THE ORGANIZATION AND DISINTEGRATION OF
A COLLECTIVE FARMING SOCIETY
A CASE STUDY IN A GRAMDAN VILLAGE

K. M. CHOUDHARY

Section I
Introduction*

Ganeshpura, a hamlet of Kalakh Village is situated 23 miles away, in the West, from Tehsil Head-quarter i.e. Sambhar and 24 miles away, in the East, from District Head-quarter i.e. Jaipur. A Collective Cooperative Farming Society was started here in June 1959. The administrators took interest in the establishment of the Society. A lot of support was given to the society in the beginning but for various reasons to be analysed in the text, it was withheld only after one year.

Objectives: The main purpose of this project was to study the working of this Collective Cooperative farming Society and the factors, which were responsible for the establishment of the society and at the same time causes that hampered the progress of the society.

Scope: The scope of the present project is comprehensive in that it embraces all aspects of the working of the society, such as (i) joint operations of resources including land and other "paid for" inputs.

* This is an abridged version of the full study undertaken at the behest of Dr. V. S. Vyas Director, Agro-Economic Research Centre, Vallabh Vidyanagar, who guided me at all stages of this study. I have also benefited from the comments of my colleagues in the Centre particularly Sarva Shri M. C. Shetty, M. L. Bhat & K. R. Rakhral. Shri A. L. Purohit collected the basic data from the villagers. I am grateful to all of them.
the magnitude of the financial operations such as loans advanced and its purpose, (iii) aspects concerning arrangements for water lifting and water feeding, (iv) distribution of produce and its marketing, (v) social and economic conditions of the members connected with the working of the society and lastly (vi) evaluation of the process of formation and disintegration of the society and factors, both exogenous as well as endogenous, responsible for its future.

**Methodology:** The methodology of the study was designed after visiting the village and on the spot observations of certain important aspects of the village community. We had also discussed the important aspects of the Society with its office bearers and the village leaders and in the light of the discussions, special questionnaires and schedules for this study were designed, so that all available and necessary information with regard to this project could be collected. Following Schedules were prepared for this investigation.

(i) Household Schedule cum Occupational Schedule was designed to get basic information about the number of persons, Caste, Land holdings, mode of cultivation, production, distribution etc. from all the households in the village.

(ii) A general schedule was framed in order to collect the basic data regarding the Collective Farming Society, contribution of the land by the members and their production, and share at the time of distribution of the produce and its marketing.

**Collection of Data:** One senior research assistant assisted by one investigator of the Centre collected the basic data and other ancillary information. The survey was conducted in the last week of November 1962, but the information was collected for the agricultural years 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961-62, though the Collective Farming Society was actually in existance in 1959-60. For most of the period, the information was given verbally by the treasurer of the society as there were no written records of the society.

**Limitations:** All the members of the Society living in the village were all illiterate except the treasurer, who only knew how to sign and the secretary of the society, who was only literate, belonged to
Nai Caste, lived in nearby village and used to visit the village occasionally in connection with his professional work once or twice in a month. He used to maintain the books etc., during these periodic visits, but generally he avoided this task.

Besides that, the main difficulty confronted by us in our work, had been the non-availability of records of the Society. Whatever records were available, they were hodge-podge and irregular. The data were inadequate for the purpose of systematic analysis. It will be interesting to note that details regarding the individual contribution of members, in form of labour-input, seeds, manures etc. were not recorded. Such accounts were maintained verbally. Therefore, we had to rely upon rather sketchy records of the Society and verbal statements given by the village leader, who was also the treasurer of the Society.

**Basic Features of the Village,**

The village is situated at a distance of 3½ miles from Ugariawas railway station on Phulera-Jaipur line of Western Railway.

It does not possess any of the civic facilities.

The climate is dry and is subject to extremes of cold and heat.

The soil of the village is sandy and suitable for the cultivation of Bajra, Guwar and Moth. Wheat and Barley are also grown in Rabi season.

**Section II**

Factors responsible for the establishment of the Society:

Ganeshpura is an instance of a village where all the factors, historical, geographical, economic, & social, favour, rather impel, some sort of collective action for the progress of the individual households.

(I) **HISTORICAL FACTOR**:- The land which comes under the village Ganeshpura was barren and covered with dense bushes. It was Government land. In the year 1945, an influential farmer, in the neighbouring village Basi Naga (situated at a distance of four miles
from Ganeshpura) had a quarrel with the local Jagirdar. This cultivator and some other villagers decided to leave the village Basi Naga and to settle in some other nearby village. They submitted a proposal to Deputy Commissioner, Jaipur for allotment of land through Tehsildar of Phulera Tehsil.

As large tracts of uncultivated land in this place were lying unoccupied, the villagers' applications were granted. Shri Gopi, the village leader, his relatives and sympathisers thus came to this place. The land was distributed to villagers by Tehsildar of Phulera Tehsil on the basis of the size of family, with the consent of the village leader. Soon after the acquisition of land, the work of reclamation was taken in right earnest.

