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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAMME IN INDIA

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REPORT OF A SURVEY

by

M. L. Wilson

Ford Foundation Consultant in Community Development

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“What I saw, what I was told and what I think”

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COMMENTS
ON
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS
AND
NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE BLOCKS IN
INDIA

M. L. WILSON
Ford Foundation Consultant on Community Development

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INTRODUCTION

The basic objectives and the philosophy of the Community Development Programme require continued re-emphasis if the programme is to proceed on right lines. In a pioneer programme of this character continued self-appraisal by our project workers is also essential so that in the flush of initial success we do not lose sight of the main objectives. Recognising this, the Government of India had set up the Programme Evaluation Organisation which is entirely independent of the Community Projects Administration to undertake concurrently an evaluation of the working of the Programme in the context of its basic objectives, ideologies and approach.

The report of Mr. M. L. Wilson, Ford Foundation Consultant on Community Development Programme contains the observations of a person who has been in the Extension Movement of the United States of America for a period of nearly 50 years. I hope that his observations will be studied by all our project workers with the care and attention that they deserve. Mr. Wilson studied India's programme for a period of more than two months at the request of the Community Projects Administration and had visited a number of projects and training centres all over the country. The Community Projects Administration is deeply grateful to Mr. Wilson for the pains that he has taken in this study and for the extremely useful suggestions made.

S. K. DEY

Administrator

Community Projects Administration

I was pleased to receive an invitation to come to India for the purpose of having a broad look at the recent developments and present status, trends and problems of Community Development Project and National Extension Service blocks. My invitation said that, since I had been associated with the extension movement in the United States for more than 50 years and have viewed with interest the recent developments in extension education throughout the world, I might be able, out of my experience, to make some suggestions for consideration in future planning.

My observations and comments of necessity must be quite personal in character. The time available for field observations has been limited, nor has it permitted me to examine the important documentary materials, reports and writings that have accumulated since the program has been under way.

During my field trips in March and April, I visited nine state Development Officers, 19 blocks and 17 training centers. At the local level, I made observations in about 35 villages and met and had interviews of varying lengths with 40 village level workers (gram sevaks). It was my good fortune to visit India in the winter of 1952-53 and see a number of community development projects just getting under way and observe the training process for village level workers in a number of training centers. During that trip, I visited 6 states and 7 training centers and a number of villages in which the village level workers were just getting started. Therefore I have had as a bench mark the observations which I made a little more than three years ago. I am most appreciative of the kindness and cooperative assistance given me by everyone.

Time seems to move very fast. It was only seven years ago at an international meeting of Food and Agriculture Organization held in Washington, D.C., that I heard an Indian delegate, at the session where 56 countries of the world reported on recent agricultural development, outline the experiment then being carried on in the United Province. He commented that the new Government of India felt a deep sense of responsibility to the rural people of India and that the Prime Minister and the government were anxious to initiate a program to reach all the villages and bring about speedy agricultural and social development. When I was in India in early January 1952 I attended the graduation exercises of the first class of village level workers who had been training for six months at Nilokheri. Now four years later I learn that approximately one-third of all India's villages are incorporated in some 1200 Community Development and National Extension Service blocks. More than

10,000 village level workers and other trainees have been graduated from 44 training centers. There are about as many professional and administrative employees in extension work in India as are now employed in the United States, where Federal and State sponsored extension work has been going on for 42 years.

I am deeply impressed with what has taken place in rural development in India during the first Five Year Plan. A great system for education and village improvement has been created; village level and block officers have been trained; cooperative relationships between the Center and the State have come into existence; many new problems have been faced and great obstacles have been overcome.

Viewed in a broad way, a great deal of social invention and new creative thinking has gone into this movement in India. Certain aspects of its philosophy, its organisation and its approach are new and are being tried in India for the first time. If they succeed they will have a great influence on the whole world.

I am impressed not only by the scale and the magnitude of what has been and is being done now in village improvement but also by what is proposed for the next Five Year Plan. The planning and creative thought put into all aspects and details of the program has been outstanding. An outside visitor finds that every important policy point or administrative problem that he raises has been thought about in great detail; the decisions which have been made have come about after research, fact finding and weighing of possible alternative courses. Over the brief period of its development, administrative changes in extension policy have frequently been made, and the whole program is carried on with open-mindedness and a constant effort to seek the light that grows out of experience. The fact that a program for evaluation of the community program is being carried on, under the auspices of the Planning Commission and by a research organization of competent workers, is unique and of very great significance.

My admiration and enthusiasm for the program as a whole, its vastness, its organization and its objectives is such that I can hardly express my judgement and opinions except in superlatives. In many aspects, there has been nothing approaching its scope and objectives in the history of rural improvement and adult education throughout the entire world.

The mythologies of several of the great cultures of the world which go back to the "dawn of civilization" portray the gods engaged in a great combat between the forces of good and the forces of evil. William James, a prominent American

philosopher of the late 19th century, re-expressed the old idea as "the moral equivalents of war". He said in effect: "Why can't we cease carrying on the military warfare, with its horrors and loss of life, which we have waged for centuries? Why can't mankind get together all of the good forces of society, and, instead of mobilizing guns and battleships, mobilize science, technology, education and our cultural, moral and spiritual values in a great onslaught against evil?" Evil, he said, was poverty, ignorance, disease and all those things which prevent a human being from living a full life in all respects—a life in which there will be abundance of material good for all, a life in which there will be opportunity for civic responsibility and freedom for aesthetic and spiritual aspirations.

It seems to me there has never been a better example of a nation planning to mobilize all its resources, in the modern way, against the problem of evil than this community program of India so designed to bring about social change and development in the village life. The program seeks to do these things in such a way that there is a new expression of Indian culture and a development of the deep-seated values and ways of living of the people of India.

I have such great admiration for the objectives, the background philosophy and the broad strategy of this movement that I find it a little difficult to move, from an attitude of admiration for the whole and the philosophy which lies behind it, to the realities of careful examination of how it works and what its present state of development is, both as a whole and in its parts and at all levels. Nevertheless this is the task to which I have been assigned and I must proceed.

The community development program in India expresses the hopes and aspirations of the people of India. It is thoroughly Indian in its conception, its background and its operation. Its roots go deep into Indian culture. It should be viewed in its historical, physical and cultural environment, and in the light of the present environment in which India, as a new democratic nation, is laying the foundation for meeting its old problems in modern ways. The program must not be judged in an idealistic way against a fixed set of standards. It must be judged as a dynamic process seeking the best use of available personnel and human resources. It must be viewed as a program which is learning by boldly doing things, recognising that there are many imperfections but believing that if administration is free and openminded, it will profit by its experience and grow in understanding and effectiveness as time moves on.

