Act*. The Third Schedule.
[31] *Ibid.*, sect. 64(1), 64A.
[32] See, for example, 'Rajasthan *Panchayats* in Dire Need of Finances, MLA s Say', *Hindustan Times*, 26th March 1961, p. 6.

tion Department transferred many of their routine administrative functions in connection with primary education to the *Samitis*; accordingly, the necessary funds, calculated on the basis of the number of primary schools in the *Samiti* area, are deposited annually to each *Samiti*'s account to enable them to pay the primary school teachers and to maintain and expand facilities.[33] Thirdly, *Samitis may* levy a tax on land, trades, professions, industries and fairs, a surcharge on the stamp duty and a primary education cess,[34] but in fact, few *Samitis* have done so,[35] and they therefore rely almost entirely on state and national government funds. These are considerable, and reflect the fact that the responsibility for many aspects of rural development has been placed squarely on the *Panchayat Samitis*. As Rajasthan develops this position will have to be reviewed.

The *Zila Parashads* have no executive functions at the present time and no independent source of income.[36] Then why have *Zila Parishads* at all? There appear to be several reasons:

1. The *Zila Parishad* was a 'political compromise', in the sense that it was not politically possible to abolish the former district boards, as *Panchayati Raj* did, without putting something else in its place.
2. The *Zila Parishad* is an effective 'sounding board' for the Collector, which assists him to gauge the climate of public opinion in the district.
3. It can facilitate co-ordination between *Panchayat Samitis*, when this is needed, and between the district officers and the *Panchayat Samitis* in the district, thereby acting as a board of appeal.
4. It can in future be entrusted with executive functions which are beyond the competence of one *Samiti* and which it can do more effectively than the Collector.

[33] Detailed terms and conditions are attached to this scheme and other transferred schemes; they were sent to all *Samitis* in the Education Department's *Letter No. EDB/P/Stat/C/SP/(1)132 (159)*, dated 16th October 1959 (unpublished). The syllabus and text-books are still prescribed by the Education Department.

[34] *The Act*, sect. 33(1)(2). In addition, *Samitis* may receive a small share of the land revenue, *ad hoc* grants from the state government (prize money, for example), income from collection of loans and the Rajasthan entertainment tax, income arising in consequence of hearing appeals and donations and contributions received from other local authorities and from the public.

[35] *Source:* unpublished data obtained by the author from the Development Department, Government of Rajasthan (Jaipur), during March 1961.

[36] *The Act*, sect. 63(1).

The success of *Panchayati Raj* in Rajasthan rests very largely with the new leaders elected to the *Panchayats*, *Panchayat Samitis* and *Zila Parishads*. Only a few figures are available at the present time to suggest the nature of this leadership, and we must be content with these figures until field research provides us with more extensive knowledge.

Some information is available on the new members of the *Panchayats* (elected for the period 1961–64) in terms of age, educational standard, occupation and annual income. Data on 5,689 *Sarpanches* (78 per cent. of the total number of *Sarpanches* in Rajasthan) show that 17 per cent. are below the age of thirty years and that 58·73 per cent. are below the age of forty years.[37] Another survey has shown that 66 per cent. of the *Panches* (members) are below the age of forty-four years.[38] These figures suggest that young men predominate in the *Panchayat* membership. As to educational standard, figures are available which suggest that the majority of the *Panchayat* members have received some formal education.[39] All *Sarpanches*, of course, must be able to read and write Hindi to qualify for the position, but the fact that about 50 per cent. of the *Panches* appear also to have had some formal schooling is noteworthy. The following occupational breakdown for *Sarpanches* is also revealing: land-owning agriculturalists 82·62 per cent.; businessmen 11·69 per cent.; money-lenders 1·6 per cent.;

[37] The figures are based on unpublished data compiled by the Development Department, Government of Rajasthan, from reports sent to them by *Vikas Adhikis* in the blocks in January 1961. The author was allowed to examine some of these unpublished data in Jaipur; they are reproduced here with the permission of the Department. Hereafter this source is referred to as *The Unpublished Data*.

[38] Government of Rajasthan, Evaluation Organization, *A Report of the Panchayat Elections in Rajasthan 1960* (Jaipur: Government Central Press, 1961). Hereafter this source is referred to as *The Report*. *The Report* embodies the results of an intensive study of the *Panchayat* elections of December 1960, carried out in seventy-five village *Panchayats* selected at random, and located in sixty-nine *Panchayat Samitis* distributed throughout all the twenty-six districts in the state. An elaborate schedule and set of instructions were drawn up and seventy-two employees, composed of R.A.S. trainees and graduate students of the University of Rajasthan, were sent to the villages as 'Observing Officers' to make the study. (The author met the Observing Officer posted to Jawaja *Panchayat* (Ajmer District) quite by chance during the election and found him to be a most informed and able man.) The sample is small (1 per cent.). The data were collected (1) through observation at the time of the election meetings and on polling day; (2) by making personal enquiries from the contestants and from heads of a random selection of households in the *Panchayat* area; and (3) by collecting data from land records and from documents maintained by the *Panchayats*.

[39] *The Report*, p. 28: the sample shows that 62 per cent. of the *Sarpanches* and 52 per cent. of the *Panches* have received some schooling.

professional workers 1·43 per cent.; others—including agricultural labourers, village artisans, social workers, persons dependent on livestock and poultry and retired persons—2·66 per cent.[40] Data on the *Panches* show that 87 per cent. are agriculturalists and 6 per cent. are businessmen.[41] It can be suggested that the preponderance of members are land-owning agriculturalists, and that over 90 per cent. of the members are either land-owning agriculturalists or village merchants. Finally, data on the annual income of the *Panchayat* membership show the following: [42]

| *Annual Income (in rupees)* | *Sarpanches per cent.* | *Panches per cent.* |
|---|---|---|
| Up to 1,000 | 16 | 29 |
| 1,001–3,000 | 41 | 62 |
| 3,001 and above | 43 | 9 |
| Totals | 100 | 100 |

It is necessary to treat the above data with caution, because rural incomes fluctuate considerably from year to year and also because some village people are reluctant to disclose their real wealth (or lack of it). Bearing this qualification in mind, the data suggest that four *Sarpanches* in every five have an annual income in excess of 1,000 rupees. The annual income of a trained *Gram Sevak* is about 1,000 rupees. Two *Sarpanches* in every five have an annual income in excess of 3,000 rupees, which is more than most extension officers receive. Another comparative measure worth citing is that 68·34 per cent. of the rural people of Rajasthan have an annual income of less than 1,000 rupees.[43] By correlating these data with the data on occupation, it is possible to suggest that *Panchayat* members tend to be comparatively wealthy land-owning agriculturalists or fairly prosperous village merchants.

Because of the system of indirect elections and the provision which allows co-option of 'experienced persons' to the *Panchayat Samitis* and *Zila Parishads*, it is perhaps to be expected that the *Pradhans* and *Pramukhs* tend to represent not only exclusively

[40] *The Unpublished Data.*
[41] *The Report*, p. 30.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1. The author has derived the figures from several tables in *The Report.*
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

rural interests but also wider political alignments in the district and beyond. Figures are available to suggest that this is the case. Data on 90 per cent. of the *Pradhans*[44] show that the educational standard is definitely higher than that of the *Sarpanches* (37 per cent. have graduated from college, 63 per cent. have matriculated).[45] Part of the reason for this is simply that the more highly educated *Sarpanches* tend to be elected by their fellow *Sarpanches* as *Pradhan*. Also, 38 per cent. of the *Pradhans* are in fact co-opted members of the *Panchayat Samitis*, not elected *Sarpanch* members. Furthermore, of these co-opted *Pradhans*, about 50 per cent. live in a town, not in a village. They must all be co-opted members 'whose experience in administration, public life or rural development would be of benefit to the *Panchayat Samiti*',[46] because these are the only members who need not reside in the *Samiti* area. To add substance to this town bias, an occupational breakdown of the *Pradhans* shows the following: agriculture 64·8 per cent.; business 17·1 per cent.; law 13·3 per cent.; social service and other 4·8 per cent. Finally, the data show that 69 per cent. declared themselves as belonging to the Congress Party, closely corresponding to the strength of the Congress in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly in 1961.

