

PEOPLES PARTICIPATION

India's Development of the Community
by the Community
for the Community



INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

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by

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Cover:

Villagers relax in the noon-day sun at Mahewa, center of the Etawah project, United Provinces, India. This project, aimed at improving living conditions in India is a joint undertaking of the Government of India. Photo by Tom Parker.

INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN SERVICE

Orientation

As I look back reviewing our many experiences of the past, it seems that orientation is very important. The adjustments to be made from a home situation to a foreign country are many. The change from an established "home pattern" of work to an unknown or indefinite work and living pattern abroad, presents many problems for the worker and his family. With the exception of two years, my childhood, my schooling, and my professional life were spent within the boundaries of the State of Washington. For twenty-two years I was attached to Washington State College as an extension worker. The objectives of the job were clearly defined, responsibilities were understood, and the operational procedures of the organization of which I was a part, were known. The thirteen days which elapsed from the time I left Pullman, Washington and found myself visiting with villagers in an Indian village were not sufficient to develop a base for the most effective judgment. I found myself "on-the-job" without knowing much about the job, the objectives of the TCA organization, or about the people in this strange land 12,000 miles from home. The TCA organization in India was going through the process of "growing pains"; everyone was busy and there was not much opportunity for personal on-the-job guidance. I was in a fog at the starting line. My case was one of the exceptions rather than the regular procedure of orientation. I review the situation only to emphasize the importance of orientation to assist the worker and his family in making the necessary adjustments. Suggestions for improving this phase of the program will be found in the last section of this report.

Job Definition

Since only four days were spent in Washington, D. C. enroute to India, and since very little was known in Washington at that time about the growing Technical Cooperation Administration (now a part of the International Cooperation Administration) organization in India, I did not learn about my job until I arrived in New Delhi. The job definition given after arrival at headquarters was vague. Considering the fact, however, that I was becoming a part of a developing organization, this situation was as it should have been. My concern was with continuing vagueness. My questions were similar to those



Cottage Industries: Look at these various poses of novelty items made of buffalo horn. These are made by hand and are a popular item that is exported. Photo courtesy of ICA.

asked by technical advisers assigned to the States: (1) What is my job? (2) With whom do I work? (3) What does my Indian counterpart expect of me? (4) How do I work as an "advisor" in a foreign program, how is this role different from a "leader" in a home program? Much needs to be, and can be done to answer these questions for the new advisor in a foreign country. This should be and is becoming an important part of orientation.

INTRODUCTION TO INDIA

The following are a few of the important facts that I found of interest while becoming better acquainted with the land in which I was to reside and with the people with whom I was to work.

Historical

The history of India is that of a country invaded, conquered, and ruled by another country. India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi became independent of the British Commonwealth on August 15, 1947. It was on January 26, 1950 when India's new constitution came into force.

The original inhabitants of India were the Dravidians.

The Aryan migrations began around 2,000 B.C. They gradually evolved a structure which placed people in caste divisions according to their function, and which insured the superiority of their own position.

Other races which found their way to India's shores were the Iranians, Parthians, Greeks, Scythians, Bactrians, Huns, Turks, early Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians. India is a fusion of many races.

In the sixth century B.C. Buddhism came into being, a religion that claims more followers than any other religion in the world today. Jainism also came into being in the sixth century B.C. Both Jainism and Buddhism arose as protests against Brahminism at that time.

Chandragupta Maurya was the founder of the first real Indian Empire in 321 B. C. He was the grandfather of Ashoka. Ashoka was one of the greatest rulers and one of the greatest men the world has ever known. He ruled for forty-one years in the third century B.C.

The Guptas ruled the Indian Empire from about 300 to 500 A.D. This period was a golden age for the development of Indian culture.

The first Moghul Emperor, Babar, appeared in 1526. With Baker's grandson, Akbar, the Moghul empire reached its peak of development. Babar attempted to found a religion that would combine the best of

all faiths.

Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to the East India Company in 1600. The British Empire in India began in 1757 after winning the Battle of Plassey in West Bengal. The control of the Indian Government officially passed from the East India Company to the Crown after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

Political

Extending over an area of 1,269,640 square miles, the Union of India comprises 29 states, including the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and the newly formed State of Andhra, which has been carved out of Madras. Measured by the extent of its territory, India is the seventh largest country in the world. It is approximately thirteen times as large as the United Kingdom, one-third the size of Canada or the United States and one-seventh of the size of the U.S.S.R.