Thus, the present inhabitants who had to leave their ancestral village, threw their lots in common by their own choice. Efforts to overcome some common difficulties inculcated in them the habit of community life and the formation of communitarian sentiments. The total number of persons was also very small. Therefore, they had to meet face to face for companionship, mutual aid and discussions of common problems. All these factors paved the way for cooperative activities in general and organization of Collective Farming Society subsequently.

(II) GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR:

When the villagers came to this place at the time of settlement, there was absolutely no source of water in the village and villagers had to go about 2½ miles for fetching the water for drinking purposes. Cultivation was possible only during monsoons, which were uncertain. Rabi crops were not sown at all. Soon the cultivators realised that they must safeguard themselves against erratic rainfall. They decided to dig the wells. They approached the Government for technical guidance, financial and other help. Government offered some financial and technical guidance.

(III) ECONOMIC FACTOR:

(i) Population: -- The total population of the village at the time of formation of society was 75-44 males and 31 females distributed in
10 households. The total working force in the village, assuming that in the age-group of 15-60 were active workers, comes to 39 persons—21 males and 18 females.

(ii) Ownership of resources:—The total land in possession of 9 households in the village came to 536.10 Bighas, while one household was landless. Thus, the average land per household of the village was 53.61 Bighas and per capita land came to 7.1 Bighas.

This overall position shows that Ganeshpura was a village of large peasant proprietors with large holdings and shortage of man and bullock-power. Therefore, an appreciable portion of the land was left uncultivated every year. The landowners did not venture to give land on lease because of the Rajasthan's tenancy legislation, which inter alia requires all land to be transferred to its actual tillers. Beside, they did not reveal such fallow lands to revenue authorities lest authorities should settle some other landless households on such fallow tracts. A Collective Farming society was an attractive solution in such circumstances.

(iv) Credit:—Before the collective farming society was introduced, the cultivators depended primarily on moneylenders for loans who charged as high rate of interest as 18 per cent p. a. The villagers thought that by establishing a Cooperative Farming Society in the village, they would be able to get loans etc. in time and at lower rate of interest.

(v) Informal Cooperation:—There was already informal cooperation in carrying out number of agricultural practices. Mutual aid at the time of weeding, harvesting and other operations on the farms had been a common practice.

These inter-related factors were initially responsible for the move to form the Collective Farming Society.

(IV) SOCIAL FACTOR:

Any research worker in Ganeshpura will be struck by the complete harmony and the peaceful community life prevalent there.
(i) Caste composition:— There were 10 households in the village, out of which 5 households belonged to Jat caste which formed 50 per cent of the total number of households, 4 households belonged to Ahir Caste, while the remaining one belonged to Regar Caste, which constituted the lower rung of the caste hierarchy in the village.

The relations between Jat and Ahir Castes were very cordial because they were of same social status.

Jats and Ahirs, conscious of their superiority, did not participate in any ceremony of Regar Caste. In spite of the difference in their status, their relations were cordial and friendly.

(ii) Kinship relationship:— A prominent part was played by kinship in effecting group solidarity. A large part of the population was bound in the one group by the basic bond i.e. the net work of kin relationship. In such cases, the feeling of familiarity is great which helps in regulating the social life in an informal way.

(iii) Caste and Leadership:— The village leader belonged to Jat Caste, but it should not be interpreted to mean that the leadership of the village was in the hands of the predominant caste. The leader was impartial and tried his best to assist the villagers in right ways. He still enjoys the same respect and obedience from the villagers. The leader has played an outstanding role in the maintaining of social unity.

(V) OTHER FACTORS:—

The year 1959 was momentous for the economic changes of this village, for it was in that year that the Gramdan movement started in about 12 villages around this village. The movement novel in its features and appealing in its objectives, fascinated a good number of villages and naturally this villages also came under its grip. The leader of this village favoured the idea. With the consent of other villagers, all land of the village was donated to Gram Sabha. One Gramdani leader being satisfied with the overall situation of this village advised the villagers to form a Collective Farming Society, so that they could get loans, technical help and other facilities from the Government and would be safe from the clutches of moneylenders, and financial stringencies to which they were otherwise a constant prey.
This, among other things, was the most important factor, which induced the villagers to collectivise the agricultural production and to organize the collective farming society.

The Society was formed in the year 1959. This was a new experiment, unheard practice, extremely revolutionary and untraditional idea for the villagers. But exigencies of the situation, the historical, geographical, economic and social background of the village and the gripping publicity of Gramdan movement led the people to venture into this new set up.

Section III

Organization and Management of the Society

Donation of the village in Gramdan:­

A Gramdani leader played a significant role in persuading Ganeshpura villagers for donating the village land. All the villagers who were living inside as well as outside the village donated their entire land in the village.

The conservative villagers who ordinarily cling to their land were lured to this form of village organization by the promises of large financial aid from the Government, special and sufficient grant for school, dispensary and houses. But in actuality it was observed that the ownership was retained all along by the respective owners. This transfer of ownership was not genuine.

