

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PAUPERISATION

The term "pauperisation" is used here to denote the gradual process of land alienation of the poor and marginal peasants resulting into a reduction in their economic condition from poor to poorer. To understand the process of depeasantisation of the agricultural labourers a question was included in the survey schedule to find out the nature of occupation of the respondents' fathers. This section discusses the findings of this enquiry.

It has been seen in the preceding chapters that the villages are dominated by small holding groups owning land upto 2.5 acres. Taking West Bengal as a whole and, of course, in the studied villages also they constitute overwhelmingly the majority of households (71.42 per cent, 85.97 per cent and 75.77 per cent in Bamangram, Batla-Bhita and Alokjhora respectively). Many of these small holding households do not possess other means of production like ploughs and draught animals. They are dependent upon the rainfall, as because, almost none of these households has any pump set. The crop they get following the traditional way of cultivation in their tiny plots of land is "just" sufficient for family sustenance. Hence, many of them are forced either to mortgage or to sell a part or whole of the agricultural land in crisis. Two small holding cultivators in Alokjhora and another two in Bamangram, have mortgaged their lands. The length of contract of mortgage varies from 1 to 3 years.

Land division is another important reason for marginalisation of land and the gradual transformation of the small land owners into landless labourers.

Private ownership of land leads automatically to increasing inequalities and the emergence of landlessness, even with a static population. The process is much speeded up with the rapid population growth. There is hardly any scope of bringing extra land under cultivation in the villages. Moreover the custom of inheritance is such that a dead man's property is distributed among the heirs. This usually means that farms are constantly being fragmented into smaller and smaller holdings often broken up into many separate patches. This is observed in case of many farmers who are cultivating half, one third or one fourth of the area their fathers had, as because, the land has been divided among the brothers. In many cases the majority of plots are too small to feed a family and they are forced to earn a living as wage labourer. It only needs one year's poor rainfall or bad crop, an accident or serious illness in the family to push a man over to the precipice into debt or sale of land.

Another factor which contributes to the pauperisation is the increasing demand for dowry. In all three villages payment of dowry is a common practice irrespective of size-class holdings. Each family has to pay a dowry when the daughters are to be married. The amount of dowry depends upon the status of bridegroom. The large farmers are perhaps able to manage the dowry by selling the cash crop and surplus paddy they produce. The poor

peasants who generally cannot produce enough paddy beyond their subsistence procure the money either by borrowing, selling or mortgaging their agricultural land. Even the agricultural labourer families who hardly own any land has to pay Rs. 1000 as dowry. As they have hardly any opportunity either to borrow this huge amount or to mortgage any land they generally manage the dowry by working as farm servant for one or two years. No man will marry a girl unless he is paid a dowry.

### Some case studies

(a) Sunran, Bamangram, 45, male, landless agricultural labourer

His family consists of four members : Sunran, his wife and two children (one son and one daughter). His wife and son work as casual labourer and their daughter stays at home. Besides the homestead land, the family owns 0.33 acre of vested land and has taken a cow on lease. In the marriage of their only daughter the family had to pay Rs. 1000 in cash, silver ornaments (cost Rs. 600) and a bicycle (cost Rs. 750) as dowry. They collected Rs. 1000 by mortgaging the vested land, Rs. 600 by selling the leased-in cow and Rs. 750 from wages as farm servant. The other expenditure were met by contributions from the neighbours.

(b) Paten, Alokjhora, widow, 42, female, landless agricultural labourer

Two daughters of Paten work as casual labourer and the youngest son who is only 8 years stays at home. Besides the homestead land the family owns neither agricultural land nor cattle. In the marriage of the second daughter the family had

paid Rs. 1000 in cash as dowry. The other expenditure was approximately Rs. 1000. As Paten and her eldest daughter is dumb, they received Rs. 1400 as financial assistance from the government. The eldest daughter took Rs. 500 as advance from her employer by making a contract that she would work as a farm servant for a year. They also received some contributions from the villagers.