Physical

The country is made up of three separate and well-defined regions: (1) the Himalayas, the great mountain zone, (2) the Table Land in the south of the peninsula, and (3) the Indo-Gangetic plain, a region of depression.

Climate

Essentially the climate of India is monsoon-tropical. The seasons may be classified as follows:

- (1) the cold weather from October to the end of February.
- (2) the hot weather from the beginning of March to the end of June.
- (3) the rainy weather from the end of June to the end of October.

People

Next to China, India is the world's most populous country. The total population of India is 357 million people. The average density of population in India is 312 per square mile. Density varies considerably from State to State, being as high as 3,017 in Delhi State and 1,015 in Travancore-Cochin and dropping as low as 10 in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and 34 in Kutch. The density of population is determined by difference in topography, soil and rainfall.

Of the 357 million who constitute the total population of the country, only 62 million or 17.3 percent live in cities and towns while the remaining 295 million or 82.7 percent live in villages.

The classification of population according to means of livelihood shows that 70 percent of the people depend on agriculture and 30 percent live by non-agricultural professions. Of every 100 Indians, including their dependents, 47 are mainly peasant-proprietors, 9 mainly tenants, 13 landless laborers, one is a landlord, while 10 are engaged in industries, 6 in commerce, 2 in transport and 12 in the services.

Agriculture

Agriculture is India's principal industry, accounting for 48 percent of the national income. Besides supplying raw materials for some of the major industries such as sugar and textiles, it provides the bulk of the country's export. India leads the world in the production of groundnuts and tea. It is the second largest producer of rice, jute, tobacco and cotton.

The total area cultivated annually is about 266 million acres, of which only 36 million acres or 13 percent bears crops more than once. The total cultivated area of the world is divided about as follows: U.S.S. R. 18%, United States 15%, India 13%, China 7% and all others 47%.

There are 155 million cattle, 43 million buffaloes, and 39 million sheep in the country.

INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

Land Reform

When India gained independence, she found herself faced with two great problems in the field of agriculture.

One was the question of absentee landlordism. About 80% of the land was in the hands of the absentee landlords so that four-fifths of the land was cultivated by people who did not own it. There are three main systems of land tenure in India. Under Zamindari or landlord tenure, one or more persons jointly own a large estate and are responsible for the payment of land revenue. Under the Mahlwari or joint village tenure, estates are held by co-sharing bodies or village communities, the members being jointly and severally liable for the payment of land revenue. According to the ryotwari, or peasant proprietary tenure, the individual owners are severally responsible for the payment of land revenue.

The existence of intermediaries between the State and the tillers of the soil has retarded the development of agriculture. However, progress is being made in correcting this. Legislation for the abolition of the rights of the Zamindars and other intermediaries has been enacted in all Part A States (except West Bengal) and in Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Pepsu and Sawrashtra and is under consideration in a number of other states.

The second problem was the question of small and scattered holdings. The average size of an agricultural holding in India is between three and five acres. This contrasts with 21 acres in Britain, 25 in Sweden and 145 in the United States. A greater evil than subdivision is the fragmentation of holdings. It is the biggest single obstacle to economic cultivation, leading to increased overhead costs and to under-employment of human and material resources. This problem is being met through both the voluntary method for the consolidation of holdings and the compulsory method by legislation. The trend of legislation and land policy in recent years has been to prevent the growth of small and uneconomic holdings and toward the concentration of land into a few large holdings.

Water Control and Use

Rivers have always exercised a powerful influence on the national life of the people of India. Of the total area under cultivation, however, only about 19 percent is irrigated, the rest being dependent on rainfall. In most parts of the country, successful agriculture is not possible without irrigation.

The total annual flow of water in the rivers is estimated at 1,356 million acre-feet of which only 76 million acre-feet or 5.6 percent is at present used for irrigation. Of the total of 1,356 million acre-feet, it is estimated that about one-third or 450 million acre-feet could be put to beneficial use. Progress is being made to increase the utilization of these water resources through the construction of a number of river valley development projects. It is estimated that the projects at Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, and Tungabhadra will increase the utilization of water for irrigation by 27.7 million acre-feet. To tap the ground water supply, 2,600 tube wells are being constructed, of which 500 have been completed. These projects it is estimated will add 19.7 million acres to the 49 million acres already under irrigation by 1955-56.