The *Pramukhs* are even further removed from the rural base. A breakdown of the educational standard of the twenty-six *Pramukhs* in the state shows that eleven have LL.B degrees, nine are graduates, five are matriculates and one is a non-matriculate. Data on twenty-four *Pramukhs* show that seventeen live in a town, not in a village. This town bias correlated with the occupational breakdown of the same twenty-four *Pramukhs*, which shows nine in law, seven in agriculture, four in business and four in social service and other occupations. Further, ten *Pramukhs* are co-opted persons 'whose experience in administration, public life or rural development would be of benefit to the *Zila Parishad*'.[47] Of the twenty-four *Pramukhs* twenty-three are members of the Congress Party.

Further field research is required to analyse this emerging

[44] 222 of the 232 *Pradhans* in Rajasthan.

[45] *The Unpublished Data*. All of the figures in this paragraph are derived by the author from this source.

[46] *The Act*, sect. 8(2).

[47] *Ibid.*, sect. 42(4).

leadership in rural Rajasthan. Enough is known, however, to say that it tends to be progressive in outlook, as befits comparatively young, educated and wealthy land-owning agriculturalists. To meet *Panchayati Raj* leaders in Rajasthan today is to meet, on the whole, enthusiastic men willing to devote time and energy to rural development work. Whether or not this sense of enthusiasm has filtered down to the ordinary villager throughout the state is a question to which there is no ready answer as yet. But certainly there is evidence already in some places of villagers responding to the call of their new leaders.

An important factor assisting this heightened interest in rural development work has been the adoption of a new procedure in the blocks. This procedure, as described below, is now operating generally throughout Rajasthan.

*Panchayat Samitis* meet regularly on a fixed day of the first week of every month. All *Panchayat Samiti* members and all block staff are supposed to attend. To this meeting are brought problems of village *Panchayats*, suggestions from block staff and new ideas and schemes from higher authorities; from this meeting all the *Sarpanches*, armed with *Panchayati Samiti* decisions and community development information, go to their respective *Panchayats*, which meet in the following week. At each *Panchayat* meeting, the *Panches* are informed by the *Sarpanch* of the decisions taken by the *Samiti*. The approved monthly programmes of the *Samiti* are then explained to the village people, each *Panch* being responsible for informing the villagers in his ward. Twice a year in the middle of the month, the *Sarpanch* is supposed to convene a *Gram Sabha* (general village meeting), in order to explain to the adult residents of the village the meaning and importance of the *Panchayat* (or *Panchayat Samiti*) plan, and win support for it; this is still more an objective than a statement of fact, but a few *Samitis* are attempting to make the *Gram Sabha* a regular monthly feature in their *Panchayats*. About the 20th of the month, the *Samiti* members and block officers concerned attend meetings of the standing committees of the *Panchayat Samiti*, which are held at *Samiti* headquarters. Sanction of grants and loans and discussion of detailed matters relating to the subject matter of the Committee take place at these meetings. At the end of the month, the *Panchayat* meets again, in order to discuss matters

which the *Sarpanch* will bring up at the *Panchayat Samiti* meeting the following week. On the day before the *Panchayat Samiti* is due to meet, the *Gram Sevaks* arrive at block headquarters, and a staff meeting is held with them and with the other members of the block team. The *Vikas Adhikari* presides at this meeting. *Gram Sevaks* are asked to report on their activities during the past month; extension officers discuss new findings which their parent departments have communicated to them by post or at district meetings; and the *Vikas Adhikari* reads out government directives and initiates discussion on problems which have come to his notice during his tours of the block. These meetings usually last well into the night. The *Gram Sevaks* stay the night at block headquarters, in order to be on hand for the *Panchayat Samiti* meeting, which is convened by the *Pradhan* the following day.

A *Panchayat Samiti* meeting usually starts about noon. The attendance record is sent round and those present either sign in or plant thumb prints, according to their ability. The agenda has been set in advance and agenda item I (e.g. pumping sets) is introduced by the *Vikas Adhikari*, who reads government directives on the subject and urges members to advertise the scheme in their respective *Panchayats*. The extension officer (Overseer) concerned then comments on the technical aspects of the scheme, reviews what has been done previously, and suggests what the block staff will do in connection with implementation, as decided by the staff at their meeting the night before. The *Pradhan* then says a few words in support, followed by several members who support or criticize, according to their inclinations. Most members sit quietly, and then nod agreement when the *Vikas Adhikari* or the *Pradhan* entone: '*theak hai Sahb?*' (O.K. chaps?).[48] Meetings are terminated in the late afternoon in time for the members to catch the last public transport back to their villages.

Apart from the regularity and frequency of direct contact which this new procedure ensures, a continuous two-way channel of communications has been created. Every month

[48] The author once expressed concern to a *Vikas Adhikari* at the lack of ready response from most of the members. Two months later, this *Vikas Adhikari* explained that he had followed up the matter, and had found that, once they return home, some of the quiet members were the most effective supporters of the subjects discussed at the meeting.

throughout Rajasthan, *Sarpanches* travel from their villages to *Panchayat Samiti* meetings, where block officers answer questions, give advice and encourage action. Every month these *Sarpanches* return to their respective *Panchayats* and pass along this information to *Panchayat* members; and every month these members disperse the information, variously interpreted to them by the *Sarpanches*, to their friends in *Panchayat* ward. The effectiveness of this procedure will depend on the attendance at the meetings, the quality of the block personnel, the retentive power and leadership qualities of the *Sarpanches* and *Panches* and the degree of support which the *Panches* enjoy in their wards.[49] Nevertheless, the procedure is already established and has served in some places to improve the efficiency of district administration. The following illustration of this development, with which we close this chapter on *Panchayati Raj*, is taken from actual experience.[50]

A *Harijan* (outcaste) widow decides that she wants to build a drinking-water well in her compound. When the *Gram Sevak* of that village arrives there on tour, the widow makes her wish known, and asks what the procedure is. The *Gram Sevak* explains that the *Panchayat* is interested in assisting such projects and that funds are available on loan for this purpose. After further discussion, the *Gram Sevak* helps her to fill in the application form to be put before the *Panchayat*. The *Panchayat*, at its next meeting, recommends the request, based on a knowledge of her need, her general interest in development work and her ability to repay. The *Gram Sevak* and the *Patwari* are at this meeting and both certify the application, the latter mainly on the basis of whether or not her land revenue payments are in arrears. Then the *Panchayat* sends the application by post to the *Panchayat Samiti* office.

The clerk in the office routes the application to the appropriate extension officer (in this case, the Overseer). The Overseer returns from tour in another part of the block two days later, and scrutinizes the application for any considerations

[49] It is asserted in *The Report* (p. 33) that, on the basis of a sampley surve of 1,873 heads of households throughout rural Rajasthan, 92 per cent. explicitly expressed confidence in their *Panch*. This seems an unusually high figure, although other data to refute it are lacking.

[50] Kotra Circle, Srinagar *Panchayat Samiti* (Ajmer District), in October–November 1960.

requiring technical sanction. The application is routine, since the scheme for loans for drinking-water wells has already been approved by the District Engineer. The Overseer, who has an intimate knowledge of the soil and the depth of the water table in that village, certifies the application as technically sound, and sends it to the *Vikas Adhikari*, who then files it in readiness for the next meeting of the Standing Committee for Finance, Taxation and Administration. This meeting takes place in the latter part of the month following the making of the application. The Committee is informed of the current state of the *Samiti*'s financial resources by the accountant, and they proceed to consider various applications for grants-in-aid and loans from villagers throughout the *Samiti* area. There are several applications for loan under this approved scheme, and the Standing Committee, satisfied that the applications have been certified by the appropriate authorities, sanctions the loans as a matter of routine. Of course, the political complexion of the *Sarpanch* of the *Panchayat* concerned may have a bearing on whether or not the loan is sanctioned, assuming there are limited funds. The *Vikas Adhikari*, as the Drawing and Disbursing Officer, obtains the cash by drawing against the *Panchayat Samiti* account in the appropriate sub-treasury. The widow receives the first of three instalments in cash at her home when the Overseer and the *Gram Sevak* call on her to advise on such matters as specifications, purchase of bricks and mortar and so forth.

