

# RURAL INDIA

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“Salvation of India lies in Cottages.”

—MAHATMA GANDHI

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## CHANGING PHASE OF INDIAN POLITICAL LIFE

WITH the rise of Military Dictatorship in the neighbouring countries, the question that intimately concerns every patriotic Indian is that of political future of this country. Will Democracy survive in India is now a big question mark? Whatever may be the contention of those in authority the functioning of Democratic form of Government in this country during the last 12 years have turned the people sceptic about its future and the chances of its survival are very poor indeed.

Conditions that determine successful functioning of democracy viz: enlightened and well-informed electorate, political maturity and inner discipline among the people are largely lacking in this country. Rather than slow and natural evolution of democratic way of life, as one finds in the case of U.K. and U.S. A., it has been more or less an imposition by the present leaders of the Congress against unfavourable conditions and political immaturity of the vast masses of people in this country.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Democratic form of Government adopted in this country has become a stinking pool of corruption, exploitation, mal-administration and nepotism of the worst type, creating all-round depression and unwanted climate of national failure and frustration. In the hands of self-seeking

politicians, who are out to exploit the ignorance of the masses to fulfil their own personal ambitions, it has become an instrument for power and profit to the members of the ruling party while vast masses of people have been made to suffer a life of continued privations, oppressions, unemployment and hopelessness. Obviously, a political system that has failed to give good and efficient administration to the country, increased miseries of the people and corrupted the society as a whole during these many years stands self-condemned and needs to be changed.

Signs are not wanting on the political horizon of India that the present democratic structure is already cracking and may collapse anyday. A period of political confusion and anarchic conditions appears to be round the corner.

Why, in many parts of the country lawlessness and insecurity of life and property have already become a normal feature of life and the people seem to have lost faith in the capacity of the present administration to check it. In our own area in Madhya Pradesh thefts, decoities and murders are just usual occurrences and well-to-do and moneyed class of people, finding their life and property unsafe in rural areas, are increasingly migrating to towns and cities.

## SOME ASPECTS OF BHOODAN YAGNA

Harassment accompanied with extortions of the police and other branches of the administration have made the people sick of their present existence. And, in the agony of their soul, the people look up to fresh set of leadership to change the present mal-administration which has made their life an unending essay on misery and sufferings.

### Benevolent Dictatorship

Conditions in India, such as they are, do not hold prospects for the survival of Democracy for long and a change is inevitable and imminent. A political change that has already overtaken most of the Asian countries with similar conditions and background, such as ours, cannot for long be delayed in the case of this country. But for love of power and prestige, those in authority refuse to read these signs on the horizon, which appear to be only human.

Party-system, under whatever nomenclature has been found by experience to be the source of unmitigated evil which breeds factionalism, disunity and undermines the spirit of co-operative effort essentially needed for the development of the country. The psychology of our people, who have for centuries lived under "Colonial Rule" of the foreigners

is one to follow the dictum of an Authority rather than to think, decide and act for themselves on their own initiative and this can only be changed in the course of generations. Practical alternative under undeveloped conditions and political immaturity of our people, therefore, lies in the authoritative personal rule—call it Benevolent Dictatorship if you like—and not in the democratic structure based on party system.

Benevolent Dictatorship or the institution of 'King' is in conformity with the time-honoured traditions of this country and is ingrained in the very psychology of our people. There must be someone above them, whom they should reverentially honour and follow, has been our old Indian tradition. And, if India's peculiar problems are to be solved in consonance with the psychology and genius of the people, the solution of the problem of Good and Efficient Government in the country will only come through the revival of the institution of 'King' or 'Benevolent Dictator'. That has been India's tradition from times immemorial and, we have no doubt, that the genius of the race will assert itself, whether those in authority today, who are prone to imitate West, may like it or not.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF BHOODAN YAGNA

By : S. S. GUPTA

ACHARYA Vinoba Bhave, the saint follower of Mahatma Gandhi, launched a countrywide movement in 1951 to rehabilitate the land-less agricultural labourers on the land itself. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things to closely examine this movement and estimate its real impact on the land-less agricultural labourers for whom it has been launched.

The land-less labourers have several problems, the outstanding being the scarcity of employment opportunities, specially for the whole year. Vinobaji thought that if he can collect the donations of land from the land-owners at the rate of one sixth of their land-holdings<sup>1</sup> he will be able to rehabilitate all the

1. Suresh Rama Bhai, Vinoba and his Mission,

82.72 million land-less labourers<sup>2</sup> and provide them with sufficient work and income for the whole year.

Upto March 25, 1954, i. e., in a period of three years, Vinoba Bhave and his disciples could collect only 2.7 million acres of land.<sup>3</sup> Seeing the number of land-less labourers and the rate at which they are increasing, the rate of increase being more than 2.8% per annum,<sup>4</sup> the pace of land collections appears to be slow. So, it can safely be said that it is doubtful whether Vinobaji will be able to provide even one acre land<sup>5</sup>, which is his aim, to each land-less agricultural labourer. This gets established when the Survey of 24 villages of the district of Aligarh showed that not a single acre of land was donated to Vinoba Bhave from these villages though there are land-less-labourers and they are multiplying at the rate of 2.8% per annum.

Even if for the sake of argument it is wielded that Vinobaji will be able to collect sufficient land for all the land-less agricultural labourers, there are other difficulties which are coming up in the way of rehabilitation of these labourers. The first difficulty is that Vinobaji is not able to collect sufficient land in each village for the land-less labourers of that village. The present survey of the twenty four villages is a pointer towards this difficulty as it was noticed that not an inch of land could be collected by Bhoodan workers from these villages though they had quite a large number of land-less labourers. Not only this, the survey also revealed that additional land could not be secured for these labourers even from the adjoining villages. Hence, the only alternative

appears that such land-less labourers should be persuaded to migrate from their home villages to those villages, whether far or near, where Vinobaji and his followers are able to collect surplus land. But the study of mobility goes to show that man is the most difficult commodity to move. So, at least, it can be said that Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna can rehabilitate only a fraction of the land-less population.

This doubt gets confirmed when another fact comes to light. It has been pointed out by many eminent personalities that 40% of the land collected in donations<sup>6</sup> is, either unfit for cultivation or is so poor that it will never be an economically sound proposition to reclaim it. Vinobaji seems to be aware of this fact as he himself admitted it in his own style: "To my mind, no land can be called useless. I will make full use of even the poorest quality of land, even the rocky tracts and the hills."<sup>7</sup> Again, "It is interesting to know that most of the poor quality of land has been donated not by the poor but by the rich. It is a curious phenomenon, that God has made the hearts of the poor rich and of the rich poor."<sup>8</sup> So, even if the required land is collected, it is not feasible to properly rehabilitate all the land-less labourers.

Now the question that arises is whether even those lucky land-less labourers, who are able to get land with the help of Bhoodan Yagna, will be able to start cultivation? This doubt arises because these labourers have neither money, nor agricultural implements, nor the resources to raise them. Vinobaji seems to be conscious of this problem for he

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. On the basis of the survey of 24 villages of the District of Aligarh.

5. Suresh Rama Bhai, V. H. M.

6. The Hindustan Times published a series of Articles by Mira Ben, Malkani Touchstone and others who were of this opinion.

7. S. R. Bhai, V. H. M.

8. Ibid.

has started demanding a number of new *Dans* such as *Dhan Dan* (money) *Koopdan* (wells) *Bail Dan* (bullocks); and even *Buddhi Dan* (advice). Naturally, in this materialistic world, where love for matter is growing daily, to collect all the necessary implements and money for such a large number of agricultural labourers is neither possible nor very desirable as it will involve giant efforts by thousands of workers for years together. If all this energy, enthusiasm and money is used for providing alternative and better means of employment such as crafts, then the agricultural workers can be rehabilitated more speedily and the country will also be benefited more.

What will be the economic effect on the land-less labourers, who will be given land by *Vinobaji*, is another question to be studied. Unfortunately in the 24 villages covered by the Survey, not a single person could be found who was given land and all the other necessary help—Bullocks, plough, seeds, money etc.—by the *Bhoodan Yagna*. So, it is not possible to study this aspect very scientifically. However, a guess can be made in this direction

The All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee Report of 1951 tells us that on an average, land-less agricultural labourers in Western U. P. are employed for 273 days, 251 days in agriculture and 22 days in non-agricultural labour.<sup>9</sup> Now the question that arises is: Will the land-less labourer, after becoming owner of one acre of land, be able to remain gainfully employed for greater number of days than at present? It appears to be doubtful because of several facts. Firstly, the cultivation of one acre of land, when the methods and resources of cultivation remain almost the same as of other farmers, will not

keep its owner busy for 251 days in a year. It is guessed by competent persons that cultivation of one acre of land will hardly keep a person busy for 100 days.

Secondly, the new owner of the land will be busy on his own land when he will be required by others. So, neither he will be in a position to take up other farmer's work nor the farmers will be enthusiastic in engaging such a person. Thirdly, the psychology of the new land-owner will undergo a change. Most probably he will not like to work as hired labourer due to his raised social status. All this is likely to keep the new land-owner gainfully employed for lesser number of days than when he was employed as a land-less labourer.

What will happen to the income of the new land-owner? I enquired from a few land-owners of the 24 villages about their conservative estimate of income which one acre of land can give. Most of them were of the opinion that if irrigation facilities are available then with some luck anything between Rs. 800/- to Rs. 1,000/- can be earned from the land alone and in case no irrigation facilities are available the income should range between Rs. 400/- to Rs. 600/-.

In addition to this income from land, normally the farmer will keep a cow and a buffallow and will be able to earn through them about 300/- rupees a year. So, the total emoluments per year should be in the proximity of a thousand or so. But most probably this will be the combined income of the whole family.

The Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee Report tells us that on an average the annual income in Western U. P. of a casual labourer family is Rs. 538/-, of Attached Labour family Rs. 624/- and of all families Rs. 550/-.<sup>10</sup>

9. Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee Report, Vol II. P. 15

10. Ibid P. 25.

## REFLECTIONS ON PLANNING IN PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

It can, therefore, be said without fear of contradiction, that the income of the land-less labourers families, who will get land, will increase and so their standard of living will also go up.

Agricultural labourers have several other problems than employment and income. For example, Giri Committee tells us that the consumption pattern of the labourers is not ideal; that the problem of child and women labour needs proper tackling, that credit facilities are to be improved, etc. etc. Vinobaji, it appears, have not given any thought to these problems. So, to expect that Bhoodan Yagna will solve all these problems of the land-less agricultural labourers, is rather too ambitious.

How Bhoodan Yagna will effect the economic condition of those agricultural labourers, who will not be able to get land, is another important aspect to be studied. Unfortunately, here too, the first hand information based on actual survey work is missing. So, reliance is to be made on the information available and the faculties of imagination.

The demand for and the supply of the land-less labourers will be influenced by Bhoodan Yagna. And both these things are bound to influence the employment level. For example, if land is being donated to Vinobaji by those farmers who were engaging labourers for getting their lands cultivated then the demand for labourers is bound to go down. But here, at the same time the supply of labourers will also decrease as those land-less labourers who will get gifts will not probably like to serve at all or to the extent they were

doing before. Again, if the land was donated by those farmers who were not engaging labourers, then the demand for labourers will remain the same but the supply of them will go down. It can, therefore, be said that Bhoodan Yagna will influence the employment opportunities available for the land-less labourers. This will depend upon: (a) who have donated the land and (b) how much the new land-owners are anxious to work as hired labourers.

Vinobaji and his disciples have repeatedly stated that "God has made the heart of rich poor and of the poor rich" implying thereby that bulk of land gifts received are from poor farmers. Probably, it was because of this reason that Vinobaji decided not to accept gifts from very poor farmers. If it be so, it can be guessed that Bhoodan Yagna will not reduce the demand for labourers to a great extent while it will decrease the supply of labourers sufficiently. The result will be that the employment opportunities available for land-less labourers will go up; and with them the wage rate will also record a change for better. All this will have gainful influence on the remaining land-less labourers.

In conclusion it can be said that (a) Bhoodan Yagna will not be able to rehabilitate all the land-less labourers; (b) those who will get land might remain less employed but their total family income will go up, and (c) those who will not be able to get land might also gain employment opportunities and wage rate may go up.