(c) Subal, Bamangram, 50, male landless agricultural labourer

His wife and son work as casual labourer. The remaining two daughters stay at home. In the marriage of the first daughter, Subal had paid Rs. 1000 in cash, silver ornaments (cost Rs. 300) and a bicycle (cost Rs. 750) as dowry. He received Rs. 1000 as Dheki (a husking pedal) loan which he had spent for his daughter's marriage. The eldest son took Rs. 600 as advance from his employer for which he had to work as a farm servant for a year. Moreover, they received 20 kilograms paddy, some vegetables and Rs. 200 as donation from the villagers and kins.

The above case studies suggest that even the agricultural labourer families do not escape from paying dowry. They procure the money either by selling or mortgaging the agricultural land and cattle and by mortgaging their labour to a householder.

Occupational change from father to son

The process of depeasantisation had started during the colonial rule with the increasing indebtedness of the peasantry and land mortgages. It has further been aggravated with the natural increase in the population of the poor and marginal peasants households and lack of employment opportunities for

them. The following discussions will show that some of the poor and marginal peasants were not being able to keep the ownership control over their land. As a result they are being turned from owner cultivators to landless labourers.

Table - 31

Respondents' households according to fathers' occupation in the three villages

Occupational category	Name of the villages					
	Bamengram		Batla-Bhita		Alokjhora	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Labourer	13	32.50	1	4.77	19	42.22
2. Share-cropper-cum-agricultural labourer	3	7.50	2	9.52	-	-
3. Owner cultivator in Bangladesh	3	7.50	6	28.58	4	8.89
4. Owner cultivator	8	20.00	6	28.58	17	37.78
5. Labourer-cum-owner cultivator	4	10.00	-	-	-	-
6. Owner cultivator-cum-share-cropper	4	10.00	4	19.04	-	-
7. Share-cropper	1	2.50	1	4.77	-	4.44
8. Others	4	10.00	1	4.77	3	6.67
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The above figures show that only 32.50 per cent, 4.77 per cent and 42.22 per cent of the present day labourers' fathers were solely agricultural labourers in Bamangram, Batla-Bhita and Alokjhora respectively. It further shows that 20.00 percent , 28.58 per cent and 37.78 per cent of the present day labourers' fathers were owner cultivators in Bamangram, Batla-Bhita and Alokjhora respectively. Thus, the process of depeasantisation is found in all the three village. Some respondents' fathers were owner cultivators but their sons have turned into landless labourers. Some other respondents' fathers were owner cultivators-cum-share-croppers. Their sons have lost control over both the land that their fathers' owned or share-cropped. Moreover, some respondents' fathers were cultivators in Bangladesh. But after migration they have been working as agricultural labourers. This is primarily because they have neither education nor any capital to go for any other occupation. The money they had brought with them at the time of migration were mostly spent in making a shelter and on food for the family.

In order to understand the process of depeasantisation another question, the occupational background of the respondents, was included in the survey schedule. We have seen that some of the respondents' fathers were either cultivators or owner cultivators-cum-share-croppers. In some cases, on the one hand, after the distribution of the land among the heirs the size-holdings became too small and on the other hand, the Land Reform measures, particularly the registration of share-croppers, have made the land owners reluctant to lease-out land to their former share-croppers.

Table - 32

Respondents' households according to their former occupational background in the three villages

Occupational category	Name of the villages					
	Bamangram		Batla-Bhita		Alokjhora	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Labourer	29	72.50	11	52.38	36	80.00
2. Share-cropper	6	15.00	7	33.33	7	15.56
3. Owner cultivator	3	7.50	2	9.52	2	4.44
4. Share-cropper-cum-cultivator	1	2.50	1	4.77	-	-
5. Petty business	1	2.50	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The above figures show that in all the three villages majority of the respondents (72.50 per cent, 52.38 per cent and 80.00 per cent in Bamangram, Batla-Bhita and Alokjhora respectively) have been working as agricultural labourers since they started their own household units. Most of them had started their early life as child labourers attached to a house in the village and now are working as full time casual labourers.