The process may be compared with erection of a temporary building to serve a new and important purpose, while plans are

being drawn and resources developed out of this experience for a more perfect building to be built in the future.

A speculative question can be asked: "Would India do better to proceed in a small cautious way in community development, using only a few highly trained and experienced personnel in small areas and slowly developing its technical people, plans, and organisation; or is it better to proceed as it is doing, attacking the problem as rapidly as possible, continuously training and improving its personnel, its plans and its objectives?" At the present, India is gaining as much as it can through wide-spread immediate action and it is continuously revising and perfecting its policies and administration. I firmly believe that India has chosen wisely in boldly establishing the Community Development Program as an integral part of its overall planning for national improvement and development. Taking such a point of view, we do not judge something that is fixed and permanent, but a growing developing idea, program and organization. The important point is the capacity and the means to continuously evaluate present development and continuously adjust the development process in the light of experience.

As I started out on my trip seeing what I could see and talking with people at all levels in the administrative organisation, I began by asking questions designed to get at two points: one, what these officers and workers thought were the objectives of the community program, and two, what they thought villages and village life in India might be like 25—50 years in the future. How much had villages and village life changed in the past? How effective would the new village development program and the entire program of the Indian Government be? Is India now in a great current of change and is village development part of it?

Since I have witnessed and participated in the development of Extension Education in my country over the past 50 years, it is very natural for me to ask what Indian villages and village people will be like after the community program has been operating for 50 years. At first, this might seem to be somewhat of a philosophical and speculative question, but in reality the question is: "What are the goal and objectives of community program in concrete terms?"

The replies that I have had from development workers at all levels have been quite varied. Some have said: "The Indian village is very old; changes in the past have taken place very slowly and in spite of all that can be done the changes will be very slow in the future". Others have said: "First, the villages had little opportunity to grow and adjust to the modern world; and second, village people were illiterate, they have had little

chance to participate in local democratic self-government; they had been taxed without representation." Others in essence have thought that the village people have had so little experience in doing things for themselves and that illiteracy is so great, that things will have to be done for them before they can do things for themselves.

In contrast with such statements, a State Development Commissioner said to me: "The potentialities of the people of the village are very great. Five years ago the Government and the people outside Government who had dreamed about a new village India were way ahead of the village people. Today, in those blocks in which the development program has been going on for 2-3 years, and in which it has been administered in such a way as to reach the people and to get across its meaning and significance, there has been a great awakening. The village people, in their progressive thinking and desire for better things, are ahead not only of the public administrators as a whole but the policy makers and those who mould and shape public opinion."

During the first few days of my trip I had opportunity to talk with two block development officers. They seemed to me to represent two very different lines of thinking with reference to the goals and means of achieving what the Planning Commission has stated as the objectives of community development. Both of these block development officers were men past middle age. They had been in their blocks more than two years. Both of them were honest, intelligent, high grade public servants, but each brought a different background to a new job. One of them told me that he had occupied a number of posts in the District Commissioner's office during the past 10 or more years. The other had been the principal of a secondary school. Prior to that he had been an instructor in a small college. He was born and brought up in a village and I took it was the son of a cultivator of some means. The first had been reared in a market town and came from a family with sufficient income to permit him to go to college from which he entered the Civil Service.

In showing me two villages in his block the first block development officer the man with what I would call the district administrative background, took me first to see the new paved streets, the new school house and the other village improvements that had been made. He told me that starting work in the village was slow, because there was little leadership or organization in the villages. He said that the villages were overpopulated and had very great problems in unemployment and landless people. Agricultural production could probably be

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doubled with further irrigation, more fertilisers and those improvements in management that could come through consolidation of holdings. He thought that as the income of the cultivators increased, their tendency would be to build better houses, but he said: "If the population increases at the rate of 1-5% per year in 50 years, the population of the village will nearly have doubled and industrial employment must be found for the surplus people." He said very little about what I call the development or participation of the people themselves, talking rather in terms of what the development program would have to do *for* the people.

The other block development officer, the one with the academic background, began by saying that the program was primarily educational and that it took time and skill to develop people through education. Since schools will be better in the future and since the community program could grow in a way to develop the village people, the people living in the village 50 years hence would be very different in their outlook on life, in their capacity for production and in their ability to use the natural resources to bring about a new pattern of village life. There will be much better housing 50 years hence. There will be ample and dependable supplies of the food necessary for a good diet. There will be sanitary and healthy living conditions, and there will be cultural and spiritual activities which will balance the material needs of families. He said he had the vision of a village with electricity, with pure water, with the cattle housed in community cattle sheds where all manure would be retained and returned to the soil. He thought all of the surplus production of the village would be better marketed, through cooperatives.

Such a village would, he felt, have village industries absorbing those who do not cultivate the soil; and the new village school system would develop new attitudes and outlook on life. The skills of production, the values of cooperative living and the cultural values of Indian life would be combined in such a way that the people would have self-reliance and would move a long way to a higher standard of living, to a democratic life in which there will be freedom and opportunity for all.

He thought this meant that community development program, even though it is now largely a new government sponsored program, would become a *people's* program. Village people would develop so that there would be a cooperative relationship between the expressions of the people in the village and the educational and technical services that are paid for and sponsored by government.

As I talked with more people I thought I could detect these

two different philosophies expressing themselves in both words and action. Over and over again some men connected with the block would first show me the physical improvements that have been made in the village. Others connected with the block would show me either the improvements in crop production and soil development or the things which were being done in the village for the poor and landless as well as more well-to-do cultivators.

I began to make a kind of mental check-list, grouping in one column the people that I thought envisioned what I called an "*administrated government program*" and the people I thought had real *understanding of "a people's program"* and the processes by which it could be brought into being. As my trip continued, I found many people in all kinds of positions whom I could not classify one way or the other. They seemed to be in between the two and combined both forms of thinking in different degrees.

This problem of understanding the goals and of adjusting the individual's action and behaviour in relation to the goals has troubled me a great deal. I have said to myself over and over again: "Is the total program moving in the direction of an administered program or of a people's program?" I meditated this question many times and have come to the conclusion after weighing of the factors involved that *it is going to be "a people's program"*.

There are four factors that influenced me in making this decision:

First, a talk that I had with Mr. S. K. Dey, Administrator of the program; his openmindedness, vision, broad philosophy and his statement: "Tell me honestly what you think about the things that you saw."

Second, there was an attitude that was reflected throughout all the development blocks of openmindedness, of gearing the program to the needs of the people.