Subsequent action is the concern of the *Gram Sevak*, the Overseer and the *Patwari*. The *Gram Sevak* supervises the work when he calls at that village during his tours. When the first stage in the construction of the well has been completed, the *Gram Sevak* informs the Overseer at the next staff meeting. The Overseer inspects the construction work during his next visit to that village and verifies that the well is being built according to Public Works Department specifications. He then advises the *Vikas Adhikari* to issue the second instalment. The process is repeated for the issue of the third, and final, instalment. The recovery of the loan is the responsibility of the revenue administration in the district—in this case, the *Patwari* in the widow's village.

The entire process, between the time that the widow filled out the application for a loan until the time that she received

the first instalment at her home, took approximately a month. Formerly, when the *tehsil* officials of the revenue administration in the district handled such applications for loans, the process took from seven months to a year. This is the assertion of the *Sarpanch*, the *Gram Sevak* and the Overseer as told to the author. Moreover, the *Sarpanch* added another element in praise of the new system: formerly, the *Panchayat* spent valuable funds (as far as the *Panchayat* was concerned) on stamps and paper in its frequent correspondence with the *tehsil*; now, only one stamp is required to post the original application to the *Panchayat Samiti* office. Even more important, the *Sarpanch* is in a position to push such applications (and other business) along if there is delay at *Samiti* headquarters; for he journeys once a month to *Samiti* headquarters to attend the *Panchayat Samiti* meetings—twice a month if he is a member of one of the Standing Committees—and he will be sure to make his complaints known to the block staff if his constituents are not receiving the service they deserve.

CHAPTER IX

# THE COLLECTOR

Each district in India has an officer-in-charge who represents the state government in that area in the capacity of Collector, District Magistrate and District Officer. He bears the official title of 'Collector' in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan; of 'Deputy Commissioner' in Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, Mysore, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh; and of 'District Magistrate' in West Bengal. He is customarily referred to as the Collector.

Officers of the Indian Administrative Service (I.A.S.), and the remaining I.C.S. officers, are supposed to hold the most important administrative posts in both the central government and the state governments. These are called senior posts.[1] The post of Collector is a senior post in every state government.[2]

Each state government appoints I.A.S. personnel as Collectors when required. Collectors work for the state government, although they are recruited initially by the Union Public Service Commission and their terms and conditions of service are regulated by the Government of India.

The methods of recruitment to the I.A.S. are by competitive examination, by promotion from state civil services and by special recruitment. These methods are described briefly here.

The Union Public Service Commission (hereafter called the Commission)[3] announces early each year that the examination will be held later in the year (usually in September–October) in twelve of the large Indian cities and in London. Candidates

[1] There are not very many of these posts; in May 1960 there were only 1,374 senior posts in India; this figure is analysed in Appendix VI.

[2] *Indian Administrative Service (Fixation of Cadre Strength) Regulations, 1955*, in Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, *Handbook of Rules and Regulations for the All India Services*, Vol. II, 2nd ed. (corrected up to 1st May 1960) (1960), pp. 1–17.

[3] The Commission is an independent agency appointed by and responsible to the President of India.

make application to the Commission and are allowed to take the examination if they

(*a*) are between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-four on the 1st of August of that year (relaxed in certain cases);
(*b*) hold a degree in arts, science, commerce, agriculture or in civil, mechanical or electrical engineering from a recognized university specified by the Commission;
(*c*) are citizens of India;
(*d*) do not have more than one wife; [4]
(*e*) are in good mental and bodily health;
(*f*) are able to pay the application and examination fees of 82·50 rupees (reduced in certain cases).

There is a heavy turnout for the examination each year.

The examination is divided into four parts. Part I (nine hours, 25 per cent. of the mark) consists of the following compulsory papers, each carrying equal marks: (1) English Essay, (2) General English, (3) General Knowledge. Part II (nine hours, 31 per cent. of the mark) consists of three papers, each carrying equal marks, selected by the candidate from among thirty-two possible subjects (including ten languages from which he may choose one). Part III (six hours, 22 per cent. of the mark) consists of two additional papers selected from a list of fifteen more specialized subjects. Part IV (22 per cent. of the mark) consists of a personal interview 'for such candidates as may be called' [5] by a Board presided over by the Chairman of the Commission.

The examinations must be written in English and are designed to test general knowledge of subjects which do not necessarily relate to the work of the I.A.S. A candidate may, for example, select applied mathematics, statistics, advanced accountancy and auditing, higher pure mathematics, and advanced economic theory; or he may select English literature, philosophy, French, European history from 1789 to 1878, and political theory from Hobbes to the present day; or he may prefer to spread the field, selecting chemistry, law, geography,

[4] Women candidates are ordinarily not admitted if they are married; single women, if appointed, must resign from the I.A.S. in the event of subsequent marriage.

[5] Union Public Service Commission, *Indian Administrative Service etc., Examination 1959 Pamphlet* (1960), p. 5.

political organization and public administration, and anthropology. The range of choice is very wide indeed.

The interview is conducted informally and usually lasts between twenty and thirty minutes. The Board seeks certain qualities in the candidates with questions such as these in mind: 'Does he think logically and efficiently? . . . get quickly to the heart of the matter and see principles involved? . . . take decisions and stand by them? . . . appear to be a man of complete integrity? . . . Has he the courage of his convictions? . . . Is he mentally adaptable and flexible, or is his mind rigid and impervious to new ideas? . . . Is his ambition reasonably attuned to the requirements of the public service?' [6]

Selection of personnel for promotion to the I.A.S. from state civil services is made by a Selection Committee in each state. The Chairman of the Committee is in every case the Chairman of the Commission, or, in his absence, any other member of the Commission. Other members of the Committee are senior members of the I.A.S. in that state, including the Chief Secretary and two to four others.[7] The Committee meets at least once a year and prepares a list of all substantive members of the state civil service who, on the 1st January of that year, had completed at least eight years of service in a post of Deputy Collector or its equivalent. The Committee prepares a list of these members on the basis of seniority and merit (as decided by the Committee) and forwards this to the Commission along with supporting data (officers' records, observations, etc.). The Commission may change the list, but this is unusual. When approved, the list becomes the Select List of the members of the state civil service, and the Central Government appoints, as required, new members to the I.A.S. from the Select List in the order in which the names appear on it. The total number of persons recruited over the years in this manner in any state should not ordinarily exceed 25 per cent. of the number of senior posts in that state.[8]

[6] A. A. A. Fyzee, 'On Interviews', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. II, No. 3 (July–September 1956), pp. 205–7, quoting from a Memorandum by the Civil Service Commissioners on the use of the Civil Service Selection Board in the Reconstruction Competitions, London, 1951, para. 33, p. 9. Mr. Fyzee has frequently sat on the Board.

[7] The composition of the Committee in each state is found in the Schedule to the *Indian Administrative Service (Appointment by Promotion) Regulations, 1955.*

[8] *The Indian Administrative Service (Recruitment) Rules, 1954*, sect. 9(1).

Special recruitment to the I.A.S., as, for example, in 1948–50 and 1956–57, is initiated by the Central Government, which sets up for the purpose a Special Recruitment Board consisting of the Chairman of the Commission (or his nominee) as Chairman, one other member of the Commission, a senior active or retired officer of the Government and a non-official member. There are two methods. One is direct recruitment by selection of the Board, usually, but not necessarily, from persons who have taken a special written test held for the purpose by the Commission; a list of candidates is prepared and the Central Government appoints as necessary. The other method is by promotion of state civil service officers or, in a few cases, of persons serving in connection with the affairs of a state; here the Selection Committee in each state, mentioned in the paragraph above, prepares a list of such candidates who have completed six years (not eight) of service in a post of Deputy Collector or its equivalent, and 'are of outstanding merit and ability'.[9]

The number of I.A.S. officers actually holding positions on the 1st November 1960 was 1,830; of these, 216 were in fact old I.C.S. officers, 91 were from the Defence Forces filling vacancies reserved for war service officers, 198 were selected as a result of two special recruitments, 727 were from state civil services promoted to the I.A.S. and only 528 were recruited in the regular way between 1948 and 1960 on the results of the Union Public Service Commission's competitive examinations.[10] Any impression that the I.A.S. consists mainly of direct recruits taking a competitive examination is not based on fact.

All persons recruited to the I.A.S. by a competitive examination or by special recruitment are appointed to the Service on probation for one year, during which time they undergo training at the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, U.P.[11] The training is organized by the Principal of the

[9] *The Indian Administrative Service (Special Recruitment) Regulations, 1956*, The Second Schedule, Part II.