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## REFLECTIONS ON PLANNING IN PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

By: Prof. C. L. KHANNA

DEMOCRATIC planning as distinguished from totalitarian planning hinges for its success, by and large, on peoples' co-operation. In a country like India, where 84 out of every 100 souls are steeped in ignorance, illiteracy and indifference to environments stemming

from poverty and centuries-old slavery, the role of the intelligentsia in the propagation of the means and methods of raising the living standards cannot be over-emphasised. It was in this context that Mr. S. N. Mishra, Union Deputy Minister for planning, invented, some

three years ago, the idea of organising Planning Forums at the University or State levels and in the colleges. In April 1956, when the First All-India Conference of these "plan-conscious cells" was held at New Delhi, there were only about 70 Forums. Since then, the forums spread their net of thought and action far and wide. During the short span of about 2½ years of the First Conference, the number multiplied to more than four-fold. No less than 300 forums have come into life by now. Out of these 171 are 'active forums' and only 17—that is 5 percent of the total number—are recognised as 'most active' ones. The expansionist tendency among the forums is sufficiently perceptible like any other movement. But the need is to improve their quality and to consolidate the progress achieved so far. The forums are required to become research-conscious as also plan-conscious. At the Second All-India Conference held in the third week of December, 1958, only the cream of the forums was represented. The Conference may well serve both as a springboard for this much-needed liaison between the people and the planners and as a cementing force.

The Second Conference like its predecessor, was inaugurated by Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Chairman of the Planning Commission, and was presided over throughout its four-day long deliberations by Mr. S. N. Mishra. In his inaugural address, Mr. Nehru re-iterated the need for perspective and dynamic planning so as, 'to break the back of that type of static economics which pursues an under-developed nation'. According to him there was no way to raise the living standards except by wide-spread industrialization, which required a very good progressive agriculture to give you the wherewithal for industrialization. He tried to explode the myth that democracy

and planning were opposed to each other. The two can co-exist, for democracy of the 20th century is not to be equated with unbridled freedom of the 19th century or of earlier days nor does planning necessarily imply complete regimentation as is experienced in the authoritarian States. The enlargement of the public sector so as to carve out egalitarian society is a prerequisite of planned economic development under democracy.

### Planning Forums' Difficulties

In the session devoted to a review of the progress and functions of the planning forums represented on the Conference the delegates provided a revealing picture of their difficulties and limitations. One was filled, at first sight, with a sense of dismay and despair at such a picture. It was disclosed that the forward march of the forums was retarded by the non-co-operation or the lack of active co-operation on the part of the Government officials at the various levels, by the inadequacy of finances, by insufficient and untimely provision of literature on planning and the absence of incentives for the students and teachers who are called upon to help implement the plans. The 'pontiffs of Planning' felt greatly relieved that decisions had been taken by the Planning Commission to accord recognition to the good work done by the forums by granting them merit certificates and touring and library grants of Rs. 500 and 200, respectively, to 15 selected forums.

The highlights of the last two days of the Conference were a discussion on "Current Economic Situation vis-a-vis the Second Plan" and a seminar on an "Approach to the Third Plan". Out of the 2,500 man-hours invested by the 100 delegates in their four-day deliberations, half the effort was equally shared by these two propositions. Prominent eco-

nomists including Prof. J. J. Anjaria, Prof. B. R. Shenoy, Prof. M. L. Dantwala and Dr. K. N. Raj, besides the teacher and student delegates, participated.

### Current Economic Situation

While the consensus of opinion was critical of the inflationary pressure and the low employment potential generated by the developmental investment during the Second Plan, many of the delegates veered round the view that the present situation of our economy was neither so serious nor so panicky because the forces which gravitated towards a state of crisis had weakened. India had had heartening response to its foreign exchange demands which may help the country in tiding over the present difficulties. The anticipated bumper crop this year may not only curb the soaring spiral of prices but may enable the Government to build up the proposed 2-million ton buffer or reserve stocks. The upswing in prices may thus be arrested if not reversed. The proposed scheme for socialization of wholesale trade in foodgrains was proclaimed as a well-timed measure, although it called for a firm and well-thought-out programme. It was the unanimous view of the Conference that the measure of State-trading was both a challenge and an opportunity for the Government to justify its policy to expand the public sector. Apprehensions were, however, expressed by some that the failure of this scheme would be the last nail in the coffin of the State enterprise and so the Government must proceed with great caution.

It was suggested that the Government should impose a ceiling on gold hoardings as it has done on land-holdings. This coupled with price-ceilings will help promote the end of socialist pattern of society. Prof. Shenoy held that according to his rough estimates there had already been a shift of Rs, 300 to 400

crores in the anti-socialist direction owing to over-investment and over-valuation of the Indian rupee. He reiterated his theme that inflationary investment must be curtailed forthwith.

In order to make the Second Plan more employment-oriented, it was urged by some of the delegates that labour-intensive industries should receive preference over the capital-intensive ones. This view was, however, not shared by the majority as real planning in an under-developed economy postulated the building up of a sound and strong base of heavy industries supported by a thick crust of agriculture. The industrial pattern should be agro-industries in the rural sector and capital goods industries in the urban sector.

### Third Plan

The last two sessions of the Conference devoted to the consideration of the basic fundamentals of the Third Plan provided ample food for thought to the delegates. Although the Second Plan has still two years to run the discussion on the next Plan was not regarded "premature" but timely. The seminar was initiated by Prof. J. J. Anjaria, Economic Adviser to the Government of India and the Planning Commission.

But for one solitary exception of Prof. Shenoy the Conference was of the general view that the Third Plan should be an extension of the Second Plan and that the pattern of outlay should be more or less the same although the aggregate planned expenditure must be very much higher. As the Third and the Fourth Plans will determine the course of our future economy, increased investment in industry, mining and transport must under-line the investment policy of the Government. To achieve the ends dictated by such a schematic course of national action, increasing liabilities in foreign exchange were indispensable. It did not mean that agriculture will be relegated to the background.

"Trade not aid" should be the dominant determinant of our industrial structure. Exports must increase substantially, for they constituted the weakest link in

the next plan. We have not only to lay accent on export-earning goods, but on industries creating more of exportable surplus. Greater sacrifices through lower consumption provided a way out of the malaise. 'Earn your way through larger exports' should be our slogan for the Third plan.

That bigger plan will mean imperilling the democracy, the economy and the Government, was the view expressed by prof. Shenoy. He warned sternly against the repetition of the mistakes made during the Second Plan and asserted that the next Plan must be formulated within the limits set by the available resources.

Dr. K. N. Raj, however, believed that a "fairly big effort" was called for during the Third Plan period firstly to make up the leeway of the Second Plan and secondly to boost up the already low consumption standards. He indicated some new avenues for augmenting finances by levying surcharges on land revenue, on land rents and on commercial crops. Ploughing back the profits from the State enterprises into the industries in the public sector and a reduction of about 50 percent on ceremonial expenditure by private and public bodies were the other fruitful means for Plan-resources.

According to Prof. Dantwala the 'bigness' of our Plans in the future should be not in terms of financial or physical targets although the Third Plan must, of necessity, be bigger than the two previous ones. What we needed most was a "mental revolution", a dedication for building India anew. Unless that came about, democratic planning must end in failure. Such a failure would be due not to defective planning or to democratic set-up of our Government but to a lack of emotional integration. The Universities and the intelligentsia outside must take up the challenge and create a new psychological climate suited to democratic form of planning.

Some of the delegates stressed that the standards of education and ethics must be raised and institutional reforms undertaken; that planning must be done and worked by the Panchayats, the basic administrative units in the six lakh and odd villages only if the mass co-operation were to be enlisted. Almost in the same vein Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, addressed the delegates and enjoined them to carry the message of the Plan to every home in the village. While these views reflected the agreement of the attending forums, it was generally felt that the existing institutions at the lower rung of the ladder were not well-equipped to formulate any Plans. Every forum was, therefore, charged with the responsibility of making an appraisal of the available and potential resources in the rural and urban areas within their jurisdiction and suggest methods for their utilization in order to meet the needs of the people at large.

The delegates upheld the view that the Third Plan will have a bigger content of foreign exchange because firstly the capital-intensive industries now in progress must be completed, secondly more of such industries will have to be set up and thirdly the incidence of interest and capital repayment of the past debts will slice off our export-earnings.

Seminars and discussions apart, the delegates, especially the students, told me how they were imbued with a renewed inspiration and the spirit to work the present and the future plans. It is to be hoped that the new desires and aspirations kindled in the minds of the young students and teachers through their contacts will continue ablaze ever reminding them of their duty towards the country, the nation and the Government. Such Conferences, it is believed, have a great educative value and therefore the deliberations concluded with a decision that they may be held annually at State levels, in collaboration with the State Executive Committees of Planning Forums.



# PLANNING EXPERT IN OUR VILLAGE

By: G. B. SIRDESHPANDE

I was once sitting on the outer Katta (Platform) of a well-to-do villager, discussing current topics of the day. In the meanwhile, a barefooted young man with silk Kurta (shirt) and unkempt hair passed by the road.

"Do you know who he is?" questioned my host. I said "I do not recollect".

The villager began: "He is the son of a well-to-do gentleman, who had expired. This young man is the planning expert in our village".

I questioned: "What has he done to get this nick-name?"

Then the villager began to narrate the adventures of the planning expert.

"This young man was the only son of his father. His father did his best to give his son the best of education. His son had induced him to keep him in Bombay for College education to pick up the most modern ideas to make the best of life thereby. Though the father was extremely reactionary in all his behaviour and thought, he allowed his son to educate himself in Bombay. His father was proverbially reactionary in his life and economic thought. He would not spill a drop of ink from his pen, nor would he purchase anything by paying money. He insisted on being self-sufficient. He would eat only that which was grown in his fields. He would dress in the cloth, self spun and woven in the villages. Whatever money came in his house, it scarcely went out. He thereby accumulated a lot of money with him. When his son grew up he made way for it in the matter of his education.

The son began to talk of wonderful modern conveniences in Bombay and talk of big things for himself. The old

man began to feel nervous about the safety of his property and often admonished his son on the virtues of prudence.

"No, No," the son would say: "man should become 'over-ambitious'."

When the son had half finished his College education, his father died-leaving a lot of saving from his miserable living. The son became heir to his father's property. He had heard and read of five year plans, big adventure in the national development. All his reading and talks heard had enraptured him. He thought he too must make grand *Three Year Plans* to bring about quick wonders in his way of living.

He had a big stream running through his fields. He thought of building a Bandhara over it and secure irrigation for 40 acres of his holding. His mother admonished him not to put his hand to such big things immediately. "The bandhara itself will cost a great deal. Then to condition the irrigable land of 40 acres is a stupendous task. Further to grow 40 acres of irrigated crop requiring a lot of manure—all these are beyond your present capacity. You must first put your money to schemes which will begin to pay simultaneously with the investment. That is the way with the sensible worldly people. Only Badshahas could spend money for brick and mortar to build monuments over their future graves. You will be only throwing away money for stones and mortar—may become a good sight for passers by on the road. Repayment of your investment will not be seen by you."

"I am not a coward" said the son. "I shall dare and act. Success will come to me". "Whom Gods wish to destroy, first

turn him mad", expressed his mother. "At least ensure that I and your wife will get enough food and clothing till your plans start bearing fruits" wailed his mother.

"Why! You shall have a concrete building with a radio and refrigerator in the house in a short time" replied the son.

"Do as you please," said his mother. "But mine is the voice of experience. Ours is the hard earned money—saved through starvation living and undergoing many privations. It should not be wasted to flatter your vanity".

"You have not seen and felt what Big Business is" expressed the son.

"Your Big Business must be an organic growth and not be exotic" meekly submitted his mother.

The son only expressed pity for his mother's ignorance and went on with his first Three-year Plan with great enthusiasm and buoyancy.

### First Three-year Plan

The planner started the building of a cement bandhara over the stream to irrigate 40 acres of land with one stroke. There was not enough cement in the neighbouring town. He ordered wagon loads of cement from distant places, thereby enhancing the cost of cement. He brought concrete experts from Bombay. He ordered a stone breaker and a concrete mixture. The work took more than 3 years to finish. In the meanwhile, water had remained stagnant and unused. The land had to be levelled for irrigation purpose. It had to be freed from weeds before receiving irrigation. Since his attention was reverted on the bandhara work, he was not able to do anything to fit the land for making use of irrigation facilities. The land became vigorously weedy by the time the bandhara was ready. The cost of bandhara far exceeded his estimate. It

required a lot of further investment to make good his work. Much of his ardour had cooled down since it was not yielding. His mind was perplexed.

### Second Three-year Plan

At this time, another expert met him to give advice. He was a business man. He began to tutor that agricultural investment was not paying. Now, he should turn his attention to industry. The expert was a goods truck owner. He wanted to dispose of his trucks which were working on petrol. He had visioned Diesel Oil trucks would be coming in vogue. It was no use keeping petrol trucks. So he wanted somebody to purchase his trucks and get him rid of his outmoded product. This business expert began to harangue that truck transport business was very profitable. There would be money running in his hands everyday. The return was quick and simultaneous with investment. Till he got experience, the expert would manage the concern on his behalf.

