

**Training for
Rural Development in Bangladesh
A Study on the Role of TTDC**

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Mohammad Asaduzzaman



O S D E R
PUBLICATIONS

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ISBN: 978-984-90432-7-0

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Cover Design

Md. Shahjahan Kazi

Published by **Osder Publications**, House 9/A (2nd Floor), Road 15 (New), 28 (Old), Dhanmondi R/A, Dhaka 1209, *Business Office*: 131 DIT Extension Road, Dhaka-1000. Bangladesh and printed by Osder Printers.

Printed in Bangladesh, Septmeber 2013

Price :

Softback : Tk. 350.00, US\$ 20

Hardback: Tk. 400.00, US\$ 25

Dedicated to
The farmers of Bangladesh

Acknowledgements

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my profound gratitude to my supervisor Dr. R.J.K. Chapman, for his critical supervision, enormous patience and constant support in preparing this thesis. In all practices he has been more than my supervisor. He will remain as a source of inspiration throughout my life.

I am also grateful to Mrs. Ann Jensen, Dr. A.M.M. Shawkat Ali, Dr. Lutful Hoq Chowdhury and Dr. W. Warnapala for their heartfelt support and encouragement.

I am grateful to the people of Australia for allowing me to undertake this study under their Colombo Plan scholarship. Professor H.G. Gelber got me transferred to the University of Tasmania from Western Australian Institute of Technology. I am also grateful to him.

My special thanks are due to Motaher Hossain and Mahbubur Rahman who helped me in collecting data and other research materials for this study.

Thanks are also due to Mrs. Nell Gill who has carefully typed this thesis.

My wife and children have always been a source of inspiration. I am thankful to them.

I alone bear full responsibility for any short-comings in the thesis.

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Chapter I

Rural Development in Bangladesh

Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) emerged as a new nation in December 1971 after a bloody war of liberation with Pakistan (former West Pakistan). It has an area of 55,598 sq. miles,¹ and a population of 92 millions with a growth rate of 2.5 percent per year.² It is the eighth most populous country of the world with an average population of 1566 per sq. mile,³ whereas, according to 1972 census, the density of population per sq. mile in China is 212, in India 43, in Sri Lanka 508 and in Indonesia only 205.⁴

Bangladesh is primarily an agricultural country and is the fourth largest agricultural society in the world. Only China, India and Indonesia have a larger number of people directly dependent on agriculture. Over 60% of the gross Domestic Products comes from agriculture, and only 6% comes from industries.⁵ About 92% of the population live in villages and 90% of them are dependent on agriculture, whereas 80% of the population in India, 85% in China and 82% in Indonesia live in rural areas.⁶ As in most of such countries, the income is minimal, the average per capita income in Bangladesh is \$90 a year. In addition over four-fifths of the total population is below the poverty line in terms of minimum calorie requirement, malnutrition and illiteracy.⁷

Rural Setting of Bangladesh

Bangladesh has rightly been called an extended village. A typical Bengali village will have 30-50 houses with an area of 1-2 sq. miles. The more affluent people have houses with corrugated iron sheet roofs. They may even have some brickwork. Almost all the poor people have mud and thatched huts. Drinking water comes from ponds, rivers and tube wells. Lighting is with kerosene lamp or hurricane lantern.⁸

1. The Agrarian Structure

The chief occupation of the people is cultivation. Farming activity is undertaken on family land with family labor for family consumption. The small farmers sell out portion of their produce for purchasing daily necessities of life and paying debts and land revenues; Farmers do not consider farming as a business and do not depend on hired labor, although tenant farming mainly on a crop sharing basis is present.⁹

Another feature of the farming structure of Bangladesh is the small average size of the majority of farms. The following table shows the structure of agricultural holdings in Bangladesh.¹⁰

Table 1. Sizes and numbers of land holdings in Bangladesh,

Size of holding	No. of holdings (in thousands)	Percentage
1. Small (up to 2.5 acres)	3,112	45.4
2. Medium (e.5 to 7.5 acres)	2,556	37.3
3. Large (above 7.5 acres)	590	8.6
4. Livestock holdings	595	8.7
	6,883	100.00

The above table shows that average land holding is very small. 45.4 of the 6883,000 holdings are smaller than 2.5 acres. The main reason behind the sub-division and fragmentation of holding is due to the ever-increasing population and the Muslim law of inheritance.¹¹ Due to the small size of holdings the farmers cannot adopt scientific methods of agriculture, "man and bullock provide the energy, managing is not properly done. Line sowing was unknown till recently"¹², "agriculture has not yet begun in Bangladesh-people are just playing with the earth".¹³ Though the country's economy is based on agriculture, Its current agricultural output is far below potential. Bangladesh's present rice yield is 1.2 metric tons per hectare compared with 2.5 tons in Sri Lanka, and 2.7 tons in Malaysia which have similar climate and 4 tons per hectare in Taiwan where labor input is greater.¹⁴ This low productivity is because of traditional outmoded technology, subdivision and fragmentation of holdings and insufficient inputs supply. The cropping pattern is imbalanced and the crop intensity is very poor. Agriculture is dominated by rice for domestic consumption and jute is the principal cash crop, which earns foreign exchange.

The crisis in agriculture is compounded by natural calamities such as cyclone, flood and drought that occur almost every year. Agriculture in Bangladesh is also frequently said to be the gamble of monsoon. "If nature smiles, the farmers smile" is the proverb commonly used to signify the dependence of agriculture on weather conditions.¹⁵ The natural calamities cause irreparable loss of crops, cattle and livestock to the fanners; they suffer untold miseries. In such a situation the farmer has to approach the moneylender to mortgage his land at an exorbitant rate of interest, which varies from 80 to 100 percent per year. Year after year the same thing is repeated. Ultimately the small farmers and the marginal farmers do not have any other alternatives to selling their land, 'hearth and homes and throwing themselves into the category of landless.

The process of increased proletarianization was brought about by the conversion of small holders into landless workers through these pressures. Thus the number of landless workers has increased both absolutely and as a proportion of agricultural population.¹⁶ The following table shows how much the process of proletarianization has taken place in rural Bangladesh.¹⁷

Table 2. Landlessness in Rural Bangladesh

Categories	No. of households	Percentage of total	No. of Persons	Percentage
Landless 1	1.3 million	11.07	5.9m	8.13
Landless 2	1.4 million	12.46	1.2m	1.72
Landless 3	3.9 millions	32.79	18.7m	27.10
Landless 4	1.8. million	15.29	9.5m	13.82
Total	8.4 millions	71,61	35.3m	50.77

Explanation:

Category 1. No land, either homestead or other land.

Category 2. May or may not claim land other than homestead land.

Category 3 & 4. Claim to own 0.5 acres of land either homestead or other than homestead land.

The figure shows that 51% of the total population (1977) is within a bracket of no land or at most 0.5 acre of land. The number of these landless workers is increasing at an alarming rate day by day. Since labour is a perishable commodity and there is abundance in the supply of labour, with minimum or no demand, the labourers are compelled to sell their land in exchange of a negligible amount of cash or kind or both. Consequently, in most cases the landless labourers are totally subservient to the land owners, money lenders and other influential classes in the society. This process has changed the power-structure in the society, making it more authoritarian and elitist.

2. *Rural Power Structure*

The traditional rural power-structure dominates the socio-political scene.¹⁸ Big landholders, corrupt government officials, dishonest traders, greedy moneylenders and manipulating touts constituted the "rural conglomerate". They are the agents of rural exploitation. They maintain good connections with so-called urban elite such as politicians and high officials. These vested interest groups play a major role in rural society. The local government institutions have become ineffective, because actual representation is hardly achieved in them.¹⁹ The rural elite manipulate the election of the local council and get their people elected to serve their interests. In practice, it has become a system by the elite, sprung from the elite and for the elite.

The First Five Year plan of Bangladesh (1973-78) admitted the seriousness of these problems. It stated that "It is now well known that serious class differentiation exists in the rural society of Bangladesh. The rural power-structure is authoritarian dominated by some vested interest groups. If these groups continue to dominate and make decisions regarding the choice of technology and institutions, the interest of the lower stratum and the majority of the rural society will not be safeguarded".²⁰ Akhter Hatnid Khan echoed the same concern, "the class conflict in the rural areas is more advanced than some ten to fifteen years ago. The number of landless

people is increasing rapidly-and may within a generation lead to the breakdown of the present social order".²¹

In such a situation development cannot take place easily and effectively, social justice becomes the interest of the stronger. The whole process is so wide spread, interwoven and interlinked, that social justice is ultimately denied to the rural people. One of the ways it has been suggested, to overcome these problems, is by helping the depressed class to organize themselves, adopt innovation collectively and become a dominant productive force. In order to achieve this goal, rural development has become the crux question of the government, politicians and intelligentsia, The importance of rural development has given rise to the introduction of sound and viable rural institutions..

Rural Development and Rural Institution- A Perspective

The prevailing socio-economic conditions of the rural Bangladesh compelled the government to formulate programs and policies in order to improve the living conditions of the rural masses. Rural development means developing the skill of the masses to make them self-reliant through institutions which supply the appropriate and relevant know- ledge on the method of self-help.²²

Rural development has been however equated with agricultural development. Many economists have argued that rural development cannot be achieved without priority given to agricultural production. Mosher, for example, argued for the interdependence of agricultural growth and rural welfare and states that increasing rural welfare is dependent on achieving agricultural growth.²³

Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre (APDAC) provides a comprehensive definition of rural development in the Asian context. APDAC defines rural development as a process which leads to a rise in the capacity of rural people to control their environment accompanied by wider distribution of benefits resulting from such a control. APDAC further indicates seven indicators of rural development. These are as follows:²⁴

- a. change in agricultural productivity
- b. change in rural employment, unemployment and underemployment
- c. changes in the distribution of wealth and income to be determined in two ways (i) Re-distribution of income of different income groups, (ii) Re-distribution of the ownership of land.
- d. changes in the distribution of power and influence and participation in decision-making

- e. changes in the degree of mobility in the local class-structure as reflected in the allocation of positions, prestige, status and power on the basis of achievement or ascription and removal of barriers to access to public facilities.
- f. welfare indicators such as change in literacy, schooling, mortality rate, life expectancy, rural road electrification and level of nutrition
- g. changes in values, belief, attitude of the members of the State agencies.

To achieve the APDAC indicators requires institution building to promote such changes in rural areas. Successful implementation of these programs heavily depends on the creation of proper rural institutions, because institutions should provide for participation of the rural people in the development activities, efficient delivery of supplies and services in rural areas, integration of various departmental activities at the local level and optimum utilization of resources available for rural development. Effective rural institutions are vitally important for the implementation of rural development programmes.²⁵

Akhter Hamid Khan,²⁶ one of the pioneering personalities of rural development in Bangladesh, realized the importance of appropriate and effective rural institutions. He formulated the following view of rural development and rural institution, "Rural Development primarily consists in building strong institutions and securing responsibility and resources for these institutions. The nature of these institutions can be administrative, educational and economic. The institutions have to be built at various levels, the village has to be bound together in institutions, one above the other, one supporting the other, each encouraging and stimulating the others".²⁷

Moreover in the past, two approaches appear to have dominated thinking about rural institutions and both have been fallacious. One is the paternalistic or bureaucratic approach which assumes the rural people are passive, fatalistic and uninterested in initiating anything on their own, incapable of under-taking activities to change their lives. Everything must be done for them in a top down bureaucratic manner. In contrast, the populist approach assumes that rural people are completely capable of transforming their own communities if only the politicians and bureaucrats would leave them alone. While the former view does not do justice to the reality, the latter is equally unreal.

Rural people are possibly more capable and responsive than the paternalistic model of social change suggests, but they are less able to change their lives automatically than the populist model assumes. What must be developed is an institutionalized system that is neither exclusively top down or bottom up nor wholly government initiated.²⁸

The Comilla Model of Rural Development in Bangladesh reflects the above judgment. The basic assumption of Comilla model is that rural people have the real understanding of their problems. So their development should be approached from their point of view. On the other hand, government should ensure sufficient provisions of training, services and supplies to bring about a change in them. In the sixties it was possible through the introduction of Thana Training and Development Centre (HOC), a Thana based rural institution.

TTDC was an innovation of Comilla model of rural development. It was aimed to establish a viable link between the development agencies of the government and the scattered, haphazard rural people as an organized group to facilitate the extension of agricultural knowledge, supply of supervised credit and subsidized production inputs for increasing agricultural productivity which would bring welfare to the people. It was also intended to ensure participation of rural people in development process.

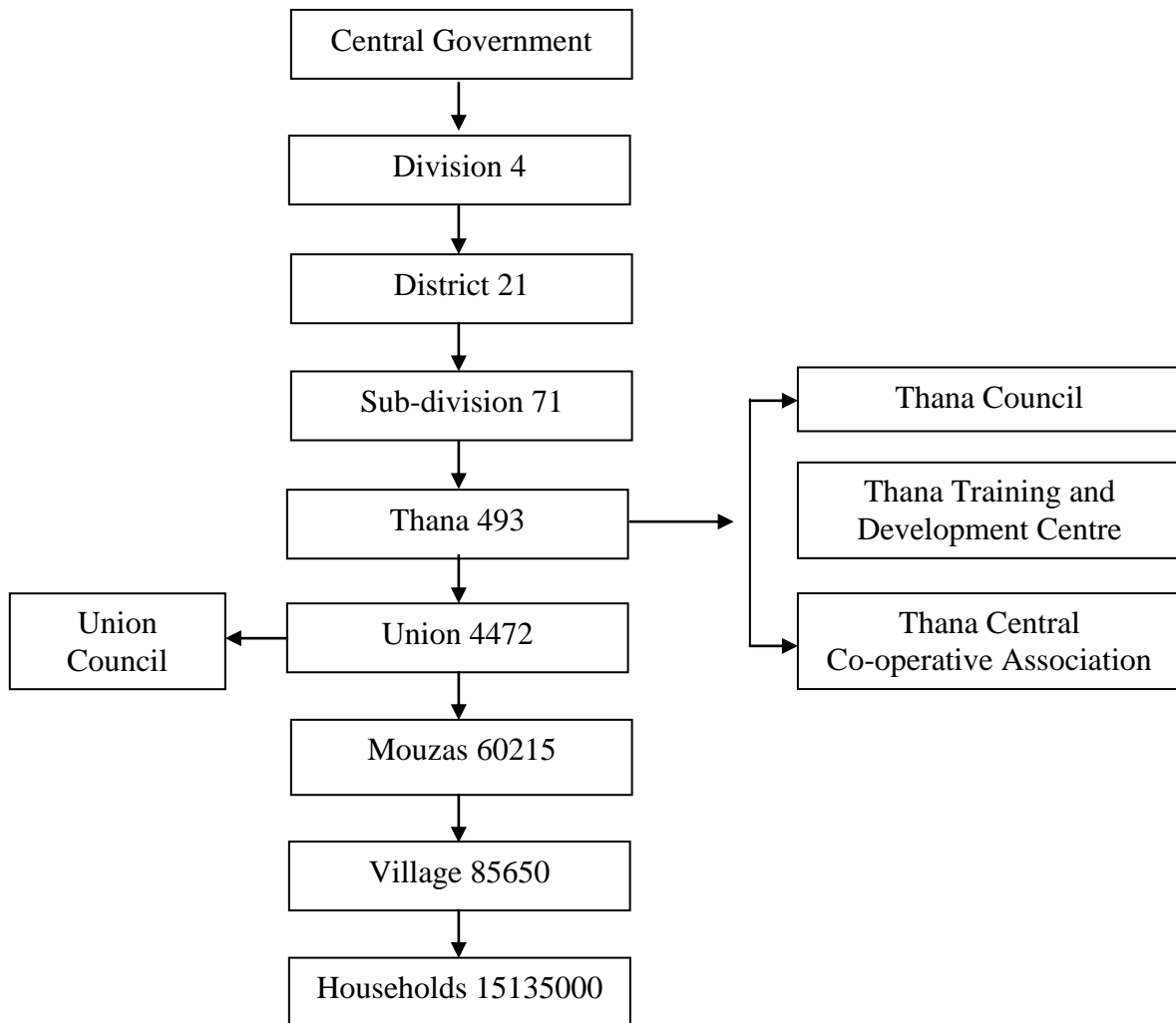
The vital link between TTDC in rural development in Bangladesh is, however, overwhelmed by the administrative- structure within which it must operate. Bangladesh has a unitary form of government. Due to its geographical compactness, it is governed by a central government, In the policy formulation level, each ministry is under a minister, who is the political head of the ministry. Below the minister there is one secretary, who is the administrative head assisted by one Additional Secretary. There are several Joint Secretaries. Each Joint Secretary supervises Deputy Secretaries who are in charge of Section Officers.

In the policy execution level the country is divided- into four divisions. Each division is under the administrative control of a Divisional Commissioner. The four divisions are again unequally divided into 21 districts, with each district under the administrative control of a Deputy Commissioner. The 21 districts are sub-divided into 71 sub-divisions and each sub-division is under a sub-divisional officer. The 71 sub-divisions are divided into 493 Thanas. Each thana is under the control of a Circle Officer (Development). Thana is the lowest administrative unit of central government and the nerve centre of development administration. The Union is the lowest strata of the local government (see diagram I).

Administration of Rural Development in Bangladesh

There are a number of ministries and agencies which are implementing rural development programmes through their line department reaching rural areas. Thana has become the operational base for the implementation of the rural development policies and programmes.

Diagram 1. Administrative Units of Bangladesh



Source: *Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh, 1981*. Bureau of Statistics, Government of Bangladesh, (Published on 15 December 1982.)

The thana establishment is linked up with the central government through its hierarchical arrangement. Important ministries which are involved in rural development policy formulation at the Centre and policy execution at thana level are Agriculture, Forest, Fisheries, Livestock, Local Government and Rural Development, Health and Population planning, Education, and Social Welfare. (See Appendix 1.), These ministries operate rural development programs in Bangladesh in collaboration with International Agencies such as: World Bank (WB), Asian Development Bank (AD6), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Development Programs (UNDP), and others.

Literally thana means a police station. From the administrative point of view thana is the bottom of the hierarchy of the national government. The traditional role of thana administration was the maintenance of law and order situation and collection of revenues. Thana administration got a new dimension with the introduction of Basic Democracy as the form of local government by President Ayub in the early sixties. Its importance has

increased considerably with the introduction of Thana Training and Development Centre in order to achieve a decentralized and coordinated rural administration.

Description of Savar Thana

Since the main focus of this study is to evaluate the training and development activities of TTDC in Savar Thana, it is necessary to give a brief description of this particular thana. Savar Thana is situated in the district of Dhaka, about 20 miles North West of the capital city of Bangladesh. The total area of this thana is 150 sq. miles, and the population is 261,000. The density of population per sq. mile is 2417,³⁰ and is well above the national average. There are twelve Union Parishads³¹ (councils) and 425 villages in the Thana. Each Union is headed by a chairman who is directly elected by the people and has a secretary nominated by the government. The number of the members of the Union Parishad depends on the number of the population of the Union. As the thana is situated near the capital city, it is under the direct surveillance of the senior officials of the relevant nation-building departments and their ministries.

The thana is atypical in the sense that the area of the thana is more developed than most of the other rural thanas. Not only is there a developed infra-structure, but the Jahangir Nagar University is situated in the heart of the thana. An international dairy farm, a radio station, a Public Administration training complex, a college and a good number of secondary and primary schools add to the importance of the thana. There are also some small industrial complexes in the vicinity of the thana. The "Gano Shasthya Kendro" (People's Health Centre)³² has added special significance to the thana.

It is generally believed that development might take place earlier and faster in a relatively developed area than in a remote and traditional area. Thus if we can assess the level of development through particular rural development programs in a developed thana, we can more easily understand the pattern of development, which is taking place in a less developed or undeveloped thana.

Savar Thana has been brought under the Integrated Rural Development Programme³³ (IRDP) of the government in 1976. In Savar Thana, IRDP has 83 registered village-based peasants' co-operatives, i.e. KSS (Krishak Samabaya Samity) with a membership of 1803 persons with total number of shares of 93540. In addition, there are only 7 registered Mahila Samabaya Samity (MSS) i.e. village-based women's co-operative societies with a membership of 159 persons with a total number of shares of 4730. These co-operatives are federated into thana and formed Savar Thana Central Co-operative Association. Primary Co-operative societies have a total capital of

TK 103085 and women's co-operative societies have a total capital of TF 3460.³⁴ The members of these co-operatives along with members of the local government bodies, are the clientele of training, supplies and services organized by TTDC. There are 30698 farm families and a total of 69661 acres (1 acre = 0.405 hectare) of land. Out of these 69661 acres, 43250 acres are acres cultivable, and 26411 acres are non-cultivable fallow land. The crops occupying the cultivable lands are shown in the following table.

Table 3 Cultivable Lands Under Different crops in Savar Thana

Name of Crop	Area under cultivation
1. Aus Paddy	20750
2. Broadcasting Aman Paddy	3370
3. Transplanted Aman Paddy	6800
4. Boro (high yielding and local varieties)	10760
5. Sugar cane	550
6. Wheat.	500
7. Vegetables	430
8. Jute	90
Total	43250 acres

Souroe: Thana Agricultural Extension Officer, Savar.

From the above table it is evident that in Savar Thana, the main agri cultural product is paddy. Eighty percent of the cultivable land is low lying, which is convenient for the luxuriant growth of Aus, Amoon and Boro.³⁵ Jute, being the principal cash crop in Bangladesh, has a very negligible position in Savar. Under the cultivable land, a total of 13,000 acres are under irrigation in the dry seasons. Irrigation is done through traditional and modern processes.³⁶

The main concern of this thesis to argue for the necessity of strong thana based rural development institutions, i.e. TTDC, where the circle officer co-ordinates and controls the activities of development. In Savar, the thana level officers of different departments used to have their office accommodation scattered in different locations; they used to perform their official duty separately. These offices were brought together and housed in the TTDC complex in 1971. It was intended that this would improve co-ordination among them and enable them to train co-operatively the different groups of villagers. Some demonstration units have been attached to the TTDC since its inception. No trained educator was appointed as it was assumed that thana level officers would act as trainers. This has changed the role of thana level government functionaries to the role of teachers and created a new task for them. This was meant to force them to face the reality of farmers' day to day problems. Thus the local level bureaucrats had to perform two roles, one to teach the practical aspect of rural development and the other to administer the services and maintain supplies for rural development.

After the establishment of Savar TTDC, the thana's initial thrust was for better co-ordination of the different departments and the training of traditional co-operatives and the members of the local government, such as the chairmen and members of Union Parishad. After its inclusion with the IRDP programs, it has dropped the training programs of traditional co-operatives (in Savar there are 239 union multipurpose co-operative societies, i.e. weavers, artisans and fishermen's co-operatives managed by the Co-operative Department). On the other hand, it has considerably extended its activities such as regular training of the chairmen, managers and model farmers, of the primary peasant societies, who will ultimately act as extension agents in their respective villages. This clientele group is selected by the Thana Central Co-operative Association (TCCA). TTDC also provides training to the local government members and co-ordinates their development activities. Occasional classes are organized for the Irrigation group, Block Supervisors of agricultural extension programs and jobless youth.

Purpose of the Study

As noted earlier the main purpose of the study is to evaluate the training and development activities of Savar Thana Training and Development Centre. It is argued that the success of these programs is crucial to the effectiveness of the institution building efforts implicit in the creation of TTDCs. Only when these are fully operational will the consideration of rural institution and rural development indicated by APDAC be achieved. The study will aim to encompass the following matters of direct concern:

- a. a summary of rural development efforts in Comilla Model of rural development and the emergence of TTDC concept.
- b. an examination of the role of Savar TTDC in rural development within the framework of Savar thana administration.
- c. an analysis of the process of training for rural development by the nation building department officials to the village representatives at Savar TTDC.
- d. an assessment of the efforts of co-ordination among the different departments and the participation of the rural people with some tentative conclusions about their effectiveness.