[10] T. C. A. Srinivasavaradan, 'Some Aspects of the Indian Administrative Service', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (January–March 1961), p. 26. Mr. Srinivasavaradan was Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs.

[11] The I.A.S. Training School, Delhi, and the I.A.S. Staff College, Simla, were merged into this Academy on 1st September 1959.

Academy and is designed to prepare the probationers for a final examination given at the end of the year. The nature of the examination indicates the content of the training.[12] There is one paper of three hours' duration on the basic principles and main provisions of the Constitution of India and the Five Year Plans, and a paper of three hours' duration on Indian Criminal Law (Indian Penal Code, 1860, Indian Evidence Act, 1872, and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898). Copies of all these documents are provided at the examination. A third, three-hour paper is designed to test the probationers' general knowledge of Indian history, Indian economics and public administration (with special reference to district administration).[13] Detailed knowledge is not required, but particular attention is paid to examining the probationer's ability to consider given problems from all relevant angles and to attempt constructive and balanced judgement on them. In addition, there are three qualifying tests:

1. Riding (including saddling, bridling, mounting, dismounting, trotting, cantering and hurdling a 3 ft. 6 in. hedge).
2. A regional language (translation, free composition, set composition, conversation and dictation).
3. Hindi, except for probationers whose regional language is Hindi.

When the probationers pass the final examination (and most of them do), they are confirmed in the I.A.S. and each new recruit is allocated permanently by the Central Government to a particular state cadre, provided it is not his home state. The candidate's preference is taken into consideration, along with his standing in his class. If, during the course of his career, he works for the Government of India in New Delhi, he is placed on deputation to the Central Government (usually for a period of less than five years), and, except in very unusual circumstances, he reverts at the end of the deputation period to the state of his cadre.

[12] The syllabus is given in *Indian Administrative Service (Probationers Final Examination) Regulations, 1955*, The First Schedule.

[13] Each of the three papers is worth 100 marks, and in addition, a maximum of 250 marks is allotted to the probationers by the Principal on the basis of their general performance during the training programme. Training is also given in motor mechanics and the use of fire-arms.

All I.A.S. assignments within a state are made by the state government. A fresh recruit is first given comprehensive training in the duties of revenue officers, the procedures followed and local conditions in the state. This training, which lasts in most states for one year, is given under the supervision of a Collector. The recruit is then assigned to a junior post, usually that of Sub-Divisional Officer or occasionally Assistant Secretary at the state secretariat. His future promotions are made according to seniority and merit. Merit in sub-divisional officers, for instance, is judged on the following grounds:

1. General knowledge of revenue affairs and conditions in his sub-division.
2. Promptness in replying to references from his superiors and subordinates.
3. Readiness to report matters coming before him by petition.
4. Fitness, as shown by his manner of dealing with subordinates and with the general public, and his ability, honesty and impartial conduct.
5. The state of his revenue balances and the supervision which he exercises over accounts.
6. His interest in development work and municipal affairs.
7. The extent of his outdoor work (touring).

Normally an I.A.S. officer is promoted or transferred every three years. After six to ten years, and at least once during the course of his career, a meritorious I.A.S. officer can be expected to be posted to a district as Collector.

As Collector, he is paid according to the senior scale of pay for the I.A.S., starting at 800 rupees per month and rising by regular increments to 1,800 rupees per month; for example, an I.A.S. officer appointed to a district as Collector in his tenth year of service draws 1,000 rupees per month.[14] State governments may also attach special pay to the post, not exceeding 300 rupees per month. His other terms and conditions of service, i.e. regulation of seniority, conduct, discipline, medical attendance, leave, travelling allowance, provident fund and death-cum-retirement benefits, are regulated by rules specified

[14] *Indian Administrative Service (Pay) Rules, 1954*, Schedule I, to be read with Schedule III.

by the Central Government, which the state government is bound to follow.[15] Security of tenure is ensured under Article 311 of the Constitution of India, which implies that no member of the I.A.S. may be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank without Central Government permission.

The I.A.S. officer brings with him to the post of Collector a background of careful recruitment, practical training, extensive experience, security of tenure and all-India status. It is well that this is so, for the post of Collector presents a challenge and an opportunity which have few parallels in the modern world.

The Collector's powers and responsibilities are embodied in the Code of Criminal Procedure, other Central Acts, State Acts, rules, regulations, standing orders, special orders, instructions and circulars. He derives his authority from all these sources and from the respect which he earns from the district people by his firmness and fairness. His major responsibilities are subsumed under the broad purposes of district administration, and he performs functions in the capacity of Collector, District Magistrate and District Officer (District Development Officer).

As Collector, he is responsible for the collection of land revenue as well as other kinds of government taxes, fees and dues (e.g. excise, stamp duty, income tax, canal dues). He is the appointing authority for most of the important subordinate revenue staff in the district and supervises and controls the work of all of them. He is responsible for the management of large government estates. He is the Court of Wards for the management of private estates that are held in trust by the state for minors and other disqualified persons. He is responsible for the grant and eventual recovery of certain types of loans for agricultural improvement. He also tries certain types of revenue appeals. He usually exercises general supervision over the District Treasury.

As District Magistrate, he has first-class magisterial powers, although he in fact tries few cases and in many states, none.[16]

[15] For a compilation of all rules and regulations governing these matters, see Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, *Handbook of Rules and Regulations for the All India Services*, Vol. I, 2nd ed. (corrected up to 1st May 1960) 1960.

[16] *The Code of Criminal Procedure*, as amended, is replete with his magisterial powers, e.g. sect. 29B, 95, 96, 108, 124, 125, 196B, 260, 337, 350, 406, 406A, 407, 435, 436, 437, 438, 492(2), 503, 506, 514, 515, 557.

He supervises all executive magistrates in the district, controls the police and supervises their work. He is concerned to some extent with the administration of jails and sub-jails. He is responsible for issue of permits and licenses for such things as arms, explosives, petroleum and cinemas. He also is responsible for the issue of passports, extension of visas and control of foreigners. Above all, he is responsible for the prevention and suppression of crime and the preservation of peace.

As District Officer (District Development Officer), he has many executive duties and responsibilities, the details of which vary from district to district and from season to season. He is generally responsible for all schemes, beneficial to the district people, which are initiated by the Revenue Department or by any government department having field officers working in the district. Accordingly, he is the chief co-ordinating authority on behalf of the state government at the district level. He watches the proceedings of all local authorities in the district and is generally responsible for their supervision and control. He pays particular attention to the administration of various Plan Projects in the Five Year Plans, e.g. the Community Development Programme. He keeps the state government informed of the conditions of the district generally, and of all notable occurrences from meetings of political parties to village fairs. He is responsible for the compilation of returns of prices, crop forecasts, weather reports, etc. He is responsible for the administration of national, state and local elections. He maintains general control over the administration of supply and distribution of controlled articles. He is concerned with the rehabilitation of displaced persons and famine relief.

In addition to all his explicit duties and responsibilities, he holds residual powers as the state government's representative in the district. A representative statement of this residuary and, to some extent, discretionary power, is found in the Bombay Revenue Department Manual:

> Nothing can or should pass in the District of which the Collector should not keep himself informed. The vicissitude of trade, the state of the country, the administration of civil justice, the progress of public works must all affect most materially the interests of the classes of whom he is the constituted guardian. Officious interference in matters beyond his immediate control must be avoided,

but remonstrance against anything which he sees to be wrong is one of the most important of his duties.[17]

In short, the Collector is responsible for all government action in the district, subject to the control of the state government. Acting in this capacity, the Collector accordingly spends the greater part of his time in correspondence (authorizing and co-ordinating action by government officials) and field inspections, to see that the work is progressing as authorized. A breakdown of the Collector's work load reveals that he spends his time as follows:[18]

| | *per cent. of his time* |
|---|---|
| Correspondence | 54 |
| Case hearings | 2 |
| Official and other meetings | 7 |
| Very Important Persons | 6 |
| Daily visitors | 5 |
| Touring | 26 |
| | 100 |

This breakdown is suggestive only of *average* time spent in a given year. It obviously does not apply to a particular time of the year, such as when the Collector is on extended tour during the winter season, nor does it take account of exceptional circumstances, such as the special duties of the Collector of Varanasi District during important Hindu festivals, and the work preparatory to and during Queen Elizabeth II's hunting expedition in the Sawai Madhopur District.