In Bamangram, seven respondents were formerly share-croppers. They altogether cultivated 22.33 acres of land on share-cropping basis. What is interesting is that apart from one lessee who had cultivated upto 1970, the other six lessees had been denied cultivation as lessee by the lessors only after 1977 i.e., the year when the Left Front came into power in the State and bargadar recording was more intensified. In all the cases where the lessors

and the lessees were the residents of the same village, the lessors have been successful in taking away their land from the lessees. Lessees being poor and resourceless could hardly withstand the mechanisations of their powerful neighbours. Out of the total seven respondents only one voluntarily gave up his right of share-cropping because of the death of his bullocks. The other respondents had been compelled by the lessors to give up their right of share-cropping. Only one respondent was able to record a small part of the total leased-in land. Md. Ibrahim had been cultivating 4 acres of land as a share-cropper, land taken from four land owners. The said lessee could record only one-third of an acre of land. And for the rest of the land he had lost his share-cropping right, as the lands have been taken away by their respective owners. On being evicted from the leased-in land he has been turned into an agricultural labourer. The three owner cultivators mentioned in the above table have either sold all or major part of their holdings because of poverty, illness or daughters' marriage and have been gradually converted into agricultural labourers.

In Batla-Bhita, eight respondents had earlier cultivated the leased-in land. The total area they leased-in was 18.33 acres. The period of cultivating these lands was between 1970 to 1986. There is only one respondent who has recorded himself as owner for just one acre of land and in the process he has lost his share-cropping right over another acre. Upen Barman had been cultivating 2 acres of land on share-cropping basis from a village lessor till 1986. In 1986, the said lessor wanted to keep the land with himself.

In order to do that the lessor had to lose the ownership right over half of the total leased-out land (2 acres), whose ownership went to the lessee. Similar adjustment between lessor and lessee had taken place in several instances, where a part of leased-in land has been given to a lessee in lieu of returning the rest of the leased-in land to the lessor.

There are two respondents in this village who were owner cultivators. One of them was an owner cultivator as long as he was living with his father. His father is an owner cultivator in this village. But after separation he has been turned into a landless labourer. He hopes to inherit his father's land after his father's death. Of course, there is no such rule that the father's property cannot be divided among his heirs during his life time. But this did not happen in this case. The other respondent had sold all the land because of poverty, illness or daughter's marriage.

In Alokjhara, seven respondents used to cultivate altogether 5.33 acres of leased-in land. It is to be noted here that all the lessees and the lessors were residents of the same village. As a result none of the lessees was able to register himself as a bargadar.

Hence, we have seen in the above discussions that in all three villages there are some agricultural labourers who were earlier share-croppers. The lessors in most of the cases have been successful in evicting the lessees from land. The lessees could hardly make any protest against this eviction. Their eviction from the share-cropping land has converted them from tenants to

the agricultural labourers. Similarly, quite a few former owner cultivators particularly the marginal land owners were also reduced to landless labourers. These small or marginal land owners were forced to sell their meagre land due to poverty, need for money at the time of their daughters' marriage which consequently reduced them to the status of landless agricultural labourers.

#### Credit relations between employer and employee

Indebtness is endemic to the rural poor. The main reasons for running into debt are mainly two : to meet subsistence requirements until the next harvest and to meet certain ceremonial obligations like the marriage of daughter or sister or funeral costs of anyone dying in the family. Employment is available only during the agricultural season. Hence, a agricultural labourer is compelled to take loan in the non-agricultural season to feed his family members. The employer is the main source of credit, because, access to the institutional loan to the agricultural labourer is very restricted. Chandra for example, writes " Government loans are monopolized by the upper classes. Out of a total of Rs. 46,000 for the sample villages only two poor peasants obtained Rs. 100 each and two agricultural labourers got Rs. 20 and Rs. 15 respectively. There was none among these latter classes who had received any loan from other institutions like co-operatives, commercial banks etc"<sup>1</sup>.

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1. N. Chandra, op. cit., p. 249.

There are a number of grocery shops in the villages. These shops are often owned by the more affluent farmers of the village. They appear to be an important source of credit to the agricultural labourers. The agricultural labourers purchase their daily necessities from these retail shops sometimes on cash and other times on credit. While there is often very little interest on loans, they are usually cheated on weights and measure, quality of goods, prices etc.

Another source of credit is the money-lender. One significant point in the rural credit market is that women from well-to-do middle or rich peasant families advance small loans, sometimes in kind, to women from the poor section by keeping brass utensils as security.

