THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAINING AND COMMITMENT:

Programmes for the KSS Representatives in Bangladesh

By

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in the

Department of Political Science

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania

April, 1988
STATEMENT

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

(Kshanada Mohan Das)
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationships between training and commitment with reference to the programmes for the KSS representatives in Bangladesh under BRDB. It argues that commitment at the macro and micro levels is essential for the effectiveness of such training. Since there has not been any systematic study of commitment at the macro and micro levels in relation to the training programmes of the KSS representatives, the findings of this study are expected to contribute significantly to the corpus of knowledge concerning training of farmers and other village co-operators in Bangladesh. These findings may also prove useful and beneficial to many third world countries.

Chapter I argues the need for training of village co-operators and shows that the Comilla co-operative model, now replicated by BRDB throughout the country, attached supreme importance to such training. Analysis in Chapters I & II reveals that the training of the KSS representatives in the 1960s had a positive impact on their motivation to adopt improved agricultural practices and to increase production. This was possible because of the commitment of the personnel at the macro and the micro levels to training. Evidence produced in the chapter suggests that the training of the KSS representatives has now become ineffective, lifeless, stereotyped and ritualistic due to the lack of commitment at the macro and the micro levels. Criteria of effective training and commitment are developed to provide a conceptual framework to facilitate subsequent analysis in the thesis. Chapter II, III & IV examine the commitment at the macro level to the training of the KSS representatives. Analysis in Chapter II reveals that the governments were committed to the Comilla model and the training of the KSS representatives in the 1960s. In the 1970s and mid 1980s the governments and BRDB lost their commitment to the training of the KSS representatives. Chapter III shows that the governments and BRDB failed to provide resources for an adequate training and
learning environment in the Upazilas. BRDB authorities are shown in Chapter IV to be not specifically committed to the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. Analysis at the micro level in Chapters V & VI demonstrates that the trainers and the trainees are equally not committed to such training. Chapter VII reviews the evidence of the earlier chapters in relation to the training and learning of the KSS representatives and concludes that no one at either the macro or the micro level was committed to the training of the KSS representatives during the 1970s and mid 1980s.

The thesis argues that effective training of the KSS representatives is essential for the improvement and modernisation of agriculture and co-operatives in Bangladesh. Authorities at the macro level and trainers and trainees at the micro level must be committed to effective training. The study concludes that none of the governments, BRDB, nor the Upazila level trainers and the trainees were committed and that a return to the Comilla model principles of commitment to training is required before training can become effective.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have acquired many debts of gratitude in completing this thesis. During my Post Graduate Studies in Public Administration in the University of Manchester, England, Professor A. S. Livingstone and Dr. David Winder of the Department of Administrative Studies of the University encouraged me to study for Ph.D. Their inspiration and encouragement contributed to my decision to study for Ph. D. in Administration in the University of Tasmania, Australia.

I am most grateful to my Supervisor Dr. R.J.K. Chapman for his inexhaustible patience, sympathy, scholarly and inspiring guidance in completing this thesis. His incisive criticism, constant aid and stimulation have been of inestimable value. His critical supervision deeply influenced my entire learning process. Without his constant support and encouragement it would be difficult for me to continue this research leaving behind my wife and children in Bangladesh. He will continue as a source of inspiration and an ideal for the rest of my life. Words cannot express the gratitude I feel.

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I alone accept full responsibility for any shortcoming in the thesis.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AC  Assistant Commissioner
ACF  Agricultural Co-operative Federation
Accts.  Accounts
AD  Assistant Director
ADC  Additional Deputy Commissioner
ADB  Asian Development Bank
ADAB  Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh
Admn.  Administration/Administrative
ADP  Annual Development Plan
AETI  Agricultural Extension Training Institute
AIO  Agricultural Information Officer
AIDAB  Australian International Development Assistance Bureau
Ag.  Agriculture
ARCS  Assistant Registrar Co-operative Societies
ARDO  Assistant Rural Development Officer formerly DPO
ARTI  Agrarian Research and Training Institute. (Colombo)
BADC  Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation, formerly EPADC
BARD  Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development formerly PARD
BARI  Bangladesh Agricultural Research Institute
BASC  Bangladesh Administrative Staff College
BBS  Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BCS  Bangladesh Civil Service
BCC  Bangladesh Co-operative College
BDO  Block Development Officer (India)
BIDS  Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
BPATC  Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre
BPUS  Bangladesh Palli Unnayan Sangstha
BRAC  Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BRDB  Bangladesh Rural Development Board formerly IRDP
BRRI  Bangladesh Rice Research Institute
BS  Block Supervisor
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<tr>
<td>BSS</td>
<td>Bittahin Samabaya Samity (Resourceless Persons' Co-operative Society)</td>
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<td>BSTD</td>
<td>Bangladesh Society for Training and Development</td>
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<td>BWDB</td>
<td>Bangladesh Water Development Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>CARE</td>
<td>Committee on American Relief Everywhere</td>
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<td>CERDI</td>
<td>Central Extension Resource Development Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMLA</td>
<td>Chief Martial Law Administrator</td>
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<td>CO</td>
<td>Circle Officer</td>
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<td>Co-op.</td>
<td>Co-operative</td>
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<td>Community School Project</td>
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<td>Department of Agricultural Extension</td>
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<td>DANIDA</td>
<td>Danish International Development Agency</td>
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<td>DC</td>
<td>Deputy Commissioner</td>
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<td>DD</td>
<td>Deputy Director</td>
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<td>DG</td>
<td>Director-General</td>
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<td>DPD</td>
<td>Deputy Project Director</td>
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<td>DPO</td>
<td>Deputy Project Officer later ARDO</td>
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<td>DTO</td>
<td>District Training Officer</td>
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<td>DTW</td>
<td>Deep Tubewell</td>
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<td>ECNEC</td>
<td>Executive Committee of the National Economic Council</td>
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<td>EPADC</td>
<td>East Pakistan Agricultural Development Corporation later BADC</td>
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<td>ESCAP</td>
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<td>Extn.</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
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<td>FI</td>
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<td>FIVD</td>
<td>Friends in Village Development</td>
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<td>FTC</td>
<td>Farmers' Training Centre (India)</td>
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FTI  Fisheries Training Institute  
GOB  Government of Bangladesh  
GOI  Government of India  
GTI  Graduate Training Institute  
HQ  Headquarters  
HSC  Higher Secondary Certificate  
HYV  High Yielding Varieties  
ICS  Indian Civil Service  
ILO  International Labour Organisation  
IRDP  Integrated Rural Development Programme later BRDB  
IRRI  International Rice Research Institute  
IRRIG.  Irrigation  
JD  Joint Director  
KSS  Krishak Samabaya Samity (the Farmers' Co-operative Society). The village level primary co-operative in the Comilla Co-operative System, federated at the Upazila level.  
KTCCA  Kotwali Thana Central Co-operative Association  
LLP  Low Lift Pump/Landless Programme  
LG  Local Government  
M  Manager  
MATCOM  Materials and Techniques for Co-operative Management Training (ILO)  
MF  Model Farmer  
ML  Martial Law  
Monit.  Monitoring  
MSS  Mahila Samabaya Samity (the Women's Co-operative Society)  
NA  Not Available  
NCRT  National Committee on Rural Training  
NCSDT  National Council for Skill Development and Training  
NILG  National Institute of Local Government  
NIP  National Institute of Public Administration, Dhaka  
NIPORT  National Institute of Population Research & Training  

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<td>NIRDP</td>
<td>Noakhali Integrated Rural Development Programme</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisations</td>
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<td>OVDP</td>
<td>Own Village Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>Officer in Charge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARD</td>
<td>Pakistan Academy for Rural Development (Peshwar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>Project Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDB</td>
<td>Power Development Board</td>
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<td>PHE</td>
<td>Public Health Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIU</td>
<td>Project Implementation Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPA</td>
<td>Plant Protection Assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Police Station</td>
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<tr>
<td>R&amp;E</td>
<td>Research and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>RD</td>
<td>Rural Development</td>
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<td>RDA</td>
<td>Rural Development Academy, Bogra</td>
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<tr>
<td>RDB</td>
<td>Rural Development Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>RDTI</td>
<td>Rural Development Training Institute, Sylhet</td>
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<tr>
<td>REM</td>
<td>Research, Evaluation and Monitoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMO</td>
<td>Resident Medical Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RWP</td>
<td>Rural Works Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAE</td>
<td>Sub Assistant Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCL</td>
<td>Study Circle Leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEO</td>
<td>Social Education Organiser (India)</td>
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<td>SFYP</td>
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<td>SI</td>
<td>Seeds Inspector</td>
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<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency</td>
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<td>SIRDP</td>
<td>Sirajganj Integrated Rural Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMO</td>
<td>Subject Matter Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>SO</td>
<td>Sectional Officer</td>
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<td>Spl.</td>
<td>Special</td>
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<td>Square feet</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSC</td>
<td>Secondary School Certificate</td>
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<td>STW</td>
<td>Shallow Tubewell</td>
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<td>SWDCAP</td>
<td>Social Welfare and Development Centre for Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
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<td>T&amp;V</td>
<td>Training and Visit System</td>
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<td>TCCA</td>
<td>Thana Central Co-operative Association later UCCA</td>
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<td>TIP</td>
<td>Thana Irrigation Programme</td>
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<td>Training</td>
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<td>TRYSEM</td>
<td>Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (India)</td>
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<td>Union Agriculture Assistant</td>
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<td>U Accts. O</td>
<td>Upazila Accounts Officer</td>
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<td>UAO</td>
<td>Upazila Agriculture Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAVDPO</td>
<td>Upazila Ansar and Village Defence Party Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCCA</td>
<td>Upazila Central Co-operative Association formerly TCCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCO</td>
<td>Upazila Co-operative Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEO</td>
<td>Upazila Education Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UE</td>
<td>Upazila Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFO</td>
<td>Upazila Fisheries Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U Fd.O</td>
<td>Upazila Food Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UHFPO</td>
<td>Upazila Health and Family Planning Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULO</td>
<td>Upazila Livestock Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>Upazila Magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMPCS</td>
<td>Union Multipurpose Co-operative Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIDO</td>
<td>United Nations Industrial Development Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNO</td>
<td>Upazila Nirbahi Officer (Sub-District Executive Officer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>Union Parishad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP&amp;FO</td>
<td>Upazila Planning and Finance Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URO</td>
<td>Upazila Revenue Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URDO</td>
<td>Upazila Rural Development Officer formerly TPO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USO</td>
<td>Upazila Statistical Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSO</td>
<td>Upazila Social Services Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTC</td>
<td>Upazila Training Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTDC</td>
<td>Upazila Training and Development Centre formerly TTDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTO</td>
<td>Upazila Training Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTU</td>
<td>Upazila Training Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWCTTC</td>
<td>Upazila Workshop cum Technical Training Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UZP</td>
<td>Upazila Parishad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-AID</td>
<td>Village Agricultural and Industrial Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAS</td>
<td>Veterinary Assistant Surgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VDP</td>
<td>Village Defence Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEA</td>
<td>Village Extension Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VLW</td>
<td>Village Level Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTC</td>
<td>Village Training Centre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

Academy: Refers to BARD in this thesis.

Aman: The rice crop which matures in November/December. It is transplanted in August/September. Broadcast variety is directly broadcast on to the soil in areas subject to deep flooding.

Aus: The rice crop which matures in August - September. It is grown on higher level land, not subject to extensive flooding.

Ansar: Irregular Volunteer Police Force.

Bigha: Approximately one-third of one acre of land.

Bittahin: Resourceless.

Boro: The Boro rice crop is a winter crop which generally matures in March/April. It is usually grown in low-lying land but requires irrigation because of lack of rain during that season.

Crore: One hundred lacs or ten million.

Gramsarker: Village Government. The village level institution under the Swanirvar movement.

HYVs: High Yielding Varieties, the crop varieties associated with green revolution, which demands the controlled use of fertiliser and irrigation to achieve greatly increased yields.

Kotwali: Usually refers to the Upazila, located in the District Headquarters.

Krishak: Farmer.

Krishi: Agriculture.

Lac/Lakh: One hundred thousand.

Maund: 37.32 kg. (or 82.29 lb).

Mahila: Woman.

Mile: 1.61 km.

Paddy: Unhulled rice.

Parishad: Council.
Samabaya: Co-operative.

Samity: Society.

Seer: 0.93 kg.

Swanirvar: Self-reliant.

Taka: Unit of currency in Bangladesh. It is made up of 100 Paisa.

Thana/Upazila: Thana literally means a 'Police Station', or the area protected by a Police Station. Thanas correspond in size to an American county, averaging 135 square miles. Thanas have been upgraded in 1982-83 and renamed as 'Upazila', which is the lowest administrative unit in Bangladesh.

Union: A Sub-division of an Upazila in which there is a locally elected government. A union usually consists of ten to thirty villages.
Indicates the Upazilas referred to in the thesis.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL DESIGN

The Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) under its
previous name, Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) has
been organising training courses for the representatives of the
Krishak Samabaya Samity (KSS) (the Farmers' Co-operative Society)
in the Upazila Training and Development Centres (UTDCs) since 1972.
In 1982 a few months before BRDB acquired its present name, the
Director (Training), found that such training had become
ineffective and lifeless. The participants in an ILO organised
seminar in 1979 had also come to similar conclusions and concluded
that the lack of commitment of the concerned personnel to such
training was responsible for its ineffectiveness.

Our concern in this thesis is to explain the causes of the
alleged ineffectiveness of these training courses. Research into
this question concentrated on an extensive assessment of commitment
of the authorities at the macro level and the trainers and the
trainees at the micro level to these training activities. This
thesis is based on the perceived link between commitment and
effective training as expressed in the assumption that effective
training of the KSS representatives is conditional upon the
commitment of the authorities at the macro level and the trainers
and the trainees at the micro level.

This introductory chapter provides a brief outline of the
history of the co-operative movement in the Indo-Bangladesh Sub-
continent to identify the circumstances in which the need for
training of the village co-operators steadily emerged as a vital
factor for the success of the co-operatives since British Colonial
times. Then follows a very short discussion on the evolution of the
Comilla co-operative model and on the importance placed on training
of the KSS representatives with an assessment of the impact of
training of the KSS representatives in Comilla in the 1960s. A
conceptual framework defining the scope of effective training for the purpose of this study and determining the indicators of commitment, is offered. This framework is the basis of analysis in this thesis. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on the scope, methodology and utility of the study along with a brief introduction to Bangladesh, some aspects of her agriculture and the various levels of her administration.

1. RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN BANGLADESH

Co-operatives have been accepted as a vehicle for rural development in Bangladesh since the time of British rule. During the period of colonial rule the reports of three Famine Commissions (1880, 1898 and 1901) called the attention of the rulers to the need for co-ordinated attention to crop yields in order to face famine situations. The Deccan Riots of 1875 and the peasants' fight against money lenders brought the rural problem to the forefront. As a solution to the problem the British government decided to extend credit facilities to the farmers at a low rate of interest. Consequently the Land Improvement Loan Act of 1885 and the Agriculturist Loan Act of 1884 were passed. In 1904 the Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed and from then onward officials, led by Malcolm Darling and a few others, began to take an interest in and learn about co-operatives for solving the problems of village communities. From the beginning of 1920, comparatively much more direct and concentrated efforts were made in the field of rural development.¹

The need for immediately combating the deteriorating rural problem was first seriously appreciated by the government of Madras. They sent Sir Frederick Nicholson to Germany to study Agricultural Banking and find a solution in the local context. The Nicholson Reports of 1885 and 1897 recommended introduction of village banks of the Raiffeisen type. These were reviewed by the government in 1899 and ultimately the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904 was enacted. This Act was subsequently replaced by the
Co-operative Credit Act of 1912. Village co-operatives with unlimited liability began to be formed throughout the country. These village co-operatives undertook credit business. The Raiffeisen System expected that:

Firstly the bank must provide services to everyone in the village and bring the whole of the village life within its ambit; secondly there must be constant interaction with the members and a genuine adherence to essential co-operative principles; and lastly, concentration on a few selected areas rather than wide multiplicity and diffusion.... Village banks' credit operations and members' thrift deposit programmes were to be supervised and closely linked.

In actual practice no importance was given to the above noted principles. Many borrowing members of the co-operatives failed to repay their loans mainly because the loans distribution was done without attaching due importance to the thrift deposit of the members. Non-observance of the Raiffeisen's principles and default in loan repayment crippled the backbone of the co-operatives in the sub-continent and created a feeling of distrust and disloyalty among the people and in the depositor towards the co-operative movement.

To review the working of the movement which was rapidly expanding on weak foundations and suggest measures for improvement, several bodies were constituted. The most important among them were the Imperial Committee on Co-operation in India (1914-15) known as the MacLagan Committee, the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1926-27), the Agricultural Finance Sub-committee (1944) known as the Gadgil Committee and the Co-operative Planning Committee known as the Saraiya Committee. When co-operatives became Provincial subject in 1919, an effort was made through passing of the Bengal Co-operative Societies Act, 1940 to adapt the movement to changed situations, but this had very little to do with management and financial position of the co-operatives. Until then, the Department of Co-operatives in Bengal remained governed by the Co-operative Societies Acts of 1904 and 1912, and the guidelines prepared by the Imperial Committee on Co-operation in India, 1914-15.
The British government thus tried co-operatives as a means of combating rural problems from 1904 till the independence of India in 1947. The results of these efforts were not satisfactory. Referring to the findings of the Linlithgow Commission Report (1927), Tepper stated that the said report stressed the need for sound education in the principles of co-operation and for a high standard of efficiency in business management.\(^5\)

The Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1930) listed as major defects the illiteracy of the members and their ignorance of co-operative principles, heterogeneous membership, and the delay in obtaining loans by the members of the Primary Society. Unlike most other provinces, Bengal did not conduct an enquiry into the working of co-operatives after the department was transferred by the central government in 1919. The Co-operative Department itself, however, presented a long list of perceived defects in the introduction to a bill drafted in 1936. Among other defects the draft bill noted that the organisations were defective with respect to the selection of members signing applications and their subsequent enlistment.