This village boy blindly believed in the clever expert. The expert condescended to receive only half the price of the trucks in advance and the rest subsequently. The expert volunteered to manage the business on behalf of the purchaser for sometime till the latter got enough experience in the business. The trucks had remained bare without tyres. New tyres had to be purchased. Many other accessories had to be replaced. After that, the trucks started working. In the meanwhile Diesel Trucks had made their appearance in the locality. Their owners began to quote lower rates for the goods traffic. They were also carrying greater loads. The result was goods traffic began to dwindle for this concern. Deficit began to be felt in running the trucks alone. Credit had begun to mount up with petrol pumps, spare part dealers and host of others.

The trucks began to remain idle. The pay of the drivers and cleaners began to remain unpaid. The receipts used to be nil in the hand, while everybody clamoured for his salary and outstandings. He realised since it was a business requiring many men of his own at key places, it was not possible to run it on paid servants, who sought a share in all incomes and payments. So, he thought of retiring from that business. There was no bidder for the trucks. The trucks became a dead stock with him, demanding housing rent from him. One day, in disgust, he sold away the trucks with spare parts etc. to a scrap iron dealer. He was relieved. He heaved a sigh of relief.

Next, he would not acknowledge defeat. His vanity would not allow it. He thought he should venture into a business where his supervision alone would be sufficient to manage the business. Such a business was cotton ginning and flour mill combined in the village. There was such a combined plant in the village itself. It was set up by a bania. Our planning expert approached him to ascertain if he would take him as a partner in the concern. The bania had a grocery shop of his own. He was sick of working this factory on irresponsible hired technicians. He was only waiting for such a person to recover as much of his investment as possible. It was arranged that the planning expert was to pay half the expenses incurred in setting up the plant. The rest was to be paid in subsequent years. The internal management of keeping the shed in working order was to be looked into by the planning expert. External management of supplying fuel oil and spare parts was to be done by the bania. Everyday collection should be credited in bania's shop. A bania's servant should be the cashier in the shed. This arrangement was to

continue till half the money still to be paid had been cleared off. In this way, the planning expert became sweeper, watchman, manager of his own concern. The external expenses began to exceed the aggregate of daily receipts. What was to be done?

### Third Plan

The planning expert began to hunt for creditors who would advance money to help him to purchase the remaining half share. When people once came to know that he had exhausted all his capital resources, even sleeping creditors rose up. They also began to ask him for their outstandings. In this way, his third plan has been to find out new creditors. Out of his three three-year plans, he had only piled up worries, anxieties and creditors. His agriculture has suffered on account of paucity of working capital and lack of supervision and attention."

This story moved me to see the mother of the infatuated young man and hear her on the adventures of her son. I approached her house and had a soothing talk with her. She only expressed in tears "We have lost what we had accumulated. Even ordinary food and clothing have become uncertain to us. My son, as in the fable, like a frog tried to inflate himself into a bull; he burst."

The son was also in the house. He met me. I expressed "What have you done? You have ruined your family." "Yes" replied the young man with his head bent. "My plans failed because they were play of fancies. They were quixotic. Planning must be only a direction for easy growth. Planning must be based on our inherent resources—physical, moral and mental. A heavy structure thrust on weak basis and slender supports is bound to collapse."

"What now" I asked.

"Seeking new creditors!" sighed the sad sour young man.

# LABOUR FORCE IN ASIAN COUNTRIES

By: ASHOK MALVIYA

The following distinction between Asia and World Labour Force will show the place of Asian labour.

Year.	Asia	World,
1950	528 million persons belong to labour force. 1,369 million total population i.e. 38.5% of the total labour population.	1,025 million persons belong to labour force. 2,515 million total population i. e. 40.7 % of the total labour population.

The lower proportion of the population in the labour force in Asia can perhaps be explained to a large extent by the fact that the population of Asia is young. As a result of high birth rates in Asian countries (except Japan) the age structure of the population shows a large proportion in the younger age groups

and, consequently, a low proportion in the working age groups. The following is the percentage of population belonging to working ages (15 to 64 years) in selected Asian and other countries of the world, based on their national censuses.

Year.	Asian Countries	Percentage.	Year.	Other Countries	Percentage.
1948	Phillipines	53	1951	U. K.	67
1944	Korea	53	1950	Sweden	67
1953	Taiwan	55	1950	U. S. A.	65
1947	Thailand	55	1947	Australia	67
1947	Malaya	58			
1951	India	58			
1954	Burma	59			
1946	Ceylon	59			
1950	Japan	60			

The result of this low proportion of working age population in Asian countries is the general tendency on the part of persons even outside the working ages to participate the labour force.

The following table shows the size of the population, the labour force and the percentage of the total population constituting the labour force in selected countries.

Population & Size of the Labour Force.

Country.	Year.	Population in millions	Labour force in millions	Percentage of total population in labour force.
Ceylon.	1958	8.09	3.06	37.8
India (a)	1951	356.62	140.69	39.5
Indonesia (b)	1930	60.72	20.81	34.3
Japan	1955	89.30	42.64	47.7
Malaya	1947	4.87	1.90	39.0
Pakistan	1951	73.88	22.69	30.7
Phillipines	1948	19.23	7.41	38.6
South Korea	1949	20.16	7.96	39.5
U. K.	1951	50.22	23.21	46.2
Sweden	1950	7.04	6.10	44.1
U. S. A.	1950	150.69	60.05	39.9
Australia	1954	8.98	3.70	41.2

## LABOUR FORCE IN ASIAN COUNTRIES

(a) Excluding Jammu & Kashmir, the Jullundhar area and the tribal area of Assam.

(b) Formerly known as Netherlands East Indies. (Source I. L. O. Year book of Labour statistics),

### Labour Force in Agriculture

Asia lives in villages or communities each inhabited by a small group of persons. According to the national censuses, the following are the percentages of rural population in selected Asian and other countries of the world.

Year	Country	Percentage.
1947	Thailand	90.1
1953	Mainland China	86.7
1951	Pakistan	88.6
1946	Ceylon	84.6
1951	India	82.7
1949	Korea	80.4
1948	Phillipines	75.9
1947	Malaya	73.5

The following table shows the labour force of Asia and other countries by economic sectors.

### Labour Force (in millions)

Country.	Year	Agricul- ture	Industry	Services	Total	Percentage of labour force in		
						Agr.	Ind.	Services
Ceylon	1946	1.4	0.2	1.0	2.6	53	8	39
India	1951	103.0	13.7	22.6	139.3	74	10	16
Japan	1954	18.0	8.9	13.0	39.9	45	22	33
Malaya	1947	1.2	0.2	0.5	1.9	63	10	27
Pakistan	1951	17.1	1.6	2.8	21.5	79	8	13
Phillipines	1948	4.9	0.5	2.0	7.4	63	7	30
Thailand	1947	7.6	0.2	1.6	8.8	86	2	12
U. K.	1951	1.2	13.3	10.5	23.0	5	49	46
Sweden	1950	0.6	1.3	1.2	3.1	21	41	38
U. S. A.	1950	7.3	21.6	29.5	58.4	13	37	50
Australia	1947	0.5	1.1	1.4	3.0	17	38	45

(Agriculture comprises agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing. Industry comprises mining & quarrying, manufacturing, construction and utilities i. e.

1950	Japan	62.5
1950	U. K.	19.9
1945	Sweden	50.5
1950	U. S. A.	36.0
1947	Australia	31.0

It should be mentioned that the above figures do not allow comparison owing to differences in the rural-urban classification of population in different countries.

### Distinction of Labour Force by economic Sector

The following is the distinction of the pattern of labour force in Asia and the world in 1950.

Asia	World
73% in agriculture	59% in agriculture.
10% in Industry	18% in Industry.
17% in Services	23% in Services.

electricity, gas & water. The services comprises Commerce, Transport, Storage & communications as well as public and private Services).

(Source : International labour review, May 1956 & I. L. O. year book of labour statistics, 1956).

Above statistics shows quite a reverse position from Western Countries i. e. highest proportion of the Labour force is in agriculture & the lowest proportion is in Industry. Even after that if there is any decline in the percentage of labour force in these countries, it is only in services, not in Industry. In India, the position is declining as agriculture is attracting more labourers. Only Japan is competing with more developed western countries as the percentage of agricultural labour has declined from 55 to 45% during 1920-54 and industry has attracted from 21 to 22% during the same period.

### Manufacturing employment

A large portion of manufacturing labourers in Asian countries is directly engaged in the manufacture of consumer goods industry. Out of 23,551 factories in 1955 in India 13,456 i. e. 57% were consumer goods industries and 7,413 i. e. 32% were producer goods industries. 63% of manufacturing labourers were in the former and 31% in the latter.

Another point to be noted in manufacturing industry in Asian countries is that the size of the unit is so small that it provides a very small share of manufacturing employment. This is Clear from the fact given about India where 70% of the total number of factories account for only 13% of Factory employment.

### Employment in factories by size in India

Size of factories according to the number employed	Percentage number of factories	Percentage of employment
1-10	6.7	0.4
10-20	31.4	3.7
20-50	33.3	9.3
50-100	14.3	8.8
100-500	10.6	18.7
500-1000	1.4	8.8
1000-5000	2.1	38.9
5000 & above	0.2	11.4
	100.0	100.0

**Under-Employment**—Seasonal agricultural operation, pressure of the population on land etc. are the common factors for under-employment in Asian countries. The only cure for under employment in these countries is rapid industrialization which will absorb most of the under-employed.

**Unemployed Figures**—The correct statistics of unemployed persons is not known in these countries because very few of them included in their census schedules a question intended to determine the unemployed figures. But some incomplete figures are available for these countries.

### Number of Persons Known To Be Unemployed

Country.	Month	No. of unemployed.	Source
Burma	September 56	2,235	Employment Exchange,
Ceylon	March 57	88,896	Do
India	Aug. 57	8,28,653	Do
Malaya	Dec. 55	11,430	Do
Pakistan	Dec. 56	1,44,557	Do
Japan	Jan. 57	5,70,000	Labour Force Sample Survey

Except Japan where the figure is somewhat correct, other countries reflect only urban unemployment. Employment Exchanges, due to their limited geographical coverage and some other reasons give inadequate information of unemployed. National sample survey on urban unemployment (Sept. 1953) in India estimated 2.3 million persons as unemployed against which only 27% were registered with the employment Exchanges. So to remove this defect of exchanges Labour Force sample Surveys have been started in various Asian countries.

### **Occupational Distribution of Unemployed**

A large proportion of the unemployed in Asian countries, particularly in urban areas, belong to two groups—the clerical and unskilled workers. In fact, the number of unemployed persons belonging to these categories has been fast increasing in recent years, firstly as a result of expanded facilities (educational) and increased out-put of educated boys and girls and secondly as there is little scope for their absorption in clerical employment at a time when the development programmes require to be executed by professional and technical personnel as well as craftsmen. It is essential in these countries to divert new employment seekers from the over-crowded occupations.

### **Employment of the Physically handicapped**

A seminar on the rehabilitation of handicapped, meant for participants from Asia and the Far East was organised by the United Nations, and the Government of Indonesia in co-operation with I. L. O., the World Health Organisation, the World Veterans Federation and the International Society for the welfare of cripples. The seminar was held in Solo, Indonesia from 26th. Aug. to 7th. September 1957. The seminar was attended by the delegates of 13 countries. The seminar discussed the following subjects.

1. Problem of disability.
2. Team work in rehabilitation and the role of various specialists.
3. The medical aspects of rehabilitation.
4. The educational aspects of rehabilitation &
5. The vocational aspects of the rehabilitation.

Despite the difficult employment situation in many Asian countries, encouraging results could be achieved if special efforts are made to place rehabilitated disabled persons in suitable work. These efforts should include educating employers about the abilities of the disabled, the establishment of close co-operation between rehabilitation centres and employment services; the use of probational employment with subsidies being paid to the employer during the initial period; the use of disabled persons in public works.

Self employment for the handicapped is important particularly in countries which are not industrially advanced. In Asian countries with some degree of industrialisation, the introduction of Quota system and designated employment might be helpful. This, however, cannot be successfully done unless there is satisfactory employment survey and rehabilitation facilities are available to prepare the disabled for employment.

**Conclusion:—**From the above study of Asian Labour Force, common features that result are summarised here: There is preponderance of agricultural workers whose under-employment should be solved. From the angle of occupational distribution the problem results in the over crowdedness of clerical and unskilled workers in Urban Areas. Almost all the problems will face new additions to the Labour Force during next two decades. The structure of Labour Force, therefore, is likely to remain stationary even despite efforts to change.