In Bamangram, 13 respondents have taken loan from their employers. Since there is no labourer shortage in this village, the cultivators do not have to hire labourers from outside the village even in the peak agricultural season when the demand for labour normally goes up. The point worth mentioning is that a few years back the cultivators of this village had to meet the increasing demand by hiring labour from Bihar. These labourers were seasonal migrants. Now, the employers seek for assured labour supply during the agricultural peak season from within the village. The employers advance loans to the agricultural labourer for assured labour supply in time of need. There is not a single incident where the labourer has failed to repay the small amount of the loan. As the labourer do not pose any problem in repaying loan the employers do not hesitate to advance loans. It must be

mentioned here that, not all the employers advance loan to all the village labourers but only the big cultivators who need large number of labour during the agricultural season. The relationship is strengthened when both employer and employee belong to the same caste or community and sometimes to the same political party. But it is not always true that, if employer and employee belong to the same caste or community the relationship between the two will be strong. It is found in this village that a Muslim employer generally prefer a Tribal labourer than a Muslim labourer. The employees of the village said that, a tribal labourer is more loyal and sincere in work than a Muslim labourer.

The employer advances loan considering his relationship with the labourer. It is observed that the employer generally advances loan to those labourers who are attached to him even as casual labourer. The casual labourers are free to work to any employer. But in some cases it is found that they do not work for more than one or two employers, which results into the development of informal ties between employer and employee.

While there is often very little formal interest on loans, but they are not free from exploitation. The indebted labourers are sometimes asked by their employers to do some extra jobs as the farm servants do for which they are not given any wages. The agricultural labourers borrow not only in cash but also in kind. Three respondents out of the 13 have borrowed along with cash between 40 to 80 kilograms paddy. They repay the loan mainly by working for the employer. It is true that the indebted labourers do not have to work at a low wages than the prevailing market rate

but exploitation is observed in another form. They are to work whenever their employers want. Moreover, an agricultural labourer generally takes crop as loan from his employer in the non-agricultural season when the agricultural work is less available. The prices of crops generally remain high during this period. The employer translates the price of crops in terms of money and that becomes his loan money which has to be repaid by working for the required number of days at the prevailing rate of wages.

The employer generally gives small amount of loan. This is because they look at it from the point of view of their labour requirement and the labourer's capacity to repay. It is not that a labourer is not willing to take big loans but he has the fear of not being able to repay the loan.

Two respondents in this village have taken loans from their kins on their daughters' marriage, for which the borrowers did not have to pay interest. The other two respondents have taken loans with a monthly interest rate of Rs. 10 per 100 from a village money-lender. There is no distinct category of money-lenders in the village. The large farmers often act as a money-lender.

In Batla-Bhita, no respondent has taken loan from their employers. This is mainly due to the fact that work is available in non-agricultural season also. Moreover, like the large farmers middle farmers do not need assured labour supply during the peak agricultural season. Hence, neither the employee nor the employer feel the urge to go into the debt relationship.

Similarly, in Alokjhora also the credit relations between employer and employee is totally absent. Here the employers are not interested in advancing loan to the agricultural labourers. The most important reason is that there is no shortage of labour supply even in the peak agricultural season. The availability of labour is such that, the employers even in the peak seasons do not have to go far for <sup>hiring</sup> ~~higher~~ing labour. In the absence of alternative job opportunities they are compelled to remain within the village throughout the year. Hence, the employers show little interest in binding labourers by advancing loan. Moreover, the employers are not sure that the borrowers will work for him in future against the loan. This sort of attitude has developed among the employers because of the recent vested land movement by the landless and marginal peasants. The relationships between employers and employees have been more contractual than informal in this village.

To sum up, the credit relations between farmers and labourers, as has been observed in the three villages, depend not only on mutual trust but also on the demand and supply of labour at a given point of time, availability of work in non-agricultural sector, changing attitude of the agricultural labourers towards the employers and similar other factors. It seems that every village has its own socio-political features which to a large extent define the credit relations.

#### Development schemes

During the colonial rule there was little initiative on the part of the government to look after the interest of the

agricultural labourer. The idea has gradually grown that the government acting in the common interest, has special responsibilities towards the weaker sections in the community, and is obliged to foster their interests. Hence, after Independence both the Central and State Governments have adopted several development schemes like the Small Farmers' Development Agency, Integrated Rural Development Schemes, etc., to alleviate rural poverty. A total of 11 respondent labourers (10.37 per cent) have received institutional loan under the different development schemes in the three villages. Some illustrations will help us to understand the impact of these measures in the life of the poor and marginal farmers.