Organization of Collective Cooperative Farming:­

Most of the land in the village had to be kept fallow because of shortage of man-power, implements and bullocks with the individual farmers. Therefore, the Gramdani leader advised the villagers to form a Collective Farming Society, which would also facilitate securing help and assistance from the State and other sources for development purposes. Thus, the villagers came together with the hope that they would get subsidy and more aid by forming the Society. The main advantage envisaged by the villagers was facility of easy loan from the Cooperative Bank. Besides this, the villagers were also under the
impression that they would get a subsidy for water-lifting pump which would facilitate irrigation on a large area of dry land. They also hoped to get a tractor for better cultivation and development of fields. With these hopes kept in forefront the suggestion of organising the society was accepted by all landowners and a Collective Farming Society was formed on 22nd June 1959. The society was registered on 23rd June 1959 under the name of Ganeshpura Collective Cooperative Farming Society. According to the approved constitution, the society could cover the nearby hamlets, situated within the radius of 9 miles from the village. The land was transferred with the help of Bhoodan worker, from Gramsabha to Ganeshpura Collective Cooperative Farming Society.

Membership of Collective Farming Society:— The society was started with 12 members but within a month the membership increased to 16. The economic status of the members of the society can be broadly judged from the ownership pattern of the land and shares in the common well as their only source of income was cultivation. The distribution of land and its ownership is presented in the table on p. 73. The data relate to the year June 1959 to July 1960.

The overall picture shows that all the members of the society were land owners except one member, who hailed from nearby village, but was invited by the villagers of Ganeshpura to settle in the village and pursue the work of repairing of old shoes and leather buckets i.e., "Charas."

Office-bearers of the Collective Farming Society: On 22nd June 1959, when the Society was organized an executive committee of 5 members was formed. The committee was empowered to conduct the working of the Society. The executive committee consisting of a president, the vice-president, the secretary, the treasurer and one member was elected by the general body.

All the office bearers except the secretary were large land holders and had shares in the common well. Thus, all the office bearers, except secretary, were well off and had equal economic status.

The president, the treasurer and a member belonged to Jat caste while the Vice-President belonged to Ahir caste. All these office


Table No. I

PATTERN OF OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND CORRESPONDING SHARE IN THE WELL OF DIFFERENT HOUSEHOLDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No. of households (Inside the village)</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>No. of members from the household</th>
<th>Land owned in bighas</th>
<th>share in the common well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inside the village</td>
<td>Outside the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Regar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26.00</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26.10</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>57.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>110.00 50.00</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>486.10 50.00</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Outside the village:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No. of households</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>No. of members from the household</th>
<th>Land owned in bighas (Outside the village)</th>
<th>share in the common well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N.A.*b</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>152.08 N.A.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No land in N.A.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>152.08</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand total 14

16 638.18 50.00 8

* The households are arranged according to land owning status
** N. A. = Not available.
bearers were having cordial relations and were living in harmony. The management was not concentrated in any particular caste group, because the office bearers were not elected on caste basis, as all of them were influential and elderly persons in the village.

The secretary belonging to Nai caste was the only literate person who was requested to work as an Honorary Secretary. His responsibility was to bring and deposit the money in the bank. He had also to deal with all correspondence and had to maintain records. This honorary post was probably accepted by him, besides doing his professional work in the village, with the hope of getting loan from the Society at the lower rate of interest. As our enquiries revealed, he had not taken any interest in maintaining the records. The villagers could not force him for keeping the records as he was not paid.

The personnel of the executive committee did not change in subsequent year and neither they were affected in any way, by those who left the Society and or by those who joined the Society as new members.

*Outside Assistance Secured*: As stated earlier though the entire land in the name of Gramsabha was transferred to the Society on papers, actually the ownership was retained individually. Other resources such as bullocks and implements were also maintained individually by the members. The share capital of the Society in the beginning was Rs. 600 and later on in the same year increased to Rs. 1200 by the same members to raise the maximum credit limit of the Society with the bank. From this share capital, the Society purchased 10 shares of Cooperative Bank of Jaipur worth Rs. 50/- each.

The Block Authority of Sambhar took for sometime a passing interest in the working of the Society and framed a plan for extending cultivation of the Society. For implementing the plan the Block authority assured the supply of the necessary finance and implements. According to their plan, the area under different crops was to be substantially extended.

For the execution of this crop scheme, the Society applied to Cooperative Bank, Jaipur for loans of Rs. 4800. It gave the assurance that the estimated amount would be utilised for the earmarked purposes,
the responsibility for replacement would be borne by the society and the borrowed money would be repaid in two instalments within one year. Meanwhile, the society also applied for a subsidy of Rs. 1000 from Rajasthan Government for management purposes.