Cultural Practices

One needs only to calculate the average yield per acre of paddy (one of India's principal crops) to recognize that much improvement can be made in crop production through the adoption of improved cultural practices. The average yield per acre of rice in India is less than 1,000 pounds (about 900) as compared with an average yield of about 3,600 pounds in Japan. During the 1953 cropping season through the use of Japanese cultural methods of rice growing, cultivators in India who tried the Japanese method on a demonstration basis were successful in increasing yields by as much as 2,000 pounds per acre. This method includes growing healthy plants from

improved seed in raised seedbeds, transplanting them to the field in rows, liberal use of fertilizer, and improved field cultivation.

Livestock

Promiscuous breeding and inadequate nourishment largely account for the poor quality of Indian cattle. The average yield of milk per cow per annum is 413 pounds, the lowest average milk yield in the world. A number of schemes for the improvement of livestock form a part of the Five-Year Plan.

Summary

In summary, the largest single problem that has confronted India for years has been the food shortage. In the Five-Year Plan efforts are being made for India to become self-sufficient in food grains.

Progress is being made to achieve this goal. During the past few years there has been a progressive reduction in the imports of food grains as follows:

1951	-	4.72	million tons	were	imported
1952	-	3.86	"	"	"
1953	-	2.02	"	"	"

More progress can be made to achieve this goal by giving increased attention to the following:

1. Increase number of acres under irrigation (19% now irrigated)
2. Increase number of acres under double cropping (13% now)
3. Increase number of crop producing acres (11.6 million acres of culturable land not in cultivation. An additional 58 million acres of cultivated land is in fallow).
4. Increase the supply of improved seeds and fertilizers, especially in compact acres with assured rainfall or irrigation.
5. Improve credit and marketing facilities.
6. Control pests and improve methods of cultivation.
7. Reduce numbers and improve livestock.

This section of "India's Agricultural Problems" is not complete without reference to the problem of "food use". Miss Levice Ellis, Home Economics Advisor, TCM/India, states the problem this way:

"Increased production demands priority, but unless it contributes to reducing the problem of dietary deficiencies, the main objective has failed. In 1951 India's cereal crop was 45 million tons, for



The steel plow-head is helping revolutionize India's agriculture, replacing the wooden plow used for thousands of years. Horace Holmes explains its use to a farmer in Etawah, United Provinces, India. The impressive increases in crop yields and improvements in soil fertility achieved by farmers under the "pilot project" in the Etawah area are being extended to other parts of India. Photo by Tom Parker.

an average of 250 pounds of cereal to each of the 360 million people. With this grain production, malnutrition was and still is the nation's number one disease. Therefore, it is not quantity alone, but quality of food as well, that India needs-- protein, vitamins and minerals to balance her diet. This problem can be reduced immediately by the production and consumption of either soya beans or groundnuts."

INDIA'S COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

India has been in the past, is today, and will be for years to come a land of villages. There are 550,000 of them in which 82.5 percent of the people of India live. Agriculture is the main occupation of the villagers. With the dawn of independence the villager, a non-entity until a few years ago, now for the first time is gradually coming to the realization that he can become an important "somebody" in the building of a new India. It is to help the villager fulfill this desire that India's program is designed. It is to this end that our efforts as technical advisors from the United States have been directed.

Community development is not new in India. Since 1946, experiments on intensive rural development have been carried on, such as at Sevagraw in Madhya Pradesh and Etawah in Uttar Pradesh. It was largely the success of these undertakings that encouraged the Planning Commission to draw up the Community Development program as an integral part of the Five-Year Plan.

The Plan

A draft outline of a plan of development for a five-year period was submitted by the Planning Commission in July 1951. The plan brought into being 55 Community Development Projects on October 2, 1952 (Mahatma Gandhi's birthday). In each of these projects there are approximately 300 villages with a cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of about 200,000.

To man each of these projects there is a village extension worker (gram sevak) for every five villages, a technical staff of agriculturists, health workers, educationists, veterinarians, cooperative men and others as needed for each 100 villages, a project executive officer for each development project of 300 villages.

The development projects in each State are in charge of a Development Commissioner. Our extension advisors are attached to his office.

Objectives

The basic aims of the community development projects are to:

1. Increase agricultural production.
2. Relieve unemployment in the rural areas.
3. Improve village communication.
4. Foster primary education, public health, and recreation in the villages.
5. Improve housing.
6. Promote indigenous handicrafts and small-scale industries.