Third, a main topic for discussion at the 1956 Annual Regional Seminars of Collectors, District Magistrates, Development Commissioners, Project Executive Officers, Block Development Officers and citizens,—a cross section of Cultural, State and Block administrative personnel—was "securing people's participation in community development". The manner, the frankness and the thoroughness in which it was discussed was most gratifying.

Fourth, when I read the Evaluation Report on the working of Community Projects and National Extension Service Blocks issued in April 1956 by the Program Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission, I said to myself: "Any govern-

ment that is so forward looking as to have a continuous evaluation process going on outside of and independent of the legislative and administrative functions is most likely to succeed in its objectives". This kind of evaluation on the one hand gives guidance to the administration itself, and on the other, educates the general public and the legislative branch of government to the problems involved and the practical day-to-day ways of dealing with them both from the standpoint of the administrator and of the village people. I know of no other great projects of this kind in which the evaluation process is paralleling the administrative process. The report is a masterpiece. The candour with which it states problems and the quality of research and analysis that has gone into its preparation is worthy of great praise and commendation. A recent editorial in 'The Times of India' well says, "The report however acknowledges that the change in outlook created among the officials concerned as well as among the villagers themselves is the most valuable achievement of the Community Development Program in the last three years."

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Village Level Worker

THE village level workers that I have met measure up pretty well to my expectations. While there probably is considerable variation in their personal capacity, adaptability and their training, nevertheless they seem to have the attitude, the spirit of service, the enthusiasm, the understanding of extension work necessary to do the work expected of them in the villages in a creditable manner. They are hard and tireless workers.

It seems to me there is something in the actual experience of being a successful village level worker that is basic to a successful career at any level in the future community development or extension education program of India. Therefore, village level workers should be continuously scrutinised, and their growth and their personal attitudes evaluated; and where their record justifies, they be promoted either to higher positions or to receive at public expense the necessary training that will qualify them for advance.

There is sometimes a tendency to look on the village level worker as a chore boy who runs errands and does all sorts of things at the village level. I clearly saw in many instances, how technical specialists or extension officers regarded the village level worker as someone with considerably lower organizational status than themselves, looked down upon the village level workers and issued orders to them perhaps because of the village

level workers' low salary classification and educational experience.

It should be clearly recognized by all that:

- (1) the village level worker is an educator;
- (2) he must have a program and plan for his works based on the needs of the village people, otherwise, his accomplishment will not be very great; and
- (3) he must be regarded as a member of the block team who has as definite responsibilities to the villages to which he is assigned, as the block development officer and other block staff.

All block extension officers should as far as possible go through the village level worker when they contact his villages. This is necessary as a matter of coordination procedure. Officers should also consult with the village level worker in program planning and village contacts. May I again say there is great danger that the village level worker will not be given proper status and will continually have all kinds of odd jobs thrust upon him, many of which are of minor importance and should be done by village people themselves or through the cooperatives or panchayats. From my point of view I cannot emphasize this point too strongly.

The Block and Block Officers

The Community Development Project and National Extension Service block is an Indian invention for area coordination and administration. It fits into the Indian method of public administration and coordination of governmental activities, and from this point of view it is both natural and necessary. Under these conditions, the block development officer is a very important man and has very significant responsibilities and duties.

The block development officer is the key man of the whole development scheme. Therefore, he must be a capable administrator who understands the mechanism and working of the structure of the government which is above him. But apart from this, he has to be much more than an administrator. He must be a great humanist who has sympathy, insight and understanding of the lives and aspiration of the village people. He must have a general understanding but not necessarily a minute technical understanding, of all the types of work that are carried on in the block. He must understand the processes of program making, and the relationship between long time and short time programs. He must be able to live and teach the democratic way of life through the kind of leadership and human relations that he himself exemplifies in his life day by day. He must visualize himself as standing between, so to speak, the things

that have come to him from the top and the voices and the desires of the people. Even though they may not be too articulate, he must, through his actions and administration, develop these voices and these desires.

It is to be expected in such rapid moving program, particularly as it begins, that many block officers have what I would call the administrative point of view in contrast with the developmental point of view.

The requirements of a good block development officer are very broad. Therefore, much high grade training, both in-service and pre-service, will be required if the block development officer is to have enough administrative knowledge and the insight into human relationship, educational methods and spiritual and cultural values to equip him for leadership and development work. My feeling is that the importance of such training is not too well-recognized at the present. As time and experience move forward, there will begin to be tangible evidences of differences in the cumulative results of work of the block development officer. This will show that many of the block officers are not measuring up, largely because of their lack of understanding of those things which are over and above routine administrative procedures. If such proves to be the case, then the training program for block officers that is now just getting under way should be expanded with longer periods for training and orientation of men entering the service as block development officers, and much greater in-service training for those now in service.

It would seem in some states that there needs to be a more definite liaison function between the State Development Commissioner's office and the block. This function could best be performed by someone who had close and frequent contact with the District Commissioner's office and with the block development officer. It should be more than a narrow supervisory function. It should carry from block to block the new or successful ideas and current experiences in the ways of best doing things. It should assist in the planning process. The person who performs the function should have frequent conferences with block staffs and reflect the view point of District Commissioners, State Development Commissioner and Ministers and Center. I note that a number of states already are developing such service with satisfactory results.

The subject-matter officers in the block are also very important elements in the organization. They need to be well-trained and oriented for their job and their personality should be such that they gear into a team spirit at the block office. The methods of transportation and communication within the block

also present problems.

My visits to 19 blocks indicate that there is wide variation in the process by which the block program is developed and in the relationship between the block officers and village level workers. In some cases, however, the program building and planning is well done and there is good understanding by all concerned. In other instances, this does not seem to be the case.

There is also wide variation in the manner and degree in which the village people as a whole participate in the program of the block. All of these are complicated matters and regardless of the present situation, I expect them to improve rapidly as a result of understanding leadership on the part of the block officers and of the general development which comes through growth and in-service training.

In the present organization of the program, the Block Advisory Committee can be a very important institution. It can be used both for developing participation of the people, and for bringing about the public opinion and understanding which are the basis for participation not only of the people but also of legislators and leaders of public opinion. One of the tests of capacity of the block development officer in human relationships is his relationship to Block Advisory Committee and its state of development. I was disappointed to be informed in some cases that the Block Advisory Committee program is not doing very well at the present time.

The point of view that must be deeply ingrained in the block development officer and the block extension staff is that primarily and fundamentally *they are developing people and that almost everything they do contains an element of human development*. It is not enough in program planning to simply state "here is a better practice and the villager should do it". The introduction of a new practice is conditioned by and related to motivation and desire. It begins with the selection of a new recommended practice which, willingly adopted, gives for instance, greater crop yields. Next there is a process of communicating the recommended practice so that the villager understands it. Third, there is the bringing about of a subtle and psychological change in the villager that will motivate him to want to change from the old way to the new way. Fourth, there is the intangible factor of doing all this in such a way that the cultivator not only changes but understands why he changes, and grows in his outlook and his modes of behaviour as he does it.