# "AGRICULTURAL SOCIOLOGY"

By: A. N. RAJAMANI

## Introduction

AGRICULTURAL class has come to-day to be the cynosure of all political eyes. It is as much affected in its structural details by the institutional reforms carried on, with a view to strike a balance between economic and social efficiency, as it is by the ever-growing process of urbanization. But the former is comparatively one of recent origin since any radical policy for institutional changes on land has evolved only with the advent of Freedom in India. But the latter has been a process slowly but steadily operating over many generations past with the dawn of British Rule over India. Whereas the institutional reforms have primarily affected the type of relationship between the landlord and the tenant, the State and the agriculturist and the method of farming, urbanization has instilled in the minds of the rural folk an urge for progress and a sense of rationality, in addition to the spread of education and political ideas.

But it is also true that when incomes change under the influence of land reforms, social status also fluctuates. Even habits such as eating a particular type of meal, a given mode of dress, etc. undergo some measure of change. This denotes change in the standard of living. Here urbanization acts as catalyst or accelerator. For instance, dwellings, their structure, features, building materials, area etc. also change in consonance with change in income. Land reforms also affect the attitude of agriculturists, say, towards caste, ethical or moral codes, religious tenets etc. Any caste can handle the plough and this is born out of economic necessity created by land reforms. In place of the tradi-

tional quietism, profit motive begins to operate vigorously. This process is reinforced with the ideas of socialism and communism. With the result, the agricultural class moves away from capitalism and conservatism.

At any rate, the forces generated by institutional reforms and urbanization have definitely affected the agricultural class as a whole in respect of their social, cultural, economic, and political aspects of life. But when all aspects of their life are sought to be changed simultaneously for betterment, there arises an inevitable but not an insurmountable structural conflict. Under the terms of the land reform measures enacted in the Indian States, this structural conflict is interpreted as being symbolic of the birth of a new social class devoted to agriculture.

It is in this context interesting to examine how far the concept of the Socialist Pattern of Society as constituting the ultimate shape of India, enunciated at the Avadi Congress Session and subsequently endorsed by the Indian Parliament, has been given effect to under governmental policies and private efforts. The success of the working of this concept could more easily be discernible in rural India than in urban India for the simple reason that rural India has so far been the fastidious stickler for traditional pattern of life. Hence, any change in it could be easily recognized.

Therefore, this Research Paper—which is in continuation of the previous ones published in the April and July issues of RURAL INDIA — attempts an analysis of the sociological background of the agricultural class with a view to explain any noticeable and new features pertaining



thereto. However, this Paper does not deal with the entire structural development and nature and laws of the agricultural class, as some aspects of it did not fall within the jurisdiction of the limited investigation undertaken purely as an intellectual exercise. This Paper proceeds on a statistical analysis as to how far Rural India has undergone changes with regard to the socio-economic

status of the agriculturists vis-a-vis the different caste groups, so that it would afford a measure with which to ascertain the degree of success or otherwise of the evolution of the casteless and classless society aimed at.

For this purpose, five indicators of social status and four indicators of economic status have been chosen as follows:

**Table I**

Social Status	Economic Status
1. Type of family	1. Average family and per capita holding
2. Size of family	2. Extent of leased out lands
3. Level of literacy	3. Capital formation
4. Family labour	4. Total agricultural production
5. Occupation	

Rankings have been made of the different caste groups in respect of each of the above indicators, and points have been allotted as shown below:

**Table II**

Rank	Points
1	5
2	4
3	3
4	2
5	1

Thus with the help of these indicators, the socio-economic status could be statistically determined. But these indicators should not be taken as complete by themselves to represent the socio-economic status, in view of the fact that certain other indicators such as dwellings, capital other than land etc. did not form part of the investigation. Therefore, although these would not yield a conclusive picture, yet, the picture projected by them would largely be true.

**General conditions**

The three villages of Ambapuram, Prasannaramapuram and Uluthur cover

an area of 2.75 square miles with a total population of 2515 persons according to the 1951 Census. The cultivated area is 1142 acres.

The chief marketing centre is the nearby town of Chidambaram, to which, as a rule, only first sort of paddy goes (as for instance: Sirumani alias Kothamalli Samba, Chingleput Samba and Coimbatore Samba No. 28). The second sort or the rough varieties of paddy go to Kurinjipadi near Cuddalore Town (such as Nellore Samba, Katta Samba, Vadan Samba and Kuruvai). Sometimes, these second sorts of paddy also find a market at Porto Novo, an undeveloped Port on the East Coast. Paddy merchants from distant Salem also come and purchase.

If the paddy is taken by the producer to the mills in towns, known as Mill Delivery, a bag of paddy fetches eight annas more; if it is sold in the village itself, the price is less by that amount. So also if it is sold with gunnies, each bag sells at a rupee more and without gunny a rupee less.

The transportation charge by cart is Rs. 5 per cartload of 10 bags; the charge by lorry is Rs. 50 for a lorryload of 100 bags, which is usually borne by the merchants.

The villages are reachable from Chidambaram Town in either of the following two ways: By bus upto Manjakollai stage (at a distance of nine miles from Chidambaram) and then walk through the fields for about a mile or by bus upto Pinnalur stage on the main road (at a distance of fourteen miles from Chidambaram) and then walk or use a taxi or cart on the country road for about a mile.

The Postal Circle for these are Pinnalur and Vada (North) Thalaikulam. The former is nearer to Ambapuram and the latter to Uluthur and Prasannaramapuram. The nearest Police Station is Bhuvanagiri or Setiatope, each at a distance of five miles.

There are basic elementary schools in all these villages. But the Munsif courts, Tehsil office and Treasury are all located in the town of Chidambaram, the Taluq Headquarters. Provision for Higher and Collegiate education is also available in Chidambaram.

The villages of Uluthur and Prasannaramapuram constitute one Revenue village. But for purpose of convenience of collection of land revenue, separate accounts are maintained. There is only one head man and one accountant for both of them.

Generally one holds land scattered in all these three villages.

There are two Panchayat Boards (one for Ambapuram and the other for Uluthur and Prasannaramapuram) which collect house tax, and taxes on carts and bullocks; in addition they get land cess in proportion to land revenue. In these villages, the Panchayat Boards have set

up community radio sets. But they run no courts, civil or criminal. Now electricity for lighting purposes has also been extended to these villages.

There are two rice mills (one in Ambapuram and the other in Uluthur) with limited capacity catering only to local needs. There are small grocery shops in all villages. However, for large purchases one has to go to Chidambaram Town. Occassionally one goes to Kurinjipadi or Bhuvanagiri too but they are comparatively small towns.

There are no organized cottage or small scale industries. There are no credit facilities available save from private money-lenders. Neither is there any co-operative society for purchasers or sellers.

There is also no medical dispensary either for cattle or human beings. The nearest places for medical attendance are Setiatope, Bhuvanagiri and Chidambaram. Of course, there is a very small veterinary unit in the nearby village of Pinnalur but it is hardly in a position to satisfy the local needs.

There are more than 823 cattle-heads in the surveyed families. The total investment on them is Rs. 91,645. The annual maintenance charges come to Rs. 4,669. Almost all the cattle reared in the surveyed area are work-cattle. Some of the popular breeds are: Umblacherry, Kangeyan and a few other local non-descript varieties. The cattle are generally of very poor physique. As most of the ryots or landholders are living on very poor or meagre incomes, they do not purchase and maintain costly and better breeds. Coupled with this pecuniary limitation is the absence of adequate grazing fields. In fact there are no exclusive pasture grounds. Hay available locally is the main cattle food. But groundnut cakes, cotton seed etc. are

imported. The living conditions of the cattle are very bad and there is much leeway to be made in the direction. The price of livestock is as given below :

**Table III**

A pair of plough bulls	Rs. 150
A pair of cart bulls	Rs. 300
A pair of plough buffaloes	Rs. 100
A country cart alone	Rs. 250

The area surveyed is a paddy swamp and the chief wet crop is paddy. The soil is fertile and black clayey in character. Its low permeability qualifies it to hold more volume of water than other soils. This and sufficient irrigational facilities admirably make these villages a paddy swamp.

In the villages surveyed, on a considerable extent, there is more than one crop. The sowing and transplantation season for single crop is generally between August 15 and first September, and reaping is done by first January. A kani (one acre and thirty-three cents) of single crop yields about 40 to 50 kalams of paddy in a reasonably fertile soil and about 30 to 40 in less fertile soil. The season for double crop commences by first of August. The first course lasts from July fifteen or first August to the end of October as the case may be. The second course starts with first November ending by the end of January. There is no interregnum between the two except for a day or two needed for preliminary operations. Generally in both these crops a kani yields anything between 30 and 40 kalams in each crop. (One kalam is 80 lbs ; 2 kalams make one bag which is 160 lbs. without gunny and 162 lbs. with gunny or 48 Madras Measures, but usually 50 MM equal to 5½ Seers). The first crop in double crop land is Kuruvai and for second crop some finer sorts such as Sirumani, Chingleput Samba are raised.

The extent of dry and garden land in the surveyed area is very meagre. But generally scattered dry lands are sown with chillies, gingelly, cumbu (ragi), maize (cholam) and groundnut. Such crops yield Rs. 100 per acre. The off-season crops are the green and black grams. But all lands are not sown with these. However, these wherever sown yield about Rs. 50 an acre. At times green manure is also raised.

The Japanese method of cultivation is not at all in vogue. Only the traditional method is adopted. Scientific manure is not unknown but is sparingly used. The ryots were complaining to the Investigator that although the use of chemical manures immediately augmented production, yet, the produce lacked natural taste and secondly the soil got disintegrated too much, with the result, the fertility was blown out. Generally one acre of land is applied with 10 cartloads of farmyard manure, at the rate of 5 cartloads a day, occupying 2 men for 2 days. The transportation charge is Rs. 3 per cart for one day.

The seed rate is 2 kalams per kani or 1½ kalams per acre. One bag of good variety of seeds costs Rs. 25.

The implements of husbandry in general use are the ordinary country wooden plough, the spade, the hoe, the sickle and the parambu or the leveller which is a long smooth plank with a chain or rope attached to it to smooth and level the surface of the paddy field. The cost of the various agricultural implements is as follows:

**Table IV**

Plough	Rs 5	Lasts 2 agricultural seasons
Sickle	Rs 1	-Do-
Spade	Rs 3	-Do-

No other mechanical contrivance is in use in these villages.

An acre of wet land costs between Rs 1500 and Rs 2000; and dry land between Rs 500 and Rs 700.

The following Table shows the cultiva-

tion cost for one kani. It gives figures of wage rates for men and women, and labour days necessary for various stages of cultivation :

Table V

Nature of work	Men		Women		Men Wages	Women Wages
	No.	Days	No.	Days		
Ploughing	3	3	-	-	Rs 15-75 nP	-
Spading	4	1	-	-	7-00	-
Levelling	2	1	-	-	3-50	-
Sowing	1	1	-	-	1-75	-
Transplanting	5	1	10	1	8-75	12-75
Weeding	-	-	6	1	-	7-50
Manuring	2	2	-	-	7-00	-
Harvesting	10	1	-	-	17-50	-
Threshing	4	1	2	1	7-00	2-50
Winnowing	2	1	2	1	3-50	2-50
Transporting	2	1	-	-	3-50	-
Total	35	13	20	4	77-25	25-00
Grand Total					Rs. 102-25 nP	

The wage rate is generally Rs. 1-75 for one male adult per day and Rs. 1-25 for one female adult per day. This does not include the cost of mid-day meals served. If the wage is paid in kind, the rate is 2 Marakals for one male adult worker and 1½ Marakals for one female adult worker. (one marakal is 1/24th of a bag or 6 2/3 lbs. Child labour is not widely prevalent. At times small children are employed for driving away stray cattle from the fields.

On an average the consumption rate of rice is about 10 kalams per individual for an year. The total consumption for 115 families is of the order of 220.8 tons valued at Rs. 68019. This leaves a surplus of 633.3 tons for marketing. People of lower strata, although whose consumption on the face of the Schedule was given out to be paddy, generally sell out their paddy obtained in kind for wages and use cheaper varieties of food articles such as cumbu, cholam etc.

There are many land legislations in force in Madras State intended primarily to stabilise the economy through stabilising the ryots. The following State enactments govern the agricultural classes of the surveyed region at present.