But, by the end of the first year society became defunct for all practical purposes. During the subsequent years, the entire land of the village remained in the name of Society, but actually owners cultivated the land individually in the Kharif season. The joint cultivation, by two groups, of 4 and 5 households, who were partners in the well however, had to be resorted during Rabi season. One member who did not own any land since beginning and was a village functionary had to seek work in the nearby village for maintaining his family. One of the remaining members of Society, who had no share in the common well left the village with his family and another had to depend exclusively on Kharif crop.

The members of the society expected that the Block authority would provide a tractor on hire and arrange for subsidy for seed, fertilisers and pumping set in order to execute the proposed programme. They waited for about a month but did not get a favourable response. They also did not receive the subsidy for management from the Rajasthan Government. However a loan of Rs. 4800 was received from Cooperative Bank, Jaipur, after the ploughing and sowing operations were over. It was untimely help so the members could not utilise the amount for the purpose for which it is applied, namely financing agricultural operations. As a result they distributed the amount among themselves, though the money was released in the name of the Society. The borrowed money with interest was paid back in time, by the members through the Society, with the expectations, that they would get more loan from the Bank in the name of Society in future as well. Loan outstanding at the end of the year, from one member amounted to only Rs. 450·00. The rate of interest was charged at 7½ per cent.

On 20th February 1961, a loan of Rs. 8000 was received from Cooperative Bank, Jaipur. Again, the loan was untimely because by that time the ploughing and sowing of Rabi crops were already over. The loan did not help in any way in the cultivation operations during
Rabi season. Out of Rs. 8000, Rs. 6750 were distributed among the members as personal loan and the remaining amount was kept with the treasurer. On 27-3-1961, Rs. 1300 were received from the Block Office as the seed loan but by that time, the seed had already been sown, therefore, the money was deposited in Jobner post office.

At the time of enquiry, it was found that the loan of Rs. 8000 was not paid back to Cooperative Bank, Jaipur. Because of this, in 1961-62, the society could not apply for further loan. On 15-11-1961, the Rs. 1300 received as seed loan were returned to Block authority.

The society was audited on 31-3-1962 for the first time. The auditor passed strict remarks against the treasurer of the society as the treasurer could not give satisfactory accounts.

Method of operations: Due to lack of proper guidance, the villagers of Ganeshpura decided to start the Collective Farming in their own way. The members who were residing outside the village were also consulted about the mode of the cultivating the land, but they were busy in cultivating their own land in other villages, so they did not show keen interest. The secretary was also uninterested because he did not own any land in Ganeshpura. Therefore, all the residential members assembled at the house of village leader and unanimously decided to cultivate the land collectively. It was difficult for them to devise suitable procedure for working of the Society, as none was literate and so no one could maintain muster rolls, attendance register etc. Therefore, they had to drop the idea of cultivating the land on daily wages. Besides, they did not have sufficient money or store of grains with them, which could facilitate the payment of daily wages.

To avoid such difficulties they thought of cultivating the land collectively on share basis. The share of the participant cultivators were determined by adjusting their contributions in terms of plough units. One plough unit comprised of one adult male labourer, one adult female labourer, one plough and a pair of bullocks. Further, they decided that all these units would work together in all agricultural operations. It was also agreed that (i) In case a member is not able to send the unit of plough or a part thereof the work, the substitute would be provided by the member at his own cost. (ii) All participants
had to come to the fields during the operational periods at the fixed time. (iii) The quantity of seeds and manures would be shared by the members according to number of plough units contributed by them. (iv) The landholders who were not partners in the well would be enabled to participate in growing the Rabi crops and they were given the share in the Rabi crops on the basis of the plough units contributed by them. (v) One member who was neither owing the land nor bullocks and implements was considered as equivalent to a member contributing one plough unit under the condition that besides performing his duties as a village functionary (a cobbler), he and his family members would have to participate in agricultural operations. In case he or the members of his family were unable to participate in the agricultural operations, a substitute would be provided by him. He was not required to contribute his share of seeds and manure. He was, however, not entitled to get any bye-products at the time of distribution of produce. (vi) After making payments to the village functionaries, the produce would be divided on the basis of plough unit actually contributed during the agricultural operations. (vii) The total land revenue would not be paid according to size of landholdings owned by the individuals but according to the number of plough units contributed by him.

These decisions were not recorded. They were made orally and were agreed upon by all the members.

Though, the cultivation was started on collective basis, the fields of the members were never consolidated in blocks, demarcation between the fields remained as they were before the collective farming. All the 14 units used to assemble in one field for ploughing. After completing the ploughing in it, they would again start together in the next field. In this way during Kharif season, 260 Bighas of land were ploughed. After ploughing the land, the cropping plan was decided by the participants. The seed was taken on loan from the moneylenders by the participants on usual rate of interest. In similar fashion all types of operations from ploughing to the winnowing of the crop were carried out.
Resources pooled by the members: The total resources in terms of land, labour, livestocks and implements contributed by the participants during the collective farming period were as follows:

Out of 39 persons; assumed to constitute the total working force in the village, 2 were not working due to chronic diseases, 4 were working outside the village leaving a balance of 33 workers in the village; of these 29 took actual part in the collective farming and remaining 4 workers took part as the substitute. 3 persons who were over 60, did not work at all due to old age.