My limited observations led me to think that while the block extension officers on the whole knew their subject matter pretty

well and were in good communication with their Ministries, they did not measure up in their understanding and appreciation of educational psychology, in their understanding of the learning processes and cultural changes, or in their skill of developing a program based on this understanding. Neither did they in many cases, I am afraid, have the "team spirit" or "co-workers attitude" in their relationships with the village level worker. I do not want to imply that this criticism is universal. I saw some very outstanding exceptions.

Block extension workers should be trained and taught to ask themselves all of the time "How do I develop a community program in such a way to bring about participation and development of people? How do I, as an educator, get my recommended practices built into the daily lives and habits of the people? How do I develop in the people greater and greater responsibilities for carrying out all phases of the village program?"

On the whole, there are many very important problems in the block that remain to be developed. There is great opportunity for imagination and creativeness on the part of the block development officer.

Training in Training Centers

The planners and policy makers are to be congratulated for their wisdom and foresight in the importance that they attach to training all along the line. The new and rapidly expanding program naturally has great problems in the selection of personnel, in the organization and development of trainers who in turn are to train those who work at the village and block level. It is gratifying to see that training is now being given in all fields: Village Level Workers, Block Development Officers, Social Education Organizers, Home Science, Small Industries, Public Health, etc. The basic plan for training, the emphasis on the practical, the combination of science (as organized knowledge) with its application and with ways to teach its application to village people, are commendable. I was somewhat disappointed that there were not more sons of village cultivators among the village level worker trainees; but I recognized how the lack of village schools and of opportunities for matriculate education of village young people, now and in the recent past, make recruitment of such young men and women difficult. The outlines of the training courses show imagination and thought on the problem of making the most of the limited time available, and adapting subject matter to the needs of the trainee.

The efforts that are being made to evaluate critically the "training and the trainers" and to improve the quality and the method of the training are most encouraging but needs to be

greatly intensified. Such activities as the national conference-workshop for principals of training centers, and the plan proposed in several states for having members of the teaching staff to spend a certain *amount of time of each year at the village level, working with Village Level Workers are of very great importance.*

One of the teachers, for instance, whose teaching attitude was excellent, told me that since he had never been a village level worker, he felt his greatest need was to have an opportunity of working at the village level, learning by experience how the village level worker worked. If such an opportunity is made available to all, each trainer would know far better how to train the village level worker for the work in each subject matter field.

One of the principals told me that one of the great needs in teaching, both in the subject matter and in extension methods, was for concrete illustrations which grew out of actual experience and actual cases involving the problems and situations that the village level worker or other trainees are faced with in their day-to-day work. This trainer told me that the training staff did pretty well in teaching the boys skills such as adjusting plows, making compost pits, etc., but they lack concrete experience and background for illustrating and teaching the skills involved in human relationships, the democratic processes and the many day-to-day situations involving judgment and action on the part of the village level worker.

This is not to say that such topics are not dealt with in present training but that they are capable of great improvement, illustration and expansion. There is great need and opportunity for collecting information about the actual ways in which village level workers and block development officers work, and to give concrete illustrations of "what works and how and why it works". There is no doubt a great fund of unorganized and untapped experience of success and failure in the community program thus far which could be gathered and used.

The kind of teaching that is required of the instructors in the training centers is new, and very few of the teachers have had either previous training for teaching their subjects or been in the educational field. It is therefore natural that there will be some "round pegs in square holes"—men whose personality and aptitudes are such that they will never be inspiring as teachers. Teaching not only requires skill and knowledge but also those intangible qualities which inspire the mind and stimulate growth in the student. Teachers with these qualities communicate things so that they become part of the daily working knowledge and behaviour of the pupil.

The character of the training required for village level workers, and particularly in view of the short training time available, requires teachers of very high order and skill. Many of the teachers that I met and whose classrooms I observed I thought measured up to these standards. Others I thought did not. In discussing this matter with several of the principals, I was informed that, because of Civil Service Rules, it was sometimes difficult to sort out the unsuccessful and ill-adjusted teachers. Since the Indian community program lays such great emphasis on training, it is highly desirable to give thought to some arrangement for promotion and recognition of the importance and significance of the teacher at the training center and his place in the scheme of things.

As time moves on, it is safe to assume that the demands for personnel for the community program will require more and more graduates of the agricultural colleges and other technical colleges. For this reason the program for establishing new departments to teach various aspects of extension training in five agricultural colleges is of great importance. Extension education is a subject which in itself cannot fully be developed without some understanding of the social sciences upon which it is based. It is therefore just as important for the student who is training for extension education to have some basic training in the social sciences—sociology, cultural anthropology, educational psychology and public administration, etc., as is for the crop and soil student to have training in botany, zoology and entomology.

The long time training program for village improvement work in India implies this kind of college training not only in the agricultural colleges where it is extremely important, but also in other fields which are involved in community development, health and sanitation, education, small industries, etc. These five colleges have great opportunity to serve as pilot leaders in this field.

Home Science Village Work

When I visited India three years ago there were no women extension workers. It is most gratifying that there are now 27 centers where women village level workers (gram sevikas) are being given training and that the home science program is beyond the initial stages of scepticism and doubt. Since domestic science and arts of home making and family life as taught in Indian colleges and universities have hitherto not been oriented to village life, it is only natural that this program has a large task ahead of it to develop college teachers and trainers at the training centers, and to working out, through experience,

both subject matter and extension methods of approach to village women and village life.

While there are as yet no fully trained women extension workers in the villages, the work of the women social education organizers has already given a foretaste of what the program and importance of such women's work will be.

In one of the blocks not far away from a training center, I was taken to a village by the man in charge of his state's extension training, and by the local block development officer and village level worker. We started with a meeting at a new village school house. In attendance were the village panchayat, the school teachers and perhaps 2530 cultivators, some of whom had left their wheat harvest to meet us. Our meeting was very interesting. The village level worker and the school teacher took an active part. They told us about their village and their methods of farming, the developments that have taken place in the village in the past two years since the community development project has been in operation. We spent perhaps an hour talking together in the most interesting and friendly manner. The village level worker and block officers, the village teacher and the panchayat seemed to be working close together.