Apart from the question of giving them a sort of preliminary training in co-operative principles and practices, an accurate estimate of their assets, liabilities and repaying capacity was not taken into consideration.\(^6\) The department hoped that training of both members and staff would be forthcoming. The Floud Commission (1940) also recommended the need for organising education and training in co-operative principles and practices for the co-operative members and staff.\(^7\) Dubhashi, in his paper, held that Sir Edward Maclagan's Report (1914-15) considered lack of teaching both before and after registration of co-operatives as the most serious defect of the co-operative movement in the sub-continent.\(^8\) Thus lack of emphasis on training and education of the co-operative members was identified as one of the most important reasons for the unsatisfactory performance of co-operatives during the British period. The British government, except for establishing the Bengal
Co-operative Training Institute at Dum Dum in 1936 for training of co-operative officers, took no serious steps to arrange training of the co-operators. This continued till the end of colonial rule in the sub-continent in 1947.

Bengal was partitioned along with India in 1947. Partition of Bengal reduced the co-operative movement in East Bengal, now called Bangladesh, to a state of virtual collapse. Large scale migration of the population took place. 24,675 of the 26,664 societies that existed in East Bengal on the day of partition were liquidated by 1957. The Apex Co-operative Bank of the undivided Bengal fell within Indian territory. The Central Co-operative Banks in East Bengal became bankrupt. The government of the former East Pakistan, however, realised the need to strengthen the co-operative movement in the province. In March 1948 the Provincial Co-operative Bank was organised. It was also decided to organise multipurpose co-operative societies at Union level with limited liability in place of single purpose Credit Co-operative Societies at village level with unlimited liability.

The Pakistan Agricultural Enquiry Committee Report (1951-52) recommended the formation of the Union Multipurpose Co-operative Societies under government guidance. Ignoring the past experiences, the government hastily organised 3949 Union Multipurpose Co-operative Societies (UMPCS) by 1953-54. In 1956, the ILO-Asian Field Mission (Balleudux and Harper Report) offered a critical assessment of co-operatives during the period. Some of their findings were revealing:

- organisation of Union Multipurpose Co-operative Societies (UMPCS) had been hasty. No probation period was observed;
- available facilities for co-operative education and training were obsolete, perfunctory and ineffective and had no relation to the real need of the co-operatives;
- knowledge of the practice of co-operation and belief in its value were lacking not only among members of co-operatives, but also among officers and employees of co-operatives entrusted with the task of building co-operatives in the country.
Neglect of training of the members was thus identified in the report as one of the major reasons for the unsatisfactory performance of co-operative societies in the region.

BRDB also found the following shortcomings in the co-operative movement since its inception during the British period:

(i) Absence of member education programmes, which did not generate genuine leadership in and loyalty to the co-operatives.

(ii) Too much emphasis on credit without thrift deposits, education or supervision added to it; neglect of other important aspects of economic activities, such as marketing, supply and storage facilities and absence of any programme for the non-agriculturists, e.g. weavers and fishermen etc.

(iii) Little attention on direct production oriented activities.

(iv) Rapid expansion of the movement without experimentation in selected areas.

(v) Lack of adequate training facilities for office bearers and employees of co-operatives and also for departmental officers.

(vi) Absence of clear-cut government policy on co-operation and adequate help and assistance from government and nation building bodies.

(vii) Lack of trained leadership from among the people to spear-head the movement.

There were, no doubt, many external factors in the failure of the co-operative movement; poverty and illiteracy of the masses, uneconomic land-holding of the farmers, law of inheritance, joint family system, and opposition from private traders and money lenders are important among them. This short account of the growth of co-operative movements geared to the socio-economic development of the rural people of the empire indicates that inadequate attention was given to training and education of members which, in its turn, seemed responsible for the unsatisfactory performance of co-operative movements during this period.

The need for training of co-operators in Bangladesh was also stressed by K.M. Rahman, "Co-operative education and training at the grassroot level are to be intensified. Member education is to be extended as far as possible to the village level". Safder
quoted a Swedish co-operative leader on the need for training in the co-operative movement:

> If we had occasion to start our movement afresh, and if we were given the choice between two possibilities - that of starting without capital but with enlightened membership and staff, or, on the contrary, that of starting with a large amount of capital and illinformed members - our experience would incline us to choose the first course".14

IRDP Project proforma (1970-79) prepared for the Planning Commission of Pakistan maintained that "Co-operative mechanism can be effectively used to motivate and mobilise rural people, provided due emphasis is given to training of personnel".15 Training of the KSS representatives was felt necessary as they ought to gain the ability to decode new information - know why, where, when and how.

The need for the training of the co-operative members was, therefore, considered an important pre-condition for the recovery and success of the co-operative movement in the region. Thus, the Bangladesh Co-operative College was established in 1960 primarily to train the co-operative officers in the country. BARD Comilla however strongly felt the need for training village co-operators and developed the Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) model for organising training of village representatives and also for the effective implementation of other rural development programmes at the Thana level in the country.

2. EVOLUTION OF THE COMILLA CO-OPERATIVE MODEL:

As the Comilla co-operative model will be elaborated on in the next chapters, here we will mention it only in the institutional context. Briefly, the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla undertook research and experimentation at Comilla Kotwali Thana to evolve a suitable co-operative model for Bangladesh in the early 1960s. It was also intended to overcome the past deficiencies in co-operatives. BARD developed a two tier co-operative model now replicated throughout the country by BRDB, Thana Training and Development Centres (TTDC), and Rural Works
programmes (RWP) on the basis of research and experimentation in Comilla.

All except the co-operative model were replicated throughout the country in the 1960s by the then government of Pakistan. The co-operative model was left to expand gradually and carefully. The Thana Training and Development Centres (TTDCs) were established in each Thana (now Upazila) of the country to function as a training centre for the villagers and also to revitalize the rural administration in the country.

The Comilla co-operative model was developed by BARD with the knowledge that farmland in Bangladesh is small and fragmented, resulting in problems in introducing improved or new technology for modernisation of agriculture. Individual farmers find it difficult to buy a tractor, low lift pumps or a tubewell. Moreover, very few have large enough farms to use such equipment economically. Organisation of farmers into small working groups at the village level was, therefore, thought to be pre-requisite for effective action by many government agencies. It is beyond the capacity of any development agency to reach each farmer individually and effectively with essential programmes such as extension and credit services. Once the farmers get organised into appropriate groups, government agencies can work through the group. The group and its elected representatives can gradually take over the last link in the chain of contact between the government agencies and the people. Such grouping was felt essential for measuring the effectiveness of the government agencies.

A. Some aspects of Comilla Co-operative Model:

Primary village co-operatives are organised preferably around specific innovations requiring group action. Such a village based primary society of farmers for the modernisation of agriculture is called Krishak Samabaya Samity (Farmers' Co-operative Society).
A Krishak Samabaya Samity (KSS) elects representatives namely, a manager and a model farmer who are to participate in training courses in TTDC (now called, UTDC) once in every week. They learn and then demonstrate appropriate cultivation techniques, procure and distribute inputs, manage credit and keep accounts and records of the Society. They are the grass-root level extension agents.

KSS are grouped at the Thana (now called Upazila) level in a supporting Thana Co-operative Federation which is called Thana Central Co-operative Association (TCCA). A TCCA has to back up the KSS with essential inputs - credits, supplies and services. A TCCA can employ supervisory and extension personnel to continuously help the KSS in the Thana, procure resources from various agencies, and distribute them among the village societies. Profit out of such trading adds to the financial resources of TCCA. Some of the objectives of the Comilla co-operative model are as follows:

- to create institutional infrastructure for effective utilisation of resources available for development.... Great emphasis should be placed on the training of selected representatives of the societies on a weekly basis in the Thana Training Centres....
- to select agricultural innovations collectively and to promote adoption of innovation by individual members through co-operatives at the village level and supporting co-operative federations at Thana level....
- to develop local leadership through participation in training programmes organised by TCCA and by organising group activities in the villages....

The co-operative programme at the initial stage did not contemplate changing directly the lot of landless labourers or of families with extremely small plots of land. These groups were expected to benefit indirectly from the increased demand for agricultural labour and increased welfare around them.17

It is evident from the foregoing discussion, therefore, that training of the KSS representatives was accepted as a crucial element in the Comilla co-operative system. We shall now look into
the place of training in the Comilla co-operative model, and its impact on Comilla.

(a) Comilla co-operative model and the training of KSS representatives:

A. Rahim mentions that the founding Director of BARD, A.R. Khan, while replying to a question about the Comilla Co-operative model said that it meant, "training, training and training". In a seminar on co-operative education and training in 1966, A.H. Khan pointed out that the real cause of the miserable plight of co-operatives was the lack of sincere, honest and skilled management and leadership. Skilled and efficient personnel and leadership, he said, could not grow spontaneously. Training and education imparted through proper methods and techniques can bring forth the qualities needed. Knowledge, techniques and skill need to be disseminated in order to achieve an acceleration in the rate of production in agriculture, and in running industries and business. Such knowledge and skill can only be provided by the farmers' co-operatives under a self-help and mutual help programme guided and assisted by a strong Thana Central Association.

A.H. Khan further added that to keep the collapsing patient internally warm instead of putting any external blanket over him, co-operatives of the people are the real panacea. The co-operatives are absolutely vital for any sustained effort towards growth. Safdar observed, "Co-operative movement is essentially an educational movement... success in co-operative can be obtained only through a variety of educational activities". The pivotal role of training of KSS representatives was thus recognised by A.H. Khan who again pointed out "The nerve centre of our movement was the weekly village meeting and the weekly TTDC training class. The former created group-cohesion and the latter gave constant impetus".

Different annual reports on the Comilla co-operative experiment in the 1960s published by BARD, Comilla also illustrated
the importance of training of KSS representatives in the Comilla co-operative system. The third annual report of Comilla Kotwali Thana Central Association (KTCCA) (1963) held that,

Having recognised from the inception of the Comilla project the supreme importance of training, we pondered constantly over the problem of widening its scope and effect. Modernisation demands new institutions and new skills in the villages, for they are lagging sadly behind the times. Usurious money lenders, exorbitant middlemen, or fear of government are as much fossils of the past as the wooden plough or fatalism or illiteracy. We must teach new scientific and social skills to the rural people and do it speedily to save the village from disintegration and ruin".

The fourth annual report of Comilla KTCCA (1964) observed:

Since the beginning of the pilot project the organisers [now called managers of KSS] were in need of training of a general nature concerning the organisation and management of co-operatives; whereas specialised type of technical training in improved farming methods, plant protection, animal husbandry etc. were particularly meant for the model farmers. On the basis of this conception, organisers and model farmers were trained in separate classes".

The Comilla co-operative model thus attached supreme importance to the weekly training of the KSS representatives in TTDC.

(b) Attendance of trainees at Comilla in the 1960s:

Because of careful planning, design and implementation of the training programmes in Comilla, the trainee (KSS representatives) acquired new skills and information out of the training activities at the TTDC. They found answers to their problems from the training programme. Follow-up and feedback activities were regular and the training was made relevant by ensuring provision of inputs by KTCCA for immediate application of the acquired knowledge and skill after the training.

Attendance of the KSS representatives at the training sessions in Comilla can be ascertained from various annual reports of the KTCCA and BARD. Table-1 in the appendix has been prepared on the basis of annual reports of the KTCCA and BARD to show the average annual rate of attendance of the KSS representatives in the
training sessions in Comilla which generally varied from 70% to 90% during the period from 1961-1970.

Table-1 in the appendix demonstrates that the trainee KSS representatives took the weekly TTDC training as a way of life. The annual average attendance in training session was up to 93%, though in 1965-66 it went down to 50% because of the indirect consequence of the Indo-Pak war. In the same year training of model farmers was reintroduced after a temporary suspension. Unless the trainees were committed to the training activities their rate of attendance would not have reached such a high percentage in Comilla during the 1960s.

Thana officers in Comilla were the trainers. They were assisted by foreign experts and the BARD faculty. Available literature of the period indicates that a scheduled class was never suspended for non-attendance of the trainers. Irregularity and negligence on the part of the trainer were out of the question. Each week the training activities were evaluated by the Thana Training Committee and remedial steps were taken. Since all the Thana level officers were to work under the supervision of BARD, there was no jealousy or departmentalism. This resulted in excellent co-operation and co-ordination of activities at the Thana level. Because the officers functioned as a team for the common cause under the guidance of BARD, Comilla, they were sincerely involved in every process of training to make it useful and interesting to the trainees. The trainees and the trainers thus participated directly and fruitfully in the training activities in Comilla.

(c) Impact of Training of the KSS representatives in Comilla i.
the 1960s:

Investigation into the after-effects of training of the KS: representatives by the Bangladesh Rural Development Board i: outside the scope of the present study. However, it is interesting to see the impact of such training in Comilla during the 1960s. Th
impact of the training during the period was judged on the basis of
the rate of adoption of improved practices, comparative levels of
achievement by KSS members and non-KSS members, the rate of
increase in production in Comilla, and growth in the rate of use of
the modern agricultural inputs by the KSS members. Some
observations about the impact of such training are made in various
annual reports of BARD and the Comilla KTCCA. These have been
tabulated in Table-2 in the appendix. This table shows the positive
impact of such training in Comilla in the 1960s and indicates that
the training contributed to the increase in the number of adopters
in Comilla.

In 1961-62 there were 40 tractor drivers in Comilla when
there were none in the previous year. In 1963 around 1500 co-
operative members adopted improved methods of cultivation and,
because of their new motivation and skill through training, their
crop yield was also raised by 50%. Because of the positive impact
of training of the KSS representatives the government withdrew all
the village level workers (VLWs) from Comilla. All technical and
general posts in the KTCCA were filled from the members of the
village co-operatives after proper training. In 1966-67 new crops,
such as Japanese water melon, could be introduced in Comilla mainly
because of the diffusion of new knowledge and skill for such
cultivation among the co-operators through training. In 1968-69
training continued to contribute to the introduction of new crops
and the crop production was increased by 100% in Comilla. In 1969-
70 the adoption of new agricultural inputs like insecticides was
also assisted by training methods. The motivation of the farmers
was generated through training and the rate of adoption of improved
practices in Comilla was much higher than elsewhere. The positive
impact of training in Comilla is clear from this table. Moreover
the findings of some specific studies below will also illustrate
the positive impact/achievement of training of the KSS
representatives in Comilla in the 1960s.
Zaker Hussain pointed out that the number of adopters of modern farm practices in Comilla increased steadily during the period from 1960-65. Training was one of the factors for such a steady rise in the number of the adopters in Comilla.

**TABLE 1-1**

**Number of adopters of modern farm practices in Comilla Kotwali Thana from 1960-1965.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of crops</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boro paddy</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>1633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aus paddy</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>1636</td>
<td>2863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amon Paddy</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1454</td>
<td>1586</td>
<td>2541</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obaidullah Khan showed the rate of adoption of improved agricultural practices in Comilla by the KSS members compared to the same with non-co-operative members in the following way:

**TABLE 1-2**

**Comparison of KSS members' and non-members' cultivation practices in Comilla Kotwali Thana.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of respondents using HYV</th>
<th>% of deviation from recommended fertiliser use (in seers)</th>
<th>% of respondents using insecticide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>Non-member</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>+103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>+15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Improved knowledge, skill and motivation of the co-operative members because of their effective training is largely responsible for their higher rate of adoption of the improved practices. Similarly KTCCA in their publication in 1970 showed the rate of growth in use of modern agricultural inputs in Comilla thus:

**TABLE 1-3**

Growth in the rate of utilisation of the modern agricultural inputs in Comilla Kotwali Thana by the KSS members. 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items of modern agricultural inputs utilised in Comilla Kotwali Thana</th>
<th>Quantity in 1965-66</th>
<th>Quantity in 1969-70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chemical fertilisers</td>
<td>27,998 mds</td>
<td>103,664 mds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Insecticides</td>
<td>21,926 lbs</td>
<td>159,164 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Deep tubewell</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Lift pump</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Irrigated area</td>
<td>1,305 acres</td>
<td>11,231 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cultivation by tractor</td>
<td>1,583 acres</td>
<td>5,816 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Training the KSS representatives was considered an important factor for such a steady increase in the rate of adoption of improved agricultural practices in Comilla. The growth in the rate of adoption of improved practices and inputs favourably influenced the production climate in Comilla. Arthur F. Raper et al, quoting M. Safiullah, showed the increase in the rate of crop yield in 1967-68 in contrast to 1961-62 in Comilla thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>1961-62 (per acre)</th>
<th>1966-67 (per acre)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aus paddy</td>
<td>28.34</td>
<td>34.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aman paddy</td>
<td>34.20</td>
<td>38.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boro paddy</td>
<td>25.35</td>
<td>47.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table indicates that the rate of yield of crops in Comilla had improved in 1966-67 after the spread of the Comilla Co-operative model compared to 1961-62, when the co-operative model was not expanded widely in the Thana. Training of the KSS representatives was an important factor in the introduction of new information and skill and also in motivating the farmers to adopt the improved methods of cultivation. The positive contribution of such training for the increase in production rate cannot in the circumstances be ignored.

Similarly Obaidullah Khan also showed the rate of increase in yield by co-operative farmers in Comilla,

Table 1-5

Increase in productivity of co-operative farmers in Comilla Kotwali Thana 1963-64 to 1969-70.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of farm</th>
<th>Rice yield lbs/ acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1963-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 2 acres (n54)</td>
<td>2345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 - 3.5 acres (n39)</td>
<td>1819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 3.5 acres (n 29)</td>
<td>1424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table also shows that rate of crop yield was steadily increasing in the farms of the co-operative members because of new knowledge and skills supported by the provision of modern inputs to the co-operative farmers in Comilla.

Table 1-6 below, will again show that the per acre average yield of rice on the farms of co-operative members is much higher than the Comilla Thana average. This will again substantiate the findings of Tables 1-5 that the co-operative members are generally the progressive farmers. The higher rate of yield of crops was made possible in the 1960s mainly because of their adoption and application of modern agricultural practices. Training apparently contributed to motivation of the co-operative members to adopt and apply the improved methods of agriculture.

TABLE 1-6

Per acre average yield of rice on the farms of co-operative members as against the Comilla Thana average.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Average yield on the members farms (in maunds)</th>
<th>Average yield of the Thana (in maunds)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Boro</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aus</td>
<td>20.60</td>
<td>14.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aman</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>24.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Boro</td>
<td>24.75</td>
<td>20.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aus</td>
<td>30.09</td>
<td>22.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aman</td>
<td>26.14</td>
<td>21.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence discussed above shows that training of the KSS representatives in Comilla in the 1960s had a positive impact in so far as adoption of modern agriculture practices by the co-operative members and use of improved practices, resulted in an increase in yield rate of crops. Choldin with reference to Comilla observed,
Agricultural technology has been changed [in Comilla] through mechanisation, including use of tractor and new irrigation technology and the introduction and diffusion of new seed varieties and fertilisers and pesticides.