It was found that the 10 members pooled among themselves 486.10 Bighas of land in the village along with 13 ploughs and 26 bullocks. Out of these 10 members, 8 households contributed 1 plough/unit each (including the household of Regar who had no land, implements and bullocks), one household contributed 2 units of plough while the remaining household contributed 4 units of ploughs. In this way, the Collective Farming started with 13 ploughs, 26 bullocks and 29 active workers, besides contributing seeds and manure on the plough unit basis. Besides as noted earlier, the society had received a loan of Rs. 4300.

Crop pattern: Out of the total cropped area of 280 Bighas in 1959-60, 260 Baghas or 92.8 per cent were under Kharif crop while 10 Bighas 7.2 per cent were under Rabi crop. Average area cropped per unit worked out to 20.00 Bighas.

During Kharif season, out of 260 Bighas of cultivated land Bajra was grown over half of the cultivated land, while the remaining half of the area was under Guwar and Moth. The total production of Bajra was 60 mds., while the production of Moth and Guwar was 100 and 80 mds., respectively. The yield rate for Bajra, Moth and Guwar was 0.46, 1.53 and 1.23 mds. per bigha respectively. The total produce was divided among 14 participants. Each participant received 17.1 mds. of food grains which was much below their expectations.

+ This household was actually having 6 units of plough, out of which 2 units of plough i.e. 2 adult males, 2 adult females + 2 ploughs + 4 bullocks were utilised for cultivating 50 Bighas of land outside the village.
In Rabi season, out of 20 Bighas of cultivated land, Barley was grown in \( \frac{3}{4} \) of the area while the remaining \( \frac{1}{4} \) area was under Wheat. The total production of Barley and Wheat was 300 mds. and the produce per unit was 21.4 mds. The yield rate for Barley and Wheat was 16.6 and 10.0 mds. per Bigha respectively. Out of the total produce 40 mds. of Barley was paid to village functionaries residing outside the village who had rendered their services throughout the year. The remaining produce was divided into 14 shares in the presence of all the participants. Each participant got 18.6 mds. The bye-product was distributed among the 13 members, excluding one participant who had no livestock.

The produce was sold by the participants individually. The land revenue was paid to treasurer of the society by each participant separately and the same was deposited in the Tehsil Office through treasurer.

In the subsequent year i.e. 1960-61 it was decided to change the method of work. Instead of cultivating the land on collective basis, the villagers reverted to their old mode of cultivation.

We may sum up our discussions by saying that the Ganeshpura Collective Farming Society which was organised for enabling the villagers to cultivate the land collectively worked only for one year on the desired line. In the very next year it began to disintegrate and during the third year it completely fizzled out, though on paper, it is still continued. Various reasons, both economic and non-economic had been responsible for the dismal working and quick disintegration of the society. These factors are discussed in the next section.

Section: IV

Disintegration of the Society

We have noted earlier that the villagers were living Cooperatively and their relations were very harmonious and cordial since their settling in the Village. There was already Cooperation in carrying out number of agricultural operations. Again, under the guidance of a Grandan leader, the villagers came together and donated the entire
land in the village in favour of Gram Sabha and then transferred the same to Ganeshpura Collective Farming Society, with the expectations that by so doing they would secure much more help and assistance from the Government in developing their agriculture than they could muster on their own. Thus, the Society was started with great expectations. It is regretted, therefore, that a very useful institution for the promotion of economic and social condition of the villagers came to an end just after an year. The factors which were responsible for its failure are briefly narrated here, though a reference to most of these factors has already been made in earlier pages.

EXOGENOUS FACTORS:

(i) A Gramdani leader had played a very important role and took keen interest in the establishment of the Society. But after its formation we found that the Gramdani leader had seldom been to the village to discuss their problems and difficulties. The Sarva Seva Sangh did not provide any constructive worker, for the village nor did they make any special efforts to impart knowledge on collective farming to the villagers. No active steps were taken at the time of Gramdan by the leaders for improving the social and economic condition of the village through education and health services. The Government officials also tried to avoid them. Whenever, the villagers went to them for any assistance, they were directed to consult the Gramdani leaders regarding aid or assistance as the village was declared as Gramdani village. But the Gramdan leaders did not understand their full responsibilities in the context of changing situation in the village. They failed to help the villagers during the transitory and crucial phase of cooperative organization. If these leaders could have shown keener interest in the collective farming society, it could have been saved from disintegration.

(ii) At the time when the society was started, conditions for receiving technical and financial aid from the Block Agency looked quite encouraging. The members decided to cultivate the land collectively according to the directions laid down by Block Agency. The target for area to be brought under cultivation was fixed at 521 Bighas. This was abnormally high in relation to the
availability of tools and work force with the Society. The members expected some subsidy for a tractor and a pumping set from the Block Agency. Till the last moment no concrete assistance was received from the Block Agency though the promises were made from time to time. Due to this the members had to start the collective cultivation in their own way. The Society had to take even the seeds on loan from the money-lenders at usual rate of interest. Thus the members lost their confidence in Block Agency as the same did not lend any support to the Society.