(a) Prabed owns 1 acre of agricultural land. He received Rs. 3000 as agricultural loan two years back. He had spent a part of the loan in the agricultural operations and the rest for consumption. He has failed to improve his economic condition with the loan because heavy rain had damaged all crops. He has not repaid any loan as yet.

(b) Bawli received Rs. 2200 as Dheki (a husking pedal) loan. Along with the loan money she was also entitled to get a wheel barrow under the scheme which costs about Rs. 800. Thus the total amount sanctioned to her was Rs. 3000. Bawli did not receive the wheel barrow as there was none in her family to drive it. The Dheki loan was sanctioned for petty trade. In this petty trade one has to husk paddy with the husking pedal and to sell it in the market. The money is given mainly for purchasing unhusked paddy, constructing a husking pedal and the wheel barrow for carrying the paddy.

This petty trade can be profitable to those people who live in and around the market place.

Bawli perhaps thought that this kind of petty trade might not be profitable to her. She has only one son who is 10 years old and she lives away from the market place. It was neither possible for herself nor her 10 years old child to purchase and sell the paddy. Thus, she purchased a milk cow which costed her Rs. 1700 and the rest of the amount was spent on food. She has repaid Rs. 70 against that loan. She has to look after the cow before and after her work as a wage labourer. But her son is left there to graze the cow when she goes out to work. Thus the rearing of cattle has not disturbed her work as a wage labourer. The cow gives 1.5 to 3 litres of milk per day. By selling milk she earns about Rs. 4.50 to Rs. 9 per day.

(c) Ibrarhim, out of the total Rs. 3000 sanctioned as Dheki loan he received Rs. 2200 in cash and a wheel barrow against the rest of the money. He purchased a milk cow with the money which gives 2 to 3 litres of milk every day. He earns on an average of Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per day with the wheel barrow. On the weekly market day his earning ranges from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. He has been able to repay the loan regularly. He has to repay Rs. 30 per month against that loan.

(d) Palan was given two milk cows under the dairy scheme. He is happy with the cows because both are giving about 3 to 4 litres milk every day. By selling milk he earns on an average of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per day. Even if he spends some money for the fodder

still it remains profitable to him. He has already repaid Rs. 70 and hopes to repay the instalments of the loan regularly.

(e) Ganesh received Rs. 2700 in cash and a bicycle for petty business of milk. Money is given to the owners of cow by him as advance and the bicycle is lying with him for carrying milk. He purchases milk from the neighbouring villages and sell it to the restaurant in the urban area. He had to give an advance Rs. 100 each to all the owners of cow. Moreover, he had to purchase two large milk pots with the cash in hand. He has been able to repay the loan regularly.

(f) Sudhir received Rs. 6000 for grocery shop. He had set up a grocery shop but had been robbed off everything. He has not been able to repay any loan and does not hope to repay it in near future.

(g) Paymat Ali was given two draught animals against Rs. 3000 sanctioned as loan. He ploughs mainly others' land with the draught animals. By ploughing others' land he earns on an average Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 within 3 to 4 hours. His earning goes high during the peak season of agriculture. He regularly repays the loan.

(h) Tapan was given Rs. 3000 in cash. With the help of the money he has set up a little vegetable stall. He is not able to make huge profit in this petty trade. The profit he makes in a day has to be reinvested to a large extent to buy the vegetables for the next day. He earns just enough for his own subsistence. He looks upon this petty trade as an additional source of income. He also has been able to repay the loan regularly.

The above illustrations lead to the conclusions that the development scheme has both positive and negative effects on the agricultural labourers. Except the Small Farmers Development Agency all other schemes have made a favourable impact. This becomes clear when it is found that the loanee under the schemes have been paying back their loans. The beneficiaries under the Daily Development Scheme mentioned about some problems particularly about the problem of getting the green fodder for their cattle. But the women and children of these families spare time to graze the cattle.