National Extension Service

The beginning of an extension organization for bridging the gap between research workers and farmers was made in 1952. A delegation of Joint or Deputy Directors of Extension from the State, together with two officers of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, visited the United States and Japan to study the extension services in these countries. In April 1953 the National Extension Service Scheme was formulated. Inaugurated in all the States on October 2, 1953, the Scheme will cover one-fourth of the total rural population of the country in the course of the period of the Plan, and the entire country in ten years.

Training of Workers

The successful implementation of the extension program presupposes the availability of trained personnel. Already 41 training centers are training multipurpose gram sevaks in various parts of the country. These training centers are under the jurisdiction of the Directors of Extension work. The United States extension training advisor is associated with the Director of Extension in the development of the training program. For a very complete analysis of the training program by a TCM-advisor, I would recommend reading the report by W. W. McIlroy, who was assigned in Uttar Pradesh.

Results

The results of this development effort are made known to the public in quarterly reports and are very encouraging. Taking the country as a whole, the following figures give an idea of the work done in the first year in the field of agriculture:

1. Compost pits dug	15,389
2. Fertilizers distributed (maunds)*.....	666,616
3. Implements supplied	9,912
4. Improved seed distributed (maunds).....	221,303
5. Demonstration farms started.....	508
6. Additional area planted to fruits (acres)...	16,510
7. Additional area planted to vegetables(acres)	17,363

* A maund is equal to 80 pounds.

8. Area reclaimed (acres).....	16,547
9. Additional area brought under irrigation (acres)	131,325
10. Veterinary dispensaries and first aid centers...	177
11. Key village centers	19
12. Pedigreed bulls supplied	445
13. Scrub bulls castrated	66,448
14. Pedigreed birds supplied.....	6,075
15. Cattle inoculated or vaccinated	1,215,591
16. Cattle treated	332,994
17. Fingerlings (fish) supplied.....	2,174,400

The greatest gain, however, is that the desire to produce more and live better has arisen in the minds of the people. Much effort is being made by the Projects staff to instill in the minds of the people the thought that work in the Project areas is the development of the community by the community for the community. "People's Participation", is a phase of the development program in which I have been most interested. The results are encouraging.

T. C. M ASSISTANCE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Assignment of Technicians

<u>State</u>	<u>Extension Advisor</u>	<u>Training Advisor</u>	<u>Engineering Advisor</u>	<u>Information Advisor</u>
Assam	Kimmel			
West Bengal		Gray	Skinner	
Orissa	Pierce			
Bihar	Curry		Whittaker	
Uttar Pradesh	Kaven -Smith	McIlroy		Hardy
Himachel Pradesh	Lavdsburg			
Punjab	Holtkamp			
Pepsu	Jameson	Bulls		
Madhya Barat	Sellers			
Bombay	Schlubates	Hatten		
Madhya Pradesh	Bell	Sheppard	Resnick	
		Creech		
Hyderabad	Walker	Fox	Cole	
Mysore	Kardel	Fagan		
Travancore-Cochin	Sanders	Chandler		
Bhopal	Yearly	Howell		

Of the thirty positions listed above, the States and the Central Government have requested the continuation of eighteen and discontinuation of nine. No action has been taken on three of the above listed positions.

Job Performance of Technicians

The degree of effectiveness of technical assistance can only best be answered by a review of specific situations without mention of persons concerned.

One of the more successful contributions was by a field advisor who by his every action demonstrated that he believed in the possibilities of the Indian people to improve their lot and develop a strong democratic national in the East. His family was equally interested and contributed much in the support of his efforts. He also believed in himself, in his ability to win friends and influence the Indian people to achieve the most from their efforts. At the start his counterpart Indian official was of "cold and guarded" reception. He was a person of outstanding ability. The questions in his mind with regard to the technician were natural ones: "Why have you come to India?" "What can you contribute to our program?" A few months after the arrival of this field advisor at his post these questions had been answered satisfactorily in the mind of the Indian official. The two became a working unit that was a most effective demonstration of achieving results through Indian-American team action. How did this come about? As I mentioned earlier, he believed in India and believed in himself as having a contribution to make to the Indian program. At the start he was a good student, a good listener, and a good observer. He came to understand the situation of which he was to become a part. He developed an understanding of their problems, their resources, and their ambitions. In summary, the results of the performance of this advisor and his family can be measured not only in technical ideas contributed but also in having developed an improved relationship between the Indian and American people.

A second field advisor's experience was filled with frustration. He was a person of much ability. The word "success" described the results of his work back home. He was an outstanding leader in carrying out a big program in his home situation. At his post in India the movement was slow. He became impatient with the local situation, with himself, and with TCM/Delhi. He found it difficult to change from the leadership role in the home situation to the advisory role in India's program. He became reconciled to the necessity of changing his approach during the second year of duty. His contributions were effective but it was questionable whether he was ever fully accepted and understood by the Indian people with whom he worked.