At intervals throughout his working day (and night), a Collector must deal with his correspondence at his office in the Collectorate or at his residence in the seclusion of his own study. In addition, many Collectors develop an uncanny ability to read and sign papers while riding in a jeep along district roads and even village tracks; and when the Collector is touring in the district for several days on end, peons and jeep-drivers shuttle his paper-work back and forth between the Collectorate and his night-halt location. As government increasingly takes

[17] Government of Bombay, *Revenue Department Manual*, Vol. I, Compiled by M. K. Deshpande (Poona: Yeravda Prison Press, 1954), p. 169.

[18] This breakdown is in accord with the results of an analysis of Collectors in the former Bombay State in Government of Bombay, *Report of the Reorganization of District Revenue Offices* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1959), p. 24.

the initiative in more spheres of rural life, in accordance with the objectives of the welfare state, the Collector's paper-work correspondingly increases; for example, opinions must be expressed on local plans, administrative sanction must be given to new schemes and answers and refutations must be supplied to questions asked in the state legislature. The Collector's personal staff assist him in this work.

At the Collectorate, usually a rather prominent building or a small cluster of buildings in the district town, there are the Collector's office, a court-room, a number of office and storage rooms, and, invariably adjacent to its shady side, a makeshift tea stall. An Office Superintendent, responsible to the Collector, supervises the work of the clerical staff. The Collector's Personal Assistant (P.A.) also has his office here. He is usually a young and intelligent state civil service officer to whom many of the Collector's routine duties are delegated. He is also, in a sense, the Collector's guardian: receiving initially petition-writers and other visitors to the Collectorate, answering routine questions, granting interviews and answering his telephone. Another important officer at the Collectorate is the General Executive Officer (*nazir* in north India), whose chief duties are to receive and unpack stores, receive exhibits and produce them in court, supervise despatch of mail and other correspondence to officers on tour, see that the Collectorate and its surroundings are kept clean and tidy, pitch tents for officers on tour and effect necessary repairs, and see that unauthorized petition-writers are excluded from the Collectorate compound.

The Collector spends only a fraction of his time in court, mostly in connection with appeals from revenue decisions of Sub-Divisional Officers and *Tehsildars*.

Formal meetings, such as the District Co-ordination Committee meetings, are convened by the Collector. He also attends meetings of the *Zila Parishad* or District Development Committee, and is *ex-officio* patron or president of many local associations or committees, e.g. District Family Planning Association, District Town Men's Club, District Table Tennis Tournament Committee.

The Collector receives a Very Important Person (V.I.P.) when he enters the district and accompanies him on tour. The Chief Minister of the state, the Prime Minister and the President

receive this treatment. Other V.I.P.s must at least be met on entry; Collectors still attempt to meet Vinoba Bhave[19] as he crosses into their district, and Vinoba has been walking through India for more than ten years. Still other V.I.P.s must at least be seen by the Collector during their visit and, if possible, entertained to tea; this is partly because it is expected and partly because of any Indian's innate sense of hospitality. The point at which a V.I.P. ceases to be a V.I.P. for the Collector varies from district to district; foreign diplomats daily visit Agra District, home of the Taj Mahal, and the Collector ignores them; a foreign student of no importance enters Barmer District, a barren desert tract, and the Collector comes to call.

Daily visitors to the Collector's office range from wealthy business personalities to retired soldiers, from sophisticated politicians to illiterate agriculturalists. They seek favours, register informal complaints or simply make their presence known. This requires from the Collector sympathy, candour, a sense of humour and an ability to suffer important fools gladly.

The importance of touring in rural districts is manifest. The Collector, representing the authority of government in the district, should be accessible to all villagers, not merely to those few who possess both the time and the funds for the journey to the Collectorate. Abuse of village people by subordinate officials or local bullies can sometimes only be detected by the Collector on the spot. Local needs can be more effectively ascertained from villagers by an officer who is immediately recognized as having authority to do something about them. Effective supervision of the work of subordinate personnel is only possible by touring. Finally, meeting village people on their home ground contributes to a healthier understanding between government and people, a special need in India.

Touring by Collectors today is done differently from the way it was done prior to Independence, when, for example in 1934–35, the Collector of Nasik District was out on tour continuously for eighty-one days.[20] Collectors now rarely tour in

[19]. A disciple of Gandhi who introduced in 1951, and has pursued since then, a movement for voluntary sacrifice of land.

[20] Government of Bombay, *loc. cit.*, p. 103.

this fashion. They are able, however, to tour in the district more extensively in less time because of the increase and improvement of village roads and the provision of jeeps. State governments provide many Collectors with jeeps for official duty, and Collectors not allowed jeeps can, in most cases, maintain their own, and draw jeep allowance equal to and in lieu of horse allowance. Whether this increase in speed and efficiency is desirable in the rural districts is quite another question, which cannot be explored here.[21]

The conditions of modern India have also modified the Collector's methods of work in other ways. For example, he tends now to act less on his own initiative, because the telegraph and telephone have enabled him to obtain orders easily from state headquarters. This supports centralizing tendencies. Increasingly, however, his immediate subordinates in the district can be contacted by telephone from the Collectorate, a fact which enhances district co-ordination in normal times, and allows for quick delegation of authority in emergencies.

Whenever trouble suddenly occurs, the Collector is responsible for pacifying it, or quelling it. In so doing, he controls and directs the police in the district. This is one of his most delicate—and sometimes difficult—functions, for he must exercise this control carefully so as not to prejudice the authority of the District Superintendent of Police. This delicate balance must also be maintained at the sub-division and *tehsil* levels. It is no exaggeration to say that efficient criminal administration in the district depends on cordial relations between the magistracy and the police.

This description of what the Collector is and does cannot be concluded without some mention of what the Collector means to the rural people of the district. British writers before Independence often asserted that while abstract authority in the state capital or in New Delhi meant nothing to the average Indian villager, government was understood when clothed in a

[21] See Hugh Tinker, 'Authority and Community in Village India', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (December 1959), pp. 354–75; e.g. 'Today few district officers go out on lengthy tours. . . . There is no leisurely entry into the village demesne on horseback, giving time for the village folk to absorb their visitor into their own environment. He arrives in a storm of dust in a jeep, a visitor from another world. . . . There is a hasty walk around, a conference with leaders, a propaganda speech, a cup of tea, and he is off—to another village and another. . . . A new technique of face-to-face encounter has still to be created'.

man's shape—'that of a collector sahib, who tried his family lawsuit last year, who only yesterday was discussing with him the conditions of his wheatfield, and who this morning cursed him roundly because there was a cesspool outside his door'.[22] Even today, village people in many rural districts still regard the Collector as 'government'. At the same time, a more realistic view of government in India is gradually emerging, with education, with elections and with state and national politicians frequently in touch with the rural electorate. State governments welcome this change. They encourage it by introducing schemes of *Panchayati Raj*, which associate the village people more intimately in district administration. State governments still believe, however, that Collectors will be necessary for quite some time.

[22] Sir Edward Blunt, *The I.C.S.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), p. 119.