Training was the means for utilisation of the improved agricultural technology and methods by the co-operative farmers in Comilla. For the immediate use of training the KTCCA, Comilla made available the agricultural inputs to the KSS representatives. Thus training of the KSS representatives was effective in Comilla and therefore contributed positively to the socio-economic improvement of its members in the 1960s.

B. Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) and training of the KSS representatives: the need for research.

Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) formerly known as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) replicated the Comilla co-operative model throughout the country. As a component of the model, it organised courses for the representatives of KSS in the Upazila Training and Development Centres (UTDC)

From an examination of its annual budget, it is rather difficult to find the exact amount BRDB spends annually for the training of KSS representatives in the country. BRDB usually sanctions annual grants to the Upazila Central Co-operative Association (UCCA) for organising such training courses. The UCCAs may also be required to supplement, out of their own income, the BRDB grant for training for such purposes as the running of courses on a regular basis for the village co-operative representatives. Consolidated figures of expenditure on training of KSS representatives by all the 448 UCCAs (up to June 1985) in the country were not available. To form an idea about the approximate amount of money utilised for such training in the country, budgets of Balaganj and Gabtali UCCAs were examined to note the amount allocated in each year (from 1980-81 to 1984-85) for the training of KSS representatives. Table 1-7 has been prepared on the basis of
allocation of funds for the training of KSS representatives of these Upazilas.

**TABLE 1-7**

Budget provision for the training of the village co-operative representatives in Balaganj and Gabtali Upazilas (1980-81 to 1984-85)\(^3^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Funds provided in the budgets of Balaganj UCCA (in Taka)</th>
<th>Funds provided in the budgets of Gabtali UCCA (in Taka)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>124,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>144,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>31,650</td>
<td>183,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>78,860</td>
<td>178,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>55,015</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average fund provided in a year (average of 3 years)</td>
<td>TK 55,175</td>
<td>TK 161,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Annual average training fund for each UCCA = TK 108,539.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Annual Average training fund for 448 UCCAs = TK 4,86,25696.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Till June 1985, 448 Upazilas of the country were taken under the BRDB programme. Expenditure on the training of KSS representative in 448 Upazilas, prepared on the basis of the figures of two Upazilas thus come to over TK 48.6 million per year. By now the BRDB programme has covered almost all the remaining Upazilas of the country. With the increase in number of KSS because of formation of new societies and coverage of other Upazilas by BRDB, the approximate amount for the training of KSS representatives is likely to stand presently at around TK 50 million a year. Upazila Training Centres have been functioning, and BRDB is organising training courses for the KSS representatives in these training centres as required under Comilla co-operative principles. This is a substantial annual investment for such
training in a poor nation like Bangladesh. Yet the Director (Training) BRDB in 1982 observed,

The TTDC [now UTDC] is a very important forum for educating and training the rural people for rural development. But unfortunately this forum is not properly used. TTDC training generally has become ritualistic, stereotyped and lifeless. Its planning is defective, organisation careless, involvement of Thana officers unsatisfactory and the participation of intended trainees discouraging. The result is, therefore, disquieting.

This statement of the Director (Training) BRDB is an informed opinion of the existing situation of KSS representatives' training in the UTDCs.

Three years after this observation, we undertook field research in Bangladesh and toured through 20 Upazilas in different parts of the country, where UTDC training networks were functioning. We found Upazila Training Units (UTU) have been constructed by BRDB in some Upazilas in addition to the existing Upazila Training Halls, to provide additional physical facilities for the training activities of KSS representatives. It was noticed that the same programme is repeated year after year. BRDB officers at the Upazilas and also the other Upazila level officers seemed to have given training the lowest priority in their job. The courses were not held regularly. There were instances when the trainees had to go back without receiving any training due to the absence of the scheduled instructor. Training Halls lacked even the minimum training equipment and facilities. Thus participation of the trainees (KSS representatives) was also unsatisfactory. The observation of the Director (Training) BRDB appeared to remain an accurate description of the training situation of KSS representatives now run by BRDB/UCCA in the UTDCs in Bangladesh.

During the field work we also visited Comilla Kotwali Upazila to see the training there. It was noted that the present situation of KSS representatives' training in Comilla is not different from the other Upazilas visited. Study of the annual reports of BARD and Comilla KTCCA for the period from 1971-72 to 1982-83 revealed that
the rate of attendance of the KSS representatives deteriorated after the liberation of Bangladesh. The annual reports for 1972-73 to 1975-76 did not indicate the percentage of attendance of KSS representatives in the training sessions but it was 69% in 1971-72. By June 1979 the average rate of attendance of the trainees had fallen to 19% though in March 1979 it was only 9%. Between 1979-80 and 1982-83 the attendance of the trainees in Comilla varied from as low as about 1% (model farmers) in 1981-82 to as high as 20.85% (managers) in 1979-80. Various annual reports of BARD and Comilla KTCCA for the periods from 1971 to 1984 indicated that stereotyped training programmes, irregular holding of classes by the trainers and absence of provision of inputs with which the KSS representatives can apply their training, were responsible for their poor rate of attendance in the training sessions.

At Comilla Kotwali Upazila the original faculty members of BARD and the Upazila level officers would jointly work as trainers. The 23rd annual report of BARD however stated that the Upazila level officers could take 67.27% of the classes allotted to them, whereas the faculty members of BARD could take only 54% of the classes of the KSS representatives assigned to them. This not only indicates the unsatisfactory state of commitment of Upazila level officers to such training but also illustrates the non-commitment of the present members of BARD faculty. BARD faculty is now far away from its previous involvement in the training activities in Comilla Kotwali Upazila. The 24th annual report of BARD (1982-83) further indicated,

There were irregularities in taking classes by the trainers at the TTDC... of a total of 200 classes assigned to the trainers in 1982-83, only 95 classes were actually taken by the trainers. Irregularities were observed both amongst the Thana level officials and the faculty members of BARD.

This demonstrates the most unsatisfactory state of participation and commitment of both the trainers and the trainees in the training activities of the KSS representatives in Comilla, the pioneer and contributor of the present training model for the country.
In an ILO organised Regional Symposium on setting effective co-operative training policies and standards in Asian countries, held in Chiangmai, Thailand, in December 1979, the participants supported the above observations on the existing unsatisfactory situation of training of KSS representatives by BRDB/UCCA in Bangladesh.

From our experience we have, however, noticed that we have failed to achieve desired results from the member education programme due to lack of commitment [italics mine] on the part of government agencies responsible for imparting training. As a result, the programme has lost its initial thrust and vigour. Another major problem hindering the growth of co-operatives in the country is the multiplicity of organisations at the primary level, which, creates confusion rather than serving the community.

They further found the existing training of KSS representatives in Bangladesh ineffective and identified lack of commitment of the concerned agencies to the training of the KSS representative as the reason. This study therefore assesses the assumption that lack of commitment at various levels - the government, BRDB, the trainers and the trainees is responsible for the ineffectiveness of the existing training activities of the KSS representatives by BRDB in the UTDCs.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAME-WORK AND THESIS ORGANISATION:

The apparently unsatisfactory performance of the co-operatives in the Indo-Bangladesh sub-continent prior to the independence of the sub-continent was blamed on the absence of provision for training as noted above. The Comilla co-operative model developed by BARD in the early 1960s listed training as the central component and it was found effective in Comilla. BRDB has applied the Comilla co-operative model, and is now organising courses for the KSS representatives in the Upazila Training Centres in Bangladesh. Comments noted above by the Director (Training), BRDB and the participants in the ILO organised symposium show that the extension of Comilla model to other Thanas has not been as effective as expected. This thesis therefore, studies the
effectiveness of the present training activities of the KSS representatives in relation to commitment to it at various levels to ascertain whether the above comments are valid and, if so to identify the causes of the alleged ineffectiveness of such training in the UTDCs.

Empirical research of this kind requires an indication of the criteria by which assessment is to be made. The two key elements on which the research focuses are those mentioned in the previous section as critical for successful co-operative and rural development - effective training and commitment.

A. Effective training:

Effectiveness is the intended outcome of any training activity. It may be worthwhile to examine some of the definitions of the concept of 'training', before going on to examine the criteria of training effectiveness. Different ideas on the notion of training will help us to understand what training means to various authors and what they expect out of training activities.

A survey of various definitions of the concept of training indicates that some authors in their specific works treated training as an effort to help the trainees to improve their performance in the real job situation after the training is over. Other authors in their specific works tend to treat training as a forum for mutual learning by the trainers and the trainees. The latter writers place more emphasis on the effective administration of the various processes of training. There is however little scope for any conflict between these two sets of ideas about training. Effective administration of the training processes is the pre-condition for the desired after training impact. Achievement of ultimate training objectives obviously depends on the effective administration of the training processes. Hence the two sets of ideas mentioned above are interlinked. Effectiveness of training in terms of administration of the training processes and effectiveness
in terms of achievement of training objectives after the training are, therefore, the two aspects of a training activity. However, it may be interesting to survey some of the ideas on training and its effectiveness.

In-Joung Whang for example, treats training as a means to improve the capabilities of the individuals to perform better in their roles and also to change their behaviour to suit changing needs. Makhija in the same way mentions that training "aims at enlarging an individual's frontiers of knowledge and at improving his skills - skill in doing his job well or better and skill in better human relations". Zarraga and Green link training more directly with the after-training impact. According to them, rural vocational training is seen as an overall skill formation process aimed at assisting rural workers to increase effectiveness in earning a living, reducing drudgery of work, managing family life and participating in community development. Trainees must actually perform those activities, which are relevant to them within specific rural life conditions and locally available resources.

Otto and Glaser however offers a more comprehensive definition of training. According to them training

refers to the teaching/learning activities, carried on for primary purpose of helping members of an organisation to acquire and apply the knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes needed by that organisation to carry out its mission.

This definition of training covers both the training processes by treating training as teaching/learning activities and at the same time emphasises the application of training to help the organisation carry out its mission. The ideas of the above writers tend to relate training mostly to the after-training performance of trainees. Training effectiveness can accordingly be measured on the basis of actual performance of the trainees after the training is over.

The United Nations (ESCAP/FAO/UNIDO) in their joint publication viewed training effectiveness in the same light: "By
the term effective is meant training that will help the trainees to perform better after training". The dictionary meaning of being effective has reference as well to producing the intended or expected result. Accordingly effectiveness is equated with the achievement of objectives.

In-Joung Whang further held that rural development training might encompass social education, mobilisation of political and societal support and cultural change in the rural communities. This view of Whang treats the achievement of socio-political and cultural change as one of the objectives of a rural development training activity. It can also be argued that the objectives of rural development training are to improve the qualitative and quantitative aspects of rural production activities and thus also to improve the economic conditions of the rural masses. The objectives of rural development training therefore can broadly be expected to change or improve the socio-economic and political condition of the rural masses. As to the indicator of training effectiveness, Ivor K. Davies et al mentioned that the successful achievement of the training objectives and the enhancement of motivation and morale of the trainees are the most important indicators of the effectiveness of training.

The concepts of training and training effectiveness reviewed above tend to identify training effectiveness with the improved performance of the trainees in their role in the real job situation. According to these views the effectiveness of training of the rural people needs to be measured in terms of the contribution of the training to their socio-economic well-being, which can be considered the common goal of all training of the villagers. In other words, training effectiveness may be assessed by examining the relationship between the actual utilisation of training by the trainee villagers and the improvement in their socio-economic condition. This type of measurement of training effectiveness can only be undertaken after the completion of the
training programme and with relation to the after-training performance of the trainees in the actual working situation.

The other set of ideas about training and training effectiveness is somewhat different. This group of writers in their specific works deals with the second aspect of training and training effectiveness by putting more emphasis on the effective administration of the training processes. The United Nations Handbook for example, treats training as a reciprocal process of teaching and learning, thus emphasising the effectiveness of the processes of training. Norman Uphoff et al of Cornell University further clarify this view by defining training, as a broad process of skill, knowledge and attitude development, extending beyond the time and place of formal or even informal institution, and many efforts should be co-ordinated to make this a continuous and effective process.

This definition of training tends to identify training with the proper administration of the training processes. Norman Uphoff et al in their above definition seemed to have treated training as a mutual process of learning as they also emphasised the need for coordination of many efforts to make training effective and continuous. Milton J. Esman in the same way enumerated the principles of rural development training thus:

(i) To bring practical rural development experience and problems directly into the classroom.... The real-life dimension of rural development can be brought into classroom by case studies, by extended field visits ... and by bringing persons with current rural development experience into classroom.

(ii) Technical rigor must be emphasised specially for those in technical and specialised roles....

(iii) Training for rural development cannot be a one time experience. Some provision for continuity and reinforcement must be built into the system.... The kinds of training required will place a heavy burden on instructors.... The development of the man-power and institutional infrastructure for participative rural development will require substantially increased and sustained financial commitments by governments.
He thus emphasised the methods, contents, continuity and institutional aspects of rural development training. In other words Esman emphasised the administration of the training processes which involves planning, preparation, presentation and evaluation of the training activities. This group of writers thus present a concept of training with the emphasis on the effective administration of various training processes. Burack and Smith similarly interpreted training effectiveness:

Effective training must be closely tied to job responsibilities and should include the skillful analysis of human resources needs and proper method for bringing about controlled behavioural change.... An effective training programme consists of six major steps: Assess training needs (need analysis); define behavioural objectives (what the learner should be able to do as a result of the training); define the abilities, interests and attitudes of the prospective learners; select the appropriate personnel and methods for presenting the training; make the presentation; evaluate the effectiveness of the training effort.

A.H. Khan, with his long experience as Director, BARD, found, the most successful training programmes have been the short specialised courses run jointly by the Academy [i.e. BARD] and the Departments [to which the trainee belongs]; where the subject-matter is specific and clear, and the training is supported by instructional manuals, field visits and discussion with village leaders. The seminars on special subjects have also been effective when supported by research findings. Where a course has been conducted not for a specialised purpose, but for a kind of general enlightenment, its effectiveness has to be taken on trust.

This view emphasised the proper administration of the training programmes to make them effective, especially through the provision of research, use of appropriate training methods like field visits, discussion with village leaders and provision of such training materials as instruction manuals. The requirements for effective training of the KSS representatives were also the concern of Sattar of BARD faculty,

For every topic, there should be a lesson-plan. All information should be reliable and relevant and the message should be understandable, timely and implementable. Discussion should be supported by charts, posters, models etc as far as possible. Lesson sheets should be supplied to the trainees on every
important topic. Regular follow-up of the training imparted at TTDC is to be made by the individual teacher.

Sattar thus related training effectiveness of the KSS representatives with the effectiveness of administration of various training processes. S B R Nikahetiya et al of the Agrarian Research and Training Institute (ARTI), Colombo also identified training effectiveness with proper selection of the trainee farmers, use of learning by doing method, use of slides to reinforce any lecture, organisation of demonstration, field visits and supply of lesson-sheets on each topic. All these writers view training effectiveness as the effective design and administration of the training processes by trainers for the trainees.

These two sets of views on the notion of training and effective training illustrate the range of ideas about effective training. It can hardly be denied that the ultimate indicator of the effectiveness of training of the farmers is its ability to contribute to their socio-economic well-being. In other words, the after training impact of training should appear as the final yardstick of any measurement of effective training of the farmers. As mentioned previously the outcome of any such training activity equally depends on the effectiveness of the administration of various training processes and the training environment itself. In the absence of an adequate training environment, the appropriate design and implementation of training programmes, and participation of the trainers and the trainees, the training activities will not be in a position to help the trainees to perform better after the training. Hence effective training which contributes positively to the socio-economic well being of the trainee farmers, depends largely on the effective administration of training processes.

A few studies on the after-training impact of training on the performance of the farmers with reference to Bangladesh and India have already been undertaken. Richard H. Fuller studied the relationship between formal/non-formal education including training
and farm broadcasting programmes for farmers and rice production in north-east Bangladesh and observed,

Formal schooling has a positive effect on agricultural productivity. Of the non-formal educational activities examined, exposure to agricultural radio broadcasts and participation in out of school classes are found to be positively associated with farm productivity. In addition, evidence is presented which suggests that in the study area agricultural extension contact has a positive influence on rice-paddy production per acre. The study's results indicate that both formal schooling and non-formal training seem to enhance productivity.

Similarly, Howard Baumgartel, on the basis of the report of the World Bank observed, "World Bank Officials cite research data that indicate that a literate peasant farmer is 1.7 times as productive as an illiterate farmer". These studies therefore show that formal or non-formal education which includes training, has a positive impact on farm production. In addition, some specific studies on the impact of training of the farmers on production of crops in Comilla, Bangladesh and India have been undertaken. The after-training impact in Comilla was studied by S.M. Illah who found that training was one of the important factors for increased production of crops. Crops were produced by the farmers of Comilla Kotwali Thana at higher rates than other Thanas where training did not operate effectively. He found the farmers of Comilla more innovative and knowledgeable and the rate of adoption of improved practices in Comilla was higher compared to the other Thanas.

Jaiswal of the NIRD, Hyderabad, India while summarising various studies on farmers' training found,

A significant positive correlation existed between education and knowledge gained by farmers trained through institutional training. Impact of farmers' training on knowledge and adoption revealed that trained farmers significantly differed from untrained farmers with respect to knowledge. Training was one of the motivating factors for the farmers for adoption of improved practices.

These specific studies on training of farmers also found a positive after-training impact of training on the performance of the
farmers.

Training effectiveness, in terms of performance after the training, in contributing to production, motivation and adoption of improved practices has already been studied in Bangladesh, India and other places. This study will concentrate on the examination of training effectiveness with reference to the administration of various training processes. The central concern will therefore be the training of the KSS representatives in terms of provision of training environments, administration of various training processes and involvement of the concerned authorities to making such training effective in the ways clarified by Burack and Smith, A.H. Khan, Sattar and S.B.R. Nikahetiya et al.

B. Commitment:

Provision for effective training environments for the KSS representatives in Bangladesh requires commitment of the concerned authorities both at the macro and micro levels to such training. Without support and guidance from the macro level the personnel at the micro level are likely to encounter difficulties in implementing training programmes effectively. Hence effective training of the KSS representatives as outlined above for the purpose of this study (i.e. proper design and implementation of training programmes including administration of various training processes and provision of training environment) requires commitment at three levels:

(i) Commitment of the government and BRDB in offering policy, financial and environmental support,

(ii) Commitment at the Upazila level by trainers in designing and implementing the appropriate training programme according to the local needs, and

(iii) Commitment through participation of the trainees in planning and attending courses.