(1) Payment of Agricultural Debts Act, according to which debts contracted prior to October 1953 are repayable in four yearly instalments in July every year;

(2) Tenants' Protection Act, under which the tenants are not to be evicted for a period of years, generally 2 years as it is subsequently enacted now, upto end of 1958 ;

(3) The Fair Rent Act fixes the sharing of crops in the proportion of 60% the tenants and 40% to the landlords. The final stage of agrarian reform to be undertaken by the State is fixing of ceiling of landholdings. At any rate, leaving apart the merits or demerits of these

enactments, it may be said, that many of the tenants investigated desire to continue their tenancy under old conditions because of the flexibility of credit accommodation from their landlords, whereas under the new acts, they get something immediately and nothing more in times of emergencies. In fact these acts are observed more in violation than in practice.

**Statistical Tables and Discussion  
Family**

In all, the Survey covered 115 families consisting of 653 members. Of these adults (an adult is defined as above the age of eighteen, this age inclusive) number 420 and children 233. Of the children 116 are males and 117 females. Of the adults 217 are males and 203 females. In the total population covered, 333 are males and 320 are females. Considering that there are about fifteen families without children but in which the possibility of begetting children cannot be ruled out, it may be said that there is no maladjustment of the sex proportions in the population.

**Type of Family**

All families have been divided into two types: Elementary family and Joint family consists of a husband and wife plus unmarried children; a joint family includes more than one elementary family, say, a family of parents with married sons and daughters with their wives, husband, children etc. holding common undivided property). Such a distinction will inform us with regard to the tenability of the argument that Joint family is nowadays breaking. The Table given below deals with this :

**Table VI**

Type of Family	Total No. of Families	Per Cent
Elementary	72	62.6
Joint	43	37.4
Total	115	100.0

Indeed it is a fact related by the foregoing Table that joint family system among the rural people is breaking. The ratio of elementary to joint family is 1.63:1. This shows that the elementary system is fast becoming the order of the day.

But joint family system has always implied a co-operative outlook. This implies, in relation to land, equal sharing of profits and losses ; it denotes large agricultural holdings with the built-in economies of large scale and large volume of agricultural production. Hence, when the joint family system is breaking away, the element of co-operation immanent in the system is slowly subjected to the process of atomization. In other words, it is likely to create cleavages in the rural families; distrust grows and confidence wanes away; agricultural holdings get fragmented in addition to their already being sub-divided under the Hindu Law of Inheritance. Probably this explains why in relation to farming operations, co-operation has had little or no success in India or for that matter anywhere else in the world.

The reasons for the disintegration of the joint family may be many, the chief of them being, however, urbanization and institutional changes on land. When a particular village falls within the range of effects of urbanization, many persons from this particular village are drawn towards towns by reason of the greater employment opportunities therein, higher wage structure, more social amenities etc. This migration to urban areas may be of whole families (either elementary or joint) or just some members only. At any rate, the joint family is bound to break and the long term effect is creation of more elementary families. But how does it affect land? The existing pressure of population on land is diminished. It is also true that

the migrating folk usually consist only of the able bodied, the skilled and the young. Therefore, land comes to be manned solely by the aged and the unskilled. This is likely to tell upon the volume of production.

Land reforms also tend to break up the traditional joint family system. Their chief objectives are security of tenure, increased wage rates, share in agricultural produce etc. Because of this, some people, owing to their increased level of income, may now prefer individual tenements. This is automatically reflected on the land economy. The total availability of credit to these individuals, who have become separate, may not be as much as it was before when they were part of the joint family; for a sizable part of their credit will be absorbed by the creation of new family dwellings, and other expenses connected with them. Hence, as far as land is concerned, the total capital formation will shrink. As a result of this, the level of production may fall. But this may only be a short term effect. In the long run, perhaps, things might get adjusted.

However, the fact remains, that the cost of production per unit of land goes up with the fragmented tiny holdings. This may bring down capital formation still further, unless government steps in with suitable machinery to compensate for the loss of capital formation incidental to the disintegration of the joint family system.

Therefore, the conclusion is, that land economy stands to being adversely affected by the increase in the number of elementary families in the agricultural sector, in the absence of suitable rural credit agencies to supply capital speedily and cheaply.

#### Size of Family.

The average size of family works out to be 5.7 But there are 53 families with

334 members falling in the group consisting of members between 5 and 8. The following Table reveals this:

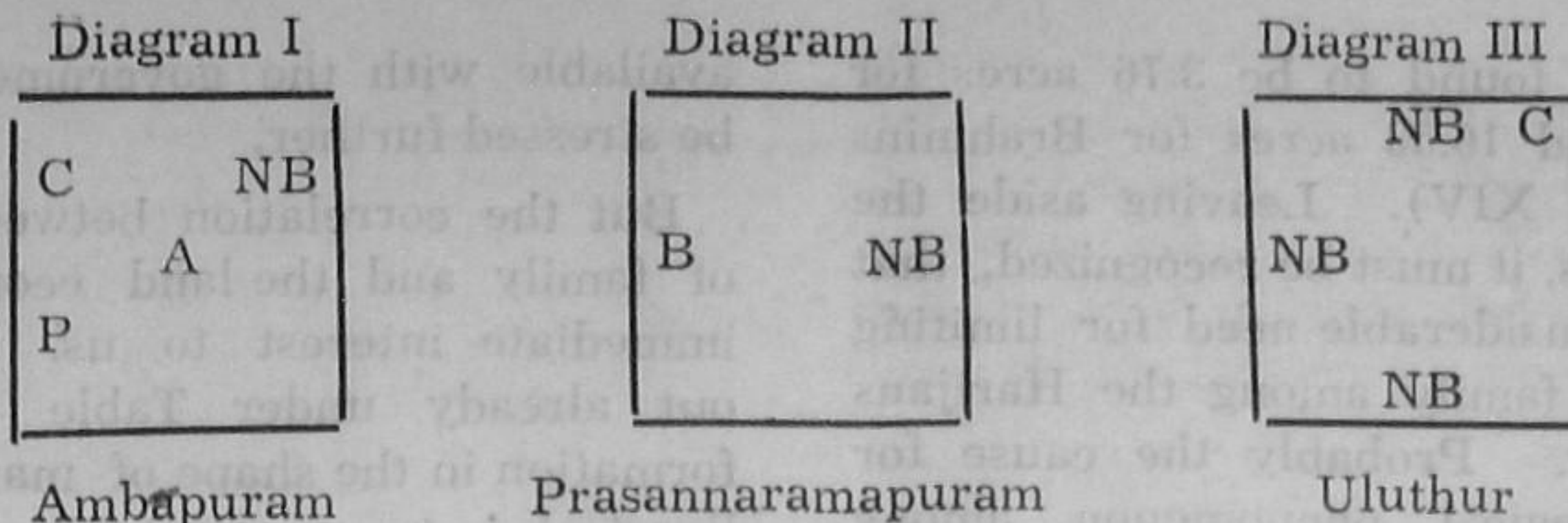
Table VII

Class Interval	Number of Families	Numbers of Members
1—4	43	142
5—8	56	334
9-12	12	119
13-16	3	41
17 & above	1	17
Total	115	653

This Table stresses the need for limitation of family size. As will be seen later under Table VIII, most of the families now falling in the 5-8 class interval are from the Harijan castes and some from the Brahmin and the Pillai castes. If the size of the families goes on unchecked, it means not only lowering of the standard of living but also pressure being increased on land in the absence of sufficient urban vacancies for absorbing them for which again they may require special technical training etc. Even though the problem could be interpreted as each additional member being not only a mere consumer but also a potential producer as well, still the time-lag, which is an essential aspect of production ability, must be reckoned with. Therefore, in the short run, if the existing standard of living at least of the families falling in the second class interval is to be maintained, family planning will have to be strictly adhered to. Therefore, social reformers and the government should immediately address themselves to this problem.

#### Situation of Caste Groups

The sites assigned for the various castes comprising the villages have undergone no change since time immemorial. The following Diagrams show the situation of the localities in which the various caste groups live :



Note : C: Cherrys where Harijans live.

A : Agraharams where Brahmins reside.

NB : Streets where Non-Brahmins live.

The first Diagram shows the Brahmin locality situated right in the heart of it. In the second, Western portion has been allotted to the Brahmins and the Eastern portion to the other castes. The third village has no Brahmin house. The situation of the caste localities thus persists even to this day as it was originally planned and it only suggests that

people still believe somewhat in the caste distinctions.

The gravity of this social problem of eradication of caste distinction could be well understood if we keep in mind that these caste distinctions and situation of caste localities in the rural areas persist against the background of so much of efforts of social reformers. At any rate, the caste difference is not as rigorous now as in the past before the advent of Freedom.

### INDICATORS OF SOCIAL STATUS

#### Caste and Family

#### Family Size

The Table furnished below shows the total number of families categorised under the different caste groups :

Table VIII

Caste	Total Number of Families	Total Number of members	Average Membership per family	Rank
Brahmins	8	53	6.62	2
Pillais	38	195	5.13	5
Padayachis	53	295	5.5	4
Harijans	5	42	8.4	1
Others	11	68	6.1	3
Total	115	653	5.7	-

Padayachis are the preponderant caste group in the villages. The next is the Pillais. 'Others' include sub-castes such as Veerasaivaites, Pandithars, Kammalans, Dhobis, Yadavars, Chettiars and Roman Catholic Christians.

This Table may be taken as indicating the rate of birth among the many castes

which has a telling effect on the standard of living of the respective castes. Among Harijans the average size of the family is as much as 8.4. The next is the Brahmin group averaging 6.62 per family. Nevertheless, the difference is striking. At the same time, if we compare the average family acreage between these two caste

groups, it is found to be 3.76 acres for Harijans and 16.53 acres for Brahmins (vide Table XIV). Leaving aside the other groups, it must be recognized, that there is a considerable need for limiting the size of family among the Harijans immediately. Probably the cause for this sociological phenomenon among the Harilans may be traced in one of these factors: (1) They all work hard as will be seen under Table XI, and so seek carnal pleasures to forget their miseries and tribulations in life; (2) Their level of literacy being low (vide Table X), they do not pause to reflect on the consequences of increased family. [To this extent, they lack foresight and planning; (3) They still adhere to the the traditional joint family system (vide Table IX), under which, to run their household, they can press into service the common funds of credit available, and so there is no need to limit the size of family; and (4) Their fertility is of the highest order. Therefore, the need for the government stepping up their Family Planning Propagation (preferably of free service) among the Harijan caste and especially for conferring more land acreage on them from the waste lands

available with the government, cannot be stressed further.

But the correlation between the size of family and the land economy is of immediate interest to us. As pointed out already under Table VI, capital formation in the shape of manure, seed, livestock, transportation, warehousing etc. stands to suffer. This, however, Harijans endeavour to offset and compensate more by resorting to intensive cultivation—putting in more labour, which is the one and only type of capital facility available at their beck and call (refer Table XVII for its wholesome effects). This is the reason why, although production per acre records the highest in lands under their control, yet, labour productivity measured in terms of production per labourer is the smallest on their land.

Thus this Table brings out two significant facts: (1) Increase in size of family lowers capital formations; and (2) There is an imperative need to increase credit facilities to them and to consolidate their lands and increase their acreage, as otherwise, surplus labour is a perennial millstone around their neck, uneconomy being the undertone of their activity.

### Family Type

The Table sub-joined below refers to the types of families in relation to caste groups :

**Table IX**

Caste	Type of Family		Ratio of column (2) to (3)	Rank
	Elementary	Joint		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Brahmins	6	2	3.0: 1	1
Pillais	26	12	2.1: 1	2
Padayachis	32	21	1.5: 1	3
Harijans	2	3	0.7: 1	5
Others	6	5	1.2: 1	4
Total	72	43	1.7: 1	-



For every joint family among the Brahmin caste, there are three elementary families; for every one among the Pillais there are roughly two elementary families. Next comes the Padayachis, followed by 'Others' and Harijans respectively. The Harijans are yet to divagate away from the traditional system of living.

This Table bears testimony to the fact that Brahmins are fast moving away from the traditional joint family system with their high level of literacy as is seen under Table X. In the wake of urbanization and institutional reforms, they have been quick to act as Barometers, recording their reaction. The sociological part of their swift responsiveness to changing times may be traced perhaps to their better economic advantage as is shown by the Table XIV (But even this is subject to the fact that in their case, they do not put in any family labour and therefore, lease away their lands; and under the provisions of the land enactments with regard to fair rent, wage etc. their total income is now diminished—more than halved). The net result of this is that their entrepreneurial skill, capacity for credit accommodation and social position are being withdrawn and downgraded.