Scope of the Study

The study makes a modest attempt to identify whether-

- a. the training and development activities of the Savar TTDC are bringing any effective result for Us clientele, i.e. villagers,
- b. the interaction between people and officials in Savar thana is effective in promoting rural development,

- c. co-ordination among the different nation building departments is achieved to any extent in thana administration to make training effective,
- d. any modification in the roles of teachers and villagers is needed to achieve better results in rural development.

In order to make judgment about the above matters the following hypotheses have been formulated for assessment;

- a. that rural development projects such as Savar TTDC are the products of continuous evolution of Bangladesh and elsewhere,
- b. that Savar TTDC is not as successful as Comilla because of (i) ineffective training programs and monotonous training system, (ii) lack of administrative and political support available in Comilla, (iii) lack of commitment and honesty among thana level officers which was ensured in Comilla, (iv) co-ordination in Savar Thana administration is not achieved to the same degree as in Comilla,
- c. that to make TTDC an efficient, viable rural institution, there should be regular evaluation of its programs and corrective measures should be adopted to strengthen its functioning.

Research Methodology

No single method of research in social science is perfect by itself. For a better and effective assessment of a problem it is necessary to look into the broad framework within which the programmes operate the process and content which generate the problems. There is a special need to consider the various research approaches. The present study is a combination of different methods of research, (a) Survey method, (b) observation of the actual happening of the programme, (c) secondary research materials.

In the participant-observation method, the researcher and his associates gathered information from the trainers and trainees of Savar TTDC, through attending meetings of KSS and TCCA, attending classes with village representatives, i.e. chairmen, managers, model farmers of the co-operatives and Union Parishad members, seeking clarification on different aspects of training from the thana officials and asking informally about their opinion of training. The researcher became friendly with the thana level officers and relevant villagers to obtain adequate information regarding actual events in Savar TTDC. The informal discussion with thana level officers was particularly directed to assess training methods and their effectiveness. Several interviews and discussions were arranged with the Circle officer (Development) Thana Agriculture officer, Thana Agricultural Extension officer, Project officer (IRDP), Deputy Project officer (IRDP) and Thana Co-operative officers. Informal discussions were held with Union Council chairman and Union Council members.

A Field Survey by questionnaire was also undertaken in Savar TTDC. A detailed structured questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was prepared in English; subsequently it was translated into Bengali as most of the respondents are villagers whose English is very poor.

The questionnaire was then personally distributed among 20 thana level officers and 150 villagers representatives out of a total 90 IRDP Co-operatives (50 chairmen +50 managers +50 model farmers of co-operatives). The village representatives were randomly selected on the basis of the participants list supplied by the Project officer (IRDP), The questionnaire was also distributed among all 12 Union Parishad chairmen, and 24 members of the Union Parishad taking at least one from each Union.

Most of the questionnaires were personally distributed by the researcher and his associates in Savar TTDC. The responses were written in their presence. Those who were not available in TTDC were traced to their homes in their respective villages. Attempt has been made to make available the maximum number of responses. The total responses collected were 123 (Tharra officials 15+chairmen co-operatives 30+Model farmers 30+managers 30+Union Parishad chairmen 6+members, Onion Parishad 12). The responses were tabulated and interpreted.

Apart from the interpretation of the survey result, secondary research materials have been consulted for the descriptive and analytical part of the study. Different government reports on rural administration, Rural Development Training and agricultural modernization have been studied. Five year plans, Two year plan, Annual Development plan, Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh have all been studied, compared and analyzed. As have proceedings and agendas of KSS and TCCA meetings. Thana Development Committee meetings, and thana council meetings. Some original texts relating to rural development and administration have also been available. Due acknowledgement of these has been given in the footnotes.

Limitations of the Study

While the study proposes to evaluate the role of TTDC in rural development in Bangladesh, the use of one thana does not allow strong generalization to be made. Though a lot of excellent studies have been made on the various aspects of Comilla model of rural development, very little attention has been paid to identifying the role and effectiveness of TTDC in the process of rural development elsewhere in Bangladesh.

The study is not burdened with quantitative data or innumerable-tables, nor of major comparative materials. It is a modest attempt to convey some information about a particular TTDC from which some general guidelines for policy may be evolved.

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12. Abu Abdullah *et al.*, *ov. cit.*, p.2.
13. David Stockley as quoted by Abu Abdullah *et al.*, *ibid.*, p. 2.
14. Centre for International Policy, *International Policy Reports*, Wasnington., O.C., May 1978, Vol- IV, No. 1, p. 3.
15. Azher All, *Rural Development in Bangladesh*, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, p. 11.
16. Azizur Rahman Khati, Poverty and Inequality in Rural Bangladesh, in *Poverty and Ldndlessness in Rural Asia*, ILO, Geneva, 1977.
17. Government of Bangladesh, *statistical Year Book 1977*, *op. ait.*, p. 121
18. Several research projects have been undertaken to identify the extent of undue dominance of rural, elite on disadvantaged rural people, For detail see:
 - a. P.J. Bertocci, *Elusive village, social strueutre and community organization in rural East Pakistan*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, University Micro-Films International, Michigan, U.S.A. 1970, pp. 73-113.
 - b. B.K. Jahailpir, *Differentiation, Polarisation and Confrontation*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, Centre for Social Studies, Dacca, 1979.
 - c. Janek Arens and Jos Van Beurden, *Jhagrapur*, Third World Publications, Birmingham, 1977. (Jhagrapur in Bengali means village of quarrels, a village in Kustia district in Bangladesh) Dutch couple, Arens and Beurden, stayed in this village for more than one year to undertake the study. It is a wonderful exposition of rural power structure in Bangladesh. Chapters 3 and 4.
 - d. H.W. Blair, "Rural Development, Class structure and Bureau cracy in Bangladesh", *World Development*, Vol. .6, No. 1, 1978, pp. 65-81.
 - e. Ameerul Huq (ed.), *Exploitation of the Rural Poor*, BARD, Comilla, 1978.
19. For details see (a) Manzurul Alam, *Leadership Pattern, Problems and Prospects of Local Governments* BARD, Comilla; 1976. (b) M.A. Mannan, *Rural leadership and its emerging pattern in Bangladesh*, BARD, Comilla, October 1972; (c) M. Solaiman and Manjurul Alam, *Characteristics of candidates for election in three Union Parishads in Camilla*, Kotwali Thana, BARD, Comilla, 1977.
20. Government of Bangladesh, *The First Five Year Plan (1973-78)*, Planning Commission, Dacca, p. 156.

21. Akhter Hamid Kham, My understanding of Comilla Model, *BAUD Journal*, Vol. III, No. 2, 3979, p. 23.
22. F.F. Schumacher, *small is Beautiful*, Blond and Briggs, Ltd., London, 1973, pp. 160-171.
23. Mosher, A.T., *Getting a Prospective Rural Structure*, Agricultural Development Council Inc., 1969.
24. AT Maninda Silva, Role of Rural Organizations in Rural Development: A National Survey of Sri Lanka (1950-75), in Inayatullah (ed.), *Rural Organisations and Rural Development, Some Aston Experiences*, An APDAC Publication, 1978, pp. 45-111.
25. A.F.M. Alamgir, *Rural Institution, Draft for Tiso year Plan, (1978-80)*, Himeo, Planning Commission, Government of Bangladesh, 1978, p. 1.
26. Akhter Hamid Khan joined Indian Civil Service in 1936, was first posted at Comilla as magistrate. He resigned from the Government Service in 1944 as Subdivisional officer, became interested in rural development. Worked as locksmith apprentice to learn how the working man lives; during this time he organized co-operative workshop to manufacture locks and buckles, was appointed Principal, Camilla Victoria College in 1950; served as V-AID Administrator 1954-55, returned to Principalship 1956-58. Appointed First Director of Comilla Academy in 1958. Thus his long association with Comilla and its people helped him enormously to formulate the much acclaimed Comilla Model of Rural Development. Introducing Akhter Hamid Khan, Dr. Glen Taggart, Dean, International Programmes, said "He has developed some unique and significant approaches to rural development that have attracted attention and interest on the part of many people around the world who are concerned with this general problem area". He was awarded "Sitara E. Pakistan" in 1961 for his distinguished Public Service, Ramon Magsasay Award, Manila in 1963 for his effort in rural development and honorary Doctor of Law by Michigan State University, in 1964. See Arthur Raper *et al.*, *Rural Development in Action, The Comprehensive Experiment at Camilla., East Pakistan*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1970. Appendix III, p. 293.
27. Akhter Hamid Khan, *Community and Agricultural Development in Pakistan*, Michigan State University, 1969, pp. 24-25.
28. Norman Uphoff and Milton Easman, *Local organization for Rural Development, Analysis in Asian Experience*, Centre for International Studies, Cornell University, 1974, p. XIII.
29. Thana as a Unit of development administration in Bangladesh has evolved through different phases. In British India, the Royal Commission upon decentralization 1909 foreshadowed the creation of Circle by dividing the sub-division. Later Lvinge Report in 1911 recommended the creation of Circle Board for better service to the rural people- The post of Circle officer was created under the Act of 1919 within the thana, where there were two or more thanas. In 1945 the Rowland Report had first recommended that circle officer should be increased to one per thana. But it was not implemented due to the political turmoil for the independence of Pakistan and India. After independence, the Government of Pakistan did not change the structure of circle till 1962. After the introduction of Basic Democracy, President Ayub ordered re-organization of the administration at thana level and one circle officer was assigned to each thana to coordinate the activities of Basic Democracy and thana administration to accelerate rural development. The present thana which is equivalent to county in U.K.4 U.S.A. and Commune in China, consists of 10-20 Unions, has an area of 50-150 sq. miles with a population from 150,000-550,000. See Najmul Abedin, *Local Government and Politics in modernizing societies in Bangladesh*, Published by NIPA, Dacca, 1973; and M.Anisuzzaman, *The Circle Officer, A Study of his role*, NIPA, Dacca, 1963.
30. *Statistical Sear Book, 1981, op. ait.*, p. 121.
31. The 12 Unions are (1) Shimulia, (2) Pnamshona, (3) Ashulla, (4) Yarpur, (5) Pathalia, (6) Savar, (7) Birulia, (8) Bonogaon, (9) Kaundia, (10) Tatoljora, (11) Amin Bazar, (12) Bhakurta.
32. *Peoples Health Centre* was established by Dr. Zafrullah, a freedom fighter during liberation war with Pakistan. "It is one of the first projects outside China to make use of paramedics. It

is still one of the boldest experiments in bringing health care to the rural poor", see Paul Harrison, *The Third World Tomorrow, a report from the battlefield against poverty*, Penguin Book, p. 239.

33. IRD Programmes are being administered by IRDP department. IRDP department is a semi-autonomous department under the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. Integrated Rural Development programme is a replication of Comilla model of rural development in Bangladesh. After the success of Comilla Model in Comilla district, Government of Bangladesh decided in 1971 to replicate the programme throughout the country as a thana; based phased programme.
34. Information supplied by Project Officer, IRDP, Savar, 1982.
35. Aus, Aman, Boro are the three main rice crops of Bangladesh. The sowing time of Aus is March-May and harvesting time July-August, The sowing time of Broadcasting Aman is March-April and harvesting time November-January. The sowing time of Boro is November-December and harvesting time is April-May.
36. Traditional ways of irrigation is through swing basket, Doon (conical shaped container, usually 10x1" used for lifting water) and modern method is power pumps, tube wells and canals,

Chapter II

Comilla Model of Rural Development and Emergence of TTDC

Past Efforts of Rural Development

We have seen in the last chapter that Bangladesh is described as an extended village. The socio-economic condition of the people has compelled the government, politicians, planners and other thoughtful people to redesign and reconstruct rural institutions for promoting rural development. Rural development has been a constant concern since the beginning of the century, emerging in different guises and under different frames such as self-help, village welfare and rural reconstruction.

The present rural development programmes in Bangladesh have been a product of constant evolution. Efforts toward rural development and initiatives have been undertaken by outstanding personalities¹ both within and outside the Government in order to sustain change and development. During British Administration in India, the local Self-Government Act of 1885 was the first attempt at constituting local bodies which could provide the requirements of organizing the community services. The village Self-Government Act of 1919 redesigned the local bodies established by the 1885 Act and made Union Boards stronger under the supervision of circle officers for the socio-economic well-being of the rural communities.

Under the Act of 1935, a rural reconstruction department was established in 1938. This was the first time a separate department for rural development had been established. But the department could not operate successfully as it failed to develop functional relationships with other Government departments. In 1944 Rowland Committee investigated the affairs of the department and found it to be ineffective. Ultimately it was abolished. Both India and Pakistan got independence from British rule in 1947.²

After Independence, Pakistan started reconstructing its economy, A vigorous rural development programme was undertaken to promote the welfare of the people. The first such programme was the introduction of Village-Agriculture and Industrial Development (V-AID) programmes. It was the synthesis of all the past rural 'development-efforts in British India and was itself the precursor of the later Comilla Model of rural development. It is thus important to deal with the details of the V-AID organization and operation.

Like community development in India, the V-AID programme started in Pakistan with massive American aid. It started in 1953 with a view to securing the fuller utilisation of human and material resources of the people in the development work being carried out by the nation building departments. It was to be a vast organizational programme with a new approach.³ One development officer, two supervisors and twenty village level multipurpose workers were appointed for each "Development Area".⁴ A multipurpose worker, i.e. village level worker (VLW) became the link between the government and the people. A Five Tier advisory committee at the Village, District, Divisional, Provincial and National levels was formed.⁵

The main objectives of the V-AID were, to solve the problems of the villagers by helping them develop themselves, to rectify the mistakes of the past rural development efforts with emphasis on the utilisation of the potentialities of the villagers, infuse a spirit of self reliance, and self confidence in the villagers, raise agricultural productivity, organize community services, co-ordinate the diverse activities of the Government department, reconstruct the village through concerted and determined efforts.

The VLW acted as extension agents and demonstrated improved method in agriculture, animal husbandry, health, sanitation and adult education.⁶ He was considered as a multi-purpose worker and had to do extension work for all the departments. His training and skill was inadequate to handle such a situation. It was believed that it was essential to train the VLWs, Development Officers and supervisor for the implementation of the programme. The active collaboration of civil service officers, technical officers of the government and autonomous organizations were also found to be extremely important in ensuring the success of the programme. In 1956 the Government of Pakistan responded to this need to establish two broad based institutions for the training .of the staff of the programme. The Ford Foundation offered the financial assistance needed to set up such institutions. A team of experts from Michigan State University was invited to study the feasibility of such institutions. After two years of deliberations, the scheme was approved and in 1958 two autonomous academies for rural development were set up. "The academies, were designed to radically improve the quality of training and administration of V-AID and in supporting nation building and administrative departments."⁷ One of the academies was set up in Comilla district in East Pakistan and the other one was set up in Peshwar district in West Pakistan. These academies were initially-named as Pakistan Academy for Village Development (PAVD). Akhter Hamid Khan was appointed by the Government as the First Director of the Comilla Academy. It was later renamed Pakistan Academy for Rural Development (PARAD). In

1959 an agreement was reached between the Government and the Academy staff to use the V-AIO "Development area" (Comilla Kolwali thana) for observation and study.

Though the V-AID Programme generated some important process as of disseminating ideas and knowledge about improved practices in agriculture, health and sanitation, it was abruptly terminated in 1961. There was no proper evaluation done by any competent authority about the effectiveness of the programme. The main reasons for its termination can be summarised as follows:

- i. The village level worker was a multi-purpose worker. He was not sufficiently equipped to handle the demands of such a vast work. As a government agent he was an outsider to the village so he did not get the confidence and cooperation of the villagers.
- ii. The Programme lacked proper direction and method of operation. It expanded quickly without learning much from intensive pilot experiment,
- iii. It acted as a separate department. Its relationship with other departments was not defined properly. So it did not get any co-operation and co-ordination from other nation building departments.
- iv. There was no effective village organization in the village. The village council which had been set up to provide co-ordination of development efforts at village level became a forum of village factions.
- v. Most-importantly, the decision of International Co-operation Administration (USAID) to discontinue their aid to the programme eventually led the Government of Pakistan to disband it.

Despite the termination of V-AID Programme it had some direct effect on subsequent rural development efforts. The V-AID necessitated for example, the creation of Comilla Academy for Rural Development. The inadequacies of the V-AID programmes such as lack of co-ordination among different nation building departments, lack of villagers organization, lack of direction and method of operation, bringing extension agent (VLW) from outside villages also generated some ideas in the formulation of Comilla Model of Rural Development.

Moreover, Comilla Kotwali thana was the "Development Area" of V-AID Programme in Comilla district. This has ultimately become the seat of Thana Training and Development Centre, the laboratory of Social Research and Pilot experimentation. Akhter Hamid Khan's association with Comilla, with V-AID Programme and the Academy, helped in restructuring his ideas on rural development and formulating the Comilla Model of Rural Development.

Comilla Approach to Rural Development

The present century has witnessed many efforts of different kinds to improve the lot of the Asian and African villagers by involving them in their development.⁹ Comilla Model of Rural Development is a glaring example of such an effort. Like many other similar projects elsewhere,¹⁰ "Comilla projects have produced changes in the agricultural technology of the area, in the political organization of the villages, in rural communication systems, in local level Public Administration, in farmers attitudes and other social and economic aspects of rural scene".¹¹ These achievements have been substantiated by empirical evidence generated by scholars from within and outside the country.

There are certain basic assumptions which lie behind the development of Comilla Model of Rural Development. These may be stated as follows:¹²

- i. that rural people have the best understanding of their real situation. So problems of rural development should be approached from their points of view;
- ii. that it is within the means of the rural people to initiate and sustain change through individual and co-operative action;
- iii. that the villagers should be organized in a cohesive group to be provided with technical know-how of modern agriculture, credit inputs and to integrate them with the local level bureaucracy;
- iv. training, research and demonstration are essential in promoting rural development and these should be dynamically integrated with the life of the rural community.

These assumptions necessitated the initiation and revitalisation of grass root institutions for ensuring people's participation and collaboration with local level bureaucracy, i.e. thana administration.

Traditionally thana level officers and Union council members have been working in a paternalistic environment inherited from a semi-colonial, semi-feudal, socio-political culture, characterised by the absence of accountability to the people.¹³ Comilla undertook research to formulate a mechanism to replace patron-client relationships between the official and the people with a partnership relationship between them.

Keeping in mind the above mentioned assumptions, the Comilla Model developed a number of strategies.¹⁴ The first was to infuse a spirit of self reliance and confidence among the rural people and to encourage them to develop their organization and leadership. The second strategy was to change the attitude of the thana level officers towards the rural people. They were to be trainers and helpers rather than administrators of the people. They were to be more accessible and responsible to the people and their elected

representatives. They were to work as a team in a co-ordinated way to achieve maximum effectiveness. The third strategy was to build up villagers own institutions to organize themselves as a Cooperative Group to provide training, technical inputs and extension services. This was a new form of co-operative society and it was to institution building generally that a great deal of attention was given.

"The Comilla approach is essentially an institution-building experiment giving heavy emphasis to co-ordination and training. The full thrust of the Programme is to make the thana a vital Unit of administration and an effective Unit for development." ¹⁵

The Comilla Model adopted three major institution-building programmes, (a) Introduction of Thana Council and strengthening local government (Union and Thana Council) through works-programmes, (b) Revitalisation of co-operatives through the introduction of Primary Peasants Co-operatives and federate them into Thana Central Co-operative Association (TCCA); (c) Innovation of Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) for the integration of local government activities, farmers, activities and thana administration activities.

Since the main clientele of the TTDC Programmes are the local government members and co-operative members, it is necessary to give a short discussion about the formation and functions of these two institutions of local government and co-operatives.

A. The academy experimented on the introduction and working of Thana Council¹⁶ as an intermediate link between the Union Council and District Council, which would provide a suitable forum to the thana departmental officers and the elected representatives of the people to thrash out common problems.

The local government agency at the Union level was the Union Council (they were called Union Board during the British period and presently known as Union Parishad), after the introduction of the Thana Council, the chairmen of the Union Council became the members of the Thana Council. The Academy undertook steps to strengthen co-ordination among all the departments (officers representing different development departments became the official members of Thana Council) as well as between the department and the Union Council.

Initially, because of their paternalistic orientation, it was difficult for the thana level offices to sit and discuss with the people's representatives on equal terms. The Academy helped the Council to adopt fixed agendas and gradually compelled them to report to the Council about the activities of their respective department.¹⁷ Thana Council brought the people and the officers

representing all the Unions met with the thana departmental officers as a group. Here was action oriented forum in which the village leader could say what he wanted to say and in turn hear what he himself as a leader would need to do before his requests could be effectively met."¹⁸ It provided an excellent opportunity to try to co-ordinate in three ways: co-ordination between departments themselves, between department and the Union. Councils and among Union Councils themselves.¹⁹

The planning and execution of rural Public Works Programmes under direct leadership of Thana Council strengthened the working of local government by building a network of economic infra-structure²⁰ (road, irrigation and drainage channels). The necessary fund for building such infra-structures appeared to be available in 1960 through US PL 480.²¹ The Works Programme provided employment to landless, marginal farmers and other idle manpower for development. Implementation of Works Programmes helped thana and Union Councils become active and practical administrative agencies. It initiated a planned process of developing and mobilising leadership by activating the Union Council. The TTDC organized effective mechanism of conducting these activities.

B. Two tier co-operatives: Bangladesh has a long history of co-operatives since the beginning of the century and evolved.²² through different phases. Those co-operatives were in bad shape at independence and could not provide any effective change in the socio-economic pattern of the rural people, particularly the small farmers. The Academy studied the basic causes of the failure of the co-operative movement upto the inception of Comilla Model.

Early in 1960 the Academy studied the working of different²³ types of co-operatives predisposed them to conduct Pilot experimentation in rural co-operative organizations. "The objectives of the experiment were to evolve within prevalent agrarian structure and the national, development planning frame, its patterns and goals, a co-operative system which will work in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) situation, will be development-oriented, economically viable and functionally efficient."²⁴ In order to achieve this a system was developed to organize village groups. A trusted and leading local farmer was hired by the Academy. He was trained for a month in the Academy; he was then sent to the villages near his home to organize groups of farmers who were interested in bettering themselves. Each group before it was accepted into pilot project agreed to:²⁵

1. Organize itself and later become a registered society.
2. Hold weekly meetings with compulsory attendance of all.
3. Select a trusted man from the group and send him to TTDC once a week for training. He would become organizer and teacher of the group.

4. Select a model farmer who will act as an extension agent after getting training at TTDC.
5. Keep proper and complete accounts.
6. Do joint production planning.
7. Use supervised village production credit.
8. Adopt improved agricultural practices and skills.
9. Make regular cash and in-kind saving deposits.
10. Join the Central Co-operative Federation and,
11. Hold regular member education discussions.

After fulfilling these conditions, the group becomes a co-operative society, then they are registered by the Co-operative Directorate (before the introduction of IRDP, Co-operative Directorates used to register the co-operatives, even after replication of Comilla Model as IRDP, Co-operative Directorate is in charge of registration of IRDP Co-operatives, in addition to their own multipurpose Co-operatives). These criteria Comilla attempted to correct the fundamental weakness of the previous rural development efforts. After registration they were called the Krisak Sambaya Samity (KSS) or Primary Peasant Society. The key man in the Society was the organizer²⁶ who maintained a link between his Society and the Academy. The other two men in the Society are the model farmer,²⁷ and chair-man²⁸ of the Co-operative. All these three persons were selected by the members of the Co-operative. Being the leading and trusted farmers of the area these persons were regarded as the agricultural extension agents.