Commitment at all these levels is an essential pre-requisite for the effectiveness of the training activities of the KSS
representatives. The government is expected to offer the policy, financial and environmental support to the rural development programme in question and also to its training component. Norman Uphoff et al of Cornell University rightly observed, "A strategy of extended rural development will succeed only if the national political environment is broadly supportive to its goals". If the programme itself stands on a weaker footing and thus becomes ineffective, its training component can hardly be expected to be effective. Commitment of the government to both the BRDB programme and its component, namely the training of the KSS representatives, is essential to make such training effective. In-Joung Whang argues that such commitment is indicated by the extent of favourable allocation of resources by top political leadership. Necessary changes in the legal as well as administrative frameworks, which have been interpreted as the policy support of the government to the rural development programme, are also essential. The United Nations Handbook on Training also remarked,

No training programme can succeed without the support of the entire managerial class, ranging from minister or agency head at the top down to and including the first line supervisors.

This view is specifically about the commitment of the personnel both at the macro and micro levels to making training programme effective. Mathur also supported this view and stated that a training activity ought to receive help and guidance from the top. Without commitment of the top administrator, the trainers by themselves would indeed find it extremely difficult to design and conduct a genuinely job-related training programme. He further argued that the top level personnel should spell out a clear cut policy as well as pursue and support the training activities. High level commitment towards training must be reflected not only in policy papers but also in real action. Thus political and administrative commitment at the macro level is essential for the effectiveness of a training activity.

Intense involvement of the trainers in various stages of training process is another pre-requisite for the effectiveness of
a training activity. Without commitment of the trainers to the training activities effective design and implementation of training programmes can hardly be expected. Ivor K. Davies et al observed that,

[Training] effectiveness is simply a function of what the training manager or instructor does; the extent to which he realizes the objectives of his position.61

The authors thus spoke for the need for commitment of the trainers to making the training effective. Watson in the same way mentions that effective learning takes place when the instructor is perceived by group members as being supportive and enthusiastic. This is demonstrated by trainers being genuinely interested in the concepts being taught as well as in the trainees themselves.62 This requires intense commitment of the trainers to the training. The trainers must also commit themselves to research to enable them to plan and design training programmes effectively. It is therefore argued that,

Staff members in a [training] institution are to be equally engaged in training and research, so that two activities are integrated.... Research findings can in this way be incorporated into teaching very easily, and research priorities can be influenced by experience in training.63

No training programme can be effective, however well supported, without the commitment of the trainees. Ribler, for example, states that to proceed with training one must assume that the people to be trained are susceptible to the training. The corner stone of the training philosophy according to him is to permit the trainee, within limits, to define the training needs and then to work towards satisfying those needs. Fear of failure is reduced if the trainees are reassured that the objective is for them to succeed.64

As to the philosophy of extension education, it has been mentioned that it is concerned with helping people to help themselves. It is a co-operative effort.65 Involvement of the rural people in any extension activity is thus essential. In a BRDB organised seminar on training of co-operative members it was observed that, "A more effective member education model will... have to allow members to participate in planning of member education activities."66 It is
argued that three fold commitment of the government and BRDB, the Upazila trainers and the trainees is therefore essential for the effectiveness of the training activities of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh.

Effective administration of various processes of training requires involvement of the training personnel in general, and the trainers and trainees at the micro level in particular, in research activities to keep the training activities relevant and dynamic. Research prevents a training programme from becoming stereotyped. The following discussion will show that research is inseparable from an effective training activity. "Training tends to become sterile if it is not related to realities around." Research is the means by which training is related to the realities and is kept lively. Information through research is the most important tool in assessing training needs, setting training objectives, selecting appropriate subject-matter and methods of training. It is also a tool to evaluate the impact of training. Lynton and Pareek while emphasising the need for research in training activities state that action research is a way of approaching problems or questions. According to them four beliefs underline action research:

(i) Solutions of problems are more effective and enduring when they come out of systematic search for them [solutions of the problem]....

(ii) Research done by practitioners themselves on problems they face contributes more to the solution of these problems than the same done by others.

(iii) Research consists in analysing problems, searching for solutions, testing and evaluating solutions....

(iv) Development of people's capacities, for example, through training is the basic to improvement in practices....

Commitment of the Upazila level trainers with the support from the macro level to research activities to derive reliable data for designing and administering appropriate courses for the KSS representatives is essential. Since rural training needs are likely to vary from region to region, research for the training of the KSS representatives should therefore be local area based to make the
training relevant to the area concerned. Involvement of the institutional staff, the local people and their leaders is necessary for the proper conduct of research for rural development programme and the rural training activities. Research is a very important tool in achieving effective training programmes and therefore requires the commitment of the training personnel in general and the Upazila level trainers and the trainees (KSS representatives) in particular.

The next discussion investigates the various connotations of the concept, 'commitment', and attempts to identify some indicators of the relationship between effectiveness and commitment with specific reference to the training of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh.

Commitment is an "involvement or pledge". It involves a high degree of certainty and conviction. The behaviour of a committed individual demonstrates loyalty to a position, cause or group. There is an inner tension surrounding the value or belief which can only be satisfied by performing the action. The individual attempts to convince or convert others to the cause. For example, a person who not only votes, but actually canvasses for his party's candidates, would be demonstrating commitment.

People who take decisions should feel bound by their decisions unless they have a plausible cause to act otherwise, such as the occurrence of unforeseen circumstances. Explicitly or implicitly commitment requires that the decision maker will suffer a psychological or socio-psychological penalty of some kind if he goes back on his decision. Penalties may be in the shape of damage to self-esteem or to a presented image. Commitment according to Levin is the state of mind associated with such expectations.

Commitment amounts to an incentive to persist in an intention. The stronger the commitment, the greater the penalty expected to be associated with negligence or alteration and the
Commitment is no doubt a relative quality. Its strength will be measured by the magnitude of the penalty which is perceived to be associated with failure to act, or inadequate action. The degree of interest, concern, involvement and actions in relation to the job in hand of the concerned authorities will determine the extent of their commitment to that job.

Levin mentions that commitment should include four elements namely, specificity; action schema; information and interest; and decision.

(a) *Specificity:*

If a person has a commitment as defined above, it must be a commitment towards a specified job or a course of action. It would seem to be impossible to become committed to an abstraction or a vast range of tasks. The same degree of commitment of a government to every rural development or rural training programme in the country can hardly be expected. Hence commitment of government specifically to BRDB programmes and also of the concerned authorities both at the macro and micro levels to the training of the KSS representatives will be examined in this thesis. Some indicators will be discussed in the later section.

(b) *The action schema:*

A decision to perform a particular action is invariably taken with some end in view, with a particular outcome in mind. It may also be said that the decision maker envisages an appropriate action. So a decision explicitly or implicitly envisages a relationship between action and outcome. Action is the means and outcome is the end. An action schema is a combination of the action, the outcome and the action/outcome relationship.

Actions of the government and BRDB in the shape of policy decisions, financial and environmental support to the training of the KSS representatives at the macro level, and action of the
Upazila level trainers and the KSS representatives in planning, preparing, presenting, evaluating and extending follow-up services to training at the micro level, and the level of concern of all involved, for the outcome of such training must be analysed to determine the degree of their commitment to such training. Effective training may be dependent on a high level of commitment which will be identified on the basis of indicators outlined subsequently.

(c) Information and interest:
The components of the action schema are drawn from a background of information. Levin equated research with the provision of information. Involvement in research to obtain realistic information necessary for designing, implementing and reinforcing the training activities is particularly important in a rural training situation. Undertaking research to gather reliable information for the action schema is an important element of commitment. The interest of the concerned personnel in the action at issue is another important component of commitment. Commitment to the training of the KSS representatives will include the involvement of the concerned personnel in research and their interest in the various stages of such training.

(d) The decision:
Etzioni defines the term decision as "a conscious choice between two or more alternatives". He further elaborates by saying that,

It is mainly through the decision making processes that vague and abstract societal commitments, whose directions are indicated by the values and goals to which the actor subscribes, are translated into specific commitment to one or more specific courses of action.

Whether explicitly or implicitly, making decision to perform a job is an important element of commitment. Commitment to the training of the KSS representatives will include specific decisions at both the macro and micro levels to make such training effective. The nature of decisions regarding policies/strategies and
administration of various training processes will determine the extent of the commitment at the different levels. It is the decision which indicates specific interest in a particular task. Without decisions by the concerned agencies specificity of actions is hardly possible. An examination of the relationship between the decisions and actual actions at different levels will contribute to an understanding of the degree of commitment.

The four elements and various connotations of the concept of commitment as discussed above are extremely useful for this study. They assist in determining the indicators of commitment both at the macro and micro levels to making the training of the KSS representatives effective. Some indicators of commitment are equally applicable to both the macro and the micro levels. We will therefore regard them as general indicators of commitment and will use them in analysis throughout this thesis. However, specific indicators of commitment relevant to each level will also be identified to facilitate systematic analysis of the empirical materials and various issues in different chapters in the thesis.

(1) General indicators of commitment with relation to the training of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh:

Identification of general indicators of commitment for utilisation both at the macro and micro levels will help us to avoid repetition while determining specific indicators of the commitment at the different levels to making the training of the KSS representatives effective. The general criteria of commitment may be listed thus:

Authorities/personnel at the macro and micro levels should indicate intense interest in the training of the KSS representatives by their decisions and actions. They should show adequate concern to make such training effective. Their involvement in training should be combined with pledges to support and administer these training activities. Their actions should also indicate their specific conviction concerning reliance on, as well
as an emotional attachment to such training. Personnel at both the macro and micro levels should expect to suffer a socio-psychological penalty in case of any omission in supporting or administering these training programmes. Their actions should also demonstrate their loyalty to such training and they should encourage involvement in research activities to make the training dynamic and actual need based.

Espousal of training in this way by the concerned personnel at the macro and micro levels requires that they become mentally wedded to the effective training of the KSS representatives. They should treat such training as an obligatory part of their duties involving their self-esteem. Specific indicators of commitment relevant to each level are set out below. Each of the set of indicators is dealt with in various chapters of the thesis as also outlined below.

(2) Specific indicators of commitment at each level concerned with the training of the KSS representatives:

(a) Specific indicators of commitment for macro level:

Involvement of the government by direct action is necessary to make the BRDB programme and the training of the KSS representatives effective. The government needs to formulate a rural development policy for the country in which the BRDB programme should be declared the most important vehicle for rural development and offer all possible support to the programme. The policy must ensure that no duplicate or conflicting rural development programme exists, also ensure co-ordination of the BRDB programme with other types of rural development programmes. The government should take steps to ensure adequate co-ordination and co-operation at various levels to make the programme effective. The government must allow continuation of the leadership of BRDB for a reasonable duration.

Levin argues that commitment in many cases vanishes when control of government changes hands from one party to another.
since the new government does not inherit all the obligations of
the old and will not take the same political risks. According to
him, the same is true, although to a lesser extent, when a
ministerial post or chairmanship changes hands without change of
party. Levin thus argued for political and administrative stability
as one requirement for commitment. Stability of the government
and the BRDB leadership is therefore a precondition for
effectiveness of the programme and its training component.

The government must also demonstrate commitment by
translating its decisions into actions. The politicians must make
public or semi-public declarations in support of the BRDB programme
and the KSS representatives' training. The government must provide
for institutional facilities at various levels for the effective
running of the programme and its training policy should provide
facilities for adequate training of the trainers. They must
indicate that training of the KSS representatives is the most
important strategy for the trainers to adopt. On the basis of these
indicators Chapter II will analyse and interpret the data to
examine the commitment of the government to the BRDB programme and
the training of the KSS representatives.

Part of the commitment of both the government and the BRDB
Head Office would be demonstrated by the provision of an
appropriate training environment at the Upazila Training Centres.
Specific indicators of commitment of the government and the BRDB
Head Office to ensure adequate training environments are:

i) provision for a training place including land for
demonstration purposes; training equipment; adequate
furniture for seating arrangements;

ii) provision for production, printing, duplicating,
photographic, library and other training materials to
ensure an adequate training environment;

iii) provision of an adequate organisational environment for
the training of the KSS representatives. Their actions
should show that rural development training in general
and the training of the KSS representatives is not a low prestige one for officials;

iv) the strengthening of structural arrangements for such training at various levels with the increase in the training loads of village co-operative;

v) provision for effective co-ordination and co-operation among the trainers in the administrative environment.

vi) ensuring observance of various Comilla principles of co-operatives and training for the effectiveness of the training of the KSS representatives.

Chapter III will examine the commitment of the government and the BRDB to the training of the KSS representatives on the basis of above criteria.

Training of the KSS representatives is one of the major components of the BRDB programme. Commitment of BRDB and specifically of its Regional Offices to such training may be judged on the basis of the following criteria:

i) Strength of the Training Division of BRDB to carry on with the increasing training loads of the KSS representatives throughout the country.

ii) Staffing the Training Division, Regional Offices and Upazila Offices with training specialists to carry out specialised job-related training.

iii) Encouragement by BRDB leadership and its regional level officers through visits to the Upazila Training Centres.

iv) Provision of adequate funds from BRDB Head Office for the administration of the training courses in the Upazilas.

v) Organisation of research, evaluation and monitoring of the Upazila level training activities and offering guidance to them.

vi) BRDB should ensure adequate tenure of its field level officers concerned with training of the KSS representatives.
vii) Printing and distributing the necessary training materials to the Upazilas.

viii) Co-ordinating at the field level and through BRDB officers at the Regional level support from various departments to make the training activities in Upazilas effective.

ix) Inclusion on the agenda of the monthly conference of URDOs the item of training of the KSS representatives, and provision for discussion by Project Directors at the Regional level. The Project Directors should also organise seminars and conferences at the District level to discuss the various issues of training.

Chapter IV will examine the empirical materials to determine the commitment of the BRDB Head Office and Regional Offices to making the training of the KSS representatives effective.

(b) Specific indicators of commitment for micro level:

At the micro level, that is, at the Upazila level, the trainers and the KSS representatives themselves need be committed to training. Commitment of the trainers requires their competence in the job. Selection, age, education, training and tenure in a particular Upazila will be examined to ascertain their competence.

The training programmes in Comilla in the 1960s were designed by the trainers of the Thana Training Centre on the basis of research and experimentation and after securing participation of the KSS representatives in the relevant processes of their training. The actual administration of the training processes with support from the macro level should ideally be done at the Upazila level, which represents the local situation. Design of training programmes according to the job responsibilities of the managers and model farmers of KSS and the analysis of the human resources for the effectiveness of their training, as contemplated by Burack and Smith and discussed in the previous section, can be done better by the Upazila level trainers.
Burack and Smith further indicated six steps to make training effective. Specific involvement, action, interest and decision of the Upazila level trainer is important at each of the six steps for the effectiveness of training. The Upazila level trainers will demonstrate their commitment to the training of the KSS representatives by their involvement in research. Reliable and relevant information for the purpose of assessing job relevant training needs, setting appropriate training objectives and selecting appropriate training subjects and methods for the training of the KSS representatives is part of the trainers expected activity as the exponent, diagnostician, researcher and innovator.

Their commitment to training should also show their interest in securing participation of the trainees at the relevant points in the training process. The abilities, interest and attitudes of the learners must be understood by the trainer in the context. As a training manager, teacher and facilitator, the trainer's commitment to the training should include the selection of appropriate instructors and trainees and also personal effort to make the presentation interesting, useful and comprehensible. The trainers should also demonstrate their commitment by their deep involvement in both the formative and summative evaluation of the training activities. These indicators of commitment of the trainers have been identified on the basis of the six steps of effective training suggested by Burack and Smith and already discussed in the earlier section.

A.H. Khan, Sattar and Nikahetiya et al also stressed the need for specificity and clarity of the subject-matter, provision of training materials, preparation of lesson-sheets, utilisation of training methods such as field visits, audio visuals, group discussion, demonstration and learning-by-doing methods for the training of the adult farmers. They argued for least reliance on the lecture method. It was also observed in the United Nations (SWDCAP) organised seminar that, "Commitment of the trainees to
training activities increases if there is continuous follow-up of training activities". A committed trainer therefore should be invariably involved in regular follow-up activities to make the training effective by reinforcing it through such follow-up visits.

Commitment of the Upazila level trainers shall be assessed on the basis of criteria of effective training as defined by Burack and Smith, A.H. Khan, Sattar and Nikahetiya et al, as discussed above. Their specific involvement in undertaking the actions mentioned above and also their interest and involvement in research and various processes of training is essential. Their involvement in decision-making, in selecting among different alternatives for the training processes shall also serve as an indicator of their commitment to the effective training of the KSS representatives. Accordingly Chapter V will examine the commitment of the Upazila level trainers in terms of their background, motivation and interest in attending the training sessions for the KSS representatives. The same chapter will also examine the commitment of the trainers of the Upazila Training Centres by examining their participation at the various stages of the training processes.

Commitment of the trainees (KSS representatives) to the training activities is again essential for the effectiveness of their training as mentioned by Ribler and the participants in the BRDB organised seminar and also discussed in the earlier section. As Nikahetiya et al pointed out, proper selection of the trainees is essential for their commitment to the training activities. The background of the trainees with respect to their selection, age, education, size of land holding, economic background and subsidiary occupations and also their duration as the KSS representatives will serve as indicators of their capacity for commitment to training. Commitment of the KSS representatives to the training shall also be assessed on the basis of their interest and participation in the various processes of the training activities. Investigations will also extend to ascertaining their motivation for attending the training courses. On the basis of these criteria Chapter VI will
examine the commitment of the KSS representatives to the training activities. The last chapter will assess the empirical materials of the earlier chapters on the basis of this conceptual framework and draw conclusions.

In this conceptual framework the indicators of effective training and commitment at both the macro and the micro levels have been identified for the purpose of the study. This study explores the relationship between effective training and commitment at both the macro and micro levels with reference to the training of the KSS representatives and shall argue that effectiveness of the training of the KSS representatives depends on the commitment of the concerned authorities/personnel both at the macro and the micro levels in terms of the criteria established above.

4. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study examines the commitment of the government, BRDB and the Upazila level trainers and the trainees to making the training of the KSS representatives effective. The focus is on the commitment of the trainers and the trainees at the Upazila level. The period from 1980 to 1985 is primarily chosen for investigation with the help of empirical data. In the 1970s IRDP (now BRDB) organised only the farmers into KSS, but since the 1980s BRDB has also been organising the indigent people into \textit{Bittahin Smabaya Samity} (BSS) (Resourceless Persons' Co-operative Societies), and rural women into the \textit{Mahila Samabaya Samity} (MSS) (Women's Co-operative Societies). BRDB officers at the Upazila level are accordingly organising courses for the representatives of the KSS, BSS and MSS. The BSS and MSS are new organisations. It may be premature to study the training of the representatives of such new organisations, and therefore, this thesis will deal with the training of the KSS representatives only.

Each KSS elects a chairman, a manager and a model farmer as its representatives. The role of chairman is formal. He is to
preside over the meetings of KSS or the managing committee of KSS. He may be an older and respected person able to carry out his role. The manager is to work as a co-operative expert and the model farmer is to work as an agriculture expert for the KSS. The manager and the model farmer are also to attend the weekly training at the Upazila Training Centre regularly. Hence the study will utilise the training activities of the manager and the model farmer as the representatives of KSS.

Training effectiveness and commitment at various levels shall be investigated on the basis of indicators identified in the conceptual framework. Effectiveness in terms of cost-benefit analysis as in economics or the after-training impact on production, is outside the scope of this study as previously noted. The study will rather examine the administration of the various training processes of the KSS representatives and the processes themselves which make the training effective.

5. PAST STUDY

A comprehensive and systematic analysis of training of the KSS representatives has not been done by BRDB. Some occasional reports on IRDP/BRDB by the Planning Commission of Bangladesh, BARD and the International Organisations like the World Bank, ILO and SIDA commented on the training component of IRDP/BRDB in a broad way. Emmert in his study of the IRDP programme as a whole also made several observations on the Thana level training activities of the village co-operators. The consultants of NCRT prepared five reports on rural development training including training activities at the regional and Thana levels for rural development officers and farmers by various agencies. Government ministries like the Ministries of Agriculture and the LG RD and Co-operatives, the BIDS also prepared generalised, sketchy and occasional reports on training of farmers and other villagers. None of these reports specifically dealt with the systematic analysis of commitment at different levels to making the training of the KSS representatives
effective. A few authors like A. Aziz Khan, K.M. Rahman, M.K. Shams and Andaleeb either wrote articles or presented papers at seminars on such training. None of these contain a comprehensive and systematic analysis of commitment at various levels in relation to the training of the KSS representatives.

More specific studies on the training at the Thana level were done by Fazlul Bari (1979) and M.A. Mannan (1978). They separately undertook a review of the general situation of training at the Comilla Kotwali Thana only. These studies did not extend to a review of BRDB organised training activities of the KSS representatives elsewhere in Bangladesh. Of these only Bari's is relevant, since Mannan was often too general in nature as his study dealt with the training of the members of co-operative, local government bodies and the other villagers in the Comilla Kotwali Thana Training Centre. A recommendation made by Bari in his study of Comilla Thana was for further research in that Upazila:

It will be interesting to study the process of feedback between the TTDC teachers and their higher officials to identify whether the higher officials are aware of difficult problems and what happens to those problems which are beyond the capacity of the teachers at Thana level.

To some extent this thesis takes up this recommendation and examines the commitment both at the macro and the micro levels to make the training of the KSS representatives effective.

6. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY:

The study owes a great deal to our direct observation and experience of the training activities in Bangladesh for no less than eleven years in the capacity of a Training Director of both Rural Development and Administrative Training Institutions. The experience was also extended to cover observation and direct involvement in rural development programmes in the Comilla district as the Assistant Director of Rural Development, Comilla; and in the Jessore district as the Additional Deputy Commissioner (Development) in that district. Observation both as trainer and
practitioner in rural development proved extremely useful in gaining a critical awareness of the seminal issues concerning rural development and training with particular reference to the KSS representatives.

An intensive field study as part of preparation for the thesis, undertaken for five months from December 1984 to April 1985, included the UTDC training of the KSS representatives and the rural development programmes in Bangladesh. During the field research some policy makers at the national level, rural development supervisors at the Regional and District levels, Upazila level trainers and the KSS representatives of selected Upazilas were interviewed. Details of a specific nature were mainly collected from Biswanath, Balaganj, Gabtali and Nandigram Upazilas. Twenty Upazilas located in various parts of the country were also visited to gain an overview of training activities for the KSS representatives all over the country. During these brief visits efforts were made to discuss various issues in the existing training processes with the trainers and the trainees who were available for interview. Available data was also collected from these Upazilas; training classes were attended at Balaganj, Gabtali and in other Upazilas, where possible. The twenty Upazilas visited are detailed in Table 1-8.
TABLE 1-8
List of Upazilas visited during the field research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Name of Upazilas visited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Chittagong Division | (a) Sylhet District (Greater) | 1. Balaganj  
2. Barlekha  
3. Biswanath  
4. Habiganj  
5. Kulaura  
6. Sylhet Kotwali  
(b) Comilla District | | 1. Comilla Kotwali |
| 2. Dhaka Division | (a) Dhaka District (Greater) | 1. Manikganj  
| (b) Faridpur District (Greater) | | 1. Faridpur Sadar |
| 3. Khulna Division | (a) Jessore District (Greater) | 1. Bagherpara  
2. Jhikargachha  
3. Magura  
(b) Barisal District (Greater) | | 1. Babuganj  
2. Kaukhali/Kawkhali  
3. Nazirpur  
4. Wazirpur  
(c) Khulna District (Greater) | | 1. Fakirhat  
2. Khulna Sadar |
| 4. Rajshahi Division | Bogra District (Greater) | 1. Gabtali  
2. Nandigram |

Visits to Faltita Purbapara Sanmilani KSS of Fakirhat Upazila and Daudpur Fashchimpara KSS of Sylhet Kotwali Upazila provided opportunities to hold detailed discussions with the KSS members and their representatives and gain insight into their activities. The Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives were friendly and co-operative. Many KSS representatives were also helpful.

Some of the difficulties experienced during the field research and especially with collection of data need mentioning. First, many of the papers relating to the training of the KSS
representatives for the five year period from 1980-85 were not readily available as these were not maintained regularly and systematically in the Upazila offices. Where records regarding training could be located in some Upazilas these were copied. However, joint efforts of the author and the BRDB officers to find records, especially of training programmes for the period from 1980 to 1985 in many of the Upazilas, were unsuccessful. The maximum return was possible from the four Upazilas mentioned earlier, which consequently received major attention in this study. Where possible, reference to other Upazilas has been made. Second, at the Upazila level there were no photo-copying facilities. Hence the relevant records had to be copied by hand. This consumed a great deal of time and energy. Third, many trainees were not in a position to spare time for elaborate discussion. They usually combined their need to attend UTDC for training with many other business needs. Moreover, many came from distant parts of the Upazila. Hence they were in a hurry to avail themselves of the limited public transport facilities to return home. Since the trainees are scattered at different villages and remain busy during the daytime, it was indeed difficult within this short period of field research to contact many trainees. However, detailed discussion took place with those who could spare the time.

In addition to direct observation and survey of literature, simple statistical devices were adopted where necessary, to facilitate analysis and interpretation of the empirical evidence. Thus various research methods were utilised in this study.

7. UTILITY OF THE STUDY

A study of commitment at various levels with relation to the training of the KSS representatives/villagers is essential to understand the effects of such training. Studies of this type have not taken place in Bangladesh previously. The findings of this study are therefore expected to contribute significantly to the corpus of the knowledge concerning training for the co-operative
representatives. It will reveal the nature and level of commitment on the part of the government, the programme administrators, the trainers and the trainees that is necessary for making the training programme of the co-operative representatives effective. It will help the policy makers of rural development and the rural training programmes at the macro level to formulate effective policy. The trainers and trainees should come to understand the type of involvement necessary on their part to make a training effort for the rural people effective. Every government in the third world countries today is constrained to spend a significant amount of money for the training of rural development personnel. The implication of our findings are not confined to Bangladesh alone, and may prove useful and beneficial to many other third world countries.

8. BANGLADESH - A SHORT INTRODUCTION:

A brief introduction to Bangladesh is necessary to facilitate subsequent discussion and analysis in the thesis. The general situation of agriculture in Bangladesh including basic and relevant facts about some of the selected Districts, Upazilas (Sub-districts), Union Parishads and Villages follows.

Bangladesh, a predominantly agricultural country, lies in the south Asia region. Area of the country is 55,578 square miles or 143,179 square kilometers. Population is 92 million with a growth rate of 2.26% per annum. 87% of the population live in the rural areas. Percentage of literacy is 26% and life expectancy at birth is 55 years. Density of population per square mile was 1703 in 1983. Except for the hilly region in the north-east, south-east, and some areas of high lands in the north and north-western part, the country consists of low, flat and fertile land. The country suffers both from flood and/or drought almost every year, severely affecting its agricultural production. It generally enjoys a sub-tropical monsoon climate, with an average annual rainfall varying from 150" to 200".
Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries of the world. Average per capita income in Bangladesh is US$90 a year, and over four-fifths of the total population is below the poverty line in terms of income, minimum calorie intake and nutrition. Almost all in poverty live in thatched houses. They drink water from ponds, wells and rivers since the availability of tubewells for getting pure drinking water is extremely inadequate in the rural areas. Seasonal unemployment is a striking feature in the country. Physical infrastructure is very underdeveloped everywhere but especially in the rural areas. Unsatisfactory transport and communication facilities are common features of rural areas. Unfortunately, there are few written materials relating to practical rural needs, such as agriculture, health or nutrition available even for those who have some education. In rural areas weekly or even monthly newssheets with local information are virtually unknown.

(a) *Agriculture in Bangladesh*:

Agriculture is the base of the economy of Bangladesh. Hossain and Jones observed,

Nearly 70% [of people] are engaged in agricultural production. Agricultural output in recent years has accounted for 55% of GDP (28% coming from rice alone), and if ancillary activities such as transport and marketing of agricultural produce are included the figure rises to nearly 70%. Most manufacturing industries are based on agriculture and export earnings are almost totally dependent on agricultural commodities.

Agriculture in Bangladesh is thus the principal contributor to the GDP and the major employer of her labour force.

The land of Bangladesh is one of the most fertile and best suited for agriculture. Fuller quoted Boyce and Hartmann thus:

The rivers and their countless tributaries meander over the flat land, constantly changing course, since most of the country lies less than 100 feet above sea level. The waters not only wash the land, they create it; their sediments have built the delta over centuries. The alluvial soil deposited by the rivers is among the most fertile in the world. Abundant rainfall and warm
temperatures give Bangladesh an ideal climate for agriculture. Crops can be grown twelve months a year. The surface waters and vast underground aquifers give the country a tremendous potential for irrigation in the dry winter season.

However, despite this fertility, agriculture in the country is still traditional. Only 18% of the arable land is irrigated and 21% of the area under food grain is devoted to high yielding varieties (HYV). Fertiliser use per hectare is one of the lowest in the world. Increased production must come from increasing the cropping intensity and raising the yield. The lands are subdivided and fragmented. The legal land owning limit is 33 acres but the average farm size is much smaller. There is therefore little scope for broad acre farming or bringing new land under cultivation. Over 50% of the population is near landless. The seriousness of the situation of size distribution of total owned land may be seen in Table 1-9 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Number of house &quot;000&quot;</th>
<th>% of</th>
<th>Number of persons &quot;000&quot;</th>
<th>% of</th>
<th>Area (acres) &quot;000&quot;</th>
<th>% of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>15.37</td>
<td>9,075</td>
<td>12.32</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.01-0.50</td>
<td>4,286</td>
<td>33.31</td>
<td>21,416</td>
<td>29.09</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.51-1.00</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>11.78</td>
<td>8,113</td>
<td>11.02</td>
<td>1,078</td>
<td>5.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.01-1.50</td>
<td>1,214</td>
<td>9.43</td>
<td>6,976</td>
<td>9.47</td>
<td>1,462</td>
<td>7.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.51-2.50</td>
<td>1,446</td>
<td>11.24</td>
<td>9,003</td>
<td>12.23</td>
<td>2,808</td>
<td>13.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.51-5.00</td>
<td>1,436</td>
<td>11.16</td>
<td>10,205</td>
<td>13.86</td>
<td>5,006</td>
<td>24.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.01-7.50</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>4,104</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>3,003</td>
<td>14.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.51-10.00</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>1,808</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>1,748</td>
<td>8.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.01-12.50</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1,063</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>6.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.51-15.00</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.01-25.00</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>1,536</td>
<td>7.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.01+</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>1,081</td>
<td>5.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL    | 12,866                | 100.00 | 73,606                 | 100.00 | 20,445           | 100.00 |

There is an increasing concentration of land ownership in the hands of a relatively small percentage of rural families and a
rapidly growing percentage of rural households is becoming landless. Although the land is one of the most fertile and best suited for agriculture, its yield per acre is one of the lowest in the world. Rice is the prime food crop of Bangladesh. It occupies 78% of gross cultivated area and constitutes 75% of the total agricultural produce. Rice yields are slightly more than half a ton per acre, about 50% of Asia's average yield. More specifically, average yields are about 1.2 metric tons per hectare, compared with 2.5 tons in Sri Lanka or 2.7 tons in Malaysia, both of which are climatically similar, or over 4 tons in Taiwan where labour inputs are greater. A major thrust of the national development policy of Bangladesh is therefore to increase agricultural production.

Natural calamities like flood and drought are the principal barriers to agricultural production. Lack of adequate irrigation facilities, modern agricultural implements and other inputs add to the problems of intensive cultivation. The farmers are bound by the traditional outlook and lack leadership qualities and adequate knowledge or skills to modernise agriculture. Sub-division and fragmentation of holdings make mechanisation of agriculture difficult. Except for the diesel powered pumps used in some cases for the dry season, agriculture is not yet widely mechanised. Most areas still get only one crop per year in spite of favourable year round temperature and opportunities for irrigation. During the dry season, much land is parched and left uncultivated due to lack of water. Farmers are dependent on the timely arrival of monsoon for good production. The cropping pattern is unbalanced and crop intensity is very poor.

A rural power structure dominates the socio-economic scene controlled by big land holders, traders, money lenders and rural touts. The disparities which do exist are at the root of the country's problem of rural development. The First Five Year Plan (1973-78), therefore, pointed out, "It is now well known that serious class differences exist in the rural society of Bangladesh."
The rural power structure is authoritarian, dominated by some vested interest groups.\textsuperscript{92}

The major thrust of the five year national development plans of Bangladesh is to increase agricultural production. The First Five Year plan introduced three broad development goals: increased production, improved income distribution and national self-reliance, the primary focus being on food grain self-sufficiency. The Second Five Year plan (1980-85) focused on improvement of the quality of life in the rural sector, stressing the importance of accelerated agricultural production.\textsuperscript{93} These plans also put importance on non-formal education and proposed that non-formal education of the rural people should play a direct and instrumental role in increasing skill and knowledge for combating the problems of rural areas in Bangladesh.

(b) The government and the units of field administration in Bangladesh:

Government policies are formulated by the Ministries and the Planning Commission and implemented through their Attached Departments, Directorates and other field level offices. As to the role of the Attached Department, Instruction number 6 of the Secretariat Instructions, 1976 states,

1. Where the execution of the policies of the government requires decentralisation of executive action and/or direction, a Ministry/Division may have under it executive agencies called Attached Departments and Subordinate Offices.

2. Attached Departments are generally responsible for providing executive direction required in the implementation of policies laid down by the Ministry/Division to which they are attached. They also serve as repository of technical information and advise the Ministry/Division on technical aspects of questions dealt with by them.

3. Subordinate Offices generally function as field establishments or as agencies responsible for the detailed execution of policies of the government. They function under the direction of an Attached Department or where the volume of executive direction involved is not considerable, directly under a Ministry/Division.\textsuperscript{94}
Some of the Attached Departments are also called Directorates. Most of the Attached Departments/Directorates usually have their subordinate offices at the Division, District and Upazila levels. In addition to these the Ministries have established autonomous/statutory bodies for stated specific purposes. Appendix-1 shows the Ministries/Division directly concerned with Rural Development along with their Officers at the Upazila level. The following figure shows the Units of Administration in Bangladesh.

FIGURE I-1
Units of Administration in Bangladesh.

The Units of Administration can be grouped into policy level, supervisory level and implementation level. The rural people in case of a rural development programmes may be treated as the beneficiaries.
1. **Policy level** -
   - President/Cabinet
   - Planning commission
   - Attached Departments
   - Ministries
   - Statutory Bodies

2. **Supervisory levels** -
   - Divisions
   - Districts

3. **Implementation level** - Upazila (Sub-district)

   Though the Attached Departments and their field level organisations are responsible for the implementation of various policies, it is at the Upazila level, where the actual implementation of the government policies/programmes, particularly the rural development programmes, takes place. The Division and District level organisations are largely concerned with supervision of and guidance to the Upazila level activities.

   The divisional level is just below the national level. Supervision of Upazila level activities is quite infrequent from the Division level. Divisional authorities remain busy with the supervision of the district level offices. Detailed introduction to Divisional level is not pertinent in this context.

(i) **District/Greater District level:**

   The present district level is just above the Upazila level (consequent on recent abolition of Sub-division as a tier of administration and upgrading of the Thanases into Upazilas). Prior to 1983-84 each of the 21 districts consisted of one or more Sub-divisions. In 1983-84 these Sub-divisions were upgraded to Districts. BRDB has regional offices in the old Districts which are now called 'Greater Districts', and is represented by a Project Director in each office. The Project Director supervises the BRDB programme in all Upazilas of his 'Greater District'. There are no district level BRDB officials in the new districts. This study shall frequently refer to information about three Greater Districts namely, Sylhet, Bogra and Jessore. Details of these undivided
(greater) Districts are furnished in Table 1-10 to present an idea about the Greater Districts and the Regional level of BRDB.