But Harijans are the least affected in this process, which has been quickened since Freedom. Almost all the rural villages are nowadays falling under the one or the other of the development schemes of the Community Project Administration, and where, therefore, the scope for and the pace of urbanization and institutional reforms are widened and varied. If despite all these dissolvents of traditional living, they remain thick and solid, it is either because, they find joint family system a good source for capital as already pointed

out, or because by nature of upbringing for so many generations, they have become impenetrable 'Stonewall Jacksons' or because they really find no material advantages in splitting up their system or because all the attempts so far made in the rural areas by our governments and private bodies have after all been insincere and not of right approach. Whatever may be the factor operating behind the Harijans, the fact remains, they remain relatively less affected,

Anyhow, the land economy loses the organizational aspect of its production activities on account of the dislodgment of joint family system in villages and the moving out of the literate caste groups from them. At the same time, it is well and good that the Harijans still retain it, as it paves the way for intensive cultivation, pulls down the volume of the migrants and makes available a common credit pool in an otherwise credit-deserted villages. Thus the joint family system works out both good and bad effects.

#### Level of Literacy

Literacy, unlike education, is a fundamental necessity to carry on the minimum of social intercourse and business without affecting prestige and capital. None of the visitors to the rural areas would fail to witness the unedifying spectacle of an illiterate agriculturist being bamboozled out of his property in no time by the literate money-lender. Literacy is an indicator of improvement if not of definite progress in the society. Hence the relative levels of literacy in the present day rural India will throw light on the magnitude of the problem facing our Planners.

The Table drawn below lists the levels of literacy in relation to the different caste groups :

Table X

Caste	Total Members		Ratio of Columan (2) to (3)	Rank
	Literate	Illiterate		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Brahmins	36	17	2.1: 1	1
Pillais	100	95	1.0: 1	2
Padayachis	115	180	0.7: 1	5
Harijans	19	23	0.8: 1	4
Others	32	36	0.9: 1	3
Total	302	351	0.9: 1	-

The Brahmin caste furnishes the literary hegemony true to their tradition. The Pillais come next, followed by 'Others' and Harijans respectively. Padayachis are the least literate.

The reason for the difference in the levels of literacy is partly explained by the traditional division of functions and partly by the wholesome influence of urbanization. But the difference in the levels between the Brahmins and Padayachis is indeed very wide. The former enjoy three times the level of the latter. As between the Harijans and the Brahmins also, the difference is vast. What is the essential cause of this rural disparity in the matter of literacy? It may lie in the pecuniary circumstances of the rural families. But does this adequately explain the meagre difference in the levels between the Padayachis and the Harijans? Apparently it appears not to be so. Because their average family holdings of land are only of 3-93 and 3-76 acres respectively, the Harijans having slightly less. But the per capita difference in favour of the padyachis is 0-35 acres (see Table XIV). Then how is it that they have almost the same level of literacy? It is because as a backward class, the Harijans are given fee concessions, scholarships, free education, meals etc.

Even the wide difference between the Padayachis and the Brahmins is tracea-

ble to the difference in the acreages of the per capita and the family holdings between them. But then they must be also shown preferential treatment by the government to pull up their level of literacy. The government does not do this. It is presumably because the government equates social backwardness with economic backwardness and deals out different treatments accordingly. This is not a correct approach to improve the level of literacy. Since there is a direct and large degree of correlation between the level of literacy and the pecuniary circumstances, what the government should do is to spread its beneficial attention equally on all the economically backward sections of the population. Only such a step would ensure the benefit of education to accrue to all irrespective of caste distinction and without any lopsided progress as in the past. As Dr. Johnson pointed out, the right method is not by levelling down those who are above, but it is by levelling up those who are below.

How does this situation affect land? It was already noted under Table IX, that the organizational aspect is suffering on land. Now the need of the hour is better production to halt any further development of 'hump' in the foreign exchange. This calls for better farming. Therefrom is, therefore, derived the stupendous need for spread of better education and

that too among all the rural population. Unless the level of literacy and education is swiftly promoted, the tillers, the bulk of whom spring from the socially and economically backward classes, will not be in a position to take full advantage of the technological advancements made, the manifold facilities made available under the Community Project Administration et cetera.

Hence, the imperative need for education to permeate the lower castes and classes is established. If this is not done soon, the Directive Principles of the Constitution will continue to remain advisory without any significance.

### Family Labour

Out of the enumerated 115 families, only in 32 families, family labour is employed for cultivation purposes. Hired labour is employed by 83 families or over 72% of the total number of families. But the employment of family labour or otherwise does not appear to be an independent factor. In other words, it has no relation directly to the physical capacity of the members of a family. It varies with reference to the caste to which one belongs or to the financial circumstances. As will be seen in the following Table, Harijans give out family labour without any attitude of its being below their dignity:

**Table XI**

Caste	Total No. of families family labour	No. of families employing	Percentage of column (3) to (2)	Rank
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Brahmins	8	Nil	0.0	5
Pillais	38	4	10.5	4
Padayachis	53	21	45.0	2
Harijans	5	5	100.0	1
Others	11	2	18.1	3
Total	115	32	27.8	-

Harijans contribute cent percent family labour; Padayachis forty-five percent and Pillais ten and a half percent. But the Personal Investigation showed, that even in the castes contributing family labour, save for the Harijan caste, in no other caste female family labour was employed. It is indeed a tribute to the Harijan caste as a whole that even their womenfolk do take equal and active interest in agricultural operations as their menfolk.

But the Harijans contributing cent percent family labour may perhaps emanate from economic considerations (that is, they cannot afford to employ hired labour) or from a genuine under-

standing of the advantages of using family labour in full (in view of the possibility of intensive cultivation with better production) or from a dire social necessity (that is, there is no other caste below them to whom the task could be delegated).

Notwithstanding all the caste differences in the matter of family labour, the Table lays bare the broad fact that social ideas and valuations are yet to appreciably change. Not unoften one finds even attempts at consolidation of the old concepts. Whatever the merits or demerits of these in times when they were formulated, the truth is, any further adherence to these concepts without additions or

alterations or modifications as warranted by the change of times means that progress is barred. If for instance, the concept of dignity of labour is to penetrate into the rural society, only incessant and effective propaganda coupled with limitations imposed by the government on the nature of out-of-date ideas could alone secure it. In short, it could be solved only if a sense of patriotism and an urge for social service is instilled in

the minds of the rural youths, and this calls for a reorientation in the pattern of education.

#### Occupation—Main & Subsidiary

From the point of view of the paramount importance of promoting subsidiary occupations to augment the income of the agriculturists, it is worthwhile examining the position of different castes with respect to occupations, which the Table below deals with :

Table XII

Caste (1)	Total No of members (2)	Occupation		Ratio of (3) to (4) (5)	Rank (6)
		Main (3)	Subsidiary (4)		
Brahmins	53	34	5	1 :0.15	2
Pillais	195	144	10	1 :0.07	5
Padayachis	295	211	29	1 :0.14	3
Harijans	42	31	4	1 :0.13	4
Others	68	52	12	1 :0.23	1
Total	653	472	60	1 :0.12	-

In the matter of usefully occupying the spare time, the 'Others' group seems to be the best. Next comes the Brahmin caste. However, when the ratios are worked out, no one caste as such is encouraging. This may be due to one of the following factors: Either the spare-time-holders do not desire to work (because they already earn that much which ensures a decent living) or there is not sufficient work for them (which may be due, say, to a shortage of demand for particular products or services in the manufacture of or in which they can possibly engage themselves) or even if they are prepared to work and a variety of works are available to them, they cannot take to them for want of proper training or credit facilities and the like. There is also another factor. Although in the analysis in this Paper, the total population has been roughly divided into adults and children, further age groups in them have not been worked out. Hence, among the unemployed,

it may be surmised, lie several who are aged, infirm or otherwise disabled from undertaking any type of work.

The Table stresses this : Knowing full well the low standard of living in the rural areas and the absence of incentive for progress born out of immense faith in the fatalist theory nourished through centuries on end, the government must take abundant measures to initiate the unemployed and the under employed agriculturists to engage themselves in small-scale and cottage industries, and at the same time help them with credit, technical knowledge and other forms of assistance. Above all, the government should take all steps to create sufficient demand from the non-agricultural sector for their products. That is the only way to check the mounting surplus labour on land and promote capital formation in the agricultural sector. It would also assure an economic use of the surplus labour.

The foregoing Table analysed the problem of occupation with reference to the caste groups in order to fix their ranking.

But the Table following throws data on the occupational pattern of all the villages taken together :

**Table XIII**

Occupation

Main		Subsidiary		Nil
Details	No. Engaged	Details	No. Engaged	
Agriculture	185	Teacher	11	
Non-agriculture	1	Agricultural labour	18	
Student	114	Shop-keeper	5	
Household	175	Others	25	
<b>Total</b>	<b>475</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>Total 119</b>

Note : The 'Others' groups includes : Insurance, Village Munsif, Estate Agent, Priest, Clerk, Dhobhi, Karnam, Smiths, Contractor, Musician, Milk Vendor, Doctor (Native), Barber, Millowner and Commission Agent with 1, 3, 2, 2, 1, 2, 1, 1, 3, 1, 3, 2, 1, 1, and 1 persons respectively engaged therein.

In the total of 653 members in 115 families, those engaged in the main occupations listed above constitute 72.6% and those with subsidiary occupations 9%, About 119 persons are without work forming 18.4%. This last group mainly consists of infants, disabled, very aged etc. That agriculture is the chief occupation of these rural families is once again stressed and its importance in the rural economy underlined. This shows that any improvement intended to be brought about in the standard of

living of the rural mass should mainly comprise of improvement in agriculture.

This Table emphasizes the need for organizing cottage industries which alone could engage the agriculturists usefully not only adding to their incomes but augmenting the national wealth. In this respect, there is vast scope for community project to play.

**INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC STATUS**

**Caste and Land Holding**

Agriculture has throughout the past centuries been interpreted as reflecting the social hierarchy, and one of the manifold problems needing solution at the hands of our social reformers is the caste structure in the rural areas. As such, it will be interesting to examine how far caste as an institution still exists on land, which forms the major rural occupation. This is related by the following Table :

**Table XIV**

Caste	Total land acreage	Acreage per family	Acreage per member	Rank
Brahmins	132-27	16-53	2-50	1
Pillais	240-65	6-33	1-23	2
Padayachis	208-21	3-93	0-7	4
Others	64-31	5-84	0-94	3
Harijans	18-80	3-76	0-45	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>664-24</b>	<b>5-7</b>	<b>1-02</b>	<b>-</b>

From the point of view of total extents of land owned by the caste groups, there is no social hierarchy in relation to agriculture. From the point of view of individual and family averages, the Brahmin caste group stands atop. But this Table must be read along with Table XI: for under the latter Table, it is the Padayachis and the Harijans who contribute the bulk of family labour, whereas these castes possess less than four acres per family. therefore, the inference is that although the social hierarchy is not reflected in the agricultural holdings in all their orderliness, yet, its shadow is cast long and wide in the per capita extents owned.

This is yet to be affected by land reform measures whose avowed objective is to make the tiller the owner. But there is another aspect of this problem. Although the Brahmins and the Pillais hold the largest per capita extents, they exhibit only a titular representation of their once powerful position in the social hierarchy. They do not wield and influence now thanks mainly to the communal feelings splendidly roused by interested parties (see Table XVIII which statistically demonstrates their waning socio-economic status).

This Table outlines the necessity for either fully implementing the existing policies on land or changing them. For example, when the slogan 'land to the

tiller' has been favourably looked upon by the government since Freedom, there is no sign of it in action. Secondly the much talked about dignified concept of labour has not touched the upper castes. But it must not be inferred from this that the upper castes, namely, the Brahmins and the Pillais, who occupy the first two ranks in the matter of per capita land extent, they do not at all evince any interest in land because they do not happen to put in family labour. The fact is this: They take as much interest in land as anybody else. As a matter of fact the Investigator met many of the land-owners of castes considered superior in the fields engaged in works of supervision and in giving proper guidance and direction. It is they who slowly but steadily introduce the new types of manure and methods of cultivation. As will be observed under Table XVI, it is also they who put in the largest volumes of capital investment on land.