They commanded respect of the villagers and had great influence over them. They had to come to the TTDC to attend regular training sessions where they learnt about co-operative principles, agricultural mechanization, livestock rearing, health care, family planning and saving through capital formation. They had to come to the TTDC on a scheduled time of a particular day of the week where they met their teachers (thana level officers) in their own classroom for their own class. Problems were heard by the officials and solutions suggested. They communicated their problems in a common language in a congenial atmosphere. This enabled the local level bureaucracy to come into close contact with the rural people. On the other hand, local bureaucracy became accessible to the ordinary people. This enabled the Government officials to train the village representatives in a better way.

The two-way communication tended to remove the barriers of effective communication; it became effective in modifying their relationships and bringing change and modernization to them. The thana level officers came to

the villagers without expecting the villagers to go to them. Problems were heard attentively and prompt actions were taken, consequently Primary Co-operatives (KSS) became active to pave the way to becoming economically viable and functionally efficient, and socially acceptable rural organization. The village-based Co-operatives (KSS) then federated to Thana Central Co-operative Association (TCCA) to be provided with services and supplies. Thus in Kotwali Thana, the Kotwali Thana Central Co-operative Association (KTCCA) was formed. It was a supporting institution of the Primary Co-operatives. The stronger the Primary Societies, the stronger will be the Central Association and the greater their income. KTCCA organized banking, supervised credit, production inputs, agricultural extension and training and these facilities were provided by TTDC.

This process has brought a change in the mind of the people in rural areas which has brought change in their living standard. "Agricultural technology has been changed through mechanization, including use of tractor and new irrigation technology and the introduction and diffusion of new seed varieties, fertilizers and pesticides".²⁹ These provisions have helped increase the agricultural productivity of the rural people of Comilla Kotwali Thana. The following Table 1 and Table 2 show the average increase in yield of rice and distribution of inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides in Comilla Kotwali Thana.

Table 1 : Average yield studies on the Kotwali Thana Fann for 1967-68 contrasted with 1961-62 (in maund and seers)

Crop	1961-62 (per acre)	1966-67 (per acre)
Aus	28.34	34.10
Aman	34.20	38.20
Boro	25.35	47.50

Source: M. Safiullah, "Aus Crop Survey in Comilla Kotwali Thana 1967", Comilla PARD, May 1968, Mimeo. Quoted in Arthur Raper et al., op. cit., p. 94

Table 2: Increase in distribution of subsidized inputs (fertilizers and pesticides) in Comilla Thana.

Year	No. of dealers	Fertilisers in maund	Pesticides in pounds
1962-63	30	21909.9	7,817
1963-64	35	27074.6	11,070
1964-65	45	24209.8	18,800
1965-66	64	27998.3	20,126
1966-67	80	42852.1	25,641
1967-68	91	48354.9	27,611

Source: Eighth Annual Report, 1968 (published in 1969), Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, East Pakistan, p. 37.

Thus TTDC became an effective and sound institution in organizing and managing the programmes of increasing agricultural productivity.

Thana Training and Development Centre: Akhter Hamid Khan realised the utmost importance of the training of rural people to increase their skill and productivity to promote their welfare. On the other hand, the lessons learnt from the failures of V-AID Programmes have given rise to the question of an institution which would improve rural administration and development. This has forced the creation of Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC).

"The concept of TTDC emphasized the need for the sake of development, of complete co-ordination between nation building departments and these departments and institutions under leaders of local government... It represented government's new concern for progress and co-ordination. All services and supplies and experts were to be located in the same building for the convenience of the people".³⁰ Though it was an innovation in relation to its emphasis on co-ordination in thana administration its extension education aspect was borrowed from the U.S. Land grant college (Agricultural Extension Model of U.S.). In regards to its influence on extension education programmes of TTDC Khan said, "Our Extension Model was borrowed from the Land Grant College the extension agents are the 'intermediate link between the experts and the villagers, selecting demonstration leaders and diffusing new method."³¹ However, its main emphasis was to make administration easily accessible to the people by providing them with training, production inputs and services. This demanded participation of the people for the sake of their development. Thana Council and Thana Central Co-operative

Association have become linked up with TTDC.

Thana Training and Development Centre provides technical know-how to model farmers and managers to promote discipline, leadership among the members of the Co-operative.

TTDC in Comilla started functioning in 1963. A Thana Training committee was constituted with the Circle officer (Development) as the chairman,³² and members of the nation building departments and Instructors of the Academy as the members of the Committee. The Circle officer (Development) was empowered by the Government with the task of training activities at TTDC, co-ordination among (See thana level officers and distribution of services and supplies. Appendix 3)

TTDC started a variety of training programmes for the different clientele groups of the rural people. This includes co-operative members, pump drivers, mechanics, village attendants, village women, village Dai

(midwives) Imams (religious leaders), weavers and artisans on a weekly, fortnightly and monthly basis. The attendance in the classes was also high. The following Table 3 shows the sample attendance at TTDC classes in Comilla Kotwali Thana.

Table 3. Sample attendance of TTDC Classes in Comilla, Kotwali TTDC in 1968,

Categories of trainees	No. of trainees	No. at the end of the year	Average percentage of classes
1. Manager KSS	253	213	84.19
2. Model fanner KSS	140	128	91.43
3. Village Account ants of TCCA	46	44	90.05
4. Village Accountants special co-operative societies (Multi-purpose)	11	11	100.00

Sources: Eighth Annual Report 1968 (Published in 1969) Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comi TTA, East Pakistan, p.36.

Thus only in 1967-68, a total of 2175 villagers received training at Comilla Kotwali TTDC.³³ TTDC enabled thana level officers to establish large scale-connection with the villagers through the multifarious clientele groups. Training for the first time became decentralized and was directed towards villagers who would participate in accelerating the pace of rural development.

These broad based clientele groups necessitated bigger physical facilities for TTDC. It accommodates Thana Council officers, a Training and Conference hall a Co-operative Bank, a Workshop, a Demonstration Plot, a Soil Testing Laboratory, a Service and Supplies Godovm. An agricultural firm, a fish pond farm and vegetable growing farm were attached to the TTDC complex.

Training was intended to be functionally integrated with the rural development programme. It was supported by Kotwali Thana Central Co-operative Association and the Thana Council. Training was designed to be linked up with the administrative support at the thana level administration. The thana level officers became the trainers of rural people in TTDC. On the other hand, they are the suppliers of production inputs such as High Yield Variety Seeds, Fertilisers, Pesticides and Credits. They also provided demonstration of improve practices, technical know-how to model farmers and managers to work as extension agents in their respective village.

The new training used a "circuit system" in which the village representatives came to the training and development centre. They received weekly instruction and went back to their respective villages, where they demonstrated their newly acquired information and skill to the fellow

members of the Co-operative. There was a regular feedback because all the participants returned to the TTDC every week. They brought back with them problems raised at the weekly meeting of the KSS. This has developed a sense of confidence, participation and leadership in them, which helped to prove TTDC a sound institution.

Comilla TTDC developed an effective programme of training. The programme was designed to make it related to the real problems of the villagers. The training methods also proved to be effective. The trainers both staff, of the Academy and thana level officers) were almost all experts in their respective field with a sound background of social research and pilot experimentation. The trainers used to use different methods of training such as lecture, discussion and demonstration. They usually distributed posters, lesson sheets and leaf let to the trainees to make training more effective. It is generally believed that the literacy rate is higher in Comilla Kotwali thana in particular and Comilla district in general than in other parts of the country. As the farmers are normally expected to have basic background of education, so the trainees could read, write, understand, and utilize the training materials.

In order to perform their training role properly, the trainees were also provided with proper training. It has been a 'major innovation of Comilla approach to convert the thana Government functionaries into trainers and extension agents. The Comilla Academy became the major organization responsible for training of trainers of different TTDCs. Some other institutes which also provided training were Rural Development Training Institute (RDTI), Khadim Nagar, Sylhet, Agricultural Extension Training Institutes (AETI), Rural Development Academy, Bogra. In Comilla, a dynamic change has occurred in the sphere of trainers training through (a) Intensive training of thana level Government functionaries and subject matter specialists in Comilla; (b) through close interaction between the Government officers now turned into extension agents and members of KSS. In fact, trainers learnt much more about the farm level problems and their solutions from the villagers than they could learn from any formal course.

Thus in performing his training role in TTDC the thana level officer had to perform some other roles for proper discharge of his roles and functions. He acted simultaneously as a representative of the department to which he belonged, as an implementator of his departmental programme within the traditional hierarchical relationship with the Central Government and as an extension agent and teacher of the villager, which has brought a new challenge for him to equip himself with the up-to-date knowledge and information of agricultural practices. The trainers were also charged with the task of motivating the rural people towards development. It has been undoubtedly a complicated task. The efficient and dedicated leadership

provided by Khan and his staff immensely helped to make the training and development programme effective.

The Multiple Roles of TTDC

Comilla Academy envisaged a number of development roles for the officers in the TTDC to that of institution building. Of particular importance were grass root levels planning for development, co-ordination of the development activities and supply and services to make training effective.

The plan was to be prepared by the villagers and thana level officers. Emphasis was given to planning from the grass root level so that villagers could integrate their requirements for agriculture, credits, inputs and infra-structural development such as construction of road, culverts and canal digging. The proposals were to be made from the villages and scrutinized at the thana level by the relevant authorities. On this basis One year or even a Five year plan could be prepared. This was to ultimately help those concerned with national planning for Works Programmes. A comprehensive thana plan for the all-round development of the thana might emerge out of this planning process.

To that end, TTDC scheme envisaged a complete co-ordination among thana level officers, and thana level officers and thana Council and between thana administration and the Union Councils and also among Union Council themselves. They sat together to discuss mutual problems and found solutions to formulate integrated development plan. For this a weekly co-ordination committee meeting was held "in Comilla. The, .different agencies of the thana worked as a team and the Circle Officer acted as the captain of the team who coordinated all training and development activities.

Co-ordination was also achieved in the supply and services operation.³⁴ emphasized on the integration of training and supplies of production inputs, because the TTDG planners realized without a regular supply of appropriate production inputs, training activities would be merely a formality. To put training into practice, it was essential to provide the farmers with these facilities of supplies and services; supplies include HYV Seeds, Fertilizers, Pesticides and Credits, and service agencies include Veterinary clinic, Public health clinic, Family planning clinic, Insecticide clinic etc, TTDC coordinated the distribution of services and supplies through the weekly meeting of the Co-ordination' Committee.

Summary

As discussed above, institution building for rural development was relatively successful in Comilla. This was due to a number of factors. Firstly there was a team of dedicated and honest people led-by a charismatic leader Akhter

Hamid Khan. "In a nation noted for low productivity among bureaucrats, he succeeded in maintaining high morale and productivity among his staff over a period."³⁵ Secondly, in the early years, the Programmes got strong political and administrative support from the Government and financial support from a host of donor countries, particularly from the United States. President Ayub Khan of Pakistan had profound interest in rural development so an interest in Comilla got his utmost attention. After visiting Comilla Academy, in a letter to Akhter Hamid Khan, he wrote, "It is the first time that I found the ideas that were only vaguely present in my mind put into practical shape in a realistic and pragmatic manner to help people stand on their own feet and better their lot... I hope your experiences are put into practice throughout the Country; in that lies our real salvation, and you can rest assured that I, on my part, will do all that is possible to support this noble cause".³⁶ Thirdly, Akhter Hamid Khan's long association with Comilla, his motivation, innovation and sense of modernization which enthused people of Comilla greatly helped in making it a success. Akhter Hamid Khan both created and was created by Comilla Model. Moreover, he had free access to top level bureaucrats and politicians, which helped in prompt project formulation and implementation. Fourthly, the programmes got wide publicity as a unique rural development project in the whole of the sub-continent and some other parts of the world and lastly, "there was a willingness to admit mistakes and try something new that was most unusual for any bureaucracy and particularly from one emergent from the South Asian tradition emphasizing control and precedents".³⁷

This success was achieved in the first decade of its inception. International scholars, Raper (1970);³⁸ Choldin (1972);³⁹ and Stevens (1976)⁴⁰ eulogized the Comilla approach of rural development.

In the late sixties Comilla projects showed a mixed result. Even Akhter Hamid Khan (1971)⁴¹ showed some scepticism about the operation of the projects. International scholars Rene Dumont (1973)⁴² Blair.(1973);⁴³ and Vylder and Asplund. (1979)⁴⁴ criticised the approach of rural development. The causes of its deteriorating trend could be analysed from the following viewpoint.

Ayub Khan's Basic Democracy in his decade of development (1958-68) did not prove to be successful at last. The success story that was not successful has been discussed by scholars elsewhere. It increased social inequality, political suppression and economic disparity.⁴⁵ Consequently, there was social unrest and political turmoil. General Yahya dethroned Ayub Khan and assumed, power under martial law with a promise to transfer power to the elected representatives. In 1969 general election, Awarni league leader from East Pakistan, Sheik Mujibur Rahman got majority seats in the

National Assembly. Zulfiqar Ali Butto from West Pakistan got the second majority. Yet Rahman was not allowed to form the national government by the military junta from West Pakistan. It developed mass upsurge of feeling in East Pakistan then mass killing which led to the declaration of war of independence and then finally the independence of Bangladesh. The development activities were totally suspended (on the other hand, destruction occurred). The socio-economic and political instability of the country and lack of definite policies and programmes had reflection on the erosion of its operation to a great extent. At that time Akhter Hamid Khan also left for Michigan State University with a teaching assignment. After liberation, Bangladesh Government recommenced the Comilla approach of rural development. It has been replicated all over Bangladesh under the banner of Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). IRDP is a thana based programme to promote rural development in Bangladesh.

Through the TTDC in Kotwali thana, Comilla played a significant role in bringing about rural development in Comilla, its replication all over the country was comparatively unimpressive, when measured against the expectations raised by the successes in Comilla. To understand why this is so, the next chapter looks into the performance of one TTDC set-up under the Integrated Rural Development Programme in Bangladesh.

Notes & References

1. In British India, some philanthropists and some members of the Indian Civil Service worked hard towards promoting rural welfare. Among the philanthropist social workers were S.R. Rose, G.S. Gupta and Noble Laureate Poet-Rabindra Nath Tagore. Among the members of the Indian Civil Service who took rural development with missionary zeal were F.L. Bryne, Malcolm Darling, N.M. Khan, Nurun Nabi Chondhury, A.B.M. Ishaque and Akhter Hamid Khan. They were called Socrates on horse back as they used to deliver sermons for the people from horseback to shake off traditional way of living. See Shaik MaqSood Ali, Self Reliance (Swanirvar) Movement in 1980s, "The Social Workers as Change Agent, *Administrative Science Review*, Vol. IX, June 1979, No. 2, NIPA, Dacca, p. 101.
2. A. Aziz Khan and M. Solaiman. *The Academy at Camilla*. Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, 1978, p. 607.
3. A.K.M. Mohsin, *The Comilla Rural Administration, Experiment, History and Annual Report*, 1962-63, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1963, p. 1.
4. "Development area was under the jurisdiction of Kotwali thana in Comilla district.
5. Habibur Rahman, Rural Development and Social Services in Bangladesh, *Community Development Journal*, London, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1977, p. 36.
6. Tipu Sultan, *The Comilla Rural Administration Experiment*, Fourth Annual Report (1965-66), Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, East Pakistan, 1967, p.6.
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8. A.K.M. Mohsin, *op. cit.*, pp.4-6.
9. Edgar A. Schular, The origin and nature of the Pakistan Academies for village development, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 29, 1964, pp. 304-312, Michigan State University Press, East Lansing.
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- D. Mashav (small holders co-operative) and Kibbutz (community living based on socialist tradition) in Israel, Dov Weintraub, Rural Co-operation, Local government and social structure, a comparative study of village organization in different types of communities in Israel, in Peter Worseley (ed.), *Two Blades of Grass*, Manchester University Press, 1971, Pp. 83-136. Also Moshe Shokeid, Reconciling with Bureaucracy, Middle Eastern Immigrants, Mashav in Transition, *Economic Development and cultural change* 29, *So. I*, Chicago University Press, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1981, and Odel Izraeli and Shalom Groll, Implications of an Ideological Constraint, The case of Hired Labour in Kibbutz., *Economic Development and cultural-change*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Chicago University Press, 1981,
- E. Agricultural Co-operatives and Communes in China for details see Sartaj Aziz, *Rural Development, Learning from China*, The HcMillan Press Ltd., London, 1978, Also Geoffrey Shillinglaw, Traditional Rural Co-operation and Social Structure: The Communist Chinese collectivization of agriculture. Peter Worseley (ed.), *TMO Blades of Grass*, *op.cit.*, pp. 137-157. (F) Saemual Undong (New Villages) Movement in Korea, for detail see jin H. Park, Integrated Rural Development: The case of Saemual Undong in Korea in In-joung Whang (ed.), *Training Strategies for Integrated Rural Development*, APDAC, Kuala Lumpur, 1978, pp. 13-26,

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11. Harvey Choldin, An Organizational Analysis of Rural Development Projects in Comilla, East Pakistan, in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 20, No. 4, July, 1972, Chicago, pp. 671-690.
 12. Basic assumptions of Comilla Model has been discussed by many. See Raper *et al.*, *op. ait.*, p. 46, Manjur-I-Mowla, Comilla and U.O., A Comprehensive Study of Rural Development Policies, *The Journal of Social Studies*, No. 10, Dacca, 1980, pp. 87-88, Ghulam Satter, Comilla approach to Rural Development, *BAPD Journal*, Vol. X, Nos. 1 & 2, 1980-81 (print copy), p. 5.
 13. Ma sood All khan, *Changing Dimension of Thana Administration in Bangladesh*, NIPA, Mimed, 1978, p. 7.
 14. Manjur-I-Mowla, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
 15. Elliot Tepper, *Changing Pattern of Administration in Rural East Pakistan*, Cornell University, 1966, p. 125.
 16. After assuming power under Martial Law in 1958, President of Pakistan General Ayub Khan decided to introduce "radical measures to institutional reform and ordered his government to reorganize the pattern and working of local government in Pakistan. Mr. Azfar, the then Chief Secretary of East Pakistan requested Akhter Hamid Khan to prepare a statement on "Reorganization of Local Government" and Integration of V-AID with Basic Democracy. Regarding the formulation Thana Council concept Akhter Hamid Khan was influenced by Indian Block system. He said, "the general thinking in our country was that local government units should be high up and low down, a district council and village Panchayets. But the intermediate link was overlooked, we proposed to introduce an intermediate link. It was not innovative or original thinking, because already in India, there was the local council at the "Block" which was more or less equal to our thana". See Akhter Hamid Khan, *My Understanding of Camilla Model*, *op.cit.*, p.6.
 17. Mohammed Sadeque, Development Administration strategy for Rural Development in Bangladesh an Evaluation, *The Journal of the Institute of Bangladesh Studies*, Vol. III, 1978, pp. 173-188, Rajshahi University.
 18. Arthur Raper *et al.*, *op. oit.*, p. 104.
 19. Rashiduzzaman, *Pakistan, A Political Study*, Ideal Library, Dacca, 1967, p. 126.
 20. Akhter Hamid Khan studied the working of different local governments to strengthen its working in East Pakistan. He was greatly influenced by the Chinese Model. He continued, "it appeared to us that the Chinese had understood rural priorities properly, that for agricultural development we must first develop the infrastructure and protect the land. Again the Chinese sincerely realised that people must not remain idle that the idle people must be put to work, we borrowed the concept, but of course we had to develop our own organizational structure, see Akhter Hamid Khan, *My Understanding of Camilla Model*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
 21. Public Law 480 allows American Government to donate the surplus food grains to the poor of the developing countries, The government of East Pakistan received this aid to support its Works Programme through "Food for Works Programme".
 22. In actual practice co-operative movements started in British India with the introduction of Co-operative Societies Act 1904. Its operation evolved through different modifications in its working under the Co-operative Act of 1912, 1915 and the Government of India Act of 1919, 1935 and 1947. See Elliot Tepper, *op. ait.*, pp. 26-28.

23. Akhter Hamid Khan and some faculty members were greatly influenced in the formulation of Co-operative System by German Reiffeisen System of Co-operative Credit, based on mutual knowledge, mutual trust and help. They were also influenced by the activities and writing of Robert Owen, Bishop Grundvig, Horrace Plunkett, Henry Wolf, Lionel Smith Gordon, G.D.H. Cole, Otto Schiller and Margaret Digby. See Nurul Hug, *Village Development in Bangladesh (A Study of Monogram village)*. Masters Thesis, American University of Beirut, published by BARD, Comilla, 1973, pp. 57-74.
24. Akhter Hamid Khan and Aziz Khan, *Comilla Co-operative, Part II*, BARD, Conrilla, 1969, p. 1.
25. Henry W. Fairchild and M. Zakir Hossain, *A new co-operative system for Comilla Thana* Second Annual Report, Rural Co-operative Pilot Experiment, PARD, Comilla, 1962, p. 17.
26. "Organiser" later turned to beamanager. He was an employee of KSS with a nominal salary to maintain proper accounts, making deposits, borrowing loans, hiring machinery and implementing and making purchases,
27. The "model farmer" emerged as one of the innovations of Comilla approach. The five distinctive features of model farmer were: (1) He is a resident of the village and serves his own society rather than that of an outsider (unlike V-AID) who is responsible for a number of other villages as well. (2) He is selected by the other members of the society rather than by the Academy or some other agency! (3) He comes to TTDC one day each week for training and so provides a liaison between the farmers and the Academy. (4) He is one of the group of farmers who as a Unit serves as innovators, (5) He is to act as an extension agent. See Abu Abdullah *et al.*, *op. ait.*, pp. 45-46.
28. The Chairman of Co-operative presided over the weekly meetings of KSS and maintained overall discipline in the co-operative society.
29. Harvey cholden, *op. cit.*, p. 671.
30. *Tow of Twenty Tnanas, Impression of Drainage, Road, Irrigation and. Co-operative Proqvajmne*, HARD, February, 1971.
31. Akhter Hamid Khan, *My Understanding of Comilla Model*, *op. ait.* p. 9
32. A.K.M. Mohsin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
33. Arthur Raper *et al. op. ait.*, p. 41.
34. A.K.M. Mohsin, *op. ait.* p. 62.
35. Harvey Choldin, *op. ait.* p. 689.
36. *Fourth Annual Report*, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, June 1962-May 1963, Comilla, East Pakistan, 1963, p. V.
37. Harry W. Blair, *The Elusiveness of Equity, Institutional Approach to Rural Development*, Centre for International Studies, Cornell University, n.d., p. 22.
38. Arthur Raper *et al. op. ait.* pp. 1-275, and a Foreword in this, book by David E. Eel V, Vice-President, The Ford Foundation, pp. V-IX.
39. Harvey Choldin, *op. cit.*, pp. 671-690.
40. Robert D. Stevens *et at.*, (ed.) *Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan*, East West Centre, The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, pp. 95-128.
41. A.M. Khan, *Tour of Twenty Thanas*, *op. ait.*, p. 1971.
42. Rene Dumont, *Problems and Prospect for Rural Development (Tentative Reports 1 & 11)* For Foundation, Dacca, 1973.
43. H.W. Blair, Rural Development, Class Struggle and Bureaucracy in Bangladesh, *World Development*, Vol.6, No. 1, pp. 65-83, London, 1978.
44. Stefen De Vylder and D. Asplund, Contradictions and Distortion in Rural Econorrjy. The Case of Bangladesh, *SIDA/ILO Beport on IRDP*, Dacca, 1979.
45. Badruddin Omar, The Bangladesh peasants in the Ayub Khan Regime in Bengali Weekly "Bichitra", Special 9dd number, 5 September 1978.