Additional cases might be described here but more important to the reader would be a summary of job performance factors as I observed the work of the thirty field advisors in the India program.

Factors Contributing to Successful Performance

1. A well adjusted family.
2. A willingness to study and understand a foreign situation.
3. Demonstrate a genuine interest in the people and their problems. Be sensitive to what the eyes see and ears hear.
4. Define the job through action. Always be alert to opportunities to contribute ideas in support of programs under consideration.

5. A willingness to participate socially.
6. To build up and support local leaders.
7. To become more aggressive in the development of new ideas as the base of acceptance becomes broader and stronger.

Factors Detracting from Successful Performance

1. Too much talk.
2. Becoming a camera technician on tour, eager to develop a picture record of bad situations encountered.
3. Inability to understand and adjust at the start from the "featured speaker" role to that of sitting on a back row seat.
4. Mastering point No. 3 but lacking in initiative or ability to secure an invitation to support the speaker of the day.
5. Families without a feeling of responsibility for making acknowledgements of differences and adjustments thereto thus supporting the advisers in their work.

Much thought needs to be given to the question: "Through what door does the technical advisor make his entrance and at what level does he make his most effective contribution?" When I mention levels, I have in mind the following:

1. Grass roots - working with project officers and village extension workers, demonstrating and putting into action new ideas and practices.
2. Teaching - training teachers at all levels in problem solving and understanding and using new ideas and practices.
3. Diplomatic - working with state officials to gain an understanding of the technical assistance program, developing effective relationships, and giving guidance in the development of the State-wide program.

After observing the performance of the various technicians, I believe the entrance of the technical advisor should be at the "Diplomatic" level in the company of a representative of the Government of India and TCM/Delhi. The technical advisor should be made acquainted with the state officials who are responsible for the field of activity in which he is to give assistance. The advisor should be come acquainted with government organization and procedure. He should develop an understanding of the economic and social problems of the country and with the programs that are underway or planned.

Work at the "grass roots" level should start by an assignment to one project area where he will have an opportunity to become acquainted with specific problems and programs and with the people who are actively concerned with solving these problems. It is by concentrat-

ing his attention and efforts at this level that he develops for himself a firm base for making his major contributions at the "teaching" and "diplomatic" levels. He is better prepared to go "on tour" to visit other project areas and give advice. He becomes more aware of training needs. State officials to whom he gives guidance become more willing to accept his suggestions.

Results of Technical Assistance

Specific contributions are difficult to measure. Progress with some of the problems with which advisors are concerned are:

In August 1952 a National 4-weeks training Conference was held for Project executive officers. Their job was to direct the development of extension work in their assigned project areas. The Community projects administration of the Government of India requested suggestions from T.C.M. for the organization of this conference. Suggestions were given in the form of a written outline which stressed two points: Problem-solving and participation of trainees. When the conference was held the suggestions were conspicuous by their absence. The training program was a series of lectures telling how the program should be operated. T.C.M. advisers were given two hours on the program. How could we most effectively use the time? We had already told without acceptance. The answer was: We must show and do through demonstration. This was done with more success. These demonstrations of effective teaching were followed through by extension and training advisors in each of the project areas and training centers. What were the results? All of the training centers throughout India have adopted the principle of "learning by doing" in their training programs. One-third of the time of trainees is spent in the classroom where they are taught by the use of visual aids and through discussion; one-third of the time learning practical methods by doing; and one-third by applying what they have learned by working in neighboring villages.

A series of district conferences for Project Executive Officers were held early in 1954. Each conference was of four days duration. Only two formal talks were given--one at the opening and one at the closing address. The agenda was developed by the participants and related to problems of concern to them. These conferences were highly successful in problem-solving and involved the people who were concerned with the problems.

Assistance was given in achieving results in other fields as follows:

1. Improved methods of growing paddy.
2. Developed organized plans for solving area problems.
3. Developed a two-way street of communication in programs.
4. Held fertilizer demonstrations.
5. Organized plan for fertilizer distribution.
6. Organized a training curriculum.
7. Improved teaching methods.
8. Improved methods of procedure in selecting trainees.
9. Improved the use of irrigation water.
10. More farm implements demonstrated and put into use.
11. Organization of village and area committees for program development.



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