#### Caste and Lease

When the problems of land are discussed, particular attention is given to what is termed as 'absentee landlordism'. This is alleged to affect the production efficiency. A better insight into this question could be had from a deeper study of this phenomenon. The Table given under portrays the leasing conditions vis-a-vis different caste groups:

Table XV

Caste	Total land acreage	Total leased acreage	Percentage of leased acreage	Rank
Brahmins	89-31	58-82	66	5
Pillais	240-65	29-16	12	3
Padayachis	208-21	9-00	0-043	2
Harijans	18-80	0-00	0	1
Others	64-31	17-99	28	4
Total	621-28	114-97	18-50	-

Among the castes considered socially superior, Brahmins and Pillais lease out the largest single extents. To that extent, they are guilty of absenteeism. But could this be correlated with the lowering of economic efficiency or diminished capital formation? Table XVI disproves this allegation or correlation. It is the Brahmins, the Padayachis and the Harijans who contribute much more capital than 'Others'. Even among these, the Brahmins sink the largest capital on land. It may be because, they have no other go or because they still—despite the charges of absenteeism as evidenced by the highest lease percentage—preserve their highest level of interest in land or it is a pure economic necessity to derive the maximum production with maximum investment consistent with prudent economy.

But again the Padayachis and the Harijans stand almost on the same footing in the matter of lease. The reason for this is partly explained by Table XVI and partly by Table XI. In the latter, it will be seen that these are the castes that contribute 45% and 100% of family labour. It is the concept of dignity of labour that unites them. The labour they put in more than compensates for

the low volume of other forms capital investment they make per acre as shown by Table XVI.

The Table also invalidates any argument that absenteeism—for it is what is denoted by leasing out lands—always does injustice to the level of agricultural production. It speaks in no way to any nonchalant attitude toward land. It is not any infallible index of disinterestedness. It cannot be taken to explain the low level of agricultural production in rural areas. The cause therefore lies somewhere else. It is to be traced to the psychological disincentives administered to the big landholdings by the land legislations. It is ultimately traceable to the socio-economic disaffinity to agricultural operations created by sweeping land reforms. Hence, the need of the hour is not so much of institutional reforms as it is one of restrictions and limitations.

#### Capital Formation

The institution of caste structure is also attacked because it is considered to be at ill-together with capital formation which is but vital to the growth of not only the peasant economy but also the rural economy as a whole. The following Table irradiates on this:

Table XVI

Caste	Total acreage	Total annual capital expenditure	Column (3) per acre	Rank
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Brahmins	89-31	Rs 12042	135	1
Pillais	240-65	18127	75	4
Padayachis	208-21	25130	120	2
Harijans	18-80	2228	118	3
Others	64-31	3700	57	5

The economic significance of this Table lies in the fact of capital formation and absenteeism going together. But a point that calls for special comment here is that the Padayachis and the Harijans spend almost the same amount per acre

despite the fact that they form the opposite boundaries in the matter of the extents of lands owned. Probably income in absolute figures accruing to the padayachies from their vast acreage deters capital formation from reaching

beyond a particular level since such a level of income with a low capital formation is itself sufficient for them perhaps to run their household on a decent scale of living. Besides they may have liquid cash in plenty to act as cushion in any state of emergency. But it is not so with the Harijans. Their holdings are extremely small. Hence, unless they put in all the available capital with them, the total volume of produce may not be enough to meet their requirements. There may also be another reason. It is

not unoften found that indebtedness in big farms is greater per unit of land than what it is in the small farms (see P 71 : 'Rural India Surveyed' in March 1958 issue of 'Rural India'). This could also occasion the difference in the rate and volume of capital formation.

#### Production per Acre

As an indicator of production efficiency, we can discuss the position of castes as related to overall agricultural production. The Table sub-joined below does this :

Table XVII

Caste	Total acreage	Total agricultural production	Production per acre	Rank
Brahmins	89-31	Rs. 41179	Rs. 461	3
Pillais	240-65	81035	336	5
Padayachis	208-21	137085	669	2
Harijans	18-80	14843	790	1
Others	64-31	22798	354	4

This Table does not have much of a relationship with Table XVI, that is, capital investment. But it does bear somewhat close relationship with Table XI, that is, family labour. There appears to be some distinct relation between personal labour and agricultural production. But could it wholly explain the highest production per acre among the Padayachis and the Harijans? It would only partly explain this because by no stretch of imagination capital investment could be discounted. In fact it must be the major influencing factor since it is only the quality of seeds, manure, livestock, implements etc. which should logically decide it. But how to explain this conflict? The reason lies in the fact that there is double cropping in the small holdings predominantly owned by the Harijans and the Padayachis among whom there is a vast capacity for personal labour. Unless Harijans, the highest recorders of production, double-harvested, they could not have sufficient

total annual income to run the family. Rather it is the financial conditions, therefore, which compell them to put in the maximum of personal labour, which, of course, suitably pays them. This also incidentally explains why they prefer to stick up to the joint family system.

With regard to the holdings under the Brahmins and the Pillais, the production level is not commensurate with the capital investment. As has already been noted, most of their farms have been leased. Under the terms of the land legislations, 60% of the total gross produce from the leased out lands go to the tenant and the rest to the landlords. Hence column (3) in the Table above shows the overall figure of agricultural production, of which one part is from those lands directly managed under the landlords themselves and the other part is from the lands leased out. Since the separate figures of production on privately owned and the leased out lands have not



been worked out here, it could not be conclusively said that personal labour alone is responsible for the record production in lands under the Harijans.

**Final Ranking**

So far we have been considering how the different castes fared in respect of the various indicators in the social and economic sectors. It was found that

strictly not even one caste sustained the same position throughout under all the indicator. They widely differed. If a collective picture could be had, it could doubtless evaluate the position of castes more accurately and precisely ; for in the agricultural sector, it is not one indicator alone that fixes one's status. The Table given below presents a collective picture :

**Table XVIII**  
Ranking

Caste	Social Status					Economic Status				Socio-Economic Status		
	Literacy	Occupation	Family size	Type of Family	Family labour	Total points	Average and per capital Holding	Capital formation	Production		Leasing condition	Total points
Brahmins	1	2	2	1	5	19	1	1	3	5	14	33
Pillais	2	5	5	2	4	12	2	4	5	3	10	22
Padayachis	5	3	4	3	2	13	4	2	2	2	14	27
Harijans	4	4	1	5	1	15	5	3	1	1	14	29
Others	3	1	3	4	3	16	3	5	4	4	8	24

Economically speaking, the socialist pattern of society is already visible. The Brahmins and the Harijans are on the same level. In fact, all the three castes, Brahmins, Padayachis and Harijans occupy the same economic status. But Pillais and 'Others' are down the list. Even socially as far as the Harijans go, they are superior to Pillais and Padayachis. Even on the whole, Harijans fare better than Pillais and Padayachis. This only shows that Harijans as a cast are extremely benefited by the favourable treatment meted out to them by the government.

At any rate, in so far as the concept is concerned, it is successful, but only relatively. Social and economic equality, by

reason of the nature of human relations, temperaments, abilities etc. could never be absolute. In fact, in such a context of essential individual patterns in the total membership of the community, 'equality' must necessarily be understood as one of narrowing down the wide disparities in economic and social statuses in general and between caste groups in particular. From this point of view, it is more than evident that such a community is already evolving.

**Personal Impressions**

On the whole, the agriculturists agreed that the physical impediments in their villages were being removed, thus mak-

ing possible swift and steady progress. They were particularly happy that amenities by way of education, communication and health were being provided to them. The community project working in the villages had no doubt meant improvement to them but some aspects of it must be put through without delay, for delay saps enthusiasm, flags vigour and engenders apathy.

Although statistics relating to migration was not collected, yet the tendency was noticeable that of all the caste groups, it was the Pillai caste, which had migrated to the greatest degree from the villages to surrounding towns especially to Chidambaram Town. Communally viewed, next to Brahmins they are the worst hit. Whereas the Brahmins had become pliable and adoptive, the Pillais have as yet remained orthodox and unbending in the matter of rigid caste structure. Hence they fail to reap the benefits of the changing times. This explains the lowest position they occupy in the social and economic statuses as statistically demonstrated by the concluding Table above. Because of this—their low status, they seem rather to prefer to migrate to towns where they can earn more and go unidentified. But from the agricultural point of view, this does not augur well because capital investment goes elsewhere for increased returns whereas it is most needed on land which has the capacity, if properly attended, to yield returns equal to the urban returns if not more.

Many poor peasants who are tenants-at-will are living in huts and hutments on sites not belonging to them. The housing conditions of Harijans are not at all satisfactory. In many a case it was distressing to note the same tenement or hutment used both as human habitats and livestock enclosures. Not much of

civic or social sense is noticeable either in this respect.

There are no Kisan or Mirasdar Sabhas. Of course, sporadic uprisings are there but are quite unorganized. There are adherents of political parties for Congress, Communism and Dravida Kazhagam. Village feuds, agrarian troubles etc. are not widely and deeply prevalent. Inhabitants are generally peaceful and live in tolerable amity.

But the role of caste even in the present day in the rural area deeply impressed the Investigator by lack of social intercourse in one village, namely, Ulu-thur. Till the last General Elections for the constitution of the Village Panchayat there, the leadership has been exclusively enjoyed by the Pillai community. But the elections ensconced the Padayachi community in the Panchayat. The result is that members of the two communities do not move with each other freely. This is an instance to show the potency of caste consciousness and also to show that the modern concept of equality is yet to effectively permeate the rural society.

The respondents, particularly in the village of Ambapuram, complained that the scheme of community project was not working well in certain of its aspects. There is a predilection of the project officers for the rich. Also the total amount sanctioned for the execution of a scheme got trickled down too much that by the time the scheme was taken up for execution there was not much amount left for the work on hand. Also there is enormous delay in the execution of the schemes sanctioned. For instance, a scheme has been sanctioned three years ago for laying out a pucca road to Pinnalur at an estimated cost of Rs. 16,000 and till now the project has not been undertaken. What all has been done in this particular village so far consists of a few wells dug

out for the benefit of the Harijans and the construction of one or two bridges.

The needs of the villages surveyed are many. Among them the chief need is the incorporation of co-operative credit agency, which if comes into existence, will alleviate the distress of many a rural family. The postal facilities are not satisfactory. There is an absolute need for increasing Police Bandobust. There have been many instances in which due to enforcement of various types of land legislations creating differences, many a life among the agricultural classes has been lost in the course of tense relations between the landlords and the tenants in the Taluq and elsewhere. The imperative necessity to protect the persons concerned cannot be stressed too much. There is also need for putting a road to Ambapuram connecting it to the village of Manjakollai lying near the main road. This will obviate the present necessity of either walking over uneven fields or making a detour to reach it.

With regard to the collection of data, it needed considerable persuasion to collect them from the mouth of the ryots and the landlords. The landlord class in general in these parts, owing to successive State enactments of land legislations adding to the tax burden and restricting their general rights are scared, that disclosure of detailed figures would bring in further legislation. Had it not been for the co-operation of the village officers etc. it would have been well-nigh impossible to secure the facts. But there was a noticeable tendency on the part of the respondents to exaggerate their expendi-

ture and minimize their incomes. It needed persistent and tactical interrogations to wean them of this tendency. The figures were as far as possible checked and verified with the help of available village records.

### Conclusion

The villages under study have definitely registered immense change for the better in respect of the socio-economic statuses of the caste groups held down traditionally in social hierarchy. The concept of socialist pattern of society is successfully transmuted in action with the planned progress intended for our economy and with the extension of special privileges and concessions to backward classes and scheduled castes. The last Table indicates the volume of efforts needed to bridge the gap between the various castes so as to drown their distinction in the sea of equality in both the economic and social sectors.

The varying effects of the institutional changes and urbanization on the different castes make one point clear: They are not an unixed blessing. However, they act as complementary to each other. It is also discernible that the rural population as a whole do not move out into the urban sector to gather the fruits thereof. The fruits are rather taken into the rural sector and delivered to them thanks to the various projects. In this matter of gaining equality with the urban sector in general amenities, the ruralites are conscious of their political rights and privileges and the Directive Principles of our Constitution. They are zealous in this regard in appealing to the administration.

# MANURIAL PROBLEM OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By : Prof. K. BAHADUR

FOOD position in India—the land of Agriculture has been chronically unsatisfactory since a long time. To soften the situation many steps like extension of irrigated area, larger use of chemical fertilisers and adoption of improved methods of cultivation have been taken but this has not been sufficient to offset greater demands due to increase of population and a change in the food habits of certain sections. During the last 20 years the population of the country has gone up by over 70 millions.

But that is not all. The vicious circle of low productivity of land, consequent poverty and inability to improve production and perpetuation of low yields will all change the shape of the country into a pauper. During the close of the 19th century Dr. Voelcker had raised that the soil was becoming less productive. Again thirty years after the Agricultural Commission addressed the same issue in its Report whether agricultural land was “suffering a growing diminution in its capacity to yield crops” due to the removal year by year of more of the substantial essential to the growth of the crops than are replaced by Nature or cultivators.