After the meeting we started walking down the main street. First, we visited a shop at the side of the road under a large spreading tree where a woodworkers' cooperative had been organized. All of the village woodworkers, I was told, were members of this cooperative. They planned to enlarge the woodworking activities and the members were working on a contract to make a certain number of chairs for the district government. Their organization and program had been stimulated by the small industries development program in the block. The President of the cooperative told me that he thought it was a splendid idea and he hoped that they will get other contracts. They had ample supplies of native wood and several skilful woodworkers. The workers were enthusiastic and hopeful.

I was not prepared for the next stop. I had simply been told that we were going to see the work of the lady social education organizer. After walking through the center of the village, we entered a compound and much to my surprise on the left of the entrance in a large room open on two sides were perhaps 75 village women. They were nicely dressed. In the back of the room were perhaps a dozen village women whose faces were covered. At the other end of the room was an exhibit of needlework and household handicraft.

The social education organizer explained to us that this was a newly organized home-makers' club of this village. They had come out to meet the block development officer and the other

members of his party. She explained that the club had been in existence for several weeks, that they had a program dealing with home-makers' problems and with handicraft. These women were an important part of the program of community development in their village.

After her explanation, four nicely dressed little girls sang a welcoming song and brought forth a garland which they gracefully put over my head. I was asked by the social education organizer to say a few words about the village women in America, which I was pleased to do. Inquiry was made if the village women in America had clubs of this kind and just what the clubs did. The faces of the women expressed deep interest and I thought a sense of pride at what they were doing.

I was impressed by the personality of the social education organizer. She had sincerity, friendliness and humility, and there was nothing in her attitude and personality that made a gulf or bar to her association with the village women. After our meeting I was shown the handiwork, and several of the women passed on to the social organizer uncompleted pieces of their needlework.

The meeting over, the lady social education organizer took us around the compound, accompanied by a committee of village women who remained in the background but nevertheless participated in what we were seeing. There was a demonstration of a family garden with tomatoes and other fresh vegetables growing in well-watered and manured beds near the house. On the walls there were charts and illustrative material about the use of food in relation to the nutrition of children. In the living quarters was a demonstration of a smokeless chula and a number of simple devices which might be used in cooking and in the care of the family.

The lady social education organizer explained to me that this was the first women's center that she had established in the block. She and the block officer had decided on a program which began with a unit of this kind and the development of friendly acquaintance and associations in other villages. In the meeting were five women from adjoining villages, three of whom had asked the social education organizer to come to their village and help them organize a home-makers' club and village women's center.

After we left the compound and were walking to our car I said, "This is very hopeful and gratifying to me. It is the first village women's club I have seen in my study tour". The state extension officer replied: "This is a great surprise to me also. If you had asked me a short time ago if there was a women's club in any village in this district, I would have said: 'No, the women are not ready for it yet.' Mr. Wilson, it is hard for me to tell you what a great step forward organization of this one women's club is to this part of India."

I then asked the block officer: "How did this happen?" He replied that there were two important elements. First the personality, the genuineness and the friendliness of the social education organizer herself, and second, the rapid progress of the community program in the village. The new school, the panchayat, the agricultural demonstration program has started a change in the village so that the women are ready for the women's club activities. He said he thought the women in this village were not greatly in advance of the women in other villages in which the community program was getting a good start. He continued: "This thing is going to be spread by women from adjoining villages coming and seeing the work in pilot villages, just as we saw it today. Our problem is going to be getting home science workers with the right kind of personality and other qualities that are required so as to meet the demand."

I have the feeling that village development proceeds somewhat by steps or stages and that what I saw in this village exemplifies a second or a third stage in village development which signifies real and potential developments of Indian village culture.

Social Education

One of the unique aspects of the Indian program is its vision of meeting all developmental needs of village people. This requires the integration of all the things which are involved in the conception of the human being as a whole, and the community as a single entity—in other words, the way of life as a whole. It is but natural that the economic aspects of development, the specific and tangible things such as production, income, health, cooperatives, literacy etc., receive major attention, particularly at the beginning of the program. But success in developing a full rich village life with wider horizons and greater opportunities, will not be attained without involving additional elements in its program—elements dealing with the development processes as a whole and elements such as citizenship, the cultural arts, the spiritual values. Because of their nature they must be handled in a way somewhat different from crop demonstrations and the like.

The definition, the scope and the functions of social education are not thoroughly understood. I asked all sorts of people that I met, particularly program workers, to explain to me exactly the meaning of social education, how it worked and what it was accomplishing. There was such great variation in the answers that I was led to the opinion that there was great lack of understanding.

Some explained to me that it dealt primarily with motivation underlying the whole program. Others mentioned drama, recreation, puppet shows and aesthetic expressions of various kinds.

Often I was told that the social education organizer was primarily "the man who operates the motion picture machine and takes the cinema to the villages". Others strongly emphasized that the social education organizer was the person who created the new desires and vision which would motivate the people to want change and improvement—a very important function. Others said the social education organizer was the man who looked over the entire program, sized up the needs of the people and pointed out what must be done to help it meet these needs. In many cases the women social education organizers saw their work as related to home science and home-making, as, in effect, a counterpart of the work of the village level worker with the men in the fields.

Some of the block workers in specific fields commented that many social education organizers knew nothing of actual village life before they were assigned to the block. They were city people and, regardless of their training, were far removed from the lives of village people, village attitudes and social structures. One block extension officer said: "The social education organizer is a well-intentioned person who talks about everything but does not know much specifically about anything."

I feel that the concept of social education is of very great importance. Trying to define clearly its aim and its function is of course more difficult than to define the economic and other practical functions in village development.

Careful study, however, both by social scientists and by administrative people, and some improved social education techniques will clarify the function of social education, make more tangible some of its intangible aspects, without losing any of the spiritual values involved.

Perhaps the time is already arriving when home science is recognized as an integral part of the program and developed as such. Possibly the cultural arts which are very important can be developed separately as another aspect. Perhaps the function of creating desires and motivations could be effectively incorporated in all aspects of the village program.

The development of social education is a great challenge. Something which lies deep in Indian culture and habits is in it, seeking expression. If I were a young man and told that I might select any field of Indian village development for my life work, I would choose social education.

Village Housing and Replanning

Whenever opportunity presented itself I asked a question of block officers, village level workers or village leaders something like this: "Now that you have begun paving the streets in the village to get out of the mud and dust, now that

you are building school houses and enough school rooms for all of the village children, what is the village going to do after you have met these village needs?"

I was surprised at the number who replied that the villagers were going to build new houses. Several block development officers told me that the program for the improvement of crops and the development of irrigated land had appreciably increased the income of the village people, and that a movement for building new brick houses was getting under way. They pointed out that many of the present village houses were unsatisfactory from every point of view, but that it would be very unfortunate if people began building new houses which were simply duplicates of the old houses, incorporating none of the improvements easily made without great additional cost.