### TABLE 1-10

**Basic facts of greater Sylhet, Bogra and Jessore Districts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items of Information</th>
<th>Greater Sylhet District</th>
<th>Greater Bogra District</th>
<th>Greater Jessore District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Area (in sq. miles)</td>
<td>4,911</td>
<td>1,501</td>
<td>2,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (a) Population, 1981</td>
<td>5,656,000</td>
<td>2,728,000</td>
<td>4,020,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Density of population in 1981</td>
<td>1,152</td>
<td>1,817</td>
<td>1,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Number of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Upazilas</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Union Parishads</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Villages</td>
<td>9,979</td>
<td>3,644</td>
<td>3,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Total cropped area (in acres)</td>
<td>2,515,000</td>
<td>1,233,000</td>
<td>1,735,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. BRDB programme (up to 1985):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Number of Upazilas covered (UCCA)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) i) Number of KSS</td>
<td>3,315</td>
<td>2,720</td>
<td>2,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Number of members of KSS</td>
<td>91,651</td>
<td>93,840</td>
<td>88,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) i) Number of BSS</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Number of members of BSS</td>
<td>11,038</td>
<td>16,171</td>
<td>15,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) i) Number of MSS</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Number of members of MSS</td>
<td>13,313</td>
<td>4,199</td>
<td>14,088</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) **Upazila level:**

In order to decentralise and strengthen administration at the lowest level, the government of Bangladesh upgraded the former Thanas into Upazilas in 1983. Previous government resolution number DA-12(26)/82-449, dated Dhaka, the 23rd October, 1982 and subsequent adoption of Local Government (Thana Parishad and Thana Administration Reorganisation) Ordinance, 1982 provided for the reorganisation of administration at the Thana level by making the Thana the focal point of all administrative activities.
Subsequently the name Thana was replaced by 'Upazila' (i.e. Sub-district) in 1983.

The Upazila is now the most important unit of administration for implementation of rural development programmes of the government. Appendix-2 provides an organisational chart of the Upazila Administration. Section 4 of the Local Government (Thana Parishad and Thana Administration) Re-organisation (second amendment) Ordinance, 1983, stated the composition of the Upazila Parishad thus:

(a) A Chairman - To be directly elected by the voters of the Upazila.
(b) Representative Members - Chairman of the Union Parishads of the Upazila.
(c) Three Women Members - To be nominated by the government.
(d) Official Members - Designated officials of the Nation-building Departments working in Upazila, having no voting right.
(e) Chairman of the Upazila Central Co-operative Association- (UCCA)
(f) One nominated Member - To be nominated by the government.

The Chairman of the Upazila Parishad is the head of development administration and is assisted by a government appointed Upazila Nirbahi Officer (Sub-district Executive Officer). The services of the Officers of the Nation-building Departments have been placed at the disposal of the Upazila Parishad and they are answerable to the Upazila Parishad. The BRDB officers at the Upazila are to function under the Chairman UCCA. Both the UCCA and Upazila Parishad are headed by the elected chairmen.

This study extensively utilised data from Balaganj and Biswanath Upazilas of Sylhet District and Nandigram and Gabtali Upazilas of Bogra District. Sufficient data could not be obtained from any of the Upazilas of Jessore District and other Upazilas visited during the field research, hence basic facts of these four Upazilas mentioned above are presented at Table 1-11 below:
TABLE 1-11
Basic facts of four selected Upazilas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items of Information</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Gabtali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. GENERAL FACTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Area (in sq. miles)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Population</td>
<td>196,772</td>
<td>146,043</td>
<td>112,428</td>
<td>221,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Number of Union Parishshads</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Number of villages</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Rate of literacy</td>
<td>20.18%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Total number of family holdings</td>
<td>29,648</td>
<td>22,657</td>
<td>18,885</td>
<td>42,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Distance from the district headquarters (in miles)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. AGRICULTURE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Area of cultivable land (in acres)</td>
<td>67,675</td>
<td>38,400</td>
<td>51,125</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Number of farm families</td>
<td>19,152</td>
<td>18,103</td>
<td>14,483</td>
<td>28,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Area under mechanised irrigation (in acres)</td>
<td>45,445</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>21,095</td>
<td>32,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Yield rate of paddy per acre (in maunds)</td>
<td>HYV 45</td>
<td>HYV 40</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>HYV 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>local 20</td>
<td>local 20</td>
<td>local 16</td>
<td>local 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Principal crops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paddy,</td>
<td>paddy,</td>
<td>paddy,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>veget-</td>
<td>veget-</td>
<td>wheat,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ables,</td>
<td>ables,</td>
<td>chilli,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>potatoes,</td>
<td>potatoes,</td>
<td>potatoes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mustard</td>
<td>mustard</td>
<td>jute,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>sugar-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Period when land remains uncultivated</td>
<td>Jan-March</td>
<td>Jan-March</td>
<td>Jan-May</td>
<td>Jan-May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) What other crops can be grown</td>
<td>wheat,</td>
<td>wheat,</td>
<td>corn,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>watermelon,</td>
<td>pulses,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. BRDB (up to 1985)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items of Information</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Gabtali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Date of adoption of the Upazila by BRDB</td>
<td>22.5.73</td>
<td>17.8.83</td>
<td>11.1.79</td>
<td>5.1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Number of KSS</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>028</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Total Membership</td>
<td>3,931</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>4,373</td>
<td>6,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Number of BSS</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Total Membership</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>1,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Number of MSS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Total Membership</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Number of Non-BRDB Co-operative Societies</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) Union Parishad:

Each Upazila is composed of a number of Union Parishads. The Union is the lowest unit of the local government bodies, consisting of roughly 15 to 20 villages with a population of 15 to 20 thousand. Chairmen of the Union Parishads are the members of the Upazila Parishad who significantly contribute to the planning and implementation of the rural development projects in the Upazilas.

A Union Parishad is composed of one chairman, nine elected members and three women members. Women members are nominated. Besides the civic, administrative, police, defence and revenue functions, a Union Parishad is to perform agricultural, industrial, and community development functions. The Union Parishad may for those purposes perform such functions as may be prescribed by the government. It may for the purposes of rural development, adopt such measures and perform such functions as may be prescribed by law.

(iv) Village:

A village usually spreads over an area of 1-2 square miles with a population of 1000 to 1500 people. Traditionally a Bengali village is a closed socio-economic unit. The overwhelming majority of the villagers are directly or indirectly involved in farming. A farmer plays the role of a cultivator, a manager, an accountant, a live stock, poultry or fish farmer and buyer and seller. These traditional close socio-economic ties have been disturbed by modernisation. The role and status of individuals has become more a question of achievement and possession than ascription. The authority of traditional leaders in many cases has been challenged. The villagers no longer remained contented with traditionally determined occupations. The rising middle class has begun to migrate to towns. New economic classes have developed. Persons in control of means of production have become more exploitative. Absence of leadership on the one hand and polarisation of resources on the other hand has created imbalance and tension in the villages. In the midst of such conflict and confusion a new class...
of money lenders and traders have begun to dominate the socio-economic life of the villagers. Small farmers have been squeezed, and have fallen into the classes of landless labourers and tenants. The villages thus disintegrated, leading to the need for a new socio-economic organisation at village level for their development. Under the Comilla co-operative model it was intended that the KSS should provide a new socio-economic organisation at the village level.

9. SUMMARY:

Training the co-operative members was identified as an important pre-condition for the success of co-operatives in the Indo-Bangladesh sub-continent in the post Colonial Period. Prior to the evolution of the Comilla co-operative model in the 1960s, the training of co-operative members did not receive adequate attention in Bangladesh. The Comilla co-operative model attached supreme importance to the training of the co-operators and such training was also found effective in Comilla in the 1960s. BRDB replicated the Comilla co-operative model throughout Bangladesh in the 1970s and mid 1980s.

In 1982 the Director (Training) BRDB observed that the training of the village co-operators had become ineffective, stereotyped and lifeless. During the field research in 1985 we also found that the observation of the Director appeared to have been an accurate assessment of the training of the KSS representatives by BRDB at the Upazila Training Centres. Similarly the participants in a symposium organised by ILO in 1979 found the training of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh ineffective and held that the lack of commitment to such training was responsible for the ineffectiveness. This study is an attempt to examine the extent of commitment at various levels to the effective training of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh.
The two concepts, effective training and commitment are central to this study. Criteria for each of the two concepts for the purpose of this thesis have been indicated in the conceptual framework outlined earlier in this chapter. On the basis of derived indicators of the two concepts this thesis will examine the commitment of the government, the BRDB administration, the trainers and the trainees to the effective training of the KSS representatives. The argument is that commitment at both the macro and micro levels is the essential element to make such training effective and that such commitment is lacking. Since there has not been a systematic study of commitment at various levels with relation to the administration of processes of training of the village co-operators, the study is expected to be a useful contribution to the knowledge of co-operative members' education not only in Bangladesh but in many other Third World countries as well. Observation, survey method, interview and simple statistical methods were utilised in this study.

The next chapter will examine the commitment of the government to the BRDB programme and the rural development training in general, and the training of the KSS representatives in particular.
CHAPTER 1 - FOOTNOTES


3. Ibid., p. 10.


5. Ibid., p. 28.


10. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

11. Integrated Rural Development Programme (now BRDB) (compiled), Five Years of IRDP, op. cit., p. 10.

12. Ibid., p. 10.


17. Ibid., p. 16.


Khan refused the offer of the position of Central Minister of Pakistan in the 1960s as he did not want to dissociate himself from the rural people and leave Comilla. This bears testimony to his dedication and commitment to rural development. See Samajatra, 10th Issue, Comilla Kotwali UCCA, February, 1984, p. 3.


30. M. Zaker Hossain, "Agricultural extension through co-operatives..." op cit., p. 15. The entry for Aman crop in 1965 shows a percentage decline in relation to the corresponding 1964 figure which is not accounted for by the author.


32. The table has been prepared on the basis of annual budgets of Balaganj and Gabtali UCCAs for the years noted in the table.


66. BRDB (compiled), Co-operative member education (Dhaka: BRDB, Training Division, 1983), pp. 15-16.


73. Ibid.

74. Ibid. p. 28.

75. Ibid. p. 28-32.

76. Ibid. p. 30.


78. Ibid.


80. The United Nations (SWDCAP), Proceedings of field study training of South Pacific rural women community workers and trainers on basic rural family and community services (Manila: UN (SWDCAP), 1980), pp. 55-56.

81. Fazlul Bari, Farmers' Training Program at Comilla (Comilla: BARD, 1979), p. 82.


84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.


96. Ibid, pp 45, 47, 51, 65 & 219 (for Serial numbers 1-4 of the table); and the Project Directors of the greater districts mentioned (for Serial number 5 of the table).


98. Upazila Statistical Officers for informations, at serial numbers 1 & 2; and the Upazila Rural Development Officers for informations at serial number 3 of the Upazilas mentioned in the table.


100. Ibid, Sections 30-33 of the Ordinance.
CHAPTER II

THE GOVERNMENTS, BRDB AND THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING IN BANGLADESH

Training is a significant element of a rural development programme. Effectiveness of the training component of a rural development programme, it is argued, depends on the extent of political and other supports the programme in question receives; in other words, how far the policy makers are committed to the success of the programme. The most generally accepted training programme for the village co-operators in Bangladesh has been the Comilla project. It was this project which became the model for the training for rural development including the training of the village co-operators in Bangladesh. This chapter will survey the various rural development policies/strategies of the governments leading up to the Comilla project. Thereafter a more detailed discussion of the Comilla project itself will examine the nature of commitment and effectiveness as applied to Comilla.

The BRDB programme arising out of the Comilla model and its place in the existing policy arrangement shall be discussed subsequently. The extent of policy support that BRDB programmes and the training of the KSS representatives are receiving at the macro level to be an effective and strong tool for rural development in Bangladesh will emerge from these discussions.

1. RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS:

All societies are changing. Some nations have changed more than the others and indeed these nations are often used as a model for other developing nations to follow. Oakley and Garforth, while discussing the concept of development, held that development is more closely associated with some form of action or intervention to influence the entire process of social change. According to them the concept of development suggests a change in, or a movement away
from, a previous situation. "Development involves the introduction of new ideas into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through modern production methods and improved social organisation". It is suggested that development in general should contain three main elements:

**Economic** - The development of the economic or productive base of any society, which will produce the goods and materials required for life.

**Social** - The provision of a range of social amenities and services (i.e. health, education, welfare) which care for the non-productive needs of a society.

**Human** - The development of the people themselves both individually and communally, to realise their full potential, to use their skills and talents and to play a constructive part in shaping their own society.

Development should not concentrate upon only one of the above elements to the exclusion of the others. Ensuring active participation of the people in shaping their own society is essential in the process of development. Development of human resources is thus an important element in the overall development activities of a country. Rural development has also been viewed as "developing the skill of masses to make them self-reliant through instruction which supply appropriate and relevant knowledge on the method of self-help". Training is a means to the development of the human resources of a given country. Norman Uphoff *et al* suggest: "Successful performance of extended rural development requires organisation, participation and mobilisation at the local level in conjunction with the resources services and policies of the central government". They also argue that the success of a strategy of rural development requires support from the national political environments.

On the basis of above discussion it can be argued that rural development requires development of the human resources through training, organisation and participation at the local level. It also requires resources, services and policies of the government. The national political environment should support the strategy of
rural development. Our discussion on the Comilla models in this chapter will demonstrate that the Comilla models provided for the training of the rural development personnel, and organisation and participation at the local level. In the 1960s the political environment was committed to the models and allocated adequate resources. The government of Pakistan accepted these models as the strategy for rural development and offered all possible support. Our concern in this thesis is the Comilla Co-operative model and more specifically the training of the KSS representatives. The Comilla co-operative model when replicated throughout Bangladesh, was called the Integrated Rural Development Programme.

Some equated rural development only with agricultural development. Mosher, for example, argued for the inter-dependence of agricultural growth and rural welfare and stated that increasing rural welfare is dependent on achieving agricultural growth. The concern to improve a country's agricultural base is usually expressed in terms of programmes and projects of rural development. No doubt agriculture is the most important sector in rural life, but rural development includes development of non-agricultural sectors too. Nowadays many third world countries refer to this extended concept as 'Integrated Rural Development'. As Lea points out, there are some semantic difficulties. "There are many different types and meanings of Integrated Rural Development and what is 'integrated' depends more on the writer than anything else". If integration means seeing things as a whole or completing something by combining parts into a whole, and if development is something which can be assessed properly only in terms of total human needs, values and standards of a good life and the good society perceived by the very societies, undergoing change, then adding integration to development is tautological. Integrated Rural Development (IRD) has been viewed as a package programme of various rural development services and activities of the government, with emphasis on integration: horizontal as well as vertical. The former was meant to meet the problem of 'poor coordination' between the different agencies concerned with rural change that prevails in most developing countries; the latter between government
agencies at different levels - federal, state and local with respect to rural development policies and programmes.

A.H. Khan seemed to express some reservation about the applicability of the term Integrated Rural Development only to the Comilla Co-operative model:

The truly Integrated Rural Development Programme will be a co-ordinated synthesis of the Thana Training and Development programme, the Thana Drainage and Roads works programme, the Thana Irrigation programme and the Co-operative project.

In developing the integrated Comilla models in Bangladesh A.H. Khan enumerated eleven principles of rural development which illustrate his ideas:

(i) Rural Development requires a comprehensive and co-ordinated programme involving all government departments.

(ii) Civil administration must play the role of co-ordinator of all departments to further improvement.

(iii) Civil administration must collaborate with local self government units.

(iv) The villages of East Pakistan [now Bangladesh] need economic reorganisation.

(v) The small farmers, who form the overwhelming majority of the villagers, must co-operate for economic and technical improvement.

(vi) The learning of improved agricultural practices is facilitated by the existence of organised groups, i.e. the village co-operatives.

(vii) The agent of change at the village level, the manager of the co-operatives for instance, must be a local person selected by a local group.

(viii) Extensive and continuous programmes of training for these local representatives must be provided.

(ix) Services and supplies must be combined with training. Training would be ineffective if supplies and services were not available at the Thana [now Upazila] centres.
(x) Governments must make more of an investment in rural areas than has been generally considered essential.

(xii) Institutions which support village development, especially at the Thana level, must have adequate resources and authority to make and carry out decisions. 13

These principles, although developed in the context of Bangladesh, are likely to have general applicability in the other third world countries. Programmes for rural development in such countries are essential for the welfare of their people, reducing the rural unemployment and poverty, checking urban migration, providing for the growing number of landless population, modernising and increasing production of agriculture and developing other socio-economic infrastructures.

As noted above A.H.Khan and others stressed the need for comprehensiveness of a rural development programme and co-ordination among all the government departments both horizontally and vertically. A.H. Khan further emphasised the training of the villagers which should be supported by the provision of supply and services. Providing a development orientation for the personnel of rural development programmes at all levels, including the rural people through training, is thus an important element in a rural development programme. The national political environment must also be committed to the rural development programme including its training component to offer policy, resources and other support to make the same effective. Before analysing the political and administrative commitment of the governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh to the Comilla co-operative model and the training of the KSS representatives a brief account of rural development activities prior to the Comilla model will be provided in the next section in order to establish the background to the development of the Comilla models.
2. RURAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AND THE GOVERNMENTS PRIOR TO COMILLA MODELS:

Bangladesh inherited long years of rich experience in the field of rural development. The British government from the second half of the last century realised the need for rural development in addition to their four primary tasks, namely, maintenance of law and order, administration of justice, collection of taxes and the maintenance of accurate and up-to-date land records. Through the Local Self-Government Act, 1885, three tier local bodies - Union Committee at union level, Local Board at Sub-Divisional level and District Board at the District level were created under direct official control and supervision to look after the welfare of the people. Reports of the Famine Commission (1880 and 1901) drew the attention of the British government to the social consequences of low crop yield. Through the Local Self-Government Act of 1919 the Union Committees were converted into Union Boards and placed under the supervision of a Circle Officer, to strengthen their role in the socio-economic well-being of the rural communities.

The Famine Commission of 1866 suggested the formation of a Department of Agriculture. A Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce was functioning as a branch of the government of India from 1871-1879. After the Famine Commission report of 1880 Bengal instituted a Department of Agriculture in 1885 as a part of the Department of Land records. Its duties consisted mainly of collecting and compiling agricultural statistics. The Royal Commission on Agriculture (The Linlithgow Commission) in 1928 suggested the strengthening of the Department of Agriculture. After the Famine Commission Report of 1901, the Department of Agriculture was further strengthened. In 1906, the Department of Agriculture was separated from the Land Record Department and its staff of experts increased. Under the Government of India Act of 1919, the Department of Agriculture came under an elected Minister. The programme of the department centred around research and extension activities. Lack of adequate finance was the major problem for the
effective functioning of the department. However from the 1930s onward the government started allocating more money to the rural development of the undivided India.