It was further observed by Dr. Bal that when land is cropped year by year and when crop is removed and no manure is added, a stabilised condition is reached. And so is the case of India. Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee in 1930 also scented the same flavour that “the fertility of agricultural land is deteriorating steadily on account of the absence of manure and as such the yields of the different crops have become

less and less. According to Dr. Clousten too “most of the Indian Soils had reached their maximum state of impoverishment hundred years ago”.

Thus from the above it is clear that the soil in India is not naturally poor but has become poor with continued croppings which have utilised the plant nutrients, and the soils have become uneconomic for production. Mr. Fowler in His book ‘Indian Farming’ has remarked that humus called the ‘Reserve Bank of the Soil’ is getting depleted in our country and it is necessary to guard against such process. As a rule the Soil for agricultural production must possess plant nutrients like Potash, Phosphates, Lime and Nitrogen. Indian Soils are generally rich in Potash and Phosphates but deficient in Limes and Nitrogen. However continuous cropping without manure impoverishes even the richest soil is a truism. The heavier the crop raised, the greater is the need of restoring to the land its fertility by manures or other various devices.

Thus the problem is, therefore, not one of preventing any further deterioration of soil fertility but is one of finding ways of improving and conserving the constituents of the soil—its potential fertility, which have more or less reached a minimum stage. The Table given below, which shows the comparative yields of crops in other countries, when 100 lbs. of each crop are produced in India, speaks of the veracity of the above statement :—

## MANURIAL PROBLEM OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

Countries	Rice	Wheat	Cotton	Maize
U. S. A.	176	123	301	197
China	191	151	230	160
Egypt	242	290	601	236
Japan	278	259	220	160
Italy	368	209	191	259

This shows how India remains awfully behind the rest of the world in respect of her per acre outturn of food and non-food crops. The average yield per acre in India is as follows :—

Crop	Yield per Acre in comparasion to other Countries.
Wheat	.... 1/3 of Egypt, 1/4 of Holland and Denmark.
Rice	.... 1/4 of Italy.
Maize	.... 1/3 of Switzerland and Newzeland.
Sugercane	.... 1/3 of Cuba, 1/4 of Java and 1/7 of Hawaii
Cotton	.... 1/7 of Egypt.

The reason of this low yield is that when a crop is removed, the land is depleted of the important nutrients which are not replaced again. According to the research carried out by Shri S. T. Krishnaswami the approximate quantities of nutrients removed by some of the principal crops are as follows :—

Crops	Nutrients removed per acre after crop being removed
Paddy	.. .. 48,23,41 lbs. of NPK.
Cotton	.. .. 97,29,83 lbs. of NPK.
Sugar	.. .. 56,68,190 lbs. of NPK.

Thus such being the case the problem of manure deserves our primary attention. Manures should have, therefore, a very important place in our scheme of agricultural development.

The manures applied to lands have complex actions of feeding the crops, altering its habits and growth, affecting tilth moisture, holding capacity and making the soil acid or alkaline. In India there are various kinds of manures,

which can be successfully applied e. g. Animal Waste, Human Waste, Oil Seeds and Cakes, Chemical fertilisers and Green manures. But it is to note that the Indian Farmers, due to their meagre financial resources, are rather unable to make purchase of the Chemical fertilisers, which are too costly although in recent times their applications, which have gained much importance, can hardly be ignored. However their continuous application produces deleterious effects on the soil as proved through the researches carried on by R. B. V. Nath in India, Bottomfly in Europe and Clarke in America.

It can further be said that the production of Chemical fertilisers is rather inadequate for the requirements of the country and at the same time our agriculturists cannot make their profitable use due to their costly nature. But still it is gratifying to note that the increase in agricultural crops during the First Five Year Plan was achieved more or less due to the use of chemical fertilisers. And that is why during the Second Plan total requirements of fertilisers are to be fulfilled by setting up more factories at Neyveli in Madras and the other at Rourkela. Recently investigation conducted at the Central Fuel Research Institute, Jealgora have led to the development of a nitrogenous fertiliser from inferior grades of coal and slack coals. This coal fertiliser has shown encouraging results as it possesses certain advantages over inorganic fertilisers like ammonium sulphate. Continuous application of this fertiliser does not lead to

deterioration of the soil, on the contrary it supplies much needed humus to the soil whose fertility status is thus permanently improved. The process of its preparation is quite simple and cheap for its raw materials are plentiful. However, it should be remembered that application of the fertilisers to influence the efficiency of the plant is not all their form and the way they are used are of vital importance to make more efficient use of fertiliser. Thus it is true that skillful use of fertiliser increases production.

*Animal Wastes* :—Animal wastes provide the best manures which are particularly derived from farmyard manure, cowdung, bonemeal, fish manure and animal refuse. The first two are the mixture of the liquid and solid excrements of animals. Both may be called cattle dung. Farmyard manure contain all the ingredients needed for the growth of the crops. It also disintegrates the Soils. As such it has an important place among the various kinds of fertilisers. It further restores humus in the soil and renders clayey soils more porous and workable. The cattleshed can supply nearly ten times more nitrogen and phosphoric acid than other manures and fertilisers. But unfortunately 40 P. C. of the cattle dung in India is burnt as fuel. This is wasteful practice indeed.

But actually the difficulty lies in the shortage of farmyard manure. It can hardly suffice for 50 percent of the cultivation as Mr. A. Luptons has calculated. Dr. Acharya has suggested means to increase its quantity by storing it in water tight tanks completely closed allowing the attainment of perfect amacrobolic conditions. In this connection education among the cultivators about the value of cattle dung manure by means of demonstration and propoganda is very essential. Supply of alternative fuel to village is the next step for cheking the

practice of burning cowdung. Cattleshed manure added with litter and waste of horses, swines and poultry combined with herbage, straw, garbage and other vegetation waste such as household sweepings, ash and leaves etc. should be stored in pits and plastered by dung and mud— so that nitrogen and moisture may be conserved. Thus the manure prepared is ready for use about 7 to 8 months. In several provinces like U. P., W. Bengal, Madras, Punjab such schemes are being practised.

Even after the death of the cattle their bones are used as manure though in a very little quantity in India due to ignorance and deep rooted prejudices of the people etc. It is the only source of phosphates in our country particularly for rice crops. The Government of India under the incentive of G. M. F. Campaign, is trying to develop the use of the bonemeal manure by devising easy method of softening the bone to make it a fine powder for use. Its use is being particularly popularised in Community Project areas. It has been evident from the different records that the total animals dieing about 2.35 million annually may fertilise roughly about 2.5 lakh acres producing about 27800 tons of additional foodgrains. Out of that about 2,200 tons of tallow shall also be recovered, which can be best utilised for various industrial purposes such as candle and soap making and preparation of lubricants.

*Human Waste* :—Human waste i. e. Nightsoil provides another source of manure for the soil, as it has sufficient of Nitrogen. Its best application can be made by making it in a form of powder, but the prejudiced sentiment of the Indian Agriculturists have prevented the use of such an important type of manure. Another method of using the nightsoil as manure is Sludge process and Sewage

Scheme, now being practised in Kanpur for whose rapid development the Government has sanctioned a loan of Rs. 7½ lakh. It is expected that when diluted with water it can irrigate about 4 lakh acres and thus can increase 1 million tons of more production.

*Oil Seeds and Oil Cakes* form the other important source of manure. Oil Cakes are of greater importance. Both usually contain 5½ p. c. of nitrogen, 2 p. c. of phosphoric acid, and 1½ p. c. of Potash. But in India their supply is very short and the cost of production high as such it is rather impossible to use it as a means of manure.

Thus being the case the manure choice naturally falls on Green manuring crops which a cultivator can produce on his own land and with labour. This method consists in growing such special type of crops which are more or less herbaceous in character and have rapid growth with the capacity of making a good cover on the ground in a very short period. Such crops are of two types—firstly leguminous crops (e. g. Sannhemp, indigo, groundnuts, dhanicha, berseem, methra, khesari, pulses and beams etc.), which provide both nitrogen and organic matter or humus; and secondly, Non-leguminous crops (e. g. bhang, kodom, jwar, maize and semflower etc.) which supply only organic matter. With this distinction it is evident that Legumes are preferred. The process of using green manuring is that when the Legumes plants become 2 to 3 fit. high, the land is ploughed and irrigated and

the plants lying on the surface are allowed to rot. Afterwards the land is again ploughed and crop is sown. This type of manure increases the water holding capacity of sandy soils, improves the tilth of clayey soils by opening it, facilitate drainage and requires less water for crops. It is economical as well as efficacious. Moreover it has residual effects. It has a marked effect on the yields of the crops grown in rotation with it and thus economically sound practice to follow. In India the process of green manuring is practised for transplanted paddy, sugarcane and irrigated wheat. As a result of green manuring the increase in the yeild of sugarcane has been estimated at about 50 p. c. over unmanured canes. Thus it is best supposed by the evidences that green manure is the best and the cheapest method for suppling food to the soil. In Madras and other part of the country the result of the use of this type of manure has been found satisfactory. Still the practice of green manuring has not advanced rapidly and even now only 10 p. c. out of nearly one hundred million acres is green manured. Severe summer and winter conditions in North India also restrict large scale development of green manure seeds. However the Govt. is encouraging the use of these manures by distributing their seeds and making the Public conscious of their uses by means of mass compaign and wide publicity, as the use of them creates a living soil which is the basis of progress of any Nation in any epoch.

## THE ADIVASIS OF ORISSA

By : Prof. KRISHNA CHANDRA JENA

FROM sociological and economic stand point the Adivasis of Orissa pose a different question than that of the other aboriginals of other States like Assam or Bihar. In common with others the Christian Adivasis have one thing in common that is economic backwardness, ignorance and lack of modern idea of life. But it is quiet encouraging that the

Adivasis in Orissa have made much more progress than what others have been able to accomplish in the same period of time. The problem in Orissa stands on a different ground for the land sliding proportion of the adivasis of the total population of the State. There are districts like Mayurbhanj and Kalahandi which can be considered for all practical

purposes as pure adivasi districts. This huge ratio of the Adivasis has given them a unique place in the State and poses a complete different position.

The Christian Adivasis are mostly agriculturists. No traces of commerce and industry have reached them. In the most primitive type of production and barter, they have been living till today; the life of solitude and detachment, indifferent of what had been going so far around them and unaware of the progress that the past two centuries had made. Thus, for all positive analysis it shall be no exaggeration to say that the adivasi civilization is at the mile-stone of the 17th century.

Orissa has a total population of two crores of which the adivasis roughly constitute 30%. The problem of the State Government is to uplift such a huge mass of people to a civilised condition. Measured in the language of money and planning, it may not be a fantastic task. The papers and the planners may put the calculations and predict that in a few years the adivasis can be brought to a modern level of culture and economic and social emancipation. But, when calculated in the terms of human factor and mental measurement it is one of the most difficult and almost impossible tasks that the Orissa Government is taking to their hands. Spending money or publishing papers is not difficult. But to go deep into the heart of a long sleeping community and injecting the spirit of civilization almost against their wish is the most adventurous step to be taken.

The Orissa Government has proposed to spend 43 lakhs and 30 thousand rupees for the development of education for the Adivasis. Scholarships of 3,69,595 rupees have been awarded to the Adivasi Students. To widen the outlook of the adivasis a comprehensive programme of study and pleasure trips had been organised at a total cost of nearly 15 thousand rupees during the

last two years. The most spectacular progress is being done in enrolling more and more students in the schools and colleges. It is important to note and also to be very happy about it that increasing number of students have left the age-old ways of living and accepted the call of the new life. Those who know how difficult it is to get the adivasis out of their original home and way of life can only realize the difficulty in getting more students to the increasing schools and colleges. The Orissa Government have opened 25 hostels in the years 1956-57 and propose to open a greater number of hostels for the Adivasi students.

The worst problem of the Adivasis was to resettle them in healthier atmosphere of sanitation as well as better agricultural conditions. In the Second Plan it is proposed to resettle 3500 families in 90 villages and this may go on increasing also. To settle the adivasis in better villages is not the end or purpose of any Government. They want that the Adivasis should improve their economic life and adopt the newer methods of production. With this end in view the Orissa Government have opened a number of training schools in cottage industry and handicrafts. Much progress has been achieved in poultry, weaving and other small scale and cottage industries. Cheap and Government Regulated grain shops have been opened for the adivasis so as to avoid exploitation. Proper care has been taken to open every year increasing number of hospitals also. For the first time the children of the Nature are coming in contact with man made life. The impact of the two habits of life is profound and significant for the adivasis as well as for the study of sociology.

It may be hoped that within a few generations the Adivasis of Orissa may be able to come to the normal standard of Indian life and cease to be a special problem.