In some states I found the staff of the Development Commissioner anticipating this housing development, and in a few states a real village housing improvement program is in operation. It seems to me that this aspect of village improvements should begin to receive a lot of consideration and planning by all concerned.

At one of the training centres a demonstration village house has been built by the trainees. The house itself involved many of the new features of light, ventilation, smokeless chulas, etc. It was planned so that it could be easily enlarged if necessary. At the back of the house was a cattle shed with facilities for collecting the liquid manure and for compost pits. A small garden adaptable to intensive vegetable cultivation occupied the space close around the house. It occurred to me that there could be demonstration village houses at all training centers, and the village level workers could well participate during their training in the building of a village house. They should know the principles involved in planning and building, and know how to teach them to village people.

But simply building new houses in the village is not enough. The village itself needs to be replanned so that its layout is consistent with the new housing. Otherwise a hodgepodge of old and new houses will result, to cause serious difficulties for the future growth of the modern Indian village. Thought should be given to the problem of adjusting the village layout itself to future new housing.

I saw a village in which re-modelling the houses and replanning the village were taking place. The people of the village told me that they not only wanted to improve the houses in which they lived but also the ways in which their cattle was taken care of. Consequently co-operative cattle sheds have been built in the village, either on vacant plots or at the edge of the village. There were stalls for tying up the cattle, and

provision for collection of all manure, both liquid and solid. The cattle were doing better and an increased amount of manure was being returned to the soil. This village had established a co-operative brick kiln; and a five year plan and a long time plan for the improvement of the village layout had been made by the village people with some outside assistance.

I learned that in one state the Development Commissioner planned to have several houses built at the block center for use of the block officers. These houses were to be built in such a way that they were to be demonstrations of different types of houses for the needs of different types and income levels of people in the villages. The time will soon be here when an officer dealing with housing could well be added to the block staff. In many cases the agriculture engineer is too busy with irrigation and other necessary things to give required time to village housing.

Village Schools

It was most gratifying to see the many new school houses that have been built in Indian villages as a result of the community development program. These school houses are of varying size, capacity and cost. They are well planned. In nearly all cases there was a school garden adjacent to them which fits into the program of basic education. The village people are proud of their new school. It is an expression of the spirit of progress. There is a close relationship between the village school development and the village improvement program. Both are educational—one is dealing primarily with the children, the other is dealing with the adults. For this reason there is a close common bond between the village school teacher and the village level worker.

In some states a close natural relationship between the blocks and the schools is recognized and in others little thought seems to be given to it. In one state a training center is giving village teachers short time training on the community development program and on methods of inter-relating schools and the blocks. This is an extremely constructive, and from a long-time view point, an extremely valuable enterprise.

Youth Work

There was not as much youth work in the villages as I had expected. However, I was told that the matter is being discussed, and that as the program enlarges, plans will be made to work with the village boys and girls in some kind of out-of-school youth activity. Effects all over the world indicate that rural youth work of the right kind is of very great importance in

rural development. It not only brings the village youth together in constructive youth association; it teaches through the process of doing things together; it gives a spirit of hope and progress to the younger people while they are in the formative stage.

I am informed that in some states the youth work is no longer an experiment. It is being organised and operated on a block scale. It has proven that it is both a practical and workable program. There has been great development in the knowledge of how to work with rural youth in many countries. I hope that the Indian community development program will continue its interest in youth work, and plan for the development of the trained personnel necessary and the incorporation of the work in all block programs.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

There were active programs in these fields in all blocks. The communication between the block officers and the state ministers of agriculture and animal husbandry seemed to be active and direct. The crop production aspects were indeed active. I judged from talking with village level workers and block extension officers that the spread of influence of the demonstrations was as good as could be expected. The demonstrations with reference to fertilizers, varieties and culturing methods that I saw were striking and effective. In some cases, the follow up on the demonstrations were not as great as I had hoped to see. The explanation given by the village level worker was often that he was too busy with other things to conduct demonstration meetings at the proper time.

Some of the block agricultural officers said that their greatest difficulty is transportation. To be effective they needed, during certain times of the year, to be in very active contact with the village level workers throughout the block; a bicycle or an occasional ride in a jeep or a bus was not sufficient for such field activities.

Soil management, both as it relates to the physical condition of the soil, humus content and application of fertilizers etc., is basic to increasing crop yields. My general observation in the blocks was that much greater attention should be given to teaching and demonstrating the fundamental principles of soil management. Teaching the importance of humus, green manuring crops and the necessary steps that must be taken in the system of farming to give maximum production, are very essential. It is the development of this approach which, together with proper irrigation, gives the high yields that result from intensive cultivation. The work that is being done in composting is very much to the good, but no attention is being

given to one of the great fertilizer resources—the liquid manure of the cattle.

Co-operatives and Rural Credit

I do not find as much concrete evidence in the villages of the development of co-operative marketing and purchasing activities or of co-operative credit as I had expected. Three years ago I was told that such activities would grow very fast and special emphasis was being given to them in the training program for village level workers. On this recent visit, I was disappointed not to find more progress for it seemed to me that philosophically and historically there is a great deal of the co-operative spirit and behaviour in village family life. Gandhi and the great leaders of Indian thought have said much about it.

I asked: "Why, for instance, is the distribution of fertilizers and certain supplies, such as seeds, not being done by village co-operatives, so that none of the village level worker's or block worker's time would be required for such activities?" The explanation varied with villages and districts. Some said they have not had time to develop the managerial talent required or that credit was not available.

Some thought it was difficult for villagers to break their old habits of individual trading. Others said that the co-operatives as they now existed could not move fast enough to meet the requirements of special or emergency programs. In a few cases I talked with the block extension officer in charge of co-operative development. In most cases it seemed to me that he did not have his feet on the ground, although he could talk very well about the theory and spiritual values and the elements that are required for success.

My size-up is probably superficial and predicated too much on my observations in my own country. We have found in the U. S., and I think the same is true in other countries such as Denmark, that each individual farmer has really to understand the co-operative idea. He has freely and understandingly to participate, with his neighbors, in a democratic organization and in a democratic process.

This process is often not easy to teach. First it takes time and social change to make it effective. Second, the actual results that the individual farmer gets out of being a member of the co-operative must be concrete and definite. It must meet his needs; and, both from the short and the long time point of view, give him a sense of confidence and of satisfaction in being served honestly and efficiently. There is no doubt but that the farmer will gain by selling his products through his cooperative and by purchasing his supplies in the same manner.