(iii) The help received by the Cooperative Bank, Jaipur, though generous was ill-timed. It was found from the records that a short term loan of Rs. 4800 was received from the Cooperative Bank, Jaipur, much after the ploughing and sowing operations were over. Therefore, the villagers distributed the money as personal loans among the members, who were in need of it. As per society's records, we found that the loan was taken by the members for the construction of new houses as well as for agricultural purposes, but on enquiry it was found that the amount was utilised largely for consumption purposes, as the Kharif crop in that year was very much below normal. The loan amount was returned to Cooperative Bank, Jaipur, through the Society in the same year after Rabi harvest with the expectation that in the name of Collective Farming Society they would secure more loans for their personal use in the ensuing years. In the subsequent year viz. 1960-61, the society again received a sum of Rs. 8000 for carrying through the agricultural operations in rabi season. But by that time, the villagers were not cultivating the land collectively. This loan was also late and untimely. The members again distributed the amount among themselves. This amount was not repaid by them in that year viz. 1960-61 though it was a short term loan. Therefore, they failed to secure the loan in the name of society. Subsequently, on their side the villagers were very much frightened because of their default and were of the opinion that after repaying the amount to Bank, they would not like to borrow Government money (they, of course, do not distinguish between the Cooperative loan and a Government loan).
If these delays could have been avoided in the initial stages, the Society might have tried to hire a tractor and could have purchased the improved seeds etc.

(iv) None was literate among the villagers at the time of the formation of the Society. Difficulties were experienced in the maintenance of records, as there was not even a school teacher in the village who could have helped them over. The members applied for a subsidy of Rs. 1000 towards, management expenses, but the same was not granted by the Government of Rajasthan. The result was that they could not employ a qualified secretary. They had to depend on an outsiders for performing secretarial duties.

(v) During the period of 3 years, from the inception of the society in 1959 till our enquiry in 1962, four or five officers of various Government Departments visited the society for fulfilling audit needs, supervision and inspection etc. But none had tried to study the causes of the rot which had set in the Society.

It is clear from the above account that none of the external agencies, who were supposed to encourage and strengthen collective interest in the functioning of the Society. It should not be forgotten that there were several limitations in the village society and in the organization for Collective Farming which was evolved. We refer to these in the following paragraphs:

ENDOGENOUS FACTORS

(i) The village was extremely backward in respect of education. All the adults in the village were illiterate and unaware of the intrinsic principles of Collective Farming. The aims and objectives of the Society were not understood by any one of them. They joined this venture more in an emotional frenzy than with some decided aim. The proper procedure for work and accounts was not comprehended by them. The secretary who was the only literate person did not help them much and members had to depend on their own intuitions. They were unable to understand the complicated nature of accounts, which were necessary to be maintained in the society. They thought of cultivating land on daily wage basis, but all th
members being illiterate, they could not maintain muster rolls, attendance registers etc., and had to drop the idea. They started cultivating the land collectively on a very crude basis viz. a plough unit, which created more problems for them.

(ii) In the year 1959-60 i.e. Collective Farming year, during Kharif season 260 Bighas of land was brought under the plough which gave a total yield of 240 mds. of cereals or in other words just under 1 maund per Bigha. This average yield was very low as compared to previous years (as reported by the villagers).

Again in Rabi season, with the increased units, only 20 Bighas of land were cultivated. For this lack of genuine response among members, irregularities, mismanagements and impunctuality were largely responsible. The total produce from these 20 Bighas was more than previous years, but the same was shared by 14 units (including 3 non co-sharers in the common well as well as two co-sharers in the common well who had contributed 3 units more) instead of 8 (co-sharers in the common well), which meant reduced proportion to those co-sharers of the common well, who had only one unit of plough. This made a damaging impact on the attitude towards collective farming.

(iii) One of the major sources of bickering was the impunctuality in attending work. Villager who was not accustomed to the idea of punctuality now somehow felt that at least others should be punctual in attendance for farm operations. He felt hurt if others were late and humiliated if it was pointed out that he was late.

The male participants tolerated irregular coming and going to some extent but their ladies could not tolerate others' irregularity. They generally started quarreling and abusing one another on the pretext of late arrivals. This again was merely an outlet for tensions which were built in because of a more fundamental reason.

The villagers, fatalistic in the extreme though they were, could never accept a notion of common fate for all of them. They felt that somehow they are mortgaging their own fate in this collective enterprise. (iv) The faulty selection of the basic unit for sharing the output
had much to do with the disintegration of the society. The real core of the village society were the nine families having share in common well. Now because of the inclusion of the non-partners in well in the society, their share was considerably reduced. They were not compensated for their interest in the well.

This also would not have mattered much had there been an increase in area under irrigation.

(v) The Society concentrated in securing more credit but did not attempt to secure with same seriousness farm implements, tractor, pumping set or bullocks etc.