Chapter III

Savar TTDC and its Training Activities

Training as was shown in the case of Comilla is an organised process by which people are given information and skill for a defined purpose. It forms a significant part of the TTDC Programme as indicated in the last chapter. In the context of these programmes, the fundamental objective is to increase the agricultural production through the application of modern farming techniques and the income of the rural people. Other objectives of training includes teaching rural leaders and local government functionaries to plan and implement rural development schemes. Since people are the major instruments of all development, training helps building people to transform their traditional pattern of living through diffusion of innovation and modernisation.

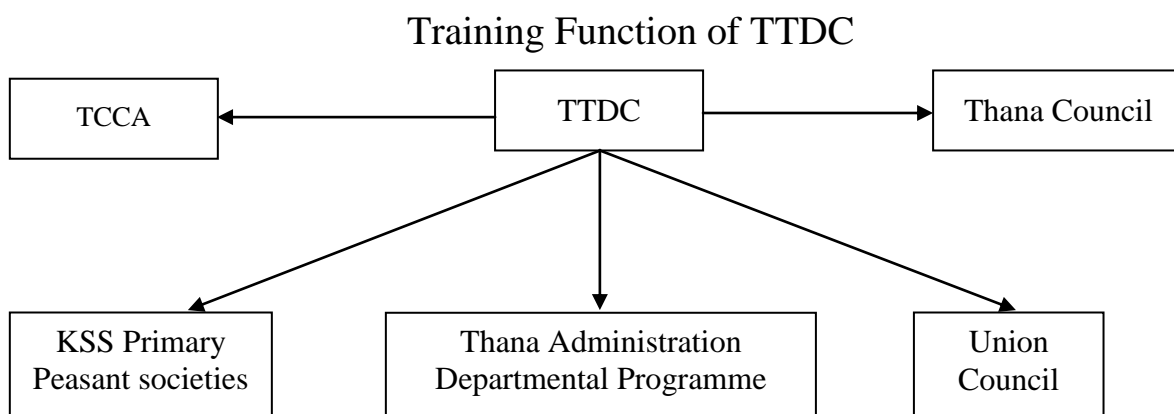
Recognising the importance of training for rural development, The second Five year plan of Bangladesh (1980-85 in Draft) has outlined the following strategies to strengthen its institutional programmes.¹

- a. Co-operative education and training at the grass-root level would be intensified. Training for membership education should be extended as far as possible to the village level.
- b. Functional or special groups of people like artisans, fishermen, weavers, women, would be trained at the village level to help build their organization and skill.
- c. Local Government bodies would increase both their administration and development work and the members and office bearers of Union, Thana and District Parishad representatives would be trained to discharge their duties responsibly. Expanded and special programmes for their training is necessary due to increasing decentralisation of development process and increasing responsibility of the local government members in development work.
- d. For the field level training, TTDC would be the main centre. The thana level officers would offer training courses in the TTDC to develop extension agents who would impart training to the villagers in their respective villages. All thana level officers will have proper orientation and training to perform their training role.
- e. There would be a central policy making and co-ordination institution at the national level concerned with rural development training and research.

Thus the rural development planners in Bangladesh have attached the utmost importance to strengthening the operation and role of TTDC. The above strategies are intended to make its whole operation as effective as was the case of Comilla. Savar TTDC has been selected, as mentioned earlier, to be the case of this study. This chapter will discuss the TTDC activities in performing its role on the basis of the empirical evidence gained from this study.

(i) *Organisation and objectives*: The organization chart is schematically represented in Diagram 2. It is a structure common to all TTDCs in Bangladesh. The chart shows that the thana level administration, TCCA and Thana Council are functionally integrated to TTDC. The total mechanism was designed to operate under the co-ordination of TTDC. As stated earlier, TCCA is the top tier of the two tier co-operative based at the headquarters of thana administration. The main function of TCCA is the supervision, management and arrangements of facilities for the village based co-operatives, i.e. KSS

Diagram 2



- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - Production Plan | - Co-ordination | - Rural Works programme |
| - Account | - Supervision | - Fod for Workers Programme |
| - Demonstration programmes | - Local Level planning | - Tother department |
| | - Project Implementation | |
| | - Mobilization | |
| | - Follow-up | |

Source : Civil Officers' Training Academy, Dacca, December 15, 1979.

It acts as a source of allocation of different government facilities from thana level to the KSS. In Savar than'a these facilities include arrangements for training of the model farmers, managers, chairman of the co-operatives, their capital formation and credit operation and input supply. The Project Officer, IRDP, acts under a managing committee, as the secretary of TCCA. He conducts the activities of TCCA in collaboration with the Circle officer (Development).

On the other hand, thana parishad co-ordinates all the development programmes within the thana. It prepares thana development plan on the basis of Union development plan and gives assistance to the Union Council in implementing their plan, organises training for chairmen, members and secretaries of the Union Councils. All Union Council chairmen are its members. The sub-divisional officer acts as the ex-officio chairman of the Thana Council (he is the ex-officio chairman of all the thana councils within the jurisdiction of his sub-division) and Circle officer (Development) acts as the vice chairman of the Thana Council. In practice, the Circle officer acts as the chairman of the Thana Council as in most cases the sub-divisional officer cannot make time to preside over the meetings of the Thana Council.

The Circle officer (Development) is the team leader in thana administration. He is supposed to co-ordinate the activities of TCCA, Thana Council and thana administration within the compound of TTDC . As mentioned earlier, in Savar thana different thana level officers were scattered around different locations until 1970. After the establishment of TTDC in 1971, almost all the departmental officers were moved to TTDC complex in one location. However, the TTDC complex was not large enough to accommodate the officers of Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation (BADC), Family

Planning, and Animal Husbandry, which are presently located outside the TTDC. It is expected these offices will come within the TTDC complex later as the physical facilities of the complex are enlarged. The Government of Bangladesh has sanctioned additional funds to increase the physical facilities of the TTOC within its limited scope. In Savar the physical facilities of TTOC include: offices of different nation building departments, class rooms, demonstration units. Godown (for inputs), a small library and residential quarters for thara level officers. A Co-operative Bank is also under construction. Unlike many other TTDCs, Savar TTDC has a space problem. In Savar there are nineteen co-operative housing societies around the thana headquarters, each of them having purchased from 50-100 acres of land to sell among the new home makers. So Savar TTDC has little scope to expand. As a result Savar TTDC could not yet develop poultry farms and pisciculture farms. The demonstration units are also insufficient for the growing needs of the farmers and also have little scope to expand.

As stated earlier, the main objective of Savar TTDC is the co-ordination of different development activities within the jurisdiction of that thana. It organises training of co-operative chairmen, managers, and model farmers. (This client group is selected under the co-ordination of Thana Central Co-operative Association) and local government functionaries, and Block supervisors (Agricultural extension),. It offers training in agriculture, poultry, pisciculture, animal husbandry and family planning. Like Comilla TTDC it

does not offer training to the members of the conventional co-operatives, Imam (religious leaders), Dai (midwifery nurse), female workers, tractor drivers, pump operators and weavers,. In Comilla there are big demonstration farms for paddy, poultry and fish cultivation, In Savar there is no such arrangement, the demonstration units are smaller both in size and scope. Unlike Savar TTDC, Comilla has a veterinary clinic, soil testing laboratory, family planning clinic, workshop and cultural centre. In Comilla training has been .integrated with demonstration and action research. In Savar training is only occasionally integrated with demonstration and rarely integrated with research.

Training in Savar TTDC is intended to be functionally integrated with the rural development programmes and to be linked with the administrative support of the thana administration. The linkage is of critical importance to rural development which involves co-ordination of inter-sectoral programmes, supply of inputs, marketing support and restructuring of community.-organzation.²

Savar TTDC is flexible in structuring the subjects, course content and duration of training, according to the specific need of the different categories of clientele, but only to a limited extent. The broad outline of the training has been determined by IRDP headquarters, which has published a training manual for different clientele. Trainers in Savar follow the manual though they make some modifications according to the local demands of particular seasons. The Circle officer (Development) in collaboration with Project Officer (IRDP) co-ordinates the training activities, and training related other development activities of TTDC.

In Savar TTDC, most of the persons interviewed recognised the need for more training in agriculture, particularly paddy cultivation, which, as mentioned (Table 3, Chapter 1) is the main crop in Savar. Through demonstration and extension training model farmers selected by the KSS themselves, becoming the new instrument of extension, because the model farmer, being a resident of the village is accountable to the society. He is usually a person whom the villagers would trust and follow in respect of innovations and agricultural practices. Thus he is supposed to be an effective agent of agricultural extension and modernization through the demonstration of improved agricultural practices among other villagers and among his kith and kin from other villages. .

In order to make extension training more effective, Savar TTDC has been following the undermentioned extension programmes formulated by the Government. These programmes are based on the need of the different seasons. They are as follows:

- a. IRCP - Intensive Rabi Crop Production
- b. ITAP - Intensive Transplanted Aus Production
- c. IAPP - Intensive Aman Production Programme
- d. IBPP - Intensive Boro Production Programme.

The agricultural Extension Department in collaboration with Agricultural Department has been organizing and operating the extension work. In order to facilitate the programme properly through different seasons of the year, each Union of the thana has been divided into eight Blocks. Twenty model farmers are selected from each block and are being trained by the Village Extension Agent (VEA) and Union Extension Agent (UAA). The VEA and UAA supervise village and union respectively. Unlike V-AID multipurpose village level workers' (VLW), the VEAs and UMs are appointed from their respective villages and Unions, and like Comilla, extension work is done by the model farmers (farmers not restricted to IRDP; outside IRDP members could become model farmers under the extension programme). The VEA and UAA disseminate knowledge and information about modern agricultural practices to the selected model farmers. In turn, they receive first hand knowledge about the problems of the farmers' day to day life. In Savar the Thana Agricultural officers and Thana Extension officer provide training to VEAs and UMs at TTDC. Sometimes the departmental bosses inspect the training of VEAs and UAAs at TTDC.

The model farmers of each block are offered a comprehensive package of inputs and support services, such as high yield variety (HYV) paddy seeds, local Boro varieties. They are provided with training to use the seeds, fertilisers and pesticides in the line of training and visit system³ (T & V system). The senior departmental officers come to the "Blocks" from time to time to pay visit and to supervise the activities of the extension agents. The following Table 1 shows the targetted area of extension programme, and area covered under the same Programme.

Table 1 Area under Agricultural Extension Programme in Savar, 1982.

Year	Crop	TARGETTED AREA (in acre)			AREA COVERED UNDER EXTENSION PROGRAMME (in-acre)		
		High Yield Varieties	Pajam	Local Varieties	High Yield Varieties	Pajam	High Yield Varieties
1980-81	Aus I T	13800	not avail	2000	15485	not avail	1275
1981-82	Aus A P	16000	not avail	1500	16658	not avail	163
1980-81	Tran- I splan-A	3500	4200	2800	3000	3350	1700
1981-82	ted p Aman p	2930	300	2600	2135	2700	3700
1980-81	Boro I B	not avail	not avail	not avail	not avail	not avail	not avail
1981-82	Boro P P	3556	not avail	3904	2835	not avail	4445

Source: Thana Agricultural Extension Officer, Savar, 1982.

Usually the targetted area of extension can hardly be achieved. Though full data are not available it has been found, in Savar, that both in 1980-81 and 1981-82, more than the targetted area has been brought under High Yield Variety Aus and local variety transplanted Aman (only 1981-82) and local variety Bore (1981-82). It means farmers have an inclination towards High Yield Varieties and their modern method of cultivation, because out of 43250 (Table 3, Chapter 1) acres of cultivable land in Savar, 16658 (Aus HYV 1981-82), and 15485 (Aus, HYV in 1980-81) have been brought under extension programme.

Trainers of Savar TTDC

Like Coimilla Kotwali TTDC, almost all thana level officers in Savar thana are expected to be teachers in Savar TTDC. Apart from their conventional relationship with the superior, thana level officers were asked by the Government to develop a partnership relationship with rural people to promote rural development. They were supposed to be more accessible and accountable to the people. TTDC was supposed to provide all the facilities to realise that goal and thana level officers were supposed to emerge as friend, philosopher and teacher of the people. It added a new dimension' to the role of thana officers in the process of rural development.

However, in Savar TTDC, not all officers are equally involved in training. More specifically, officers of agriculture, local government and rural development ministries are taking a leading part in the whole process of training; other thana level officers are taking part in the training programmes, as arranged by the officers of the agriculture and local government and rural development ministries.

i. Recruitment of Thana level officers

Most of the thana level officers are recruited by the two Central Personnel Agencies, i.e. The Establishment Division of the Public Service Commission. The Establishment Division is concerned with personnel administration of all the ministries of the government.

The day to day control and management of the personnel belonging to the various ministries is the primary responsibility of the respective ministry. However, for matters such as recruitment rules, training, qualification, age limit, pay-scale, the ministries have to consult the Establishment Division. All the "development ministries" have officers at the thana level. The concerned ministry advises the Establishment Division to recruit appropriate types of employees to the different vacant posts. The Establishment Division then advises the Public Service Commission to advertise these posts through different mediums of communication, conduct public examination, select the appropriate persons against the vacant posts.

In recruiting thana level officers the following procedures are followed:

- a. certain types of officers such as Circle officer, Thana Agricultural officer, Project officer (IRDP), Thana Agricultural Extension officer, Thana Medical officer, Thana Magistrate, are recruited by the competitive examination, conducted by the Public Service Commission
- b. other thana level officers such as Co-operative officer, Fishery officer, Livestock officer, Family Planning officer, social welfare officer, and Thana Education officer are recruited by their respective departments In consultation with the Establishment Division. They are appointed on ad hoc basis and are to be regularised by the Public Service Commission in due course.

Although the basic principle of recruitment is equality of opportunity, and maintenance of quality through written and oral examination, there is a provision of quota system to accommodate Central Personnel Agencies, i.e. The Establishment Division of the Public Service Commission. The Establishment Division is concerned with personnel administration of all the ministries of the government. The day to day control and management of the personnel belonging to the various ministries is the primary responsibility of the respective ministry. However, for matters such as recruitment rules, training, qualification, age limit, pay-scale, the ministries have to consult the Establishment Division. All the "development ministries" have officers at the thana level. The concerned ministry advises the Establishment Division to recruit appropriate types of employees to the different vacant posts. The Establishment Division then advises the Public Service Commission to advertise these posts through different mediums of communication, conduct public examination, select the appropriate persons against the vacant posts.

In recruiting thana level officers the following procedures are followed:

- a. certain types of officers such as Circle officer, Thana Agricultural officer, Project officer (IRDP), Thana Agricultural Extension officer, Thana Medical officer, Thana Magistrate, are recruited by the competitive examination, conducted by the Public Service Commission
- b. other thana level officers such as Co-operative officer, Fishery officer, Livestock officer, Family Planning officer, social welfare officer, and Thana Education officer are recruited by their respective departments In consultation with the Establishment Division. They are appointed on ad hoc basis and are to be regularised by the Public Service Commission in due course.

Although the basic principle of recruitment is equality of opportunity,⁴ and maintenance of quality through written and oral examination, there is a provision of quota system to accommodate the representation of different

categories of persons (women, persons from backward areas, etc.) on the basis of different considerations. (Affected women in Liberation war, Freedom fighter, etc.) In any case, they must have the minimum required qualification and experience (see Appendix 4).

It has become evident from the interviews that almost all—thana level officers were born and brought up (at least up to fifteen years) and educated (up to matriculation) in the villages. In most cases, their parents are villagers and agriculturalists. So they are supposed to have a first hand knowledge of the problems of the rural people. Because of their above mentioned background, it is expected that they could serve the village people in a more effective way. They are expected to develop a feeling of oneness with the rural people to accelerate the pace of development.

The age and educational qualifications of officers of Savar TTDC shows the above characteristics.

Table 2. Classification of trainers in respect of age (in years) in Savar TTDC.

20-25	26-30	31-35.	36-40	41-45	Total
2	5	4	3	1	15

As shown in Table 2, above, the age of the trainers is fairly young with 73% being under 35 years of age. This is because of the fact that the entry point in Public Services is at thana level. Most of the Savar thana officers, such as in the departments of agriculture, extension, IRDP, Health, Fisheries and Animal Husbandry, started their career from the thana posting. After some years of experience they might get a promotion to the higher post or might get a transfer to the other thanas in the same post. Until the late seventies the Circle officer, Thana Education officer, Thana Sanitary Inspector, Sub-Assistant Engineer, retired in the same post .without having any more promotions. Recently some of these posts have been upgraded with an increase in salary, which has increased their chances of promotion to higher posts.

Table 3. Distribution of Trainers according to educational qualification in Savar TTDC.

Secondary	Higher Secondary	Tertiary	Postgraduate	Diplomate after H. Secondary	Total
1	2	7	1	4	15

The above Table shows that 53%-of the trainers had some kind of tertiary education. Only 7% have secondary and 7% have post-graduate education. Moreover 2-72 of them have special qualification (technical) after passing secondary and intermediate certificate examinations. In Savar thana, only the Project officer, IRDP has an M.A. The Circle officer (Dev.) is a Bachelor of

Arts. Thana Health Administrator is an MBBS. Moreover, Thana Agricultural officer, Thana Agricultural Extension officer, Deputy Project officer, [RDP, Thana Co-operative officer, hold bachelor degrees in their respective fields. Thana Cooperative officer, Thana Education officer, Inspector (BADC) and Sub-Assistant Engineer (Public Health Engineering) are diploma holders. Only the Sanitary Inspector is a matriculate and the Thana Seed Inspector (BADC), Social Welfare officer are intermediate certificate holders. From this above Table it becomes clear that most of the thana level officers in Savar are qualified and have relevant experience in their respective fields (in relation to their training to the villagers). All of them as reported lived in their respective villages and passed the matriculation examination (at least 15 years) from their respective village schools.

Trainers development of skill as trainers

Almost all trainers have been given a short term opportunity to develop their skill as trainers. Both the Circle officer and Project officer have received training from Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) at Comilla for four months. Thana Agricultural Extension officer went to Agricultural Extension Training Institute (AETI) in Dacca for three months. Thana Co-operative officer, Deputy Project officer (IRDP) went to Rural Development Training Institute (RDTI) in Sylhet for three months. Thana Livestock officer, Thana Fisher officer, Thana Irrigation officer, and Thana Family planning officer, all received training in the Regional Academy for Rural Development in Bogra (RARD) for three months. Apart from this structural training they also received on the job training at Savar TTDC.

Role of Thana level officers as Trainers

In addition to the normal departmental routine work, Thana level officers are required to take classes at TTDC. This arrangement was made to help them come in close contact with rural people. But it appears from Table 4 that Savar thana level officers are not performing their training role as effectively as it was in Comilla TTDC. Though the Circle officer is supposed to allocate the classes in consultation with the Project officer (IRDP), in practice the Project officer IRDP, or Deputy Project officer (IRDP) allocates the classes to the different trainers at Savar TTDC. The table- 4 shows Circle officer was allotted only six classes throughout the year but he did not take any of them. As he reported, this was because he was too busy with his co-ordinative role in thana administration. Moreover he has to tour throughout the thana, attend meetings at the sub-divisional headquarters. The Project officer, himself allotted 12 classes but has taken only 8 classes. The table shows thana

Table 4. Level of participation of Thana level officers in taking classes at Savar TTDC.

Designations	Alloted no of classes	No. of classes taken	Percentage of the classes taken
1. Circle Officer (Dev)	6	X	00
2. Project officer (IRDP)	8	4	50
3. Deputy Project officer (IRDP)	18	15	83
4. Thana Agriculture officer	18	12	66
5. Thana Agricultural extension officer	18	16	89
6. Thana Fisheries officer	10	5	50
7. Thana Co-operative officer	X	X	X
8. Thana Family planning officer	12	5	41
9. Thana Health Administrator	8	2	25
10. Thana Irrigation officer	18	12	66
11. Thana Seed Inspector	12	8	66
12. Social Welfare officer	X	X	
13. Thana Livestock officer	12	8	66
14. Thana education officer	12	2	17
15. Sub-Asst. Engineer (Public	12	6	50

Source: Project officer, IRDP, Savar, 1982.

Co-operative officer and Thana Social Welfare officer were not given any classes. It is not known why the Social Welfare officer was not given any classes, but it could be analysed that there is close conflict between co-operatives under IRDP and co-operatives under Co-operative Directorate. When the thana co-operative officer was interviewed by the researcher, he openly blamed the Thana Project officer and Deputy Project Officer of IRDP for their alleged corruption, mismanagement and negligence. It has been observed that he has developed a non-partisan attitude towards rural development programmes organised by IRDP at Savar Thana. The reason for this conflict could be analysed from a different point of view. IRDP spends a huge amount of money in regard to its training, input supplies and credits, The project office and Deputy Project officer, IRDP, handle the money mainly by themselves. The Thana Co-operative officer has no such scope. As a result, he is in conflict with the Project officer (IRDP), so there is jealousy and rivalry which hampers team spirit, curbs training activities at Savar TTDC.

Methods of Training

The success of training depends on its effective delivery. In Savar TTDC, the method of training is one of the lecture-cum-dis-cussion. The trainer stands

on the dias and the trainees sit on the benches in front of him. Usually the trainees do not bring any writing materials with them. The trainers deliver the main points of their lecture and then discuss them in detail. The researcher observed some of the trainers have inherent qualities of a good teacher and are very effective in teaching. They deliver their lecture in a simple and logical fashion, and in an easy language. Sometimes they make jokes in the class and subtly transfer the information and skill among the trainees. A few trainers responded that they use training aids such as posters, leaflets, booklets and display charts in the class. These materials are supplied by IRDP. But they do not distribute lesson hssets among the trainees due to shortage of funds for this purpose.

The quality of training varies from person to person. Some trainers, though they have relevant qualifications make their lecture-irrelevant and boring. They lack in confidence and cannot disseminate the idea to a group of sensitive elders, effectively.

They usually do not come to the class at the appointed time. On several occasions, the researcher has attempted to attend the class. He found it had become a common practice for some trainers to come to the class late. They have also made it a point to leave the class before the stipulated time. On two occasions the researcher found the trainer did not turn up at all to take the class. This negligence of the trainers causes considerable disappointment to the trainees.

Trainers views on training at Savar TTDC

Most of the trainers opined that the training programme is really good because it provides the opportunity to train a large number of people within a short time, to promote rural development. It facilitates two way communication, one from the trainers to the trainees and the other from the trainees to the trainers, and then to the departmental bosses (though they do not take their classes regularly and hardly communicate trainees' viewpoints to the departmental bosses). Moreover, it provides services and supplies from a common place to utilise skill and knowledge derived from the training. They also opined that it develops mutual understanding, fellow-feeling and leadership qualities which are needed for achieving a common goal - rural welfare.

On the other hand, the trainers pointed out the following problems associated with the training activities in Savar TTDC.

- a. the first and foremost problem is the lack of co-ordination among the different departments, which results in mismanagement in structuring and implementing training programmes.
- b. Lack of demonstration and shortage of training materials makes the training dull, unattractive and ineffective to the clients. The theoretical

knowledge obtained from the trainers does not usually have a lasting impact on the trainees.

- c. Though most of them have good educational background, none of them have formal teaching experience prior to joining the Public-Service; moreover their in-service training programme is not related to increasing their teaching effectiveness, which is mostly short term and irrelevant. There is little scope to increase their training capabilities which hamper their effective training.
- d. Sometimes trainers remain absent due to departmental pre-occupation or negligence. The trainees who come to TTDC with a good deal of hope to ask for some information on the problems of their agriculture, feel frustrated without having such information from the trainers. So sometimes they feel demotivated to come to attend classes at TTDC.
- e. Cumbersome methods in getting the services and supplies, and non-availability of such supplies, from the trainers greatly hampers trainees enthusiasm to attend the classes. Moreover, if they come to know their trainers involved in input supplies are corrupt, they lose all trust and respect for them. In such an atmosphere of distrust effective training cannot take place.