## APPENDIX I

### RAJASTHAN. Administrative Units

| *District* | *Area (Square mile)* | *Population* | *Sub-divisions* | *Tehsils* | *Villages* | *Municipalities* | *C.D. blocks* | *Panchayats* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| Ajmer | 3,283 | 976,375 | 4 | 7 | 974 | 10 | 8 | 275 |
| Alwar | 3,241 | 1,089,333 | 4 | 9 | 1,929 | 11 | 14 | 439 |
| Banswara | 1,946 | 474,192 | 2 | 5 | 1,461 | 2 | 8 | 190 |
| Barmer | 10,174 | 648,734 | 2 | 5 | 844 | 3 | 8 | 248 |
| Bharatpur | 3,127 | 1,150,849 | 4 | 12 | 1,995 | 17 | 13 | 452 |
| Bhilwara | 4,034 | 865,835 | 4 | 11 | 1,568 | 7 | 11 | 344 |
| Bikaner | 10,501 | 444,183 | 2 | 4 | 653 | 7 | 4 | 123 |
| Bundi | 2,158 | 338,208 | 2 | 5 | 733 | 6 | 4 | 136 |
| Chittorgarh | 4,033 | 710,880 | 5 | 14 | 2,338 | 7 | 11 | 295 |
| Churu | 6,412 | 658,499 | 3 | 7 | 901 | 11 | 7 | 202 |
| Dungarpur | 1,460 | 407,382 | 1 | 3 | 821 | 4 | 5 | 178 |
| Ganganagar | 7,998 | 1,037,550 | 5 | 9 | 1,875 | 11 | 9 | 349 |
| Jaipur | 5,393 | 1,900,902 | 5 | 15 | 2,792 | 23 | 17 | 601 |
| Jaisalmer | 14,908 | 138,049 | 2 | 6 | 492 | 2 | 3 | 100 |
| Jalore | 4,916 | 545,862 | 2 | 4 | 615 | 4 | 7 | 216 |
| Jhalawar | 2,405 | 490,635 | 2 | 9 | 1,574 | 9 | 6 | 211 |
| Jhunjhunu | 2,282 | 719,299 | 3 | 4 | 692 | 15 | 8 | 245 |
| Jodhpur | 8,773 | 883,380 | 2 | 5 | 725 | 5 | 9 | 248 |
| Kotah | 4,794 | 847,424 | 4 | 17 | 2,192 | 7 | 11 | 302 |
| Nagaur | 6,883 | 932,707 | 4 | 8 | 1,246 | 8 | 11 | 361 |
| Pali | 4,793 | 806,840 | 4 | 7 | 892 | 10 | 10 | 298 |
| Sawai Madhopur | 4,070 | 943,144 | 4 | 11 | 1,644 | 14 | 10 | 390 |
| Sikar | 3,027 | 819,852 | 3 | 6 | 820 | 11 | 8 | 292 |
| Sirohi | 1,978 | 352,528 | 2 | 5 | 454 | 6 | 5 | 133 |
| Tonk | 2,755 | 498,075 | 2 | 6 | 1,073 | 5 | 6 | 193 |
| Udaipur | 6,805 | 1,465,456 | 6 | 18 | 3,113 | 12 | 19 | 574 |
| | 132,150 | 20,146,173 | 82 | 212 | 34,421 | 227 | 232 | 7,395 |

*Source:* compiled by the author from Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, *India, A Reference Annual 1962* (1962), pp. 464–6; Government of Rajasthan, *Basic Statistics, Rajasthan 1960* (1960), Table 1.4; Government of Rajasthan, *Report of the Committee on the Separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in Rajasthan* (1959), Annexure A; Government of Rajasthan, *Statistical Abstract, Rajasthan 1960* (1961),Table 24.4; Government of Rajasthan *Letter No. F 156 (Gen) QPR/Stat/DD/60/27859–999*, dated 10th February, 1961 (unpublished).

*Note:* The number of Community Development Blocks includes all pre-extension, Stage I and Stage II blocks as well as the remaining scheduled blocks which are not yet covered by the Community Development Programme. Population figures are on the basis of the 1961 Census (provisional).

## APPENDIX II

## INDIA

### Number and Coverage of Village *Panchayats*

| *State* | *No. of Panchayats* | *Average No. of villages per Panchayat* | *Average population per Panchayat* | *Per cent. rural population covered* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | 14,548 | 1·8 | 1,760 | 100 |
| Assam (Plains) | 2,570 | 6·9 | 2,646 | 100 |
| Bihar | 10,617 | 6·3 | 3,240 | 95 |
| Gujarat | 10,750 | 1·7 | 1,070 | 98 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | 936 | 7·4 | 3,098 | 100 |
| Kerala | 892 | 1·3 | 11,996 | 91 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 13,495 | 3·4 | 1,163 | 69 |
| Madras | 12,337 | 1·4 | 1,799 | 98 |
| Maharashtra | 19,151 | 2·0 | 1,258 | 99 |
| Mysore | 7,444 | 3·5 | 2,002 | 100 |
| Orissa | 2,342 | 20·0 | 5,807 | 96 |
| Punjab | 13,439 | 1·6 | 975 | 100 |
| Rajasthan | 7,395 | 4·7 | 1,772 | 100 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 72,333 | 1·5 | 755 | 100 |
| West Bengal | 4,556 | 2·5 | 1,229 | 28 |
| Delhi | 205 | 1·5 | 976 | 100 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 518 | 22·0 | 2,124 | 100 |
| All India | 193,527 | 2·6 | 1,396 | 92 |

*Source:* Government of India, Central Institute of Community Development, *Seminar on Public Administration in Panchayati Raj at Savoy Hotel, Mussoorie, 9th to 13th April 1962, Agenda Papers* (Faridabad: Government of India Press, 1962), p. 13.

## APPENDIX III

## HIGH COURTS

| *Territorial Jurisdiction* | *Name* | *Year of Establishment* | *Seat of Court* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | Andhra Pradesh | 1954 | Hyderabad |
| Assam | Assam | 1948 | Gauhati |
| Bihar | Patna | 1916 | Patna |
| Gujarat | Gujarat | 1960 | Ahmedabad |
| Jammu and Kashmir | Jammu and Kashmir | 1928 | Srinagar and Jammu |
| Kerala, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands | Kerala | 1956 | Ernakulum (bench at Trivandrum) |
| Madhya Pradesh | Madhya Pradesh | 1956 | Jabalpur (benches at Indore and Gwalior) |
| Madras | Madras | 1861 | Madras |
| Maharashtra | Bombay | 1861 | Bombay (bench at Nagpur) |
| Mysore | Mysore | 1884 | Bangalore |
| Orissa | Orissa | 1948 | Cuttack |
| Punjab and Delhi | Punjab | 1947 | Chandigarh (bench at Delhi) |
| Rajasthan | Rajasthan | 1949 | Jodhpur |
| Uttar Pradesh | Allahabad | 1919 | Allahabad (bench at Lucknow) |
| West Bengal, Andaman and Nicobar Islands | Calcutta | 1861 | Calcutta |

*Source:* derived by the author from *India, 1962*, Table 21 (p. 63).

*Note:* The functions of High Courts for the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura are exercised by the Courts of Judicial Commissioners in these territories.

# INDIA

## Coverage of Community Development Programme as on 1st March 1961

| *State* | *No. of blocks into which delimited* | *No. of blocks allotted as on 1st March 1961* | *No. of Pre-Extension* | *No. of Stage I** | *No. of Stage II* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | 445 | 325 | 44 | 199 | 82 |
| Assam | 161 | 96 | 12 | 57 | 27 |
| Bihar | 575 | 415 | 58 | 248 | 107 |
| Gujarat | 224 | 150 | 20 | 84 | 46 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | 52 | 52 | — | 38 | 14 |
| Kerala | 142 | 101 | 14 | 66 | 21 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 416 | 298 | 36 | 179 | 83 |
| Madras | 375 | 243 | 32 | 145 | 66 |
| Maharashtra | 425 | 285 | 47 | 155 | 83 |
| Mysore | 268 | 188 | 24 | 117 | 47 |
| Orissa | 307 | 208 | 32 | 144 | 32 |
| Punjab | 228 | 171 | 18 | 98 | 55 |
| Rajasthan | 232 | 159 | 20 | 85 | 54 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 899 | 610 | 92 | 415 | 103 |
| West Bengal | 341 | 207 | 34 | 145 | 28 |
| Union Territories | 134 | 94 | 7 | 56 | 31 |
| Totals | 5,224† | 3,602 | 490 | 2,231 | 879 |

* Includes special multi-purpose blocks.
† Marginal adjustment of this figure is expected.