(vi) The participants cultivated the land collectively but sold their share of produce individually. This further distracted their loyalty to the Society.

Section : V
A few Suggestions

We have discussed in the foregoing pages, the organization, working and disintegration of Ganeshpura Collective Farming Society. It is proposed, now in the end, to recapitulate the basic features of the village community which volunteered for the organization of the Society and also to offer few suggestions.

Cooperation is the voluntary working together of a group of people. This implies that there is no direct or indirect coercion, which forces the people to work together. When there was an acute paucity of water, the villagers of Ganeshpura came together and dug a common well on Cooperative line with their pooled resources. This initiative was taken by the villagers themselves without any outside prompting. Similarly, mutual aid at the time of ploughing, weeding, harvesting and other operations on the farms had been a common practice and still continues even when the experience of Collective Farming has been given up as a failure. Members of each household help in other's fields at the time of various agricultural operations.

There was complete harmony in the village before Collective Farming and still the villagers are leading a cooperative life and having
the cordial relations among themselves. The village leader commands universal respect of the villagers.

There is economic and social homogeneity among the villagers. All the villagers except one household belonging to Regar caste are landowners and also there is no great disparity in respect of their holdings. The land under Rabi season is still cultivated jointly by two groups of four and five households respectively.

Regarding social homogeneity, also we find that Jats and Ahirs households have closest social relations.

It seems that the villagers of Ganeshpura are cooperative minded and working together is not new to them. Inspite of these favourable factors, the conclusion is inevitable that the Collective Farming experiment is a failure. It will be too hasty to jump from this to a surmise that Cooperative Farming can never succeed. We are convinced that the cooperative farming can be a very effective tool for raising the economic and social standards in this village. The present Society has failed because of some avoidable mistakes. We suggest a few measures to revive the Cooperative Farming Society and to make it a real live and productive organization.

The main reason behind the failure of this society was that it had not undergone sufficient preparation and was organized in a great haste. Villagers were not accustomed to this sort of institutionalized form of cooperation. If they were properly guided in matter of the principles and objectives of the cooperative farming and were acquainted with the procedures etc. in a proper way by Gramdani workers in the initial stage, the Society might have proved a great success.

The whole issue of Cooperative Farming has undergone competent analysis in the hands of various experts. It is not our intention to repeat what is already known. The suggestions which we are offering have a bearing in the specific situation confronted in this village. It is incidental if they have general applicability also.
(i) We would urge the Gramdani Leaders to take keener interest and endeavour to gain the confidence of the villagers and to guide them in the working of the society. In the initial stage, these leaders should visit the village at least once every week and take interest in the day to day working of the Society.

(ii) Help and guidance from various Government Departments like Community Development, Agriculture, Cooperation etc. is required in the initial stages. A Committee of Government Officials from concerned departments, Gramdani workers and few representatives of the village, be set up to advise and to help the Society. Production plan should be formulated on the basis of the estimates of available manpower, capital and land resources of the society.

(iii) We have seen that loans and assistance when not delivered in time are not only of no avail but can actually be factors in the disintegration of the Society. Procedures for granting the loans by the District Cooperative Bank should be re-examined and streamlined.

(iv) It was shown that the informal, but effective, cooperation which prevailed in this village veered round the common well. We suggest that a cooperatively owned water lifting pump can become another symbol of cooperation. Only by installing a mechanically operated pump the area under Rabi can be extended. Such an extension will be a positive and a conspicuous proof of the benefit of cooperative action.

(v) One of the reasons, if not the main reason, for the failure of this experiment was the lack of trained secretary. The state should make all attempts to provide the trained secretary to this Society. If the experience of the Society is an indication of general malady, we will suggest that no cooperative farming society would be registered until and unless it is in a position to secure the services of a trained secretary.

(vi) It is equally important that farmers' faith in the cooperative farming should be revived. For this purpose a batch of farmers should be taken round more successfully operating collective farming society to enable them to grasp the reasons for the success of a Society.
(vii) In matters of cooperation as in other activities it would be better to proceed from known to unknown and from familiar to the unfamiliar. In the first instance the owners of land and equipment as well as the co-sharers in the well should be paid some compensation for their contribution. This compensation should be fixed in the initial years, so that when the Society develops the share giving as compensations becomes progressively less and less important.

(viii) Nothing, however, will help more in reviving and strengthening the society as a general toning up of the health and educational situation in the village. An intensive programme of the spread of educational and medical facilities in the gramdan areas, like one in which Ganeshpura is situated, will go long way in achieving the objectives of the movement.
આ અભાવનાં સુધી હેતુનો નીચે પ્રસાદે હતા.
(1) નિને સહ ધતર સાહનોના સામુદ્રક ઉપયોગ
(2) ધીરરાજુને કહ અને તેણી ઉપયોગ
(3) ખરચના કારણ
(4) પરિમણની વહે સય્યી અને તેલ વેષાલ
(5) સાહીની સાહિત્ય અને અંતર્ભિક પરિશ્રમત
(6) અંશીના સનગેત અને ચિકાર્નની પ્રકૃતિ તથા તેણા અંતર્ભિક અને સલ પરિશૃંધ્રે અને બજેથી સાહની સંભિત.