There are the same problems in the development of co-operative in many other countries, as in India. The crux of the matter is that a co-operative depends upon the understanding of the members, and their stage of growth and development in economic democracy and in democratic participation. Co-operative action is a kind of democracy in which there is responsibility as well as benefits. It in itself is a great instrument for training and developing self-help and self-reliance. It paves the way for development and training of the individual citizen for participation in local government and in state affairs. The co-operative also do not succeed without capable and competent management.

As in so many things, experience is a great teacher. I suggest that some means be found to study the experience of village co-operatives in India and get at the actual factors that are involved in success, particularly the educational processes which bring about the social development of members which is so important.

Health and Sanitation

During my visits with village level workers, I asked them to tell me the story of their first day's work in a village. Who was the first man they met and what problems grew out of their first contact? It was notable how often a village level worker told me that the first problem encountered in his first friendly visit to a village had to do with health and sanitation. I then remembered that I had often been told that when village people were asked what their greatest problems were, they placed health and sickness first.

Three years ago the making of simple latrines, soakpits, and other simple steps in sanitation were given high rank in the village program. Therefore, I expected greater progress in this field than I actually found in the villages I visited. The need is great, but the difficulty involved in breaking old habits and creating new ones is also very great. Even though progress is being made, it is slow. The health and sanitation block officers with whom I had opportunity to discuss such matters seemed to understand the problem, but in many cases did not exhibit too much skill in teaching or program planning, or development processes. Block sanitary officers seemed to be in good communication with their Ministries and understood the elements of their program.

Family-and-Farm Planning

The demonstration method is fundamental to extension education. Seeing things being done or seeing results of

demonstrations, when these are placed in their proper educational setting, is one of the most important and successful methods of communicating ideas. The process can be seen working best in the beginning of a project, where some one simple thing is set off by itself so that a concrete simple demonstration can be made. There are, however, many lessons that can best be taught through demonstration in which the result is a combination of many factors rather than one single element. A demonstration of carrying out a farm enterprise as a whole is tremendously important to a village. It is a demonstration of a process, so to speak. It demonstrates how the individual cultivator combines all of his resources, his land and his opportunities, his skill and labor so as to get the greatest returns. The same can be done in home making and family activities when they are considered as a related whole.

At one time it was thought that demonstration farms operated by Government would prove to be great instruments of agricultural education. In many of the instances with which I am familiar in the States and elsewhere, the results have not met expectations. In the first place, the farmer looks upon them as something which was outside his range of experience and his resources. Something is being done by the Government that is separate and apart from his daily life. While such farms undoubtedly have certain values and a place in a development scheme, the place is subsidiary to extension education.

The idea of demonstrating *a farm plan, as a process*, is now developing throughout the world. Special personnel, technical advice and assistance is given to farmers and their families who seek help, and who are willing to demonstrate not only a single simple practice such as fertilizers or variety tests, or soakpits, but to demonstrate how each of these practices is combined in a plan of farming and family living. This is becoming in many countries of the world a kind of second or advanced step in extension development. The individual farm and family make rapid progress under this kind of guidance. They serve as a realistic and concrete demonstration to their communities. Such demonstrations are not ideal, but they are realistic because they involve the same problems as the family's neighbors have.

The development of this new farm planning demonstration requires a new kind of extension worker, those who have had the training and capacity to see the problems with the cultivators and the problems of the home together, as one unit.

Such planning and demonstration also frequently involves the use of credit. It has been found that cooperative credit can be given in such demonstrations in a manner that is sound and productive; moreover, the use of the credit is a part of the demon-

tration itself. Where credit has been a limited factor in production, a farm planning demonstration can be an effective instrument in teaching the cultivator how to make productive use of credit, so that his whole plan is more profitable. It is also being found that greatest progress is made where the planning involves the adjustment and highest use of the resources that are available.

This kind of planning often develops by steps. I had the opportunity of visiting with an Indian cultivator who began working with extension methods four years ago. The first year he practised one new step which gave him considerable increased returns. The second year he adopted two additional new practices, and they too proved to be successful. Thus, at the end of two years, as a result of the community program, he had used three new practices that he had not used before. In the third year he made three more changes in his ways of doing things. If these changes are successful, he will have made over the three year period six significant changes in the manner in which he has raised his crops.

The village level worker told me that this cultivator had had an illness in his family. He came to the village level worker, saying that he wanted his household to begin doing some of these things that would result in better health, and further, that he wanted to have sufficient income to educate his children and give them opportunities better than he himself had. What in reality he was saying was he wanted assistance in planning for farm-and-family. This particular case illustrates a principle of development that has taken place in extension education everywhere. It will not be long before it will be possible to incorporate a great deal of what is being called individual family-and-farm planning demonstration in the community development program of India. This will require however, well-trained village level workers and block extension officers.

Citizenship Development

The absence of local self-democratic government in India is to be regretted. It is, however, a problem that is on the minds of the statesmen and forward-looking men of India. The development of the village panchayat as an institution of local government is important. Likewise the development of advisory committees for the block administrators and block management is also of significance. Successful cooperatives in India fit into the development of local government. The national farmers' forum held in Delhi is notable as an expression of the idea of developing the voice of the rural people. Any complete program of rural development includes citizenship education under democracy; as the rural people grow, their duties and responsibilities as citizenry grow also.

Village Industries

The thought that is being given to village industries, and the program for their development and the training in relation to their expansion is of great importance. I talked with landless villagers who were engaged in tanning hides, in making shoes, in weaving, metal working and woodworking. The products that they were making seemed to be good and since the products were to be largely used in the villages themselves, the channel between the producer and the consumer was direct. I know so little about this field of activity that I can only comment on its importance and timeliness. The village program would not be complete without it.

All of the things that I have discussed in this section of my report add up to a total program in each block of great community significance. As the program grows, it will require more and better trained personnel, and in turn will add tremendously to the wealth of the nation and the health and prosperity of its people.

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN INDIAN AND AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In the modern world, most of the nations are connected by systems of highways that carry two-way traffic of information in such fields as Community Development and Extension Education. Nearly all countries are now developing rural improvement programs in some form or another. Each country has the problem of working out its developments in terms of its own culture, its people and its ways of thinking and living. Each has its own particular problems of organization, of administration, and of methods. In all cases Government plays an important role in the program. It supplies finance, trains personnel, conducts research and gives leadership.

This whole world-wide movement can be assisted by the free interchange of ideas. Many of the things which India is doing are of great interest and significance to countries whose village problems are similar or who are in the early stages of village development. There are certain aspects of India's program which is of great interest to extension services in the United States, particularly the evaluation process and the idea of coordination of government agencies at the local level.