Other important measures adopted for the economic development of the agricultural labourers are ; (1) fixing-up the minimum wage; (2) major public works programme in order to influence the wage structure and provide public employment; (3) distribution of household lands; (4) distribution of vested lands among the landless etc. In this section we shall describe only the special programmes of the government, like NREP (National Rural Employment Programme); RLEGP (Rural Landless Employment Gaurantee Programme) and Food for Work Programme carried out through the local panchayats. The main objectives of these programmes are to influence the wage structure of the area and provide employment to agricultural labourers mainly during the off season when agricultural work becomes scarce.

As for wages and employment conditions, it is realized that the fixing of a minimum wage by itself would make very little impact unless alternative job opportunities are created. The extensive public works programme, operated through the local

panchayats, help to provide such alternative opportunities. Under this programme mainly roads and irrigation structures are built or repaired, and the workers are paid partly in cash and partly in kind. This programme was stepped up after the flood of 1976 and during the severe draught of 1982-83. By the end of 1981 more than 140 million man-days of work were created<sup>1</sup> and during the years of flood and draught this programme played a major role in persuading the poorest villagers, badly hit by the disasters, to stay in their villages and not to migrate to the towns. More important than the number actually employed under this programme had been that, alternative job opportunities were created and the dependence for a job on the land owner was reduced<sup>2</sup>.

In Bamangram, the extensive public works programme was carried out in two phases. The first phase of the programme was carried out in 1978 and the second in 1984. It may be mentioned that our survey was conducted in 1988 i.e., approximately 10 years after the first phase of work and 4 years after the second phase of work. Hence, many beneficiaries might have forgotten the actual number of days they had worked and the wages they had received. But as almost all the respondents said more or less the same thing about the programmes we can make some general observations. I have deliberately avoided the data available in the panchayat office because of the discrepancy that often exists between this data and what the people say. Out of the 40 respondents 33 have

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1. Government of West Bengal, The Left Front and West Bengal, Calcutta, 1983.

2. B. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. A-145.

been benefitted by the scheme . Most of them have worked between 1 to 6 days and a few more than 6 days. A total of 155 man-days of work was offered through this programme.

In road construction, each worker is allotted the task of digging not more than one measure of earth (10 ft x 10 ft x 1 ft). A worker can normally complete his quota of work in 3 to 4 hours. Sometimes a worker is accompanied by his wife and children to complete the allotted task quickly. Wages are paid both in cash and in kind. A worker receives two kgs wheat and Rs. 4 for this work. The wage rates remain always higher in this work than the existing market rates in other kinds of available works.

All the beneficiaries were of the opinion that the extensive public works programme has helped them. The programme has not only provided employment in the agricultural off-season but the wages and duration of work were far better than that of the existing ones for an individual. They however, did not forget to mention that the programme continued only for a very short time. The duration is so short that it could neither influence the wage rate nor could create sufficient employment opportunities during the agricultural lean season.

We have already mentioned that many agricultural labourers are forced by their poor economic condition to take loan from their employers during the agricultural lean season. Further extension of such employment schemes can free them from indebtedness of the employer and give them a better bargaining power to demand higher wage while working as a casual labourer.

In Batla-Bhita and Alokjhora, 11 and 27 respondents respectively worked under the scheme. The public works programme were carried out in these two villages only in 1984. Most of them have worked between 1 to 3 days and a few more than 3 days. A total of 65 and 89 man-days of work in Batla-Bhita and Alokjhora respectively was given through this programme. The number of man-days of work, the scheme has created for the agricultural labourer is shown in the following table.

Table - 33

Distribution of beneficiaries according to the number of man-days they have worked in the three villages under the Extensive Public Works Schemes

Villages and the year of execution of the schemes	Total no. of HHs	Total no. of Beneficiaries HHs	No. of Man-days of work			
			1-3	3-6	6-9	9-12
Bamangram (1978 & 1984)	40	33 (82.50)	19 (57.58)	7 (21.21)	3 (9.09)	4 (12.12)
Batla-Bhita (1984)	21	11 (52.38)	2 (18.18)	4 (36.36)	2 (18.18)	3 (27.27)
Alokjhora (1984)	45	27 (60.00)	23 (85.18)	4 (14.82)	-	-

Note: Figures in brackets denote percentage.

The above figures show that the extensive public works programmes carried out in all the three villages, differences lie only in the length of the scheme. The agricultural labourers have highly appreciated the programme but the extent to which it has been carried out is too meagre to bring any lasting solution of their economic problems.