By 1930, the idea of development gained considerable importance. During the period between 1935 and 1938 the then government of India allocated a large sum [nearly thirty lacs pounds] for grants to various provincial governments in aid of rural development.

The British government "felt that a generalist administrator had an important role to perform. No doubt he was not a specialist himself, but it was indispensable for him to have some knowledge of various aspects of development works". The Bengal Administrative Enquiry Committee (Rowlands Report, 1945) observed that,

in progressive countries, economic and social development had increasingly become a major concern of the government.... It was quite clear that henceforth the major emphasis would be on development side of administration and that the energy of the government would be directed to the full utilisation of the material and human resources.

This could not be implemented because of political unrest resulting in the independence of the sub-continent in 1947.

Side by side with the efforts of the then colonial government, voluntary efforts were also made to develop the rural areas. Nobel Laureate poet Rabindranath Tagore urged rural reconstruction as early as the 1890s and after 1914 established several institutes. His best known institute Sriniketan was founded in 1921 and operated for more than 30 years serving 85 villages. Thus

while in Bengal the chief impetus of rural development came from rumination and poetic inspiration and from outside government initiatives, in the western part of British India the initiative came from the government and was characterised by programmes of action by energetic practical British administrators.

Some enthusiastic British administrators like F.L. Brayne, Malcolm Darling and C.F. Strickland, G.S. Datta, S.R. Bose, Nurunnabi Chawdhury, A.B.M. Ishaq and others in their individual capacity took initiatives for rural development in British India.
The need for rural development in the sub-continent was thus felt from the last century. The British government was forced by circumstances such as famine and the demands of the nationalist leaders to pay increasing attention to rural development activities. Neither the efforts of the government nor the scattered activities of the administrators could, however, produce the desired impact. Though these earlier governments totally ignored the need for training of the rural people as a component of their unco-ordinated rural development programmes, those who voluntarily undertook some rural development activities in the sub-continent considered training of the rural people an important component of their programmes.

The following examples indicate the efforts of some individual British officers and social workers in the training of the rural people during the British rule. In 1903, Sir Daniel Hamilton formed a scheme to create model villages, in an area in Sundarban21 (Bengal) based on co-operative principles. Later he established the rural reconstruction institute in 1934. The institute provided training facilities in cottage and subsidiary industries for the rural people.22 In his project for rural development (Sriniketan), poet Rabindranath Tagore established a training centre for handicrafts and demonstration centres for villagers in the 1920s. The institute conducted demonstrations on improved practices on farmers' holdings, established a dairy farm to supply pure milk and better animals to farmers for breeding and also established a poultry farm. Weavers were trained to organise co-operatives and training was provided to villagers in pottery, embroidery and tailoring. The Servant of India Society in Poona started a centre in Maypaur Village in Madras to train village boys and girls in agriculture and cottage industries. There were also centres of this society in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh in India to train the villagers.23 F.L. Brayne made arrangements for training the village level workers and other officers who were involved in the development process in the Punjab.24
Thus the need for training of villagers for rural development was well understood by some individual British officers and Indian social workers in the very early part of this century and positive steps in this direction were initiated. However, in the absence of institutionalisation of such training and a comprehensive rural development training policy, these efforts disappeared with the departure of the individual officer or the social worker who had initiated such training activities.

After the creation of Pakistan development did not receive serious attention from the Pakistan government during the period from 1947 to 1952. Its immediate concern was to deal with the unsettled conditions that followed partition of India and creation of Pakistan. Subsequently, Pakistan was influenced by the concept of community development which emerged after World War II in the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the 1940s and 1950s the British Colonial Office, US AID, and various agencies of the UNO encouraged the developing nations to take an interest in community development activities. Their influence resulted in the introduction of a community development programme namely, Village Agricultural and Industrial Development (V-AID) programme in 1953 in Pakistan. This was the first effort for rural development after emergence of Pakistan. It was considered the "means for bringing better living standard and a new spirit of hope [and] confidence to the villagers". The policy of the V-AID programme was to foster effective citizen participation in rural self-help projects in the fields of agriculture, health and sanitation, adult literacy, primary education, cottage industries, minor irrigation, and rural communication systems, co-operative societies and recreational activities.

The village level worker (VLW) was the pivot of the programme. He was supposed to be the guide of the villagers. There was little possibility for him to train the villagers. The VLW would limit his attention to a few well-to-do villagers leaving the vast majority of the rural poor to fend for themselves.
Azher Ali suggested that the weaknesses of the V-AID programme were:

- shortage of funds,
- lack of training facilities and the instability of provincial and central governments [which] were the main causes for the slow progress of this programme. The multipurpose rural development programme could not create much impact on provincial economy as they were only isolated attempts.

The programme did not achieve success in securing people's participation which ultimately resulted in its abandonment. In 1959, President Ayub decided to integrate the V-AID programme with a new four tier system of local council called Basic Democracy and finally in 1961 the termination of V-AID programme was formally declared. However, from the independence of the country and up to the 1950s, prior to the evolution of the Comilla models of rural development, the governments of Pakistan largely ignored the need for the systematic training of villagers.

To sum up, an urgent need for the development of the rural areas of the Indo-Bangladesh sub-continent was felt by the British governments and the governments of Pakistan up to the 1950s and till the evolution of the Comilla models. Neither the Colonial government nor the independent governments of Pakistan demonstrated any commitment to rural development activities by formulating a comprehensive rural development policy providing for both the horizontal and vertical co-ordination of activities, recognising the imperative needs for the training of the rural people and ensuring their participation in the planning and other processes of rural development programmes, allocating adequate resources, organising the rural people meaningfully in groups and supporting the programmes with the provisions of supply and services. Little effort was made in research and evaluation to assess the local needs and to design relevant programmes for the different areas of the country according to the local variations. Instead of depending on the local people and their leaders, the V-AID programme operated in the 1950s relied on 'ill-paid, half-baked and half-hearted' VLWs. Although the British and the Pakistan governments up to the 1950s, failed to show their commitment to rural development by
recognising the need for the training of rural people, individual British officers and the social workers who voluntarily involved themselves in the rural development activities were keenly aware of the need and organised courses for the rural people to increase the effectiveness of their programmes.

The Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla, with this background and after rigorous research and experimentation in the 1960s, developed their own models of rural development. The next section will deal with the evolution of the Comilla models of rural development and provide a brief summary of their essential features. The nature of these models and the level of success need to be understood. They were used as the basis for institutional reforms to rural development across the whole of Bangladesh in recent times. Their evolution and the context of their development illustrate the extent of the commitment required for effectiveness. It is from these models that some of the characteristics are derived against which current methods may be compared.

A brief introduction of BARD, Comilla and its present situation caused by the change of governments and their commitment is at Appendix-3.

3. THE COMILLA MODELS AND COMMITMENTS AT THE VARIOUS LEVELS IN THE 1960S:

A. A Brief Introduction

After the establishment of BARD at Comilla in 1959, the government designated the whole of rural Comilla Kotwali Thana [107 square miles] as a development laboratory, and delegated to the Director, BARD considerable latitude to conduct programmes and administrative experiments. Comilla models of rural development were the outcome of continuous research and experimentation by BARD in this laboratory area over a period of ten years.
These models attempted to meet the weaknesses of the previous rural development activities in the country. They considered the deficiencies in the physical and socio-economic settings of former East Pakistan, now independent Bangladesh, and provided for participation of the local people in rural development activities. Arthur F. Raper noted, 

The Academy [i.e. BARD] made the assumption that progress in rural modernisation would depend initially on the willingness of villagers to try something new, and that this in turn would require on their part, particularly in the early stages, faith and trust in their own local leaders and in the Academy [BARD] staff... Thus the attitudes and priorities of the village leaders were the first concern of the development strategists. 

The source/base of research for these models was varied. As A.H. Khan pointed out, the administrative infrastructure was based on the Indian experience. The priority of physical infrastructure and rural unemployment were taken from Taiwan and China. The idea of co-operative agriculture came from Denmark, Japan, Taiwan and China. In the extension system the Chinese and the Taiwanese approaches were followed. The idea of imparting training to the village representatives came from the Danish Folk-school model. A.H. Khan indicated, "For mental improvement of our villagers we imitated the early Danish Folk-schools, as we imitated the early German credit unions for economic improvement of our peasants. We were fond of stealing antique ideas". Although the evolution of the four Comilla models of rural development was based on the experiences of other countries the models were also derived from the continuous research and experimentation carried out by BARD on its laboratory area, the Comilla Kotwali Thana.

These Comilla models attempted to overcome past deficiencies in rural development programmes in Bangladesh by making provision for participation of the rural people in the process of development. They provided for creation of rural employment opportunities through execution of the works programme schemes. The co-operative model established village level institutions and trained the village co-operators to modernise agriculture and thus
to improve production. The Comilla models thus attempted to respond to the basic agricultural and non-agricultural problems of rural Bangladesh. Local government institutions were re-vitalised and a new local government tier namely the Thana council, was established for effective co-ordination between the government officials and the people's representatives at the Thana level.

Comilla experiments also included night schools for adult literacy, family planning activities through village midwives (Dhai) thus attempting further social and economic development of the rural peoples in Bangladesh.

The four main models of rural development developed by BARD, Comilla were:

(i) Improving rural administration and genesis of TTDC:

The assumptions behind this approach were that the people should be mobilised through their elected leaders, and that the officers should co-ordinate departmental activities with each other as well as with the people's representatives. The Thana centre was to be the focus not only of planning and co-ordination but also of training. Special meeting hall and classrooms were added and Thana officers were encouraged to teach the villagers.

Accordingly, a new local government council, namely the Thana Council, was created. The constituent members of the Thana Council were the people's representatives and the officials of the nation-building departments, chairmen of the next lower tier, the Union Councils, and the departmental officers of the Thana. The Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) was constructed in which the offices of the nation building departments - Agriculture, Livestock, Fishery, Health, Education, etc. were housed. The Thana Council was also located in the TTDC building. The Thana Council and the TTDC provided for establishing close relationships between the Thana officers and the rural people and also made provision for the training of the rural people.
The government of East Pakistan announced the government's decision to have a TTDC in each Thana of former East Pakistan. The TTDC in each Thana was to contain an office of the Thana Council and offices for the Thana officers representing the nation building departments. A complex of training facilities and of livelihood improvement institutions which include a Thana Central Co-operative Association (TTCA) with a farmers' bank, a workshop, and a godown was also attached. TTDC should also house all kinds of service institutions and demonstration plots. There to be a public health clinic; a family planning clinic; a veterinary clinic; a soil testing laboratory; a demonstration dairy, poultry, fish and paddy farm; a dairy processing unit and so on. The same circular further provided for a library and a Thana cultural centre within each TTDC compound in the country. This model for improving rural administration as developed by BARD, Comilla was thus replicated throughout the country.

(ii) Drainage and Road Programme (Rural Works Programme):
The objectives of this programme were to build the physical infrastructure and generate employment opportunities for the landless and marginal farmers in the slack winter season. Local labourers were to be employed and works were to be executed through a project committee with local villagers. The foremost task of the Thana council was the construction of a drainage and road network for protection of crops from flooding and to connect villages with the markets. This programme also ensured people's participation and gave a new vitality to the self government bodies.

(iii) The Irrigation Works Programme (Thana Irrigation Programme):
Agriculture in the dry winter season requires irrigation in Bangladesh. This programme was to provide irrigation facilities to increase agricultural production. The components of the model were:
- formation of irrigation groups with beneficiary farmers, operation of lift pumps and tubewells, construction of field channels and distribution of water to fields, maintenance of
machines, and training of the pump drivers and managers of the
groups.  

(iv) The Co-operative Project:

The Comilla co-operative model organised the peasant
proprietors, who constitute the vast majority of the rural
population, into co-operative groups to teach them modern practices
and management. Village level co-operative societies were important
in serving as vehicles for extension as well as for supplies and
services. Such co-operatives helped increase production and protect
the peasant members from the prevailing system of money lending and
trading. Thus co-operatives gave the farmers solidarity and self-
protection. The co-operative taught them how to acquire capital an
hence the Comilla co-operative model put emphasis on thrift, saving
and investment. Individually a two acre farmer could neither buy
nor operate a pump or tractor because of small size of individual
holdings. The co-operative introduced joint management.  

Arthur F. Raper mentioned some working hypotheses behind the
evolution of the Comilla co-operative model:

- A viable private economic organisation was needed
which could serve as a basis of collaborative effort
and through which mechanisation and other improved
methods could be introduced. The central need,
initially, was for the creation of capital through
savings.

- The village would be recognised as the basic unit,
with those families whose heads decided to do so
becoming members of a local voluntary group.

- ...Since it would be impossible to work directly with
individual members of these groups, some form of
representation would be needed [to work as a link
between villages and BARD and Comilla KTCCA]....

- A training method would follow logically from the
above in which the organisers [that is the managers]
and model farmers [the representatives of village
societies] would come for weekly training sessions,
followed by village meetings where ideas learned
would constitute the 'lesson' for villagers....

The Comilla co-operative model developed by BARD on the basis of
above assumptions/background provides for the observance of ten
compulsory disciplines/principles which are as follows:
(1) Organise the KSS, officially register this as a co-operative society.
(2) Join the central (i.e. Upazila) association of co-operatives by purchasing shares.
(3) Hold weekly meetings with compulsory attendance of all members.
(4) Select a trusted man from the group as a manager and a good farmer as a model farmer to receive necessary training each week from the Central association and to disseminate this knowledge to the fellow members.
(5) Keep proper and complete accounts of the society...
(6) Make joint production plans.
(7) Use supervised production credit.
(8) Adopt improved agricultural practices and skills.
(9) Make regular saving deposits and purchase shares of the society.
(10) Hold regular member education discussions.

These principles provided for a two tier Co-operative System - KSS at village level and their federation (TCCA) at the Thana level. They provided for a manager and a model farmer to attend weekly training sessions at the TTDC and to work as the extension agents for their respective societies. The training of the KSS representatives to work in the co-operative model was regarded as essential to its success as the principles show. It is this aspect of the Comilla models on which this thesis concentrates.

B Structure and functions of Comilla Co-operative

Structurally the Comilla Co-operative is a two tier co-operative comprising a village level Co-operative Society (KSS) and the Thana Central Co-operative Association (TCCA). The constitution, functions, and management of each tier are:

(i) Constitution and functions of KSS:

To organise a [Village] Co-operative Society (KSS) the minimum number of members is fifteen. Four primary goals of the village society (KSS) have been enumerated thus:

(1) To overcome the constraint of fragmented mini-holdings and introduce well organised intensive farming for increased production.
(2) To bring about substantial increase in employment through intensive cultivation of land.
(3) To create collective solvency through accumulation of thrift deposits, and pooling of equity capital.
(4) To enable primary producers to protect themselves through co-operation and mutual help from money lenders and traders.

In other words, the goals were to increase production, increase employment, provide collective solvency and escape from the clutches of money lenders and traders. The ways and means for achieving these goals are described by A.H. Khan thus:

(1) A regular weekly meeting of the members in their own village to start and sustain the process, so to say, of the pooling of minds and of making possible many kinds of co-operative action essential for uplift of peasant farmers.
(2) Regular thrift deposits for the pooling of capital and the creation of collateral, which is essential for making peasant farmers credit worthy and ultimately collectively solvent and self-supporting.
(3) Learning of improved methods through their managers and model-farmers and others regularly trained by experts at the Thana centre.
(4) Economic utilisation by means of co-operative management of new inputs like credit, irrigation water, fertiliser and extension education.

(ii) Managing committee of KSS:

A KSS is managed by a managing committee, elected by the general members from among themselves, which is directly responsible to them. The size of the committee varies from society to society. Usually it consists of 6, 9 or 12 members - a number divisible by three. The first managing committee will be elected by the general members. One third of these members will retire in the subsequent years when a general meeting will be held to elect the new members.

Generally no member can remain in the Committee for more than three years. Members of the managing committee are called Directors. All except the members who have retired in the same year are eligible to contest in the election. Former members of the managing committee can seek election after a gap of at least one year. If a particular manager is to be retained in the managing committee as a very special case, the general members must take a
decision to that effect and this decision must be communicated through TCCA to the Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies (ARCS) for approval. A managing committee member may resign and the members can also pass a vote of no-confidence against a member. In both these cases there can be a co-option.

The members of the managing committee elect one chairman, one vice-chairman, and one manager from amongst themselves. The manager works as the secretary to the society. The model farmer is elected by the general members of KSS as an agricultural expert. All issues are discussed in the weekly general meeting to which the managing committee reports.44

The functions of the managing committee is to conduct the weekly general meeting and an annual general meeting (AGM). They also
(a) decide the policies,
(b) guide the members for implementing plans,
(c) maintain accounts and prepare reports and
(d) prepare plans based on the expressed needs of the members.

(iii) Constitution and goals of TCCA (now UCCA)
At least ten village Co-operative Societies should be federated for the formation of a Thana Central Co-operative Association (TCCA).45 The principal goal of TCCA is to support the KSS at the village level in the shape of giving supervised credit, procuring and distributing inputs, arranging for repair and servicing of agricultural equipment, functioning as a bank for promoting increased production through supervised planning and credit, capital accumulation through savings and commercial marketing, and sponsoring a special plan of supervised agricultural extension to demonstrate and teach scientific methods to the co-operative farmer-members. A TCCA is to decide policies on loans, procure and distribute inputs, undertake business operations and to arrange for Annual General Meeting (AGM) of TCCA. In Comilla, the
KTCCA and its staff offered at least four types of support to the KSS groups:

(a) Organising regular training for manager and model farmers and occasionally other categories of members;
(b) acquiring needed production inputs, such as new varieties of seeds, fertilizer, irrigation equipment and credit;
(c) organising co-operative service activities primarily for improving farmers' return from their produce; and
(d) continued supervision of loans and KSS activities.

(iv) Managing Committee of TCCA:
Each member society (i.e. KSS) elects one person from among themselves to represent the society to the central association for one year. These KSS representatives form the electorate to elect the Directors of TCCA. The members of the managing committee consists of a number of members divisible by three, e.g. 6, 9, or 12. One third of the members of the committee shall retire every year and their posts will be filled up by election. Just as in the managing committee of KSS, no member of the managing committee of TCCA can remain in the managing committee continuously for more than three years.