અશ્રીલાલ હાસણ સાહનો સહ છે અને તે ભવિષ્યના વિકાસના સાધારણ તાલુકાઓને આખી છે. આ પરામાં વરસાદ અના ગ્રામો ખેતીના સ્થળે રાજ્ય જાતિને પરિશ્લેષણ સદ્ભાવ વિશેષતા પણ ઉપયોગિત હતું. લાંઝના સામુદ્રક ગેટ અંશીનું સંગેત અને ચિકાર વિકાસના વ્યાજ વિશે પણ આધાર પ્રતિષ્ઠા તથા તેણા અંતર્ભિક અને સલ પરિશૃંધ્રે અને બજેથી સાહની સંભિત.

સામુદ્રક પરિશ્રમત:
(1) આભાનાં નિર્દ્રા અને સામુદ્રક અંશીના સિદ્ધિતિથી ક્રમત હતા. આ સામુદ્રક સાહનામાં દ્રાર ગેટ દ્વારા લાંઝના આખી નિદર્શી અંશીનું બનાવવું.
(2) અંશીના સાહનામાં યોગ્ય અનુસારના આધાર અનુસરણના આધાર અને ખેત વિશેષતા વ્યાજ અને સાહની સાહનામાં વિશેષ ઉપયોગ કરવું છે.
(3) સલાસધારણા પૂર્ણ ઉપાધનની વ્રદ્ધિ સંતોષક કારણ ન હતી.
(4) સલાસધારણા કેટલું ધાન બચુ વિજાય મેળવવાં રાજ્યના હું તેણું આંનની, ટ્રેક્ટર, પાણીવાઇ પણ અધિક વિવિધ મેળવવાં નહીં રમોલું.
(5) સલાસધારણા જમીન સામાન્ય પીતી થેતા પરંતુ ઉપાધનનું અંગે વિમાન મહત્વપૂર્ણ રીતે કરતા.

અશ્લી પરિસ્થિતિ:

(1) આમદણી શરૂ કરીને શાકસામાન્ય આગળ પણ તે બાળ કરી માટે હંધું સાંભળની સલાસધારણા શરૂ કરી પરંતુ પાલણથી તેઓ થઇ થતો તેમ ગામ ઉપર આવતી સલાસધારણા મુખ્ય વ્યક્તિઓ હતા. અને તેમાં મહત્વ હતો કે સલાસધારણા આગળ પણ આવતો અને સામાન્ય સાહકારી સંયુક્તના સંવચન અંજનું વેચાવી નાન આપવાની આગતું રચા રમવેલા નથી.

(2) સાંભળી શાકસામાન્ય વિચાર ગઢ્ઢ તર્કી અયોધ્ય આધિક અને શેર માટે સાહકારી પાણી શક્તિ સાહકારી મહેમાણી. સલાસધારણા ટ્રેક્ટર અને પાણીવાઇ પણ આ વિશેષ સહાય આપી દીક્ષિત પરંતુ જતીઓ હતી આ શક્તિ સાહકારી વધુ સહાય આપવા અને શક્તિ અને રમાં પરંતુ જેની જાણ શકાય પણ આપવા પણ શહેરો પાસે વિચારી ઉદ્યમ આપવા ને લેવા પડતા. આવા પરિસ્થિતિઓ વિચાર ઘરેઘર સાહકારી સંયુક્તના વિચાર કરી ગયેલી.

(3) સાહકારી છેદ તર્કી ધીરજ સારી અને પાણી વચ્ચે પરંતુ તે વાઘાસર નહી મળવું અને વધુ ધીરજ ઓફિસ વિચારની દંડરીમાં આવેલી પદેશે પાસે આપા આધરીઓ કરી લેતો.

(4) જાણવા શક્તિ અમિતાં શિલ્કોન ન હોવાની સંયુક્તના દિલાખત રાજ્યના સાહકાર અમિતા ની લાંબા સાહકાર પાસે વન્નિયે અમિતા પદે હતે. ૧૦૦૦૦ના ગામ્યું કરી પરંતુ તે મહત્વ રમેલ નથી.

(5) સંયુક્તના શાકસામાન્ય તે આ અભિવાદન હાથ પોતે તે નાણુ વધારે ગાયા સ્મારણ આધરી સાહકારી ભારતીયા અભિવાદના વારંવાર આ આપાય કુલાકત વીજીઓ પરંતુ દિલાખત સંયુક્તના કાઢીને મૂકાય આધારી અભિવાદનકા કામે હતો.

આ અભિવાદનકા આપાય કે લોએ નાણુ છે તે વધારે દિલાખત અને જીની સાહકારી ભારતીયા અભિવાદનકા વાળી મૂકાય આધારી અભિવાદનકાં નાણુ છે.