Trainees of Savar TTDC

In Savar TTDC, training as discussed earlier, is held for the IRDP Co-operative members and Union Council representatives. Savar TTDC, like Comilla TTDC, does not have the physical and financial support to offer a broad based training to the different categories of clients such as members of the conventional co-operatives, weaver co-operatives, fisherman and artisans co-operatives, Information collected about the age and education of the trainees is outlined in the following table.

Table 5. Age distribution of Trainees at Savar TTDC, 1982.

Age	Chairman KSS	Manager KSS	Model farmer KSS	Chairman Union Council	Member Union Council	Total
18-25	-	2	5	-	-	7
26-35	5	8	8	-	4	25
36-45	20	15	8	5	6	54
46-55	5	5	6	1	2	19
56-65	-	-	3	-	-	3
Total	30	30	30	6	12	108

The main clientele groups of our study are 30 chairmen, 30 managers, 30 model farmers of co-operative societies and 6 chairmen and 12 members of the Union Council. It is generally believed older people should be chairman

of the co-operative society, whereas energetic motivated comparatively young people should be the manager, enthusiastic people in agricultural practices be the model farmer of the co-operative society, KSS- Sublaws allows a person to represent his KSS if he is over the age of 18, whereas the minimum age for seeking election for chairmanship and membership of Union Council is 25 and 18 respectively. The age distribution of Savar TTDC clientele is given in Table 5, which shows 25 chairmen (82:52), 23 managers (76.6%) 14 model farmers (4.6.6%) of the co-operative societies and 5 chairmen (83,3%) and 10 members (83) of the Union Council are within the age group of 26-45. This means people within the middle age bracket are getting selected or elected to represent their respective institutions, In a traditional society like Bangladesh, people usually have had a tendency toward electing older people as their representatives. Information obtained from Savar TTDC does not represent the same tendency.

Educational background is an important factor to identify the characteristics of a clientele group. The training mechanism demands the reciprocity and adaptability of the trainers and trainees in a given situation. Since our clientele is villagers and farmers and are not expected to have much education, they can participate effectively if they have minimum basic education. The following table 7 shows the level of education of the clients of Savar TTDC.

Table 6. Distribution of trainees according to their level of education in SavarTTDC in 1982.

Category	Illiterate	Grade 1-5	Grade 6-10	School Cert.	Higher Secondary Cert.	Tertiary	Total
Chairman KSS	-	10	12	8	-	-	30
Manager KSS	-	3	10	12	5	-	30
Model Farmer KSS	8	12	10	-	-	-	30
Chairman Union Council	-	-	-	-	2	4	6
Member Union Council	-	-	3	5	4	-	12
Total	8	25	35	25	11	4	108

The above table shows that 22 (73%) chairmen-co-operative societies have basic education, that is up to 10th grade, whereas 8 (26.6%) have passed the SSC examination. The Educational background of managers is better than the co-operative chairmen. 13 (43%) of them studied up to 10th grade and 12 (40%) have passed School Certificate and 5 (16.5%) have Intermediate Certificate. 8 (26.6%) of the model farmers have no education (they can only write their names) when 12 (40%) can read (hardly writes) and 10 (33%) of them have education up to 10th grade (none of them passed matriculation

after 10th grade). Four chairmen (66%) are well educated while 2 of them (33%) have passed Intermediate Certificate examination. Nine (75%) of Union Council members are secondary school and Intermediate certificate holders.

It becomes evident from the above table that educational backgrounds of Savar TTDC is satisfactory if we compare it with national literacy rate which is 26% in 1980 (The Second Five Year Plan of Bangladesh, p. 1). Though the model farmers education background is not satisfactory in comparison with other groups, they are mostly intelligent people. That is why other members of the co-operative selected them as their representatives to the TTDC. Most of them have inquisitiveness to learning and they want to apply modern practices of agriculture. Sometimes they innovate new ideas by themselves in the process of their cultivation. All members of the co-operative (KSS) are the farmers, as such their representatives are also farmers. Though the Union Council members are not the members of the co-operative, most of them have agriculture as their main occupation. The following table shows the distribution of trainees according to their main occupation.

The Table 8 shows that 87(80.3%) clientele have agriculture as their main occupation, the other 21 (19.4%) have business and teaching at primary school as their main profession, though they have reported agriculture as their secondary profession. The break through description is given below.

Table 7. Classification of trainees in Savar, according to their main occupation in T9B2.

Occupation	Chairman KSS	Manager KSS	Model farmer KSS	Chairman Union Council	Member Union Council	Total
Agriculture	25	22	28	6	6	87
Teaching at Primary school	3	-	-	-	-	3
Service	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business	2	8	2	-	6	18
Total	30	30	30	6	12	108

The above table shows that 25 chairmen (83.3%), 22 managers (73.33%) and 28 model farmers (93.3%) have agriculture as their main occupation. They are mainly dependent on their produce for consumption and purchasing other necessities of life by selling a part of it. Only three chairmen of co-operative societies are teachers in Primary school, 2 chairmen KSS, 8 chairmen KSS and 2 model farmers and 6 members have business as their main occupation, although they have agriculture as their secondary occupation. All the chairman (100%) of the Union Council have shown agriculture as their main

occupation, but all of them have income from business and other secondary sources. Although they never do it in their own names, or by themselves, they always do it in the names of their sons and daughters and other kith and kin. Some times they act as sleeping partners in some business establishment.

Table 7 shows that most of the trainees have agriculture as their main occupation and all of them are supposed to have Some amount of land, because possession of some amount of land is the first criteria to form a co-operative. The following Table shows the distribution of land in each category of clients.

Table 8. Distribution of land among the TTDC clientele in Savar, 1981.

Amount of land (Acre)	Chairman KSS	Manager KSS	Model farmer KSS	Chairman Union Council	Member Union Council	Total
Landless	X	X	X	X	X	00
0.50-0.99	X	X	X	X	X	00
1 - 2		5	6	X	X	11
2 - 3	8	8	12	x	4	32
3 - 4	18	5	10	X	8	41
4 - 5	4	12	2	X	X	18
5-6	X	X	X	X	X	00
6 - 7	X	X	X	X	X	00
7 and above	X	X	X	6	X	6
Total	30	30	30	6	12	108

The above table shows that none of the Savar TTDC clientele except the chairman Union Council, has more than 5 acres of land, The chairmen managers and model farmers KSS have almost similar pattern of landholdings. 26 Chairman (86.5%) and 18 managers (60%) and 28 model farmers (93,3%) have land within 2-4 acres. It is a general trend that model farmers have more lands than the managers. But in Savar the managers have more land than the model farmers. All the twelve members of Union Council have lands from 2-4 acres. The Union Council chairmen are recorded as having more than 7 acres of land (a minimum of 12 acres and maximum of 30 acres). They are therefore considerably wealthier than all other groups of clientele in Savar TTDC. As power is related to wealth, they are also considerably powerful in the society.

Services and Production inputs are provided with training according to the amount of land the different clients have. The production inputs such as seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, deep tube wells, power pump, are distributed among the TTDC clientele at a highly subsidised rate. In order to procure these inputs one has to submit a production plan. The more land one has, the bigger, (or inflated) plan one can make. Thus the more wealthy and powerful

segment of the population get the maximum benefits out of this subsidised input, which was meant to serve the poor farmers. Since the poor farmers have small amounts of land, they cannot even claim to have more benefits in terms of production inputs from the Government.

On the other hand, production credit is also granted against mortgaging land. It involves a lot of formalities such as verification of production plan, assessment of need and signing of a contract between the creditor and the debtor. The poor farmer often cannot fulfil these rigid conditions. So the real needy hardly get any benefits out of this arrangement. The farmers who have bigger amounts of land enjoy the real benefit of supplies, services and credits. So the farmers do not feel motivated to attend classes at TTDC.

Attendance of trainees in Savar TTDC

If training is to be of any value, those who should benefit will have to have regular attendance in their courses. Because this training is intended to transfer new skills, diffuse knowledge about new technology and deliver inputs to use the acquired knowledge and skills. Training demands the participation of the rural people, otherwise it will be just a formality.

In Savar TTDC, classes are held weekly for the model farmers, fortnightly for the managers and monthly for the chairmen, KSS. Occasional classes are held for the Union classes chairmen and members.

Classes are held on weekly market day (open space market in Savar thana) to attract more trainees at TTDC. They are also provided with some conveyance (according to mileage, with a maximum of TK 10 U.S. 50 cents).

Table 9 The following table shows percentage of attendance of different clientele in 1981.

Categories of trainees	No. of eligible trainees	Average No, trainees attended classes	Percentage of the average trainees	Comment
1. Chairman KSS	98	46	47	Percentage vary from month to month
2. Manager KSS	98	52	53	Percentage vary from month to month
3. Model Farmer KSS	98	65	66	Percentage vary from month to month
4. Chairman Union Council	12	4	33	Thana Council is not effective in co-ordinating training of its clientele
5. Member Union Council	120	50	42	Thana Council is not effective in co-ordinating training of its clientele

Source: Thana Project Officer, Savar 1982.

The indications are that none of the trainees attend classes very regularly. The best are the model farmers and the worst are the chairmen, Union Councils. The overall attendance is not satisfactory. The following table shows percentage of trainees who never attended any classes in TTDC in the first three months of 1982, i.e. January, February and March.

The table shows that 33.356 chairmen, 22% managers and 33.3% model farmers did not attend any classes in the first quarter of 1982.

Table 10. Percentage of absentees in different groups in January, February, and March, 1982.

Categories	Trainees responded in the questionnaire who never attended any classes	Percentage of total in each group
Chairman KSS	10	33.3
Manager KSS	7	23.3
Model Farmer KSS Chairman	10	33.3
Union Council		33.3
Member Union Council	3	25

33% chairmen and 25% member Union Council did not attend any classes either. The above tables show that the attendance in Savar is disappointing.

Supply of Production Inputs

Regular supply of production input is an essential prerequisite for a successful training. Because training could be demonstrated only through the effective use of improved seeds, fertilisers, pesticides as well as through irrigation of deep tube well and power pump. In Comilla research was integrated with training and training was demonstrated through the regular supply of improved inputs. The following table shows how far inputs-supply is related to training in Savar TTDC. This table shows most of the clientele, (83.3%) chairmen, (60%) managers, 66.7% model farmers, (75%) member, Union Council, either did not get or occasionally got, inputs. Though almost all

Table 11. Distribution of trainers-according to their availability and non-availability of inputs.

Categories	Inputs available	Percentage	Inputs not available or hardly available	Percentage	Total
Chairman KSS	5	16.5	25	83.3	30
Manager	12	40.	18	60.0	30
Model farmer	10	33.3	20	66.7	30
Chairman Union Council	4	66.6	2	33.3	6
Member Union Council	3	25	9	75	12

The chairman Union Council members manipulate to get inputs in usual or unusual ways. 33.3% of the chairmen. Union councils, responded that inputs are not available or hardly available. This could be only to show that they are in the line of the small farmers. Inputs are distributed by the Government, If it does not serve' the purpose of those for whom it is intended, their training will be a futile exercise. This trend has immensely hampered the attendance in training activities and their effectiveness at Savar TTDC.

The attendance of training has also been affected by the non-repayment of loans drawn by the KSS members from the TCCA. In order to make training practical, TTDC provides short term loans to the model farmers, managers and chairmen of the KSS for purchasing of fertilisers, seeds and sharing of irrigation facilities. But there is a constant complaint against the trainees for the timely non-repay-ment of loans. These loans were provided according to the production plans of the individual fanners processed through TCCA. The following Table 12 shows amount of credits borrowed from and repaid to Savar TCCA7

Table 12. . Non-repayment of Production Credits

Year	Name of crops	Amount of credits	Percentage of repayment
1 1980-81	Boro (irrigated)	TK 2,000,000	74
1981-82	Boro (irrigated)	TK 200,000	21
1 1980-81	Aus	TK 192,050	61
1981-82	Broadcasting Aman	TK 16,000	11
1981-82	Transplanted Aman	TK 300,000	23
1980-81	Wheat	TK 83,500	84
1981-82	Wheat.	TK 85,910	53

Source: Project Officer IRDP, Savar, 1982.

Credit is one of the conditions of TTDC training. But the -non-repayment of this, credit has greatly hampered training process, at TTDC because the Project officer pressurises the clients to pay back the loan. If they fail to do so, they avoid attending classes.

Thus it becomes evident that the majority of the clientele, 82.5% chairmen, (75.6%) managers, (46.5%) Jmodel farmers, (83.3%) chairmen Union Council and 83% members Union Council are within the age group 26-45. The-Union Council representatives are more qualified than the co-operative members. None of the co-operative members has tertiary education. Among the co-operative members, managers are better qualified than the other two groups and-26.6% of the model fanners are absolutely

illiterate. This demands more practical training in place of theoretical lectures at TTDC.

All the clientele have agriculture as their profession, although 87(80.5%) have agriculture as their main profession and 21 (19.4%) have business as their main profession with agriculture as the secondary profession, none of the co-operative Union Parishad members has more 5 acres of land whereas all the Union Council chairmen have more than 7 acres of land. Most of the clientele, 83.3% chairmen, 60% managers KSS, 66.7% model farmers and 7.5% members Union Parishad either do not get or occasionally get inputs co practise their training received at TTDC. Their attendance is also low, only 47% chairmen, 53% managers and 66% model farmers attended classes whereas 33% chairmen U.C., and 42% members/ U.C., attended TTDC classes in 1981. Though their attendance is low, the model farmers are the best and Union Council chairmen are the worst among the clientele in Savar TTDC in attending classes.

There are a number of reasons for this low percentage of attendance. The following were identified by the trainees of Savar TTDC.

1. One important cause of low attendance in Savar TTDC classes is the irregularity of trainers, who come from different nation building departments. Sometimes the deputised trainers do not turn up, sometimes they suspend their classes without any prior notice. Thus the participants who conies from long distance in spite of their commitment at home and all the difficulties involved to receive knowledge, get frustrated, which ultimately loses their interest in the programme.
2. IRDP pays a conveyance to each trainee according to the mileage, with a maximum of Taka 10 (US 50¢). This amount is negligible in the face of rising costs of communication. So the trainees do not feel inspired to attend classes at TTDC, spending extra money from their own pocket.
3. Though Savar thana headquarters is connected with Dacca-Aricha Highway, most of the villages are not within a motorable contact from TTDC. The trainees from these scattered villages usually come on foot. During rainy season, the road becomes muddy and sometimes-get submerged under water. Consequently-the trainees do-not feel very interested in attending classes.
4. Farmers form a co-operative and attend classes at TTDC with a view to obtaining some benefits such as subsidised fertilisers, power pumps improved seeds and credits from the Government. In most cases these benefits are restricted to the closedcircle from within the clientele. The small farmers cannot manage to fulfil the conditions to procure such

goods. Training becomes ritualistic, consequently they cannot put their training into practice. So most of the farmers do not feel motivated to attend the classes at TTDC.

5. The members of the Mahila Sarnbaya Samity (Womens Co-operative Society) did not attend any of the classes organised by Savar TTDC. In a tradition bound society like Bangladesh, village women are shy, they hardly come out of their houses, to work with male members of the society. They organise co-operatives to obtain some benefit from IRDP. Moreover the training offered by TTDC is not useful to them because they do not practise modern agriculture so the women members do not come to attend classes at TTDC.
6. The method of training, sometimes is not attractive to them. The trainers use scribbled notes and speak off the cuff. The lecture becomes routinised and unattractive. So the trainees feel discouraged to come to their classes at TTDC.
7. Another important cause of low attendance in TTDC is associated with the non-repayment of loan from TCCA. The projects officer (IRDP) puts pressure on them for the timely repayment of loan, which the farmers fail to comply with. Ultimately they avoid the classes in TTDC. Besides this, some members sometimes are not in a position to make the compulsory thrift deposit because of their other commitments or economic hardship, so they avoid attending classes at TTDC. The following are sample syllabi provided by trainers at Savar TTDC.

Sample Syllabus for Union Council members

1. Agriculture, importance of agriculture in the economy of Bangladesh, present cultivation, diversification of cropping pattern, seed procurement and preservation, preparation of seedbed, main field and mulching, use of fertilisers, use of agriculture implement and machinery, major insect of field crops and their control, diffusion of improved farm practices.
2. Family planning, problems and significance of family planning, methods of family planning, family planning and economic development in Bangladesh.
3. Livestock farming and pisciculture.
4. Principles of co-operatives and IRDP.
5. Development work, food for works programmes, forms and activities of project commutes, planning and preparation of development schemes.
6. Financial management, Union Council budget maintenance of accounts and registers.

Sample Syllabus for KS5 Managers in 1980

1. Co-operative, introduction to co-operative, Comilla co-operative in rural development.
2. Livestock farming: Cow Pox.
3. Family planning, population problem, importance of family planning for the economic development of Bangladesh, methods of family planning.
4. Agriculture, method of cultivation, use of proper seeds, fertilisers, agricultural implements and pesticides, crop diseases and their cure.
5. Financial management, audit method and account maintenance of co-operatives,

Sample Syllabus for Chairman and Model Farmers in 1981

1. Agriculture, importance of agriculture in the economic development of Bangladesh, duties of model farmers (extension), preparation of green fertilisers from cow-dung, compost making and seed-bed, protection of plants and use of insecticides and pesticides, cultivation of vegetables and fruit plant, methods of cultivation of High Yield varieties.
2. Family planning, importance, methods and advantages,
3. Pisciculture, fish food, fish disease and cure.
4. Livestock, need for better quality livestock, livestock diseases and their cure.
- 5 Poultry, need for better quality poultry, poultry diseases and their cure.
6. Co-operative, registration, obligation and privileges of co-operatives, importance of capital formal through thrift saving.

The training schedule is designed to ensure that a particular subject is offered to meet the need of a particular season. In Savar agricultural subjects, particularly paddy cultivation, i.e. Aus, Aman, Boro and their extension training got priority.

Although the above Sample Syllabi have been provided by IRDP guidelines, the Circle officer or Project officer in Savar TTDC is authorised to make necessary modifications. But they hardly do it. In fact the same syllabi is offered to the different groups of clientele throughout the year, and year after year without making any changes. This sometimes makes training boring and irrelevant to the participants. Sometimes the Circle officer or the Project officer (IRDP) prepare the training schedule without even consulting the trainers. This breeds antagonism which destroys team spirit, because most of the trainers want a participation in preparing and implementing training schedules.

In order to make training more effective Savar TTDC performs some planning role. One of the important ideas behind the formulation of TTDC concept was the involvement of local people through their planning in agriculture, credits, inputs and development works. This was to be done under the supervision and collaboration of thana level officers through TCCA and Thana Council. The planning process starts from the grass root level. Every individual farmer would assess his need of agriculture, in relation to his required amount of seeds, fertilisers, deep tube well, power pump and other expenditure involved in farming. Thus the individual planning would be made, which would be integrated to village plan. The village plan would be incorporated in thana level planning, which would flow into national plan.

In Savar thana the chairmen, managers and model farmers submit their requirements to the village-based co-operative, i.e. KSS, which in turn sends it to TCCA. Within its limited scope in relation to the gigantic demands of services and supplies, TCCA approves them or disapproves them or makes modifications to approve them. Most of the trainees are of the opinion that IRDP officials (the Project officer IRDP is the secretary of TCCA) impose their decisions on the villagers regarding their estimation of the expenditure involved in increased production. Similarly the Union Council makes its development plan according to the needs of the villages within its jurisdiction. This plan is then integrated into the Thana Council, which is ultimately integrated with the National Development plan. The Circle officer is vice-chairman of Thana Council. He co-ordinates the development activities of the Unions within his thana.

As training involves production planning, production planning presupposes regular supply of services and inputs. As we have seen the training programme in Savar suffers from limited availability of agricultural and other supplies which must supplement the training to make it practically workable. As mentioned earlier, the main ministries involved in rural development programmes at thana level are the Agriculture, Local Government and Rural Development. Bangladesh Agricultural Development Co-operation (BADC) under the ministry of agriculture is the main organization for the procurement and distribution of agricultural inputs to the co-operatives (recently BADC started distributing of inputs among non-members of co-operatives), Plant Protection department under the same ministry is involved in distributing insecticides and pesticides. IRDP is involved in providing credits to the farmers of the co-operative through the jatiyo-Samabaya Bank (National Co-operative Bank). Credit to the farmers is also provided through "the Bangladesh Krishi Bank (Bangladesh Agricultural Development Bank) and Rural Credit departments of the nationalised Banks.

Credits are channelled through TCCA, mainly for the purchase of power pumps, deep tube wells, fertilisers, insecticides and pesticides. In Savar TTDC, the trainers, such as Circle officer, Thana Agricultural officer, Project officer (IRDP), Plant Protection officer, are involved in supplying inputs to the farmers. The Circle officer acts as co ordinator among these officers and other thana level officers. In playing the role of co-ordinator the Circle officer faces three types of problems.⁵

- a. The multiplicity and technicalities of the programme which was largely segmented.
- b. The conflicting role of specialised officer of the technical department.
- c. Lack of proper direction from the respective head' office in relation to co-ordination among the thana level officers.

These trends have affected the 'input of supplies which was an important precondition of co-operation.

The process through which inputs are distributed in Savar TTDC is cumbersome and complicated. It reflects the diverse interest and rivalry among the thana level officers. Initially the co-operative farmers submit the production plan and requisition of inputs to the Union Agricultural Assistant (UAA) who then passes it to the Thana Agricultural Committee (TADC). The Circle officer is the chairman (except for the allocation and distribution of power pumps, deep tube wells, where local M.P. (Member of Parliament) is the chairman and Thana Agricultural officer is the member Secretary), TADC verifies and approves the scheme and passes it to the District Approving Authority (DM). The District Approving Authority consists of the Deputy Commissioner (Dacca), one M.P. (nominated) and Project Director (IRDP). After the approval of the scheme, it goes back to TADC. TADC then orders the Thana Inspector (BADC) to distribute the inputs from TTDC godown or from the dealers of the respective villages of the farmer.⁶

It has been found from the interview with the Thana Agriculture officer that he is reluctant to accept the chairmanship of Circle officer -in the TADC. Psychologically he thinks he is equivalent to the Circle officer in respect of rank and status (both are gazetted as First class officer), and has technical qualifications. Moreover, he represents the biggest ministry of the Government and agricultural development is the prime concern of the Government to promote rural development and overall development of the country. So he is not ready to accept the chairmanship of the Circle office in relation to TADC. Rather, he thinks he should be given charge of the overall co-ordination of development activities at thana level. On the other hand, both Thana Extension officer and Thana Inspector (BADC) have no place in the process of distribution of inputs. Thana Extension officer is also a contestant of the leadership in this regard, because he is also equivalent to the Circle officer and Thana Agriculture officer in rank and status. He is

involved in agricultural extension, the main task of which is to increase agricultural productivity. Thana Plant Protection officer is in charge of supplying pesticides, insecticides. Though he is lower in rank and status to the above mentioned officers, he works independently without having any connection with TCCA or the TADC. Though the Project officer (IRDP) is the Secretary of TCCA, his connection with TADC is not very intimate. He works as a liaison officer between the TCCA and TADC. These tendencies have complicated co-ordination among the thana level officers which has hampered both training and input supply system at Savar TTDC. (See Appendix 5-5A)

For a successful training it is essentially important to co-ordinate the diverse activities associated with it. We have seen that the main concern behind the innovation of TTDC was to achieve co-ordination among the different thana level officers through conflict resolution and co-operation. Khan elaborated the need of "complete co-ordination" among thana level officers, and thana level officers and local government leaders for the sake of development.