*Source:* derived by the author from data appearing at Annexure I to Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Department of Community Development, *Report, 1960–61.*

## APPENDIX V

# INDIA

## Schematic Budgets for Stage I and Stage II Blocks each for a Period of Five Years (figures in lakhs of rupees)

| *Head* | *Total* | *Recurring* | *Non-recurring* | *Loan* | *Other than loan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Stage I* | | | |
| 1. Block Headquarters | 3·15 | 2·6 | 0·55 | — | 3·15 |
| 2. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry | 0·50 | — | 0·50 | — | 0·50 |
| 3. Irrigation and Reclamation | 3·40 | — | 3·40 | 3·0 | 0·40 |
| 4. Health and Rural Sanitation | 1·15 | 0·2 | 0·95 | — | 1·15 |
| 5. Education | 0·60 | 0·15 | 0·45 | — | 0·60 |
| 6. Social Education | 0·70 | 0·40 | 0·30 | — | 0·70 |
| 7. Communications | 0·85 | — | 0·85 | — | 0·85 |
| 8. Rural Arts and Crafts | 0·65 | 0·25 | 0·40 | — | 0·65 |
| 9. Housing for Staff and Rural Housing | 1·0 | — | 1·0 | 1·0 | — |
| Totals | 12·0 | 3·6 | 8·4 | 4·0 | 8·0 |
| | | *Stage II* | | | |
| 1. Block Headquarters | 0·85 | 0·70 | 0·15 | — | 0·85 |
| 2. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry | 0·50 | — | 0·50 | — | 0·50 |
| 3. Irrigation and Reclamation | 0·85 | — | 0·85 | 0·75 | 0·10 |
| 4. Health and Rural Sanitation | 0·50 | — | 0·50 | — | 0·50 |
| 5. Education | 0·50 | — | 0·50 | — | 0·50 |
| 6. Social Education | 0·50 | 0·35 | 0·15 | — | 0·50 |
| 7. Communications | 0·50 | — | 0·50 | — | 0·50 |
| 8. Rural Arts and Crafts | 0·50 | 0·10 | 0·40 | — | 0·50 |
| 9. Rural Housing | 0·30 | — | 0·30 | 0·30 | — |
| Totals | 5·0 | 1·15 | 3·85 | 1·05 | 3·95 |

*Source:* Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Department of Community Development, *Revised Programme of Community Development*, pp. 21, 22, 24.

*Note:* The Government of India and each state government share the cost of each block as reflected in these schematic budgets in the following manner: the Government of India provides 50 per cent. of recurring expenditure, 75 per cent. of non-recurring expenditure and 100 per cent. of loans; the state government provides 50 per cent. of recurring expenditure and 25 per cent. of non-recurring expenditure. An analysis of the cost of each type of block on the basis of these provisions reveals that approximately 75 per cent. of the total allocation of community development funds in each block is provided by the Government of India.

## APPENDIX VI

# INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

Strength on 1st May 1960

| *State* | *Senior posts under state government* | *Collectors' posts** | *Senior posts under central government* | *Total* (2) + (4) | *Total authorized*† |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Andhra Pradesh | 76 | 20 | 30 | 106 | 151 |
| Assam | 40 | 11 | 16 | 56 | 80 |
| Bihar | 91 | 23 | 36 | 127 | 188 |
| Gujarat | 55 | 17 | 22 | 77 | 110 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | 20 | 9 | 6 | 26 | 33 |
| Kerala | 35 | 9 | 14 | 49 | 71 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 80 | 43 | 32 | 112 | 160 |
| Madras | 75 | 12 | 30 | 105 | 150 |
| Maharashtra | 77 | 26 | 31 | 108 | 155 |
| Mysore | 49 | 19 | 20 | 69 | 100 |
| Orissa | 49 | 13 | 20 | 69 | 100 |
| Punjab | 64 | 18 | 26 | 90 | 128 |
| Rajasthan | 61 | 26 | 24 | 85 | 122 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 124 | 51 | 50 | 174 | 249 |
| West Bengal | 69 | 15 | 28 | 97 | 139 |
| Delhi and Himachal Pradesh | 17 | 6 | 7 | 24 | 35 |
| Totals | 982 | 318 | 392 | 1,374 | 1,971 |

* Collectors, including Deputy Commissioners and District Magistrates.
† Includes Deputation Reserve, Leave Reserve, junior posts and training reserve.

*Source:* Compiled by the author from data appearing in Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, *Handbook on Rules and Regulations for the All India Services*, Vol. II, 2nd ed. (corrected up to 1st May 1960), pp. 1–17.

# SUGGESTED READINGS

A. *General*

There is a vast literature on district administration in British India. Volumes V and VI of the *Cambridge History of India* are standard works on the subject, covering the period up to 1919. Both these volumes have extensive bibliographies. A useful study of the origins of district administration is M. Ruthnaswamy, *Some Influences That Made the British Administrative System in India* (London: Luzac and Co., 1939). Every district in British India had an exhaustive record written about it, revised from time to time. There are hundreds of these district gazetteers and each one is original source material on the particular district concerned. Besides presenting a compendium of the features, history and administration of the area, many of the gazetteers are also quite readable and entertaining. The classic exposition of Indian land systems is B. H. Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892). A lively and well-written account of a few of the district officers who ruled during the British period is given by Philip Woodruff (Philip Mason) in his books *The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953) and *The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians* (1954). Also useful in this connection, and on the civil service more generally, are two works—one by L. S. S. O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service, 1601–1930* (London: John Murray, 1931) and the other by Sir Edward Blunt, *The I.C.S.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937); the latter work is perhaps more useful as background to present conditions. An entertaining and useful book on a neglected aspect of district administration is J. C. Curry's *The Indian Police* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932); we have yet to have a companion study of the police in independent India. For evidence of the extent of welfare administration in the final phase of the British period, a helpful source is *Social Service in India, An Introduction to Some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian People*, ed. Sir Edward Blunt, (H.M.S.O., 1938). Students wishing to pursue in greater detail the development of district administration in the early twentieth century should consult the following: *Report of the Royal Commission Upon Decentralization in India* (cd. 4360), H.M.S.O., 1909

(The Hobhouse Report); *Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India* (cd. 8382), H.M.S.O., 1916 (The Islington Report); *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* (cd. 9109), H.M.S.O., 1918 (Montagu-Chelmsford Report); *Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India* (cd. 2128), H.M.S.O., 1924 (the Lee Report); and *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. I, Survey (cd. 3568), H.M.S.O., 1930 (The Simon Report). The standard work on the development of local government in the British period is Hugh Tinker, *The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (London: Athlone, 1954); the period covered is up to 1935. In addition, over fifty valuable books and pamphlets on local government in India have been published by Chunilal D. Barfivala, Director-General of the All-India Institute of Local Self-Government and Director of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay (11 Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay). Of particular interest for the pre-independence period are *Rural Government in the United Provinces*, by Dr. Zahurus Hasan (1944); *History of Local Self-Government in the Madras Presidency, 1850–1919*, by Dr. H. K. Pillay (1953); *The Administration of the District Boards of the Madras Presidency, 1884–1945*, by Dr. V. Venkata Rao (1953); and *Village Panchayats With Special Reference to Bombay State*, by Dr. S. V. Samant (1957).

The single best-known work on district administration in independent India is N. B. Desai's *Report on the Administrative Survey of the Surat District* (Bombay: Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1958). Unfortunately, the book is now quite dated. An obscure little book of a more general character is by K. N. V. Sastri, *Principles of District Administration in India* (Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co., 1957); some useful information is contained in its pages, but unless the entire book is rewritten in a more presentable style, it deserves to remain in obscurity (e.g. the second sentence of the book: 'It is presumed that he [the reader] is already a distinguished scholar in the history of Indian constitution, in the general principles of government, in World history, in international relations and in the culture and civilisation of his own country'). The pamphlet by S. S. Khera, *District Administration in India* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1960), which records a series of three lectures given on the subject by Mr. Khera in 1957, is a very useful, although uncritical, survey of the subject by one of India's most experienced and respected administrators; it can be warmly recommended. Two other books deserve mention, as they deal with selected aspects of district administration in contemporary India. One, by H. Zink, A. Wahlstrand, F. Benuvenuti and R.

Bhaskaran, is *Rural Local Government in Sweden, Italy and India: A Comparative Study* (London: Stevens and Sons, 1957); the sections on India are very good and provide immediate background material to India's new experiments in local self-government. The other, by K. S. Desai, is *Problems of Administration in Two Indian Villages* (Baroda: Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1961); problems are barely touched on in relation to the descriptive material on the principal departments working in rural India in the former Bombay State, but this descriptive material is valuable and similar studies in other states would be useful. Other than these few books, we must rely on articles in journals. Three journals which are worth watching in this regard are the *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, the *Journal of the National Academy of Administration* and the *Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute* (Bombay).