After viewing the developments of India over the past five years, I find myself attempting to look at the experience of the United States, in the development of its extension work, somewhat from the standpoint of the Indian program. Are there, from the Indian point of view, outstanding things in the U.S. experience, which seem to be of interest at this time to India?

Two years ago the United States celebrated the 50th anniversary of the beginning of rural demonstration work. It started in one area, at a time when there had been little change in the methods of farming and ways of community life for over fifty years. The area was threatened by what was thought would be a great agricultural disaster—the invasion of the cotton belt by a new destructive insect, the Mexican Cotton Boll Weevil. “Necessity is the mother of invention” was the principal reason for initiating this first rural demonstration work. In another part of the United States shortly thereafter extension work on a county basis came into existence, largely because of a feeling on the part of farmers that there was new knowledge about farming available at the agricultural colleges and experiment stations which would make their farming more profitable. The problem was how to put it into use on their farms.

On my travels in India during the past two months, I have asked this question of myself repeatedly: “As I look at the development of extension work in America over a span of fifty years and as I now see the present Indian village program, what do I feel are the three or four most important and significant observations that have a bearing on Indian development?” My answer is briefly as follows:

First: In America there has been a slow-and-steady change in the outlook, in the attitudes and ways of thinking, living and doing by our farm people and rural communities. The people have changed and grown in outlook more than have farm practices and methods. As the people have grown and changed in their attitudes they have been motivated to move forward, to change farming practices, to enlarge their perspectives of life, to develop better community institutions and better homes, and to participate with greater understanding in public problems, as citizens of their community, their state and their nation. They have learned to practice self-help, to cooperate with trained leaders, to be assisted by Government. In other words, to use a technical term of social science, there has been a great change in the culture of rural people.

Fifty years ago farm people had little voice or understanding of national affairs. Their independent farm organizations were weak. They had few cooperative organizations for marketing or purchasing of supplies, or for rural credit. Changes in methods of farming, and the processes whereby new practices were introduced, were exceedingly slow. There were little or no rural public programs of sanitation and health services. There was little urge for new and better farm housing. Few of the rural children had educational opportunities beyond primary school. There was no farm and rural community forward planning. Farmers were not asking “What are our needs? How can we work together through

our community program to help ourselves and our neighbors?" Few farmers' sons and daughters went to college. Farmers looked upon themselves as somewhat discriminated against by the more powerful and better-organized groups in society.

All of this has changed. When we take a long look at the communities that have had continuous extension education dealing with the entire family men, women, and youth, we see the accumulated effect, year by year, of the rural community extension program. During these past fifty years two generations of farm operators have come and gone. A good percentage of the present farmers became members of rural youth clubs when they were ten years old. Thus year by year, as extension programs moved forward and developed, they brought about greater and greater participation of the farm people, which in turn developed confidence and self-help. It is this steady progress year by year that counts.

This generalization can be made in many other countries as well as the United States. The development of cooperation in Denmark is frequently referred to as a process of the same kind. The same thing will happen in India if the program is centered on the development of rural people. If the process takes the form of developing people, who in turn are motivated to do things better, they will make changes in their ways of living and farming, as they move in the direction of the objectives of the program and of the general development of India.

Second: The rural extension in the United States lays great emphasis on the place of local leaders in the development of the rural community. The development of these leaders who in turn educate their neighbors and who become, each in his own sphere, a kind of voluntary local village worker, is important. This principle of the "development of the community", headed by local leaders, has been a tremendous factor in creating understanding and in demonstrating and teaching better ways of farming and living. It has demonstrated that such leaders can quickly develop in the village, if given the opportunity, and assisted by training and education.

Third: The family approach to extension work. It was soon discovered, as America expanded its extension program, that farmers' wives had problems and interests in their family and their children, as well as in the income of the land and the products of the fields. Home extension work was therefore begun to reach and educate farm women. Then there were families in which the parents were not agreeable to or interested in new ideas when presented in the regular way. These same ideas, when taken into the home by way of the children, were accepted and changes made. Furthermore, in a short time the youth of one generation became

farmers and home makers of the next generation. Rural youth work was therefore developed. Progress became faster after the extension approach was made on a family basis, than when it was confined only to working with men.

Fourth: The continual need for training, improvement and higher standards in the extension workers themselves. As an extension program grows and develops, it requires better trained and more skilled workers throughout. And, as the rural people grow and develop, they expect proportionately better trained people to work with them. As the extension workers improve, the methods are improved as well, and results are much greater in proportion to the effort put forth.

In America expenditures of public money in agricultural education, in research and extension education with rural people, are looked upon more or less as a permanent national investment paying dividends as the years go by, rather than a kind of expenditure which is annually consumed so to speak, and lost in the past. This investment in the development of rural people can almost be compared with an investment, for example, in an irrigation system which goes on and produces new wealth from year to year.

I am by no means arguing that all social change and increased agricultural wealth in my country is the result of extension education. What I am saying is that it has been an important and indispensable element in a complex of things which have made our agriculture more efficient and productive and our nation much better off than it was two generations ago.

I am deeply impressed by the work of India's Planning Commission, by the careful and constructive thought that its Vice-Chairman and other members have given to the place of community development, and by the constructive manner in which they have provided for the welfare of village cultivators in the nation's economic and social structure. The same may be said of the Community Projects Administration at the Centre, of the State Development Commissioners, and of the staff in the blocks.

In closing let me point out two institutions in India's community development program that will have worldwide significance.

The first is the concept of evaluation of the work of the community projects and national extension blocks, through the Program Evaluation Organization in the Planning Commission. I know of only one other great new public program in the whole world that has had the benefit of the continuing evaluation processes of its plans, its activities and its development from year to year. It is gratifying to know that this evaluation is looked upon as a friendly and constructive activity which involves both research and education. India's evaluation program is endeavouring

to make a scientific concentrated analysis of current operations and policy which will light the way for the policy makers and administrators to make improvements from year to year. It also informs the public, so that public opinion and the legislative processes may have the understanding that insures progress in democratic government.

The other development of great significance is the plan, now under study, for the establishment of a National Centre or Institute for higher studies and training in the field of community development. My confidence in the growth and effectiveness of community development in India has been further strengthened in learning of this proposed Institute. It will bring the basic resources of social sciences and of research to bear on the basic problems of the community development program. Through seminars and workshops it will make available to the administrative officers at the centre and in the states, and to the important policy makers and program planners wherever they may be, the best that research and science has to offer on community development.

The effect of these two influences on a dynamic growing movement like community development in India cannot be overestimated. They will not only benefit the rural people of India but will be a great contribution to rural welfare throughout the world.