These problems of co-ordination are reflected in training, because all training takes place on sectoral lines. Each department conducts its own programmes, mostly focussing on the same client, promoting their agency programmes vertically downward which has in fact disaggregated and diffused training efforts in Savar. Thus inter- sectoral co-ordination which is one of the primary functions of TTDC, is not promoted in Savar.⁷

Inter-departmental and inter-personal conflict also occurred in Savar by oneaccusing the other (as was the case of Project officer, IRDP and Thana Co-operative officer) of insincerity and malpractices and thus adversely affecting the entire training programme. Immense co-ordination problems developed in Savar between Circle officer (Dev) and Project officer (IRDP) because of the superiority complex of Project officer with higher status, pay scale and education. These factors decrease the team spirit which ultimately hampers training and a co-ordinated approach.

Summary

From the above discussion, it has become evident that Savar TTDC is not performing the desired goal like Comilla. Its training programme is not effective as it could not ensure popular participation of its clients, consequently it did not help developing a partnership relationship between the local level bureaucracy and the villagers. It lacked in co-ordination, commitment and honesty among the thana level officers, which were ensured in Comilla. Its programmes were hampered because of limited administrative direction and political support. The next chapter evaluates the programme of Savar TTDC on the basis of evidence obtained from this chapter.

Notes & References

1. Government of Bangladesh, *The Second Five Year Plan, op.ait.* Chapter XU, pp. 103-104.
2. M. Khalid Shams, *The Eeluatant Client: Problems of training in integrated rural development in Bangladesh*, "A Review, p. 20, Nd. COTA, Dacca.
3. Training and Visit System of training was designed to train up the "agricultural extension agents who will ultimately train the farmers. Initially this system was introduced in Western countries and which has been subsequently modified and introduced in other countries like Bangladesh, Indian and Nepal in the mid-70s. See D. Benor and J. Harrison, *Agricultural Extension?*, *The Training and Visit System*, World Bank, 1977. Akhter Hamid Khan, "A Review of Extensions Principle", *Journal of SARD*, Cornilla, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-6.
4. *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Bangladesh* Government Printing Press, Dacca, 1979, p.11.
5. National Institute of Public Administration, *Decentralization of Administration and People's Participation at all administrative Levels Bangladesh*, Dacca, Chapter XIII, p. 5, 1981.
6. Mazaffar Ahmed, Lessons from the Experiences of Rural Development Efforts in Bangladesh, *Journal of Management, Business and Economics*, p. 232, Vol. 7, No. 3, July 1981, Institute of Business Administration, Unversity of Dacca.
7. M. Khalid Shams, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

Chapter IV

Evaluation of Training Activities at Savar TTDC

Training is a process of transferring new skills, knowledge and information to the clients. It is a medium of exchange and mechanism of change, change in the behaviour pattern of its recipients. Thus it modifies human relationships. Rural development training is essential for promoting rural development in Bangladesh, as most of her people are illiterate, scattered and passing their time without any productive pursuits. It is a gigantic task. It is a slow moving and painful process. Only a continuous, coordinated and need - oriented effort in this regard can possibly promote rural development.

Training can be effective only when both the trainers and the trainees are eager to contribute towards it. More specifically, when the recipient concerned feels the urge to grasp new techniques. Dissemination of knowledge and diffusion of improved practices can only be effective', if the recipients have the willingness and capacity to adopt it and if the group of people who are entrusted with this responsibility can provide it honestly and efficiently. There should be a close collaboration between the trainer and the trainees.

Host rural people are basically intelligent though most of them do not have formal education. They have willingness to and-capability of learning provided they see that the new skills and knowledge would bring them some benefits. This is especially so if they see that the learning process is not affected by poor and unsympathetic instruction.

In the previous chapter an attempt has been made to describe the training and development activities of Savar TTDC, In this connection attempt has been made to identify the role of thana level officers as trainers, their methods and co-ordination of training, trainees' characteristics,-and their participation in training.

Evidence provided in the previous chapter shows that Savar TTDC is not achieving the optimum goal. The following evaluation can be made on the basis of the findings available from empirical study,

i. The training system:

TTDC training as viewed by the trainers is an effective way to modernize tradition-oriented fatalistic villagers, minds. It is a way to adopt new practices in agriculture, livestock and pisciculture. But the teachers cannot make training effective because of the lack of facilities. There are neither

sufficient training materials nor audio-visual aids available in Savar TTDC. All trainers strongly felt the need for greater supplies of training aids such as posters leaflets, booklets, black board and chalks, and other audio-visual aids.

The Circle officer does not have any fund earmarked for purchasing these materials. In Savar TTDC there are some houses which belong to TTDC, rented to the public, fetching a yearly income of TK 17,000. The Circle officer told the researcher that he has been instructed by higher authorities to utilize the above mentioned rents for purchasing supports to training. This fund is not sufficient to cater for the need of the entire programme, so there is a regular shortage of the training materials which hampers the training process. 'If a regular supply of these training aids was ensured, it might considerably improve-the quality of training. The demonstration units in Savar are not sufficient to cater for the growing demands from farmers for their practical knowledge. The farmers are not sufficiently qualified (Table 7) to understand and assimilate pedagogic lectures. If the skill is demonstrated, they can easily understand the idea. Only then they would be motivated to practice them in their fields. Government reports on farmers training recommend that "there is a strong case for immediate removal of pedagogic method which is virtually useless in handling a group of sensitive village elders who bring with them a wealth of experience and expertise that is not tapped". In order to cater for the need of such a case, trainers should themselves be specially coached to handle the situation wisely and effectively.

Thus one of the essential pre-conditions to make training system effective is to provide sufficient training aids, enlargement of demonstration facilities to transfer ideas into action for the better understanding of the problem and trainers' relevant training.

ii. Role of Thana level officers as trainers.

Evidence suggests (Table 1) that thana level officers are not performing their training role as properly and efficiently as in Camilla. Most of the teachers keep themselves too busy with their departmental job, performing duties according to the instruction of their departmental bosses. It has been shown most of the teachers at Savar TTDC have a good educational background (Table 3) and almost all of them come from the villages with a knowledge of villagers problems. They are therefore expected to serve farmers causes in a better way. But they are not performing the optimal goal due to their lack of commitment in farmers' welfare. They lack in confidence to communicate their ideas to a group of experienced village elders.

Apart from their daily routine work, they are also occasionally assigned by the departmental superior to inspect the on-going programmes in the different areas of the thana. Sometimes they are called in by their superiors at sub-division and District headquarters to attend meetings to co-ordinate development programmes at the thana level. This movement of officers from thana headquarters to other places greatly hampers the training programmes of TTDC. They cannot make time to take classes at TTDC. On the other hand, they think attending meetings with the bosses and touring different areas of thana are their primary duties, and offering training courses is a secondary duty. The trainer gets a nominal allowance (Tk 10 per class, apart from their normal monthly salary) from IRDP whereas they get a reasonably good amount of money as travelling allowance (according to mileage and night haltage) so they tend to evade their training responsibilities provided they get such incentives. These considerations have hampered thana level officers' training role though it is their routine activity.

The training schedule was found to involve the majority of trainers in fewer than 18 classes throughout the year. Only Thana Agricultural officer and Thana Extension officer, Thana Irrigation officer and Deputy Project Officer (IRDP) were given eighteen classes each, because of the priority given to agriculture in Savar. Even though both the Circle officer and Project officer (IRDP) are the two key men in formulating and conducting training schedules at Savar TTDC, they had fewer classes than anyone else. Even then, the Circle officer did not take any of his six classes allotted for the whole year; when he was asked about such a situation, he could not provide any satisfactory reply. He answered that because of his preoccupation with some other activities; he deputized someone else to take his assigned classes on his behalf. It was, however, ascertained that the deputized trainers did actually take those classes.

On the other hand, the Project officer (IRDP) is associated with the general operations of TCCA as he is the secretary of the TCCA, and through TCCA, he is associated with the overall supervision of the village co-operatives, their training and maintenance of supplies and services. The volume of work demanded the appointment of a Deputy Project officer (in some thanas two, one being in charge of women's co-operatives) to assist him. In Savar it has been found in actual practice, that the Deputy Project officer has become responsible for organising training activities. Sometimes he takes classes on behalf of Circle officers (Dev), Project officer and other expert trainers who fail to turn up to take their classes on a scheduled time. In such a situation, the quality of training is bound to deteriorate.

It has been found both the organisers are apathetic towards training activities. Moreover, in Savar TTDC it appears that everybody wants to be a

manager rather than a trainer and as a consequence there is no-one to manage the managers. Thana level officers are not therefore, performing their training role efficiently and effectively in Savar,

iii. Trainers' Training

Training of rural people is a complicated task. It is not just transferring new skills and information about improved practices; they also need help to adapt themselves to the changing circumstances. Training has, therefore, to be delivered in a congenial atmosphere, in a climate of trust and respect. To provide such a situation, there should be adequate provision for the relevant training of the trainers.

As mentioned earlier, most of the trainers got some sort of training offered by different training Institutes in Bangladesh. The trainers training programmes are mainly arranged by the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) Comilla, Regional Academy for Rural Development (RARD), Bogra, Rural Development Training Institutes (RDTI) Sylhet, Agricultural Dextension Training Institute (AETI) Dacca and Co-operative College (Comilla). Training programmes offered by these Institutes are not sufficient and most of them are not relevant to the training role of the trainers. The programmes are offered for a short period (1-4 months) and the subject matter of the training is not arranged according to the need of a particular trainer. For example, it has been reported that Thana Family Planning officer was provided training in theory and practice of rural development at RARD, which is not related to his assigned job.

Trainers training is supposed to increase the training skill of the trainers. But the training courses, according to some trainers, are designed in such a way that it helps little to improve the methods involved in effective teaching, which could increase their training capabilities. Thus the trainer, who lacked in training skill, could not get the chance to develop his skill. As such, their teaching becomes unattractive and boring to the clients, which results in low attendance in the class.

iv. Attendance of the trainees

All development work demands the active participation of the concerned people. It has been observed (Table 10) that this participation is not attained by the trainees in their training class at Savar TTDC. Apart from trainers irregularity and weakness in the training programme, the causes of their low attendance could be identified from a different viewpoint.

Trainees' low attendance in training could also be related to the organizational weakness of co-operatives from which the clientele group

comes. In Savar, as reported by the Project officer, there are 211 IRDP co-operatives registered, but only 90 of them are active co-operatives (83 men's and 7 women's). The directorate of Co-operatives administers the registration of these co-operatives. So it is the co-operative department's responsibility to verify whether the co-operative group could be registered or not. It has been reported by IRDP officials that some co-operatives got the registration even though they did not fulfil the requirement of registration. These co-operative members after getting some initial benefit from IRDP lost their interest in co-operation and ultimately they became defunct. The IRDP officials accused Thana Co-operative officer for alleged corruption and malpractices.

Even the active co-operatives are not sending their representative for training at TTDC. Neither IRDP officials nor TCCA in Savar thana are maintaining close collaboration with KSS. The relationship between IRDP and the KSS became practically non-existent, which generated interdisciplinary, inter-personal and intra-organizational conflict within the co-operatives. Moreover a village faction sometimes conflicts with the co-operative which is antagonistic to co-operative principles. Training which was supposed to integrate with IRDP, in such a situation tends to become separated from IRDP. It seems IRDP does not enforce its regulation on co-operatives in relation to its capital formation through thrift deposit, regular repayments of loans and regular attendance of classes at TTDC.

v. Problems of Co-ordination Savar TTDC

Following the Comilla model the main role of TTDC, apart from training, was the co-ordination of diverse development activities. With the introduction of Basic Democracy in 1962, the Circle officer was given enormous power to execute all development programmes. He was entrusted with the power to co-ordinate the activities of TCCA (before the introduction of IRDP) and Thana council and other nation-building departments. This situation continued till the early seventies when IRDP was launched as a nation-wide program. Subsequently under IRDP the post of Project officer was established in each thana.

Information obtained from different thana level officers reveals that in Savar Thana, co-ordination problems revolve around the activities of the Project officer, Circle officer (Dev.). Thana Agricultural officer, and Thana Co-operative officer. Almost all of these officers are directly involved in training programmes at TTDC. However, these officers are heavily involved in organizing and managing rural development programmes as well. Their attention is therefore most likely to be given to the rural development programmes.

There are a variety of reasons attached to the problem of coordination at thana level. After the liberation of Bangladesh, the Circle officer lost his traditional role of co-ordination, because rural works programmes lost their initial thrust. On the other hand, with the introduction of IRDP, TCCA has been taken over by the Project officer (IRDP). But psychologically, he cannot forget his role "of the first among the equals". In theory, the Government has strengthened the C.O's co-ordination role at the thana level administration, even in the late seventies. (See appendix 6.)

As like many other thanas, IRDP started a massive rural development programme at Savar Thana. The Project officer became the leader of the overall programme. He is essentially a younger officer than the Circle officer with better qualifications (Table 3), initiative and drive. So he is not ready to accept the co-ordination role of the Circle officer (Dev.). He wants to handle the funds and activities of IRDP by himself within the guidelines from his higher authority. Both the officers are under the control of the same ministry, i.e. Local Government and Rural Development, but they are under two different divisions. The Circle officer is under the Local Government Division, whereas the Project officer is under the Rural Development Division and as such each division is supporting its own officer, so the clash continues.

Theoretically, the Circle Officer remained as the coordinator of development activities in TTDC till the late seventies. But with the re-organization of services and the introduction of new pay-scales under President Ziaur Rahman the coordinative role of Circle officers among thana level officers turned downward. The re-organization of services did not specifically define the relationship between the Circle Officer and other thana level officers. Moreover, the Circle officer was in the-erstwhile East Pakistan Civil Service (Class II) cadre, So he was placed in the corresponding pay scale of TK 625-1225/- whereas other than level officers like thana Agricultural officer, Project officer (IRDP) Thana Livestock officer, Thana Fishery officer were put in class I status in the pay scale of TK. 750...1470/-, because of their technical qualifications. The re-organization of services also made thana level officers responsible vertically to their departmental bosses. This discrimination in pay and status has considerably limited the coordinating role of Circle officers. This conflicting and cross cutting administrative arrangement has adversely affected team spirit, co-ordination and co-operation which has ultimately hampered training and development programmes at TTDC.

vi. Production Planning

TTDC was supposed to encourage development planning and production planning on the basis of local needs. In Savar, TTDC performs a very

negligible role in planning physical and infrastructure development of the thana. Although TCCA conducts the *joint* production planning according to the need of the individual farmers, it has little relevance to the ever-growing need of the farmers. The farmers never or hardly ever, get the required quantity of inputs because of complicated mechanisms involved in their distribution. Moreover, this production planning is done only with the KSS farmer. Thus it does not include all farmers or all land to assess the need of an integrated rural development.

Training was intended to integrate the regular supply of inputs according to production planning of the farmers. It was observed in Savar that there is no integration of training with input supply and production planning. Thus training has become partly useless to the clientele.

vii. *Services and Supply Function of TTDC*

Effective training presupposes a regular flow of inputs to the farmers. Without timely and adequate supply of these inputs such as credits, high yield variety seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and irrigation facilities, training tend to become useless to the farmers. These inputs are supplied to the farmers according to production plan of the individual farmers submitted to TCCA. Tables 9 and 10 show that small and marginal farmers of the clientele group do not get much benefit from the Government in the form of subsidy. They cannot manipulate things in their favour as they cannot demand larger amounts of subsidised inputs for their small amount of land. The ultimate beneficiaries are the middle and big land owners who manage to concentrate Government benefits to them, which were supposed to serve the purposes of the poor peasants.

There is also a political aspect of this subsidy system. President Ayub first introduced this subsidy system to obtain support of the middle and upper class landholders, because the regime is dependent on those who dominate the countryside. H.W. Blair has argued "these are the people who marshal votes, who dominate the social structure and farmers organizations, who have been running the de facto local Government. In all-probability, this group overwhelmingly won the elections held in December 1973 for new local 2 Government bodies" (under Shiek Mujibur Rahman). He further continued, "the reason that subsidies benefit the wealthier farmers is partly because they are better able to sequester new funds from outside for themselves, as in the case of co-operative credit and partly because the rich are almost always in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities offered through subsidies. Subsidizing fertilizers at below market prices for instance, will mean a black market, if there is a scarcity. If there is not a scarcity there will still be competition to buy more cheaply priced

government goods, as opposed to the more expensive open market priced fertilizers. In either way, the rich are the ones to benefit for they control the money market and have the money and influence to corrupt the Government official in charge of distribution." Since the small and marginal farmers are hardly getting any benefit out of these subsidized inputs, their training in Savar has merely become a theoretical exercise.

In Savar TTDC, it has been shown that farmers hardly get any benefits from this distribution of subsidized inputs. The main intention behind the introduction of subsidized inputs was to attract more and more peasants to innovation and modernization with a regular provision of training. The political consideration of subsidies has put them out of reach of the ordinary people, which has made training sterile since they cannot practise methods given them by that training.

As in Comma, evaluation of training and its integration with research and action programmes is essential to identify, the relevance, effectiveness and success of training programmes in terms of achievement of objectives. On the basis of this evaluation training courses and methods of training could be modified to make it more useful to the clients. Sometimes the departmental heads should make on-the-spot inspections of the training activities and their application in the field. In Savar TTDC, it has been found there is no evaluation of training activities. There is no regular feedback of the training programmes. The two-way communication is not effective. So there is an urgent need of periodical evaluation of the training programme, to make it more useful and attractive to the clients. It should be related to the farmers' day to day problems of living. It should be integrated to research and action programmes because "Training tends to become sterile if it is not related to the realities around it. Research becomes meaningless if it does not concern itself with the prevalent conditions and needs of the society. Again, while training and research can support and strengthen the action programmes, it is the action in the field which, if successfully implemented, can promote growth, bring about a change in the ways and conditions of life and create social order"⁴

On the basis of the above discussion, it has become evident that Savar TTDC does not appear to have been an effective institution to promote rural development. The reasons are interdependent and interrelated and are similar to those summarized in The First Five year plan. These are as follows:

- a. The rural institutions were imposed from the top and treated as an extension of government bureaucracy rather than people's organizations.
- b. Locally elected bodies were never representative because the richer and more influential class dominated the elections. The election system failed to remove the authoritarian nature of traditional power-structure and no

provision was made to protect the interest of the politically weak, depressed and exploited class of the people.

- c. Local institutions failed to provide a forum for collective decision-making and action. People's participation and control at the local level were missing. This happened because the active participation of the workers such as farmers, fishermen and weavers rather than owners was not recognized.
- d. The main purpose of the rural institution was seen as distributing and utilizing resources injected from outside rather than mobilizing internal resources. Thus the principles of self-reliance and self-management were forgotten.

Summary

TTDC Concept aimed to institutionalize rural development in Bangladesh. It was to be a sound, viable institution to coordinate diverse development activities. The insistence is on continuous training of farmers to make them an organized and productive force to promote rural development. Evidence suggests that TTDC has greatly lost its initial thrust in training, coordinating and planning in rural development. Its problems are not with the idea. The basic problem is with the conflicting policies and programmes at TTDC level. It has become evident that the people who operate the policies and programmes and the environment in which the operation takes place are not sympathetic to the aims of the programmes. If it is to be a viable institution, some corrective measures should be adopted with all speed. The next chapter looks into these considerations.

Notes & References

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4. Mahmudur Rahman, Working Paper on Projects, Report on the Eighth Annual Planning Conference, 1975-75, *BAUD* Comilla, Bangladesh, 1974, p. 11, quoted in Sigmar Groeneveld *et at.*. *Training and Research for Rural -Development in Bangladesh* - Verlag der SSIP - Schriften SaarbrUcken, Germany, 1976, p. 32.
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Chapter V

Postscript

Bangladesh is neither a "more nearly Hobbesian state of nature",¹ nor "an International Basket case".² It is a developing country with huge potentialities. It lies in the delta of three great rivers, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna which flow through it to empty into the Bay of Bengal. The alluvial soil deposited by the rivers and their countless tributaries gives Bangladesh land which is amongst the most fertile in the world.³ The rivers provide inland fishery resources which are possibly the richest in the world. Abundant rainfall and warm temperature makes the climate of Bangladesh ideal for cultivation. Bangladesh has another great resource, the labour of its people. Though chronically underemployed, the rural people represent a huge, untapped workforce for labour intensive agriculture. In fact, Bangladesh is a lush, green, fertile land with vast material and human resources waiting to be tapped.⁴ If only the large population could be mobilised for development, it could be transformed from a drain on the economy to a powerful productive force. These rural people could only be mobilised for development through their own rural institutions.

The Comilla approach suggested that they could be united, mobilised through the broad based co-operatives and motivated and trained through TTDCs. TTDCs were expected to play a significant role giving the adult farmers a system of educating them for increased productivity and better living. TTDC might serve a constructive role in this regard, if the main hindrances could be minimised.

The Far Eastern Economic Review (11 June 1973),⁵ outline some hindrances towards rural development programmes, calling the developing world predicament a "man made crisis". It coined the acronym "FAMINE" in which F stands for failure to develop appropriate and adequate rural development policies and programmes, A for arrogance of the urban and landed elites who perceived broad based rural development is a threat to their interest, M stands for mismanagement of physical economic and human resources as well as widespread corruption, I stands for illiteracy of the masses as well as internal disorder-resulting from the non-representative Government which does not reach and serve the rural people, N for non-availability of adequate funds for implementing rural development programmes as well as national isolation due to inability or lack of commitment, to involve all classes of people in the development process and E for empty election pledges by those who use rather than serve rural people.

All these above hindrances to rural development are deep-rooted in Bangladesh in general and in TTDC in particular. These were the factors which resulted in the malfunctioning or lack of performance in TTDCs, such as Savar. However, in order for these problems to be resolved, TTDC must be effective in achieving the desired goal, i.e. promoting rural development. In order to make it effective the following suggestions are provided. These are derived from an empirical survey of the Savar TTDC.

i. Political Direction

Training Systems can not operate or be effective in a policy vacuum. They cannot be successful unless the political leadership creates an environment in which extended rural development is understood, sought and supported.⁶ Thus training can be effective and successful only when it is supported by the resources and organizational framework derived from the Government policy. It has been observed that training in Comilla TTDC was successful because there was a strong political support from President Ayub Khan in his decade of development (1958-68). President Ayub Khan, as mentioned earlier, personally visited Comilla and saw for himself the activities around Comilla Academy and directed all governmental and personal efforts to make this rural development programme a success. This was done in an environment of some degree of political and economic stability.

After liberation of Bangladesh there has been frequent political instability, coups d'état, economic depression and social upheaval. The TTDC lost its initial thrust because people were more concerned to rehabilitate themselves socially and economically. TTDC classrooms turned into godowns for relief goods. The First Five Year Plan (1973-75) was however able to concentrate all development activities on TTDC. It confirmed, "TTDC will be fully utilised by bringing together all the thana level officers of the various thanas, building departments into a single development team under the control of local government. Long term and short term thana plans will be prepared. Inventories of locally available material and human resources will be prepared and schemes for mobilization and utilization of such resources will be made with the help of Union Parishads and people's council at village level."⁷ Though the plan gave the utmost importance to the strengthening of the role of existing TTDCs, it could not attain the desirable goal because of political and economic instability resulting in frequent changes of government. Thus political and administrative support is essential for ensuring promotion of rural development and thereby adequate training programmes for the rural people.

ii. Re-organization of Co-operatives

The present system of formation of co-operative societies needs to be changed to make cooperatives socially acceptable, economically desirable

and functionally efficient. Sufficient provision should be made to activate all the co-operatives now defunct and inactive. Significant provision should be made so that they send their representatives to the training classes at TTOC. The Project officer and Deputy Project officer can help towards this end by putting pressure on the members of co-operatives. If they do not send their representatives to the training classes their registration might be cancelled.