There are, of course, many official documents on contemporary district administration, if the reader feels inclined to wade through them. Annual Administration Reports, published by each state government, are available and provide general information for the year considered. Revenue Department Manuals, District Manuals, etc., are published in most states, although sometimes they are marked for official use only. Good examples of such manuals which can be easily obtained are Government of Bombay, *Revenue Department Manual*, Vol. I (compiled by M. K. Deshpande) (Poona: Yeravda Prison Press, 1954), and Government of Bombay, *Report of the Reorganization of District Revenue Offices* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1959). An example of a manual marked for official use only is Government of Rajasthan, *District Manual*, Vol. I, corrected up to 31st July 1958. A valuable compilation of all the rules and regulations governing the Indian Administrative Service is the *Handbook of Rules and Regulations for the All India Services*, Vols. I and II, 2nd ed. (1960), published by the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs. Finally, the *Indian Penal Code* and particularly the *Code of Criminal Procedure* are primary sources; copies are periodically brought up to date, and useful commentaries on them are published periodically by P. Ranchoddas and D. K. Thakore at the Bombay Law Reporter Office, Bombay.

B. *Community Development Administration*

The most important study of community development administration in India is the Committee on Plan Projects, *Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service*, Vols. I, II, III (Part I, Part II), 1957. It records the results of a special survey carried out on the instigation of the Government of India,

and it is highly critical in places. Of equal value are the annual reports, beginning with the *Evaluation Report of First Year's Working of Community Projects, May, 1954*, of the Programme Evaluation Organization, a special agency attached to the Planning Commission. Their reports for 1956 and 1959 are particularly revealing on the administrative side. The Estimates Committee (First *Lok Sabha*) also published in 1956 an extensive study of community development in their reports numbers 38, 40, 42 and 45; they are not, however, up to the standard of the other official documents mentioned above. The Estimates Committee (Second *Lok Sabha*) examined the action taken by the Government of India on the recommendations contained in these four earlier reports in their reports numbers 63 and 64 (1959) and 72 and 75 (1960). For the story of the development of the Community Development Programme from the official point of view, the annual reports of the Community Projects Administration (1952–56), the Ministry of Community Development (1956–59), and the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation (1959– ) should be consulted. Other important documents on the administrative side during the first ten years of the Programme are the following:

Community Projects Administration. *Community Projects, A Draft Outline.* 1953.

—— *National Extension Service and Community Development Programme* (Administrative Organization at the Block, Sub-Division, District and State Levels). 1956.

—— *National Extension Service and Community Development Programme During the Second Five Year Plan.* 1955.

Ministry of Community Development. *Report of the Expert Committee on Training of Project Personnel, August 1957.* 1958.

Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. *A Guide to Community Development.* 2nd ed. 1959.

—— *Revised Programme of Community Development.* 1959.

Planning Commission. *First Five Year Plan.* 1953.

—— *Second Five Year Plan.* 1956.

—— *Third Five Year Plan.* 1961.

*Kurukshetra*, the monthly Journal of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation (Ministry of Community Development; Community Projects Administration), is required reading for persons wishing to study the development of the Programme from its beginnings in 1952. The Journal is of unusually high quality for an official mouthpiece of a government agency; and a considerable proportion of the articles are devoted to administrative aspects.

Also, each state government publishes extensive data on the administrative aspects of community development. A good example is Government of Bombay, *Manual on Community Development*, 2 vols. (Nagpur: Government Press, 1959). Finally, a mine of information is available in the syndicate papers (unpublished) relating to each orientation course held at the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development, Mussoorie; some of these papers are of very high quality. They can be viewed at the Institute.

The United Nations' *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes* (1960) is perhaps the best general discussion of the subject, and B. Mukerji's paper, appended to the Report, is an admirable exposition of the Programme in India from an official point of view (he was Secretary to the Ministry of Community Development for some years); Mukerji's book, *Community Development in India* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1961), elaborates the paper, once again from the official point of view. Mention must be made of Albert Mayer and Associates (Collaboration: McKim Marriott and Richard L. Park), *Pilot Project, India; the Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958); some of the administrative features developed at this pilot project were used in the all-India programme, and the debt which the Programme owes to this project is acknowledged (see the Foreword). Of less influence on the government programme (unfortunately), but valuable for comparative purposes, is *Experiment in Extension, the Gaon Sathi*; compiled by the Extension Project of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute and published with the Assistance of the Ford Foundation (London: Oxford University Press, 1956).

There are a number of more general studies on community development in India, many of them giving special attention to the response of the village to the government Programme; a standard work is S. C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages: Human Factors in Community Development* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958); the book is based on field studies in 1954 in a village in Uttar Pradesh. There are also a number of articles in journals; a good example is Adrian C. Mayer, 'Development Projects in an Indian Village', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (March 1956), pp. 37–45, and also by the same author 'An Indian Community Development Block Revisited', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (March 1957), pp. 35–46. The most provocative book on community development in India, although not specifically directed to that subject, is Kusum Nair, *Blossoms in the Dust: The Human Element in Indian Development* (London:

Gerald Duckworth, 1961). Mrs. Nair reveals, on the basis of extensive field research, some of the more important reasons why the Community Development Programme in India has not as yet been able to produce a permanent impression in rural India. She gently chides some leading economists for their unrealistic approach to economic development; she also possesses an attractive writing style. Her book deserves a large audience.

C. *Panchayati Raj*

The single most important publication on *Panchayati Raj* administration is the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Central Institute of Community Development, *Seminar on Public Administration in Panchayati Raj at Savory Hotel, Mussoorie, 9 to 13 April, 1962, Agenda Papers* (1962). There are five papers:

1. logical place of *Panchayati Raj* in the whole structure of state administration;
2. consequent system of supervision, education, guidance and influence needed for *Panchayati Raj* units;
3. financial aspects of the *Panchayati Raj* system;
4. the staffing pattern best adapted to the objectives of *Panchayati Raj*;
5. popular control and the role of the non-official.

The papers were prepared by Henry Maddick (University of Birmingham); all of them are thought-provoking, especially the first one (the reader should not be put off by the numerous typing and grammatical errors). The *Panchayati Raj* legislation in each state is also, of course, required reading, as well as the great number of supporting documents and studies which each state government publishes from time to time. *Kurukshetra* also reports on *Panchayati Raj* in a regular way.

On *Panchayati Raj* in Rajasthan, the Government of Rajasthan's official publications on the subject are primary source material. The student should also consult four independent studies: Congress Party in Parliament, *Study Team's Report on Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan* (New Delhi: Parliament House, 1960); Association of Voluntary Agencies, *Report of a Study Team on Democratic Decentralisation in Rajasthan* (New Delhi: Pataudi House, 1961); Ralph H. Retzlaff, '*Panchayati Raj* in Rajasthan', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (April–June 1960), pp. 141–58; David C. Potter, *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development in India* (With Special Reference to Rajasthan) (unpublished University of London Ph.D. dissertation, 1962).

# GLOSSARY

| | |
|---|---|
| *Gram Kaki* | 'village aunt', female voluntary village helper |
| *Gram Sabha* | village general meeting for all adult residents |
| *Gram Sevak* | village level worker |
| *harijan* | a term for an untouchable made famous by Gandhi |
| *kabbaddi* | a rural team game |
| *lakh* | one hundred thousand |
| *Lok Sabha* | House of the People (Government of India) |
| *mahila mandal* | village women's committee |
| *Mukhya Sevika* | Lady Social Education Organizer |
| *Nyaya Panchayat* | judicial *panchayat* |
| *Panch* | member of a *panchayat* |
| *panchayat* | literally, 'assembly of five'; traditional term for a village council of whatever size |
| *panchayatghar* | village council house |
| *Panchayati Raj* | literally, '*panchayat* rule'; Prime Minister Nehru's translation of democratic decentralization |
| *Panchayat Samiti* | literally, 'committee of *panchayats*'; in fact, a local authority at the block level |
| *Patwari* | state revenue official at the village level |
| *peon* | messenger |
| *Pradhan* | chairman of the *Panchayat Samiti* |
| *Pramukh* | chairman of the *Zila Parishad* |
| *Rajya Sabha* | Council of States (Government of India) |
| *rupee* | primary Indian monetary unit |
| *Sarpanch* | chairman of the *panchayat* |
| *tehsil* | an administrative sub-division of a district, especially for revenue purposes |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tehsildar* | government official in charge of a *tehsil* |
| *theak hai* | all right, 'O.K.' |
| *Vikas Adhikari* | chief executive officer of the *Panchayat Samiti* |
| *zamindar* | literally, 'holder of land'; land-holder |
| *Zila Parishad* | local authority at the district level |

*Note:* in the use of the word '*panchayat*', the author has distinguished between *panchayat* (generally) and *Panchayat* (used to refer to the village councils of Rajasthan set up by *Panchayati Raj*).

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