It has been noted that village factions inflict their own wishes on co-operatives and destroy co-operative principles. In some cases the weekly meeting of co-operatives has become a meeting place for solving villagers' disputes. Strict co-operative principles should be imposed to make the members aware of the functions and benefits of the members of co-operatives. The model farmers, managers and chairmen should be motivated to act as extension agents. They should be provided with some benefits (in the form of cash money or prizes) for their-extension work. Both IRDP and TCCA jointly can make the system effective.

In Savar it was shown that Union multi-purpose co-operative societies (UMCS) under the Directorate of Co-operatives do not send any member for training at TTDC, It was reported by the Thana Cooperative officer that he did not have any funds for providing training for the members of WHCS. In spite of his shortage of funds, it was found that the Thana Co-operative officer is doing a good job in the sense he is organizing the Co-operatives (239) from different professional groups and providing facilities (very limited and mainly credit). The Thana Co-operative officer stated that he would have done a better job (than IRDP) if he were given the necessary funds for rural development training and other activities associated with this training.

In Savar it has been shown that there was considerable conflict between the Thana Co-operative officer and the Project officer (IRDP). This was because of their clash of interests. There should really not have been such a clear-cut demarcation between UMCS and Comilla-type co-operatives, i.e. KSS, because the purpose of both types of cooperatives are the same, i.e. rural development. So for better cooperation, co-ordination and smooth operation, these two types of cooperatives, should be amalgamated into one organization.

Recognizing the need to amalgamate these two types of co-operatives, Government of Bangladesh in December 1982 promulgated an ordinance and constituted a Rural Development Board. Both IRDP and Co-operative Directorate have been brought under the control of the Rural Development Board. If this arrangement could be worked out, the existing tension between IRDP and Co-operatives could be minimised and a broad based trainee group

might be selected from both the co-operatives to infuse a common training and to provide necessary inputs from common' arrangements.

iii Effective Coordination

Tremendous co-ordination problems exist in thana administration. Effective mechanism needs to be formulated to ensure co-ordination among different nation building departments in the thana. Effective and successful training would take place only if there is co-ordination achieved.

It is interesting to note that the present martial law government of Bangladesh has been making some changes to democratise and decentralise administration to ensure co-ordination among the officers and to streamline thana administration. On 3rd February 1983, the Government of Bangladesh announced the Local Government Ordinance of 1982 (Thana Parishad and Thana Administration Re-organization Ordinance No. LIX of 1982). Under this ordinance, thana administration would come under the control of Thana Parishad (Thana Council). The Thana Council and Thana Administration Re-organization Ordinance of 1982 was aimed at transferring the administrative matters affecting the day to day life of the common man to a responsible local government in order to minimise the harassment that a citizen undergoes in obtaining services from an "insensitive" and "unaccountable bureaucracy".⁸

The Chairman of the Thana Council will be elected by the people. He will co-ordinate all the development activities of the thana. He will initiate formulation of policies in development matters and will be responsible for ensuring implementation of government policies and programmes in the thana. The post of Circle officer has been re-designated as Thana Nirbahi officer" (Thana Executive Officer). Thana Nirbahi officer will be the staff officer of the elected chairman of the Thana Parishad. Thana Nirbahi officer will co-ordinate all the activities of other thana level officers under the supervision of the chairman, and Thana Council (See appendix 7-7D). He has been entrusted with all the responsibilities of co-ordinating training at TTDC. The post of Thana Project officer and Deputy Project officer (IRDP) have been redesignated as Thana Rural Development officer and Assistant Rural Development officer. Under this ordinance, Thana Rural Development officer, Thana Agriculture officer, Thana Agricultural Extension officer and other thana level officers have been directed to act under the co-ordination of Thana Nirbahi officer. In practice Thana Nirbahi officer will be the de facto chief executive of thana administration as thana parishad chairman will hold office for a period of three years (unless re-elected) whereas Thana Nirbahi officer (former Circle officer) is the permanent staff of thana parishad. As he is the permanent staff, he is expected to have relevant experiences, Moreover, he has been entrusted with the task of co-ordinating the

development activities of the thana. Other thana level officers might not however, readily abide by the co-ordination role of Thana Nirbahi officer as they may still think they have technical qualifications and therefore are the experts in their field. The coordination problem could be shifted from the Thana Rural Development officer to other thana level officers. This might ultimately lead to a rigid conflict between generalists and specialists. From this viewpoint, it could be analysed that ultimately the same co-ordination problem might develop which would hamper all development activities at thana level, particularly the training activities at TTDC.

iv. Minimisation of Corruption

Corruption has become endemic in different strata of Bangladesh society.⁹ TTDC activities have been affected in the same way as other development programmes. It has become like a contagious disease. Apart from the adverse moral consequences of corruption, there is an economic price which the society is required to pay. No society can make rapid progress if there is wide spread belief in the prevalence of corrupt practices in the country. Such a belief breeds resentments, cynicism, apathy and loss of faith in public activities.¹⁰ It has become so wide spread that everybody from the village touts to the ministers themselves, whenever they get a chance, adopt some kind of malpractice. It is draining the vitality of the nation.

TTDC programmes are not immune from these practices, especially in relation to distributing the services and supplies. "Corrupt Government officials took their share in the form of sundry bribes and kickbacks".¹¹ An evaluation sponsored by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) which helped to finance irrigation projects in a rural area in Bangladesh has confirmed the above view. In the evaluation report it said, "the tube wells provided certain officials with a source of additional income as they could protract or expedite matters in the decision making process relating to the allocation of tube wells. Most action and non-action could (and can) be priced".¹²

Similar cases have happened in Savar. As noted earlier, the Thana Co-operative officer has been charged with corruption in relation to registration of co-operatives. The Project officer, as reported by some other thana level officers, is charged with alleged mismanagement and misuse of IRDP funds for conducting training and for operating credits. Thana Medical officer is supposed to provide treatment to the villagers- free of cost. But he illegally charges money from the villagers for all sorts of treatment. The Circle officer has to get a share for himself for all the development works done in the thana.¹³ These are open secrets in the minds of the people. Some trainees informed the researcher that corruption has become so widespread that it is

very difficult to get their work done without bribes. It is well known, he who gives some money illegally to thana level officers, gets his work done easily. These officers forget about the development of the rural people. On the contrary, they become more concerned about their own material benefits. They keep their job untouched by sending to the bosses a share of the booty and "by reporting to them what they want to know or rather what they want to file and shelve".¹⁴

It is true that there is corruption and mismanagement of government funds among the thana level officers. When asked about the validity of general feeling of wide spread corruption in thana administration, a thana level officer charged the researcher with another question, "why do you want to do your research about the small fries? Why don't you try to investigate into the affairs of the big bosses who transfer money to the Swiss Bank?" This prevailing attitude and loss of faith in the system has become an impediment to the growth of honest, efficient and committed leadership and team spirit, which are essential for the success of a rural development programme, like training.

It is also equally true that all officers are not corrupt. The non-corrupt officers should come forward to identify corrupt officers. The corrupt officers could be censured, reprimanded, suspended or demoted for proven corruption. Corruption could also be minimised by posting the thana level officers to their respective thana (See Appendix 8). Strong discipline must be enforced to minimise corruption at the thana level administration which will ultimately help controlling it at the upper levels.

v. Involvement of all classes of people

Development process demands the involvement of all men and women to initiate and sustain change for their better living. If the process is not broad based, it will never achieve the desired goal. According to Robert McNamara, the former President of the World Bank, the poorer section of the people neither have received the benefit of development nor have been able to contribute to the development process of their respective countries. Their degradation is continuously deepening with every passing year.¹⁵

In Bangladesh where more than 50% (1977 (Table 2) of population are landless, there was no insitutional arrangement (Comilla model excluded the landless, because possession of land was one of the conditions for the formation of co-operatives) for them to organise, mobilise and become self-motivated for development. Another significant portion (44%.1981)¹⁶ of the community is the women. In Savar we have seen there are only 7 women's co-operatives, which are not yet organised according to IRDP by-laws. This bears reflection on the extent of their involvement in development activities. These womenfolk are wasting their time and energies without any

meaningful pursuits. These groups should be organised, provided with institutional facilities such as training, credit and to motivate them to involve themselves in production pursuits such as processing and marketing of agricultural produce and organising and operating cottage industries and things of that nature.

The present system of income distribution must be changed as it is creating an inegalitarian society. The rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer day by day. So all development process must ensure the participation of the underprivileged in development work. "Real participation can only exist where people have common interests - where everyone can expect an equitable share of benefits and everyone has access to sufficient land or other means of earning-a livelihood. Re-distribution of land, assets and income may be a precondition of meaningful community participation."¹⁷

In Savar, TTDC programmes should include all groups such as farmers, artisans, weavers, landless and women to provide training and other facilities associated with development for their development. Only then could a comprehensive programme for rural development be undertaken, adequate and effective rural development programmes and policies could be developed to ensure their participation in development work.

vi. Integration of over lapping rural development programmes

The Comilla Model formulated and implemented some rural development programmes with certain effectiveness. After liberation of Bangladesh, there has been a competition to introduce new programmes and policies for rural development. These short term programmes have been introduced by individual initiatives or other agencies in the country. These were "Area Development Plan" of IRDP,¹⁸ Swanirvar Movement¹⁹ (Self reliance movement), "Gram Sarker"²⁰ (village government), "Own Village Development"²¹ and "Total Village Development".²² These programmes were like "old wine in a new bottle", focussing on the same clientele. with conflicting and overlapping programmes. These programmes neglected the fundamentals which are essential for effective rural development such as long term planning and effective mechanism for its implementation. This demands building permanent institutions like TTDC and honest, efficient and dedicated people to manage its programmes and policies. Broad based rural development programmes and properly based rural institutions can reduce the undue control of the wealthy class on the poor section of the community. If the rural institutions are properly based and if the public officials are controlled by rules and regulations, the role of rural institution is limited. If the public officials develop an alliance with the elite for fulfilling their self

interest or implementing development programmes with the help of the rural elite, who are disconnected from the rural people and who perceived broad based rural development is a threat to their interest, the role of rural institution becomes further limited.²³ Rural institution then serves only the interests of the rural elite. An uncontrolled bureaucracy by itself and in collaboration with the elite has always been a threat to social democracy.

On the other hand, rural institutions tend to serve the rural people more effectively where the rural power-structure is relatively, egalitarian and local officials are directly responsive to rural people and controlled by rules and regulations of the Government. Rural institutions then become the institutions of the rural people. It serves the interest of the rural people in the best possible way.²⁴

For a country like Bangladesh, with over-population, limited land, primitive methods of cultivation, chronic shortage of food, the only way to solve the problems is to increase the productivity of land and man i.e. the fuller exploitation of untapped human resources and maximum utilisation of material resources through regular planning and effective implementation.

With this view in mind, the whole institutional revitalisation needs to be organised. The dynamic institutional philosophy of Comilla programme needs to be recaptured to make TTDC programmes effective.²⁵ The services and supplies to be provided by the various nation building departments are very crucial for its success. So the integration of local government, co-operative and nation building departments is essential to ensure a satisfactory working of TTDC.²⁶

The TTDC remains a permanent rural institution. Moreover, like many other governmental programmes, it has lost its original importance. It could be revitalised by regular evaluation of the operation of its programmes. This could be possible by the correct leadership of the thana level officers, popular participation of its clients and generous governmental support.

Notes & References

1. Elliot Tepper, *op.ait.*, p. 115.
2. In December, 1971, immediately after the birth of Bangladesh, Dr. Kissinger, the then U.S. Secretary of State remarked at the meeting of the National Security Council that Bangladesh is likely to become a "Bottomless International Basket case forecasting her future-dependence on foreign aid), see International Policy Report, *oy.cit.*, p.3.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
5. Cited in Max Lowdermilk and W. Robert Laitos, *op.ait.*, pp. 688-702.
6. E. Patrick Alleyne *et al.*, Training and Research for Extended Rural Development in Asia, Occasional paper No. 4, Cornell University Press, Nd. p. 38.
7. Government of Bangladesh, The First Five Year plan, *op.ait.*, p. 156.
8. A. M. A. Muhit, Democratisation of District Administration, *Thoughts on Development Administration*, p.31. BRAC Printers 1981. Muhith was one of the very senior civil servants and a secretary to the government of Bangladesh who is now a member of the Cabinet under Martial Law government of General Ershad. Muhith criticised Bangladesh bureaucracy as anonymous, faceless insensitive and unaccountable and is believed to be instrumental in introducing Thana Council and Thana Administration Ordinance 1982 to transfer power from the bureaucracy to the elected representatives of the Thana Council. Akhter Ahmid Khan also criticised bureaucracy for being unaccountable and inaccessible to the people. He argued, "our Government had a paternalistic attitude of giving things to the small farmers, of helping them as if the Government was like God. The habit was also ingrained in our people. They prayed to God and believed that if they were sufficiently humble and repentant God will help them. Take away God and put Government in its "place and there was the same sort of relationship. Unfortunately, the Government officials presumed that they were really like God. For this there was no justification whatsoever." See Akhter Hamid Khan, *ity Understanding of Camilla Model, op ait.*, p.13.
9. After liberation of Bangladesh, corruption has surpassed all its previous records. It has spread over from the lowest to the highest level of "the society. The following case would justify the validity of the statement.

As we have discussed, the Bangladesh Agricultural and Development Corporation (BADC) is the biggest supplier of agricultural inputs to the farmers. The United States Agency for International Development (US-AID), and The World Bank provide funds for fertilisers, power pumps and deep tube wells. The World Bank offered Bangladesh Government a \$8 million pumpsets for an irrigation project for the northern region of Bangladesh. BADE conducted the bidding and the two main contenders of the contract were the firms of Dacca Fibres and KSB Pumps. Initially KSB got the contract as it submitted the lowest bid (\$8 million) but the contract was not given to KSB. According to the World Bank official, this was because the "wrong man" had received the contract. The contract was supposed to have gone to Dacca Fibres, which is owned by Jahurul Islam, reported to be the richest man in Bangladesh, where Mrs. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, wife of President Sheik Mujibur Rahman, was a sleeping partner. The project was subsequently put on to tender again. This time the "right man", Islam and his Dacca Fibres, got the contract. The rub for the World Bank was that the price of the contract rose from \$8 million to \$12 million, although the Bank's own cost estimate of the work remained at \$8 million. At this stage the Dacca staff of the World Bank urged the entire project be cancelled or held up, but they were overruled in Washington office. As the highest Government authorities in Dacca were involved in placing the contract, the cancellation of the scheme would create an embarrassing political problem in an area where the Bank hoped to have increasing influence in the years to come. See *The Far-Eastern Economic Review*, 6th February, 1975. p. 62.

10. Government of Bangladesh, The First Five Year plan, *op.cit.* p. 8.
11. International Policy Report, *op.cit.*, p. 7,
12. *ibid.*, p. 7.
13. Though the Circle said that he had no problems of co-operation and co-ordination at Savar TTDC, the other thana level officers blamed him for negligence of duties, favouritism and corruption.
14. Dietmar Rothermaud *et al.*, quoted in J.K. *Administrative. Re-structwing and Development: Bangladesh/ Asian Affairs*, Dacca, Vol. III, No. II, June 1981, p. 155.
15. Robert McNamara, in a Foreword to Ume tele's *The Design fop Rural Development*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1975.
16. Government of Bangladesh, *Statistical Pocket Book of 1981*, *op.cit.*, p. 84.
17. Paul Harrison, *op. ait.*, p. 298.
18. Area Development Projects of IRDP.
 1. Seven Thana projects in Bogra and Mymensing with International Development Agency (US-AID) Assistance in 1976 which was followed by
 2. Four Thana Project with Asian Development Bank assistance in Serajganj in Pabna district. .
 3. Four thana Noa Khali Pro.iect. with Danish assistance.
 4. Four thana Kustia project with Dutch assistance. All the above mentioned projects had the provision of .increasing physical facilities for TTDC, provision of agricultural extension service through TCCA, KSS system of training model farmers, promtoion of TCCA-KSS system in the area and, provision of livestock, health and fodder services, promotion of pond fisheries, rural works programmes, irrigation facilities and credits and inputs facilities. For all the programmes to be effective the project provided for both short and medium term credit through TCCA-KSS system and technical assistance of all kinds. Despite all good groundwork for the project, the project could not- prove to be successful because of
 - a. Lack of co-ordination among different development agencies such as Bangladesh Water Development Board, Bangladesh Agricultural Development Cooperation, Fisheries Directorate, Agriculture Directorate, Livestock Directorate, and other related departments,
 - b. Frequent changes in the design of the projects
 - c. Clash between thana administration and local government institutions regarding handling of the porjects.
 - d. The ideas of Gram Sarker (village Government) and Swanirvar Gram Andolon (self reliant village movement) have already contributed to confusing the institutional apparatus for rural development in Bangladesh. See AHA Kuhlth, *Rural Development in Bangladesh in Thoughts on Development Administration*, *op.cit.*, pp. 42-66.
19. *Self Reliance Movement*. This movement was organised by Mr. Mahbub Alam Chasi, a former member of the Pakistan Foreign Service. He was also the vice-Chairman of Comilla Academy Rural Development. The main theme of the movement was the utilisation of thavailable human and material resources of rural people. For details see M.A. Chasi, Self-reliant Rural Bangladesh, Political Economy, *Journal of the Bangladesh Economic Association*, pp. 172-179. Vol. 2, No. 1, 1976, Dr. Shaikh Majfeocd Ali, Self Reliance (Swanirvar) Movement in the 1980s the Social Workers as Change Agents *Administrative Science Review*, pp. 77-108, Vol. LX, No. 2, 1979,
20. Gram Sarker (village Government) is a system of Grass root level Local Government to implement the activities of the self reliance movement. .The Sadullahpur Model of Gram

Sarkar in Rangpur district and Kustia Model of Gram Sarker have shown some positive impact in promoting rural development in those areas. It could not produce desired goal in other parts of the country. For Detail see Mohammad Mohabbat Khan and Habil Mohammad Zafarullah (eds), *Rural Development in Bangladesh: Policies, plans, and programmes*, pp. 147-165; Khan and Zafarulla (eds), *Rural Development in Bangladesh, Trends and Issues* Centre for Administrative Studies, Dacca, Bangladesh, 1981.

21. Own village development: Own village development programme has developed from a speech of the then Chief Martial Law Administrator of Bangladesh, Major General Ziaur Rahman. The Programme was initiated by the Cabinet Division of the Government of Bangladesh. The Programme started in 1977. The programme aimed to send the officers up to the level of Deputy Secretary to their own village for one month on official duty to organise small rural development works in their villages such as reconstruction of primary schools, adult education, family planning and motivation works, etc. For detail see Dr. Shaikh Maqsood AH, public servants as Change Agents: An experiemnt with OVD programme, *Administrative Science Review*, pp. 1-24, Vol IX, No. 1, 1979, National Institute of Public Administration, Dacca, Bangladesh.
22. Total village Development. The programme developed to accommodate the inadequacies of Comilla Model of Rural Development. This was intended to be mainly through the inclusion of landless villages to a Comprehensive Rural Development Plan. The programme started in 1975 in Comilla district with an assistance from the Ford Foundation. See Md. Solaiman, *et al.*, *A Review of Total Village Development, Progrtmne (1974-75-19766-77)*, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, 1980.
23. Inayatullah (ed.) Rural organization and rural development: some Asi~a~n experiences, APDAC, Kualalumpur, 1978, p. 8. Also Gunnar Myrdal, *Asaian Drama, an Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*. New York, Pantheon, 1968, p. 293.
24. Inayatullah, *ibid.*, p. 8.
25. Fazlul Bari, *Farmers Training Programs at Comilla, BAPD*, Comilla, 1979, P- 90.
26. Tipu SuTtan. *problems of Rural Administration in Bangladesh*, a. "PP- 51-52.

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Development Administration at Thana Level

Thana Level Officers

1.	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development	1.	Circle Officer (Development)
		2.	Thana Project officer, IRDP
		3.	Deputy Project officer IRDP
		4.	Thana Co-operative officer
		5.	Inspector of Co-operatives
		6.	Sub-Assistant Engineer (Public Health Engineering)
2.	Ministry of Agriculture	1.	Thana Agriculture officer
		2.	Thana Agricultural Extension Officer
		3.	Plant Protection officer
		4.	Jute Extensions officer
		5.	Thana Inspector (BADC)
		6.	Section officer (Deep Tube Well, BADC)
3.	Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock	1.	Thana Fishery officer
		2.	Thana Livestock officer
		3.	Thana Assistant Veterinary Surgeon
4.	Ministry of Health and Family Planning	1.	Thana Health Administration
		2.	Thana Medical officer
		3.	Thana Family Planning officer
		4.	Thana Sanitary Inspector
5.	Ministry of Education	1.	Thana Education officer
		2.	Inspector of Schools
6.	Ministry of Land Administration and Land Records	1.	Circle officer (Revenue)
7.	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare	1.	Thana Social Welfare officer
8.	Ministry of Power and Water Resources	1.	Thana Irrigation officer

Questionnaire on Training and development Activities at Savar TTDC.

For Thana Level Officers

[N.B. This questionnaire has been designed to evaluate strength and weakness of TTDC Programmes at Savar. This is only for an academic purpose. Your ut-most co-operation will be highly appreciated.]

1. Name and Designation.
2. Within which age bracket are you?
 - 20 – 25 []
 - 26 – 30 []
 - 31 – 35 []
 - 36 – 40 []
 - 41 – 45 []
3. What is your level of education?
 1. School Certificate []
 2. Higher Secondary Certificate []
 3. Diplomate []
 4. Tertiary []
 5. Post-graduate []
4. Date of establishment of Savar TTDC. What were the courses initially offered?
5. Who are the organizers of training at Savar TTDC?
6. Do you have any role in organizing training at Savar?
7. What training courses are offered at Savar TTDC?
8. Do you receive any training allowance for taking classes at TTDC?

Yes [] No []

If No, tick the reasons:

 1. IRDP does not pay the allowances regularly []
 2. Project Officer is careless in disbursing the allowances []
 3. Others
9. Do you take your classes at TTDC regularly?

Yes [] No []

If no, tick the reasons

 1. Departmental work []
 2. Tour assignment in different parts of the thana []
 3. Attending meeting with bosses at subdivision level []

4 Others

10. Did you receive any training as trainers? Yes [] No []
If so, where and for how long?
11. Do you think trainers' training programme is relevant to the training activities at Savar TTDC? []
12. 1. What methods of training do you follow?
a. Lecture only []
b. Lecture cum discussion []
c. Lecture and writing important points on blackboard []
2. Do you distribute lesson sheets, posters, leaflets and any other published training materials to the trainees?
3. Do you have provision of demonstration activities?
Yes [] No []
If yes, to what extent?
Sufficiently [] Not sufficient []
4. What problems do you face in taking classes at TTDC?
13. Do you think there is sufficient room in the training hall at TTDC? []
14. What according to you are the reasons for non attending classes of the different categories of clients? []
15. 1. Is there any evaluation of training activities at Savar TTDC?
Yes [] No []
2. If yes, how frequently do you evaluate training activities at Savar TTDC?
3. If no, give reasons.
16. What are the methods you want to adopt to improve training and development activities at Savar TTDC?
17. 1. Do you think TTDC is performing the desired goal?
Yes [] No []
2. If no, give reasons.

For circle officer and project officer (IRDP) only

1. How do you organize the training?
2. Do you consult other trainers in allocating classes?
Yes [] No []
If no, give reasons.
3. Do you take any account of the needs of different seasons in organizing training schedules at Savar TTDC?

4. How frequently are the courses held?
5. Do you provide sufficient training aids? If no, give reasons.
6. Do you provide adequate production inputs to the TTDC clients?
Yes [] No []
7. *Do you* take *your* allotted classes regularly?
Yes [] No []
If no, give reasons.
8. Do you think training offered at Savar TTDC is useful to the client?
Yes [] No []
If no, give reasons.
9. Do you face any problems in coordinating the training and development activities at Savar TTDC?
Yes [] No []
If no, give reasons.
10. What are the appropriate methods do you think to make training and development activities effective at Savar TTDC?

For trainees (at savar ttdc) (General)

1. Which organization do you represent?
(a) Cooperative []
(b) Local government []
2. What is your position in your organization?
(a) Chairman KSS []
(b) Manager KSS []
(c) Model farmer KSS []
(d) Chairman Union Council []
(e) Member Union Council []
3. Within which age bracket are you?
a. 18-25 []
b. 26-35 []
c. 36-45 []
d. 46-55 []
e. 56-65 []
4. What is your level of education?
a. Cannot read and write []
b. Can write name only []

- c. Can read but cannot write
 - d. Can read and write
 - e. up to primary level (grade 5)
 - f. Up to SSC (grade 10)
 - g. Secondary School Certificate passed
 - h. Higher Secondary Certificate passed
 - i. Tertiary level
5. What is your main profession?
- a. Agriculture
 - b. Business
 - c. Teaching
 - d. Others
6. What is your total amount of land?
- 0.50 - 0.99
 - 1-2
 - 2-3
 - 3-4
 - 4-5
 - 5-6
 - 6-7
 - 7 and above
7. 1. Do you go to TTDC regularly for attending classes?
Yes No
7. 2. If yes, how frequently do you go to attend classes at TTDC?
Regularly
Occasionally
Very occasionally
7. 3. How many classes have you attended in TTDC in the month of January, February and March 1982?
- Chairman KSS
 - Manager KSS
 - Model fanner KSS
 - Chairman Union Council
 - Member Union Council

7. 4. What are the main reasons for your no attending classes at TTDC?

- a. Training is not useful []
- b. Method of training is boring []
- c. Long distance from home []
- d. Non availability of transport []
- e. Do not get any allowances []
- f. Commitments at home []
- g. others

8. 1. What methods do the trainers use in the training classes?

- a. Lecture only []
- b. Lecture cum discussion []
- c. Read and discuss the subject matter in the class []

8. 2. Do the trainers distribute lesson sheets, posters, leaflets etc. in the training class? Yes [] No []

3. What are the courses of your training?

4. Do you receive any benefit out of this training?

Yes [] No []

9. 1. Do you receive any allowance for attending classes at TTDC?

2. If yes, is it sufficient for covering the expenditure involved in attending classes?

10. 1. Do you receive any production inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, power pumps, deep tube wells?

Yes [] No []

10. 2. If yes, how frequently?

Regularly []

Occasionally []

Very occasionally []

10. 3. If no, tick the reasons.

Inputs are given only to the influential clients of TTDC []

Methods of distribution cumbersome and complicated []

Don't have much land []

Thana level officers are not known []

Do not attend classes at TTDC regularly. []

Others

11. 1. Do you use modern methods of cultivation?

Yes [] No []

2. If yes, what are the methods you usually use?

3. If no, give reasons.

Co-operative members only

1. What is the procedures of organizing a co-operative?

2. What is the date of establishment of your co-operative?

3. When did you become a member of a co-operative?

4. How do you select chairman, manager and model farmer of your co-operative?

5. Do you demonstrate your training, what you learnt from TTDC, to other farmers of your co-operatives.

Yes [] No []

If yes, how frequently

Regularly []

Occasionally []

If no, give reason.

6. Do you attend weekly meeting of co-operative regularly?

Yes [] No []

If no, tick the reasons

a. Weekly meetings are not held regularly []

b. Do not like the undue dominance of the representatives []

c. Mo discussion on: agricultural practices at the meeting []

d. Discussion .on village faction and "politics []

e. Other

7. Do you deposit the regular weekly savings of the members of your co-operative?

Yes [] No []

If no, tick the reason

a. Members cannot make any savings []

b. Members always in hardship []

c. Members do not deposit money in fear of loss of their money. []

d. Others

8. What are the problems you face in conducting the affairs of your co-operative?
- a. Do not get co-operation from TCCA []
 - b. Project officer (IRDPA) does not take proper care in the management of co-operatives []
 - c. Most village accountants (TCCA) are corrupt; they do not maintain proper accounts of the co-operative
 - d. The village politics reflects in the management of co-operatives []
 - e. Others []
9. What sort of facilities do you receive from TCCA?
- a. Training []
 - b. Production Credit []
 - c. Agricultural Inputs []
 - d. Supervision []
 - e. Others
10. 1. Does the staff of TCCA visit your co-operative?
Yes [] No []
2. If yes, how frequently?
Regularly [] Occasionally []

Appendix 3

Government of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) Services and General Administration Department Central Administration Branch, Section V, Memorandum No. GAV-180/61-1179, dated Dacca, the 30th October, 1962

Sub: Duties of Circle Officer (Development)

Circle officers (Development) of the newly created EPCS (East Pakistan Civil Service), Executive, Class II, cadre have taken over the duties and functions of the erstwhile circle officers of the EPCS (Executive) cadre in addition to the work connected with basic democracies (Local Government) and economic development. What is, however, important is that these officer's are not burdened with all sorts of miscellaneous work, to the detriment of their principal functions, i.e. supervision over the basic democracies with particular reference to development work and conciliation courts. In the performance of functions, the Circle officers (Development) should not also ignore the aspects of general administration which they shall have to perform as the principal co-ordinator at the thana level. At the same time, the Government departments shall have to watch and prevent imposition of extra work on these officers, which can be performed by other agencies-

Signed: K.A. HAQUE
Chief Secretary to the Government
of East Pakistan.

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh
 Cabinet Secretariat
 Establishment Division
 Regulation Wing
 Section I

Office Memorandum

No. Establish Division RI/R-130/76/182(300) dt. Dacca, the 9th December 1976

Sub: clarification on the application of the quota-system in filling up vacancies in various posts.

- Ref: 1. Establishment Division's Office Memo No. Est/RI/73-108 (500), 5-9-72
2. Establishment Division's office Memo No. Estb/RI/R-73/72/.8 (250)
3. Establishment Division Office Memo ED/R1.R-56/75/52, dt 8.4.76

Some confusion having arisen regarding application of the quota system in appointment to various services/posts, Government are pleased to issue the following further clarification.

- I. As no appointment can be made to any erstwhile (Pakistan) service, that is to say, a service which does not exist, the question of application of the quota service-wise does not arise. The vacancies in the various categories of posts are reserved and shall be filled in the manner indicated below:

Distribution of vacancies - Class I and class II posts – Non Gazetted Posts

a. Merit quota	40%	Nil
b. Women candidates	10%	10%
c. Freedom Fighters (Liberation of Bangladesh)	30%	30%
d. Affected women (liberation of Bangladesh)	10%	10%
e. Balance	10%	50%

- II. The quota for merit (40%) and the women candidates- (10%) shall be distributed post-wise (i.e. on vacancies in each category of Post separately).

- III. The quota reserved for the Freedom Fighters (30%), Affected women (10%) and Balance (10%) in case of vacancies in Class I and H posts and (50%) in case of non-gazetted Posts, shall be distributed to district/division on the basis of population: If the required number of

.candidates is not available for filling up post reserved for women candidates, Freedom Fighters and Affected women, the vacancies left over shall also be distributed to district/division on the basis of population.

(IV) It is requested that the above clarification be brought to the notice of all appointing authorities including those in the Statutory Bodies, Nationalised Enterprises etc. under their administrative control.

Sig. S.A. HAQUE
DEPUTY SECRETARY. 9.12.76

**Office of the Member President's
Advisory Council**

Subject: Attendance of the meetings of the Thana Councils and Co-ordination Committee by the Thana level officers

It is reported by many Circle Officers (Dev) that Thana level officers do not attend the meetings of the Thana Councils/Co-ordination Committee regularly, with the result that Implementation of various projects requiring joint participation of several Ministries is hampered. It is also reported that these officers do not regard it as their duty to attend to such meetings because no direction have so far been given by the respective Ministries.

Ministries concerned should be requested to issue necessary Circular/Orders on the subject so that Thana level officers are made to attend such meetings regularly. Absence should be regarded as dereliction from duty and be dealt with accordingly.

The Ministry is requested to move quickly in this matter.

Signed.

Kazi Anwarul Huq

Member, Presidents Advisory Council

Government of Bangladesh

Dacca.

Copy to

1. Secretary, Local Government and Rural Development, Government of Bangladesh.
2. The Secretary, Cabinet Division, Government of Bangladesh.
Note No. LGRD.REV/COCO/77/10014(2), 17.11.77.

**Government of the People's Republic of
Bangladesh. Cabinet Secretariat
Cabinet Division.**

NO. CD/DA/1(3)76-513(87) Dated the 19th December, 1977

MEMORANDUM

subject: Attendance of the meetings of the Thana Council and Coordinator Committees by Thana Tevel Officer.

Hon'ble Adviser in-charge of the Ministry of L.G.R.D. & Co-operatives has brought to the notice of Cabinet Division that many Thana level Officers do not attend the meetings of the Thana Council/Co-ordination Committees regularly with the result that implementation of various projects requiring joint participations of several Ministries is hampered. It is also reported that these Officers do not regard it as their duty to attend those meetings because no direction have so far been given by the respective Ministries.

2. It appears that in spite of a circular from this Division to ensure regular co-ordination and review of all development activities undertaken in the respective areas by holding, Co-ordination meetings at the Division, District, Sub-division and Thana level position has not improved specially at the Thana level.
3. In inviting the attention to Cabinet Division's Memo No. CD/DA/1(3) 776-709(83) dated November 9, 1976 all Ministries/Divisions are requested to instruct their Officers at Thana level for strict compliance.

Signed:

Mansur Ahmed
Joint Secretary

Distribution:

1. All Ministries/Divisions
2. All Commissioners of Divisions
3. All Deputy Commissioners
4. All Sub-Divisional Officers.

No. CD/DA/1(3)/76-513(87)/1. Dated the 22nd Dec. 1977
Cpy forwarded to P.S. to Hon'ble Adviser in-charge H/0
Local Govt. Rural Development & Co-operatives with reference to
their Note No. Rev/Co/77/10014(2) dated 17.11.77.

**Annexure of Government of the People's
Republic of Bangladesh Cabinet Secretariat
Cabinet Division**

No. OD/DA/73/75-1 70(100) Dated the 27th February 1976.

S.M. Shafiul Azam
Cabinet Secretary

To: All Secretaries/Heads of Departments. Chairmen of Corporations.

**Subject : Overall supervision and coordination of Governmental
activities in the Divisions**

In the interest of efficient administration and Implementation of development projects and to ensure maximum coordination in the conduct of government activities in the Districts and adequate cooperation among all Government agencies, it is imperative to promote team spirit among public servants in the Divisions/Districts/Sub-Divisions/Thanas. In supersession of all Government circulars issued from time to time on the subject in the past, the following instructions are hereby issued for information of and compliance by all concerned:

1. The Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioners and the Sub-Divisional Officers shall be generally responsible for the supervision and general coordination of activities of all the Departments functioning within their respective jurisdictions.
2. Every Government agency operating in a Division/District/ Sub-Division/Thana will extend to all other agencies maximum cooperation in the implementation of development projects. The Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Sub-Divisional Officers will guide and assist the officers in all other departments in this regard in their respective jurisdictions,
3. The Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioners and the Sub-Divisional Officers shall have powers to call for report and connected papers in respect of any development project from any Officer functioning in their respective jurisdictions.
4. The Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioners, and the Sub-Divisional Officers shall have the power to inspect any project within their respective jurisdiction, where progress may not have been satisfactory or complaints received.

5. The Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioners and the Sub-Divisional Officers shall have the power to secure the services of Officers of all Departments in their respective jurisdictions, for specific duties, in times of any emergency or natural calamities.
6. The Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioners and the Sub-Divisional Officers shall have the power to call Divisional District and Sub-Divisional level Officers in meetings periodically as well as in any emergent circumstance. When such meeting is called it will be the obligation of all Officers at Divisional, District and Sub-Divisional level to attend.
7. Where the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner and the Sub-Divisional Officer will consider continuation of any Officer at station in his jurisdiction undesirable, he will recommend to the Controlling Officer concerned for withdrawal/transfer of such an officer. Such recommendation shall be promptly acted upon and the recommendation could be disregarded only with the approval of the officer superior to the officer recommending such withdrawal/transfer. For instance, if a Deputy Commissioner recommends withdrawal of an officer this recommendation can be disregarded only with the approval of the Commissioner.
8. The Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioners and the Sub-Divisional Officers shall have power to write Special Reports on any officer functioning in their respective jurisdictions on performance and conduct of such officers. Such Special Reports shall be forwarded to the Heads of Departments of the Officer concerned and also to the Ministry concerned. These Reports shall form part of the personal file/dossier of the respective officer.
9. The Circle officer (Development) will be generally responsible for coordination of development activities within their respective Thanas. He will have the following powers so as to establish his position as a coordinator within his jurisdiction:
 - a. Power to call for a report direct from Officers of Development Departments in the Thanas.
 - b. Power to inspect any development project, particularly in the field of Agriculture, Cooperatives, Rural Development, Education, Health & Population Control.
 - c. Power to call meetings periodically as well as in any emergent circumstances of the Officers of Development Departments. Attendance of Officers concerned in such meetings shall be obligatory.

Thana Parishad Chairman

1. The Chairman of a Thana Parishad shall be responsible for the conduct of the day-to-day administration of the Thana Parishad and the supervision and control of the staff of the Thana Parishad.
2. The Chairman shall dispose of the following business of the Thana Parishad:
 - a. Appointment, transfer, punishment or removal of any servant of the Thana Parishad, not being a Government servant.
 - b. Collection and recovery of all taxes, rates, tolls, fees and other dues, levied by T.P.
 - c. Receipt of all amounts on behalf of the Thana Parishad.
 - d. Incurring of expenditure on any item within sanctioned budget not exceeding such limit as may be specified by the Thana Parishad.
 - e. Conduct of all correspondences on behalf of the Thana Parishad.
 - f. Issuing of notice on behalf of the Thana Parishad.
 - g. Compounding of all offences under the Ordinance. .
 - h. Such other business as may be specified by the Government.
3. The Chairman of the Thana Parishad will co-ordinate all the development activities of the Thana.
4. He will initiate formulation of policies in development matters, identify projects and schemes and ensure timely implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the schemes.
5. He will be responsible for relief works in time of nature calamities, famine and epidemics.
6. He will promote and organize employment generating activities including agriculture and food productions.
7. He will promote socio-cultural activities.
8. He will be responsible for proper administration and functioning of primary education.
9. He will be responsible for implementation of the P.P. programme.
10. He will also be responsible for ensuring implementation of Government policies and programmes within the Thana.
11. He will extend necessary help and assistance for maintenance of law and order.
12. He will initiate the Annual Confidential Report of the Thana Nirbahi Officer.

Charter of Duties Thana Nirbahi Officer

1. He will be staff officer to the elected Chairman of Thana . Parishad who will be the Chief Executive of Thana. He will also be the chief executive officer of the Thana Parishad, shall be responsible to the Chairman of Thana Parishad and assist him in implementation of policies and decisions of the Thana Parishad.
2. Assist the Chairman in supervising all Thana level development and administrative work.
3. Assist the Parishad in preparing a coordinated .development plan of the Thana and ensure its execution.
4. Exercise powers under section 144 Cr. P.C, When the Thana Magistrate is unable to attend the court on any ground, he will sit in court and perform the following functions: taking cognizance of cases, hearing bail matters, granting adjournment, etc.
5. Initiate Annual-Confidential Report of all Thana level officers except Munsiff-Magistrate. The Chairman Thana Parishad will be the countersigning officer. District officers of respective departments will be the technical reporting officers of Thana officers. He will countersign the ACRs initiated by the functionary heads except Munsiff.
6. Attend emergency duties, such as relief duties following natural calamities, receive stores including food and distribute relief materials as directed by Thana Parishad.
7. Protocol duties.
8. Supervise and control revenue and budget administration of the Thana.
9. Ensure that the Government directives on Thana administration are followed.
- 10.He will be responsible for all training matters of his department within the Thana and will co-ordinate all Thana level training activities.
- 11.He will grant casual leave and will countersign the TA bills of all functionary heads except Munsiff.
- 12.He will act as drawing and disbursing officer in respect of officers and staff working directly under him.
- 13.He will supervise the activities of the officers and staff working under him.
- 14.Perform such other functions as may be entrusted to him by the Government or the Thana Parishad Chairman or as may be conferred on him by the Government under any law.

Charter of Duties Thana Co-operative Officer

1. He will work under the guidance of Thana Parishad as coordinated by the Thana Nirbahi Officer.
2. To register co-operatives on fulfillment of necessary formalities.
3. To draw up annual audit programme and to issue audit orders.
4. To assign audit works to the Inspectors and to see that the audit works is done as per programme.
5. To guide audit officers in the efficient performance of their assigned duties and to issue instructions for quality improvement of audit.
6. To assess audit fees and to prepare lists of societies for timely realisation of audit fees.
7. To review audit notes, and to issue orders for rectification.
8. To inspect the co-operative societies as well as the offices of subordinate officers.
9. To conduct inquiry into the affairs of societies in conformity with Co-operative Acts and Rules.
10. To make inquiry under Co-operative Acts and Rules.
11. To take steps for settlement of disputes involving co-operative societies and to declare award as per Co-operative Acts and Rules.
12. To take prompt action for distribution of loans among the members.
13. To make an assessment of loan requirement of co-operative societies.
14. To see that the purpose for which loan is advanced is properly utilized.
15. To issue necessary orders for timely recovery of loan.
16. To supervise the collection drive initiated for recovery of loan.
17. To explore-the possibilities for recovery of outstanding loan. IB. To organise group discussion among the co-operators.
18. To co-ordinate the activities of different types of cooperatives.
19. To take steps for evaluation of co-operative activities.
20. To take follow-up action in the light of evaluation.
21. To prepare annual budget.
22. To supervise the activities of staff.
23. To act as drawing and disbursing officer in respect of officer/staff working directly under him.
24. To prepare reports, returns etc.
25. To collect annual statistics on co-operatives.
26. To highlight the activities of co-operatives and to keep the authority informed of the same.
27. To initiate the Annual Confidential reports of the staff working under him.
28. Will be responsible for all training matters of his department within the Thana.
- 29.

Charter of Duties Thana Rural Development Officer

1. He will work under the guidance of the Thana Parishad as coordinated by Thana Nirbahi Officer.
2. He will be responsible for operational control, supervision and training of TCCA staff.
3. He will be responsible for preparation of budget, annual stock taking, reports and return for higher authority.
4. He will supervise and inspect field staff, KSSs, TIP groups and other schemes.
5. He will be responsible for organizing the supply of inputs and credit to the members, formation of own capital and planning for agricultural marketing.
6. He will promote the implementation of new and improved techniques in agriculture and other extension activities such as TCCA women programme, etc.
7. He will promote "Comilla type" co-operatives, organise farmers into cohesive and disciplined groups for planned development, encourage enrolment of new members, co-operation between KSSs, and liquidate dormant societies.
8. He will plan and organize training programmes for model farmers, KSS managers, TCCA field staff and KSS directors and members.
9. He will plan for and participate in the meetings of the TCCA, participate as the TDCA representative in meetings at District and Thana levels and participate as far as possible in meetings of the primary societies.
10. He will advise and guide the managing committee of the TCCA on acts, rules and central policy decisions and refer to higher authorities in case of doubt.
11. He will continue to work as Secretary of TCCA.
12. He will initiate Annual Confidential Reports of the officer and staff working under him.
13. He will act as drawing and disbursing officer in respect of officer/staff working directly under him.
14. He will supervise the activities of the officer and staff working under him.
15. He will be responsible for all training matters of his department within the Thana.

Thana Agriculture Officer

1. He will work under the guidance of Thana Parishad as co-ordinated by Thana Birbahi Officer.
2. He will be responsible for the management and supervision of planning implementation and evaluation of agricultural extension programme as well as, co-ordination of all agricultural development works within his unit.
3. Co-ordinate the distribution of inputs such as fertilizer, seed, irrigation equipment and improved agricultural implements.
4. Demonstration and propagation of improved agricultural methods and practices and establishment and maintenance of model agricultural farms in private lands-
5. Excavation and re-excavation of canals for drainage, irrigation and communication, thana irrigation projects and inter-union schemes.
6. Intensive paddy cultivation.
7. Jute and Rabi crops campaign.
8. Increasing production of fruits and vegetables.
9. Organization of fairs and crop competition etc.
10. Preparation of cow dung manure and preparation of compost.
11. Reclamation of land for productive purposes with approval of Thana Parishad.
12. Establishment and maintenance of godowns.
13. Maintenance of farmers' service centres with attached demonstration farms.
14. Exercise line functions overall extension and supply personnel.
15. Will be responsible for installation and maintenance of tube wells and pumps.
16. Will initiate the Annual Confidential Reports of the officers and staff working under him.
17. Will act as drawing and disbursing officer, in respect of officer-staff working directly under him.
18. Will supervise the activities of the officers and staff working under him.
19. Will be responsible for all training matters of his department within the thana.

**Government of the People's Republic of
Bangladesh Cabinet Secretariat**

No. CD/DA/1(35)77-68(300) Dated February 15, 1978.

Streamlining of Thana Administration.

1. In order to streamline Thana Administration Government have decided to run all offices up to Thana level with Local officers. One thana in each District has since been selected at the initial stage on an experimental basis. Accordingly all Ministries/Divisions/Government Agencies were requested to post Local officers in all their offices up to thana level in the selectedvide Cabinet Division Memo No. CD/DA/ 1(33)77-9(3000 dated 0anuary 6, 1978.
2. It is felt that the purpose for which the new system of Thana Administration is being introduced should be explained to the concerned officials otherwise the very purpose for which the system is introduced may be frustrated,
3. An outline indicating the purpose for which the new system of Thana Administration, i.e. manning of all thana level offices with Local officials- is being introduced in 19 thanas of 19 Districts of the country, is given below:
 - i. Government has shifted emphasis to rural development. Thana Headquarters are being developed as fulfil edged units of administration at the lowest level. The tempo of development activities of the rural administration. It is, therefore, necessary to strengthen the thana administration.
 - ii. The concept of administration has changed with the passage of time and especially after the liberation of the country. It would no longer be mainly the law and order only. Admini- stration must also play a primary role in the welfare of the people through intensive development activities.
 - iii. The old system of Administration can no longer deliver goods to the citizens of an independent and sovereign country. It should, therefore, be changed to suit our present-day requirements. The foreign rulers had an inherent distrust for the local people. Consequently they did not favour the idea of involvement of officials for the overall progress and development of the country.
 - iv. Government, therefore, feels that It would be useful to run the local administration at the thana level by posting officers to different thana

offices from the Than as they hail from. Being local people, they will take more pride and interest in the development of their own areas. Moreover, they will be afraid of resorting to malpractices and do anything against the interest of the local people for they and their family will have to live in that area and cannot avoid stigma and wrath of the local people if they do anything wrong, apart from departmental action that may be taken against them by the Government. In this way incidence of corruption is also likely to be reduced.

- v. There is no denying the fact that posting of Locals in their own thana is fraught with some risk- The personal and family interest of these officers may in some cases impede the progress of development works. They may get involved in local feuds and factions, thereby creating new problems. There is also the apprehension of a clash between local and nonlocal officers, if, of necessity, some nonlocal officers are to be posted in some thanas. Government is conscious of this possibility but hopes that such undesirable situations may be avoided if the officers are properly motivated, guided and effective supervision is exercised by their superiors.