C The system of managers and model farmers of the KSS in the Comilla co-operative:

This thesis is about the training activities of the managers and the model farmers of the KSS. It is important, therefore, to look into the evolution and functions of the manager and the model farmer in the Comilla Co-operative structure to understand what effective training meant in the model which was later adopted in the whole country.

(i) Manager of KSS:
The manager, earlier known as organiser of the KSS, is always the key man in the model. Chosen by his fellow members, he is the liaison between the village society and the TTDC/TCCA. He is to
bring to the TCCA the problems of his society and take back the ideas he learns at the weekly TTDC training. He acts as the treasurer for his KSS and also trainer to the ordinary members at their weekly meetings.

The KSS manager is a person with primary responsibility for the business, financial and organisational matters of the co-operative. He has several duties:

(i) to maintain the accounts and records of the KSS with the help of the village accountant;
(ii) to collect saving deposits from members and issue receipts;
(iii) to lead the preparation of the joint production plan and the loan application to TCCA, and to distribute loan funds and collect repayments from individual members for payment to the TCCA;
(iv) to organise weekly meetings during which he becomes a trainer for ordinary members to assist them to understand the working of a co-operative;
(v) to attend the weekly training session at the TTDC to learn about leadership skills and specific organisational responsibilities, such as the functioning of co-operatives. The training also covers such specific tasks as,
   (a) how to conduct a meeting,
   (b) how to issue receipts to members and make deposit slips,
   (c) how to prepare production plans and make application for loans from the TCCA,
   (d) how to maintain different records/books of KSS, such as minutes of any important KSS decision,
   (e) how to organise and run an irrigation scheme,
   (f) how to procure, distribute and recover loans. 48

The manager of KSS must also obtain any current information on acquiring irrigation pumps, pesticides, fertiliser, new seeds
and other Thana based development aids. He is also to keep information about the plans and activities of TCCA where he has to deposit the savings, share-purchases and loan repayments of his KSS. Without training and regular contact with TCCA, it will be virtually impossible for a village co-operative to function properly to achieve the various Comilla goals. Therefore, it is essential that the manager maintains his regular attendance at TTDC training. It is the individual responsibility of the manager to keep up attendance in the weekly training at TTDC. At the same time it is a group responsibility as the KSS commits itself to choosing a manager. They must also insist on his attendance at training for their common benefit. Selection of a manager by KSS is therefore extremely important for the programme.

(ii) Model farmer of KSS:

Evolution of the model farmer system is the outcome of research by S.A. Rahim of BARD. He found that the multipurpose village level workers (VLW) were not considered by the farmers to be experts on farming; they were a source of information but not a source of influence. The VLW succeeded in establishing a channel of communication between the official organisation and people, but failed to provide the new leadership which was so much needed. Rahim found that rather than VLWs, the farmers got advice on agriculture from a trusted friend who was a good farmer of his locality. The formal village leadership did not provide leadership in agriculture. Rather it was the informal leaders of the village who were more influential in providing advice on agriculture.49 On the basis of this finding and also after further research, a system of model farmers was included in the Comilla co-operative principles. Arthur F. Raper mentions five distinctive features of a model farmer:

1. He is a resident village farmer who serves his own society rather than an outsider who serves several villages.

2. He is selected by the other members of a local voluntary co-operative group rather than by the BARD or some other agency.
(3) He comes to Academy for training once a week and so provides liaison between the farmers and the Academy [now UTDC].

(4) He is one of a group of village farmers who as a unit serve as innovator (individual innovators are rare).

(5) He is taught by the Academy staff and advisers (later largely by the departmental representatives at the Thana).

K.M. Rahman further added to these features the notion of the model farmer as an extension agent at the village level. In Comilla he found that model farmers were often more effective and useful than the government extension agent. A.H. Khan thought the village level government extension agents were half-baked, half-hearted and ill-paid officials who ignored the majority of the village people and confined their attention to the more affluent families. Their knowledge, experience and motivation were poor and general acceptance by the villagers was discouraging. The VLW was an outsider in a closed society and was treated as the expensive and ineffective middleman, and too frequently his agricultural know-how was inadequate. In such a situation model farmers were thought to be better substitutes for VLWs.

In the Comilla Kotwali Thana, village/union level extension agents, like Union Agricultural Assistant (UAA), were withdrawn at the request of BARD and were replaced by model farmers to work as extension agents for the villagers. In Comilla a model farmer was a trainee at TTDC and trainer at KSS. As a model farmer he had certain obligations/roles as he became the KSS expert on modern agricultural techniques:

(a) he should be an actual cultivator who farms with his own hands;

(b) he should set aside a small part of his land to test and demonstrate agricultural innovations. These tests or innovations are to be discussed in regular KSS meetings;

(c) he is to attend training classes at TTDC, where he is to receive training from the Thana level officers of the nation building departments for the modernisation of
agriculture. Returning to his village the model farmer is to become the teacher or extension agent in the weekly KSS meeting for the other members;

(d) he is to take back any question raised by any member of the KSS to the next training class in TTDC and to get the answer;

(e) he must help maximise the acceptance of modern agricultural method and minimise resistance to agricultural change. 54

A model farmer should, therefore, be a progressive farmer. Selection of a model farmer is therefore crucial to his effectiveness.

D. The training of the KSS representatives by Comilla KTCCA in the 1960s:

Comilla developed certain principles for the training of KSS representatives through research and experimentation in its laboratory area, the Kotwali Thana. As to the need for training of rural development officers and villagers, A.H. Khan stated,

To achieve rural development, the officers and villagers must be trained to work in a co-ordinated way. The officers can be effective in their developmental duties only as they become informed about proper procedures and as they function as teachers and guides of the local leaders; and the local leaders, in turn, can be effective only as they receive proper training from the officer-teacher and are related to their village neighbours so as to pass on to them what they have learned. 55

He drew the following nine principles/conclusions about the training of villagers and officers in the field of rural development: 56

i. The villagers must be re-organised: The villagers are to be re-organised socially and economically. By social re-organisation he meant creation of new institutions like village based co-operatives and the revitalisation of the
existing local councils. Economic re-organisation means the adoption of improved farming methods, tools and marketing procedures and the accumulation and investment of more capital.

ii. A comprehensive approach through local groups is essential: In spite of recent disintegration, the village is still an organic unit. Solution of its problems needs comprehensive and co-ordinated effort.

iii. Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC) is a necessity: In Bangladesh the Thana Headquarters is usually located in the middle of a densely populated area. It is a strategic place for training and development which can initiate, supervise and sustain the social and economic transformation of two to four hundred villages in it. The centre should combine administration, education and servicing.

iv. The officers must also function as teachers: In a post-colonial country, the officers must also become teachers, trainers and salesmen to spread the techniques of progress among tradition-bound villagers. For this new role as trainers, the officers need be trained.

v. Each village must select its own leaders: The formation and progress of the group is the result of individual leadership from within. A person from outside the village cannot be an effective leader. Thus training of the selected group representative is essential to make him a leader.

vi. The training of local leaders must be frequent and continuous: The selected leaders should visit the TTDC at least once in a week. Here the Thana level experts sit with them in a classroom for long hours and discuss seasonal operations. Instruction should be supported by supply and services. It creates a brotherhood of active workers which is very important.

vii. Every village group must assemble every week: It needs to do this to review its own affairs and to listen to
information brought back to the village each week from
the Thana Training Centre by its elected representatives.
This weekly assembly is the synthesis of a learning class
and a planning meeting. It is the foundation of the new
order. Without weekly meetings interest evaporates and
organisation slackens. Peasants are not mature enough to
put their trust in a small managing committee which in
fact may not be worthy of trust. Weekly meetings create
cohesion and enforces discipline. They teach
responsibility to members as well as to the leaders. The
core of KSS activity is the weekly meeting. "It serves
three clear functions: agricultural training [by model
farmers], the conduct of practical business matters and
organisational training [by the manager]." 57

viii. Training must be continuous and massive training is
possible: The villagers have time and eagerness to learn.
They do not insist on salaries. Their travel to training
centre can easily be financed and is a profitable
investment. The Thana centre can be staffed with properly
qualified personnel and the instruction organised in such
a way that it becomes a six-day week school for various
groups of village leaders. The things taught at this
centre will be transmitted to thousands of farmers
through the weekly meetings at the village. There is a
continuous and reciprocal learning system between the
teacher, leader and villagers.

ix. The Training and Development Centre must operate
autonomously: When everything is referred to some
superior body far away, nothing but fatalism and
resignation may result. The local officers should be
trained and then be trusted with resources and
responsibility.

These principles were the basis of the training of the KSS
representatives in Comilla which was carried out under the
supervision of BARD.
A survey of Comilla literature suggests that the weekly training system of the KSS representatives in Comilla was evolved in the 1960s after many trials and errors. BARD and KTCCA worked jointly to develop appropriate structure and system of training of the KSS representatives. The activities of BARD and KTCCA became so intertwined that it was, "impossible to determine as to which preparation of the present activity on campus [of Comilla KTCCA] belongs to each organisation". Almost all of the faculty members and the sections of BARD were involved in one way or another with the affairs of the Comilla KTCCA.

(a) Evolution of the system of training of managers and model farmers in Comilla:

BARD firmly believed that the real strength of a co-operative organisations lies in members' education and training. Training programmes for the KSS representatives were developed in Comilla on the assumption that "modernisation entails the acquisition of new skills". The manager of KSS (initially called the organiser) was treated as the key person from the very inception of Comilla co-operative project. There was a serious intention "to train them as professional managers". The model farmer system emerged in July 1962, to train them to be the extension agents and experts in agriculture.

Until 1964 the managers and model farmers were trained in separate classes. Later it was realised that the managers should also be trained in the technical subjects as they held the key position in the KSS. Accordingly joint classes for both were introduced. It was observed, however, that the managers were not enthusiastic and interested in technical subjects such as agriculture, livestock and fisheries etc. To meet this problem it was further decided that in the first period of the training day there would be a joint class on general topics. Separate classes for each group would be held in the subsequent periods. The model farmers would receive lessons on technical subjects only.
It was soon found that a villager as a model farmer or as a manager could not put his best into the various responsibilities unless he was paid for his work which took much of his time and energy. So a more practicable situation was to combine the functions of manager and model farmer under one man, that is, the manager. Accordingly from the first day of June, 1964, the system of a separate model farmer from each society was discontinued. The manager as a full time employee of the KSS was paid by KTCCA out of the service fee it realised from the KSS, "He is paid according to his performance and not any fixed amount". After a few months of such amalgamation the need for a separate model farmer was again seriously felt in 1965.

The system of model farmer has been reintroduced. He comes to Abhoy Ashram once a month for training. Five Village Training Centres (VTCs) have also been opened recently. In these centres village farmers are trained by the model farmers.

Monthly training for the model farmers was again found inadequate. Hence,

There were four classes in a month, out of which two were held at the Thana Training Centre and the other two at Village Training Centres.... These Village Training Centres served as the nuclei of agricultural extension in the rural area... Practical demonstrations of improved cultural practices and the use of agricultural machines were conducted in the VTCs. The farmers were learning by doing.

Thus the system of manager and model farmers and their weekly training were evolved after extensive research and experimentation in Comilla by BARD and the Comilla KTCCA in the early 1960s. There were VTCs in Comilla for the practical training of model farmers and the demonstration of improved cultural practices in the 1960s. The present training arrangements under the BRDB programme do not provide VTCs for the practical training of model farmers and demonstration purposes.
(b) The trainers of the KSS representatives in Comilla:

"The Thana Officers were the teachers at the Thana Training Centre". In addition a full-time Deputy Director with supporting clerical staff was available in the KTCCA to look after the training activities of the village co-operators. Moreover it was decided that,

There would be a Principal for the TTDC, who would be responsible for arrangement of funds and administration of the [Training] Centre. During the later part of the report year [1962-63] the above arrangement was made and it is now [1962-63] becoming operative.

Thus the training of the KSS representatives was not left only to the Thana officers to work as trainers on a part time basis. There was an organisational base for such training at the Thana level because of provision for a Principal for the Thana Training Centre and a full time Deputy Director (Training) with supporting clerical staff in the KTCCA. Moreover the faculty members of BARD, the Japanese and other foreign experts were constantly participating, guiding and supporting such training in Comilla. The trainers in the Thana Training Centres were generally qualified, trained and committed to the training activities. There is no evidence to say that a scheduled training class in Comilla was suspended because of the absence of an instructor in the 1960s.

The trainers of the Thana Training Centre were regularly trained and retrained by BARD. The key personnel concerned with the co-operative project at the Thana level were trained for six months prior to joining the Thana. Over and above, "a refresher course was organised to train up the teachers of TTDC and to enrich them with subject matter. An extension manual was published as a guide for the teachers to talk on new subjects". In addition, "occasional training of trainers and extension agents is also arranged [in BARD]". Trainers of the KSS representatives were thus subject to continuous training by BARD, Comilla to help them to acquire professional skills and to update their knowledge. Accordingly "the role of Thana officers as teachers rather than
administrators has emerged clearly. They are satisfied to find that the fruits of their effort are now visible, and that the villagers recognise their work". 72

(c) The trainees in Comilla and their selection:

BARD and KTCCA made every effort to select persons with the requisite background as the managers and model farmers of KSS. If a model farmer was found unsuitable, he was screened by the trainers and the concerned KSS was requested to select another suitable farmer in his place. 73 The need for regular training of the chairman of KSS was never felt, because his role in the KSS was formal. Since October 1963, the chairmen of KSS were called once a month when the managing committee of the KTCCA met to comment on various reports presented in the meeting and highlight any special problem, etc. emerging during the month.

(d) Committees constituted to support the training activities:

To co-ordinate the training activities and also to ensure participation of the trainees in the process of identification of training needs, determination of training objectives, and selection of training subjects and methods the following committees functioned in Comilla:

(i) Thana Training Committee:

Thana Training Committee was formed, including all Thana officials, selected members of Academy [BARD] faculty and Project Director of central co-operative association. This committee was presided over by the Circle Officer... The weekly meeting of the Thana Training Committee proved to be quite effective in taking care of innumerable problems. 74 To co-ordinate different activities concerning training of village representatives the Committee would meet on each Saturday morning.

(ii) Advisory Council for Selection of Lesson-topics and Weekly Meeting of Trainers:

In 1964 it was observed that the lesson-topics which had previously been selected by the teachers concerned were often found to fall short of the (felt) needs of the trainees. So an Advisory Council consisting of nine model farmers of nine different primary
societies dispersed widely over the Thana, was formed. This Advisory Council would meet once a month to sit with the teachers and help them to select appropriate lesson-topics. On Thursday each week, a meeting of teachers was held to make a review of the teaching programme of the previous week as well as that of following one in order to make it more fruitful and effective.75

(iii) Weekly meeting of the managers:
Apart from weekly training session, the managers would meet weekly at the central association. The Inspector (generally in charge of 15-20 KSS), would preside over his group. The Inspector would give them instruction sheets which contained information about machines and equipment, commodities with prices, information about good work done by different societies etc. Lesson-sheets given to model farmers were also distributed to the managers. The managers would benefit by each other's experience.76

(iv) Inspection committee:
To provide an opportunity to the members of primary co-operatives through their managers to understand the working of the central association, an Inspection committee composed of three elected members of the managing committee of the central association was formed. This Inspection Committee kept the organisers and managers informed about the working of the different sections of the central association.77 The committee had access to all the records and could interview any one in the management of KTCCA and get all information required. The managers could thus acquire first-hand knowledge about the activities of the KTCCA. The team would thus educate the representatives of KSS.

(v) Supervisors weekly meeting:
The supervisor was an especially successful manager who had been selected and was paid by the central association to help other managers of his area. Usually he supervised four village societies in addition to his own.78

Meetings of the supervisors were held once every week on Saturday at the central association headquarters. The meeting was presided over by the Deputy Project Director. The Inspectors of
KTCCA would also attend. The supervisors discussed their previous week's visit to village co-operatives. They mentioned difficulties and helped plan future action. Discussion on issues of villagers' training would also take place.

E. Training environment, design and implementation of courses in Comilla:

The following discussion of physical facilities, equipment, curriculum, method and support available in Comilla will illustrate the argument of the thesis that commitment is a primary requirement for effective training. Comilla Kotwali Thana and the officers working there worked under the supervision and guidance of BARD which was solely responsible for all types of horizontal coordination. The leadership of A.H. Khan, the Director of BARD and his personal image, abilities and intense commitment to the project helped enormously in the co-ordination, supervision and control of activities in Comilla Kotwali Thana.

As mentioned earlier, training was the central pivot of all these activities and the Thana Training Committee was the co-ordinator of training activities in Comilla. The nine principles of training mentioned earlier were carefully adhered to in Comilla. Research as a tool was regularly utilised at the various stages of training process. Research was greatly emphasised to keep the training activities lively and relevant.

(a) Organisational environment for training in Comilla

A successful organisation may be regarded as a structure composed of people who interact or have relationships with each other for the achievement of clearly defined ends. In Comilla the Thana Training Centre was such an organisation. It had a full-time Deputy Director (Training) with full-time supporting clerical personnel. Moreover there was a Principal for the administration of training activities in TTDC. Thus a training organisation existed in Comilla for the training of the KSS representatives. The trainers were trained and retrained by BARD. The trainees, that is
the KSS representatives, were carefully selected. Comilla thus had an organisational base for designing and implementing the training activities of the KSS representatives.

(b) Physical facilities and training equipment:

Comilla Kotwali Thana Training Centre had well equipped training halls and demonstration plots for the training of the KSS representatives. Improved crops were grown in those demonstration plots and utilised for the purpose of demonstration to the trainees. All the necessary training equipment was available. These included audio-visual aids and office facilities and equipment for practical training etc. Necessary provision for an ideal learning environment was thus available in Comilla in the 1960s.

(c) Planning of courses including selection of training subjects for the KSS representatives in Comilla:

At the Thana training centre the committees served as a forum to ensure participation of the trainee (KSS representatives) in the planning of training courses. The trainers and the trainees would sit together to determine appropriate training needs and set proper training objectives. Thus both were aware of the training objectives which intensified their commitment to the training activities. However, the broader and more general goal was to develop a corporate outlook, social consciousness and group habits of the trainees which helped each in developing commitment to the training activities.

The training programme in Comilla was dynamic and need based:

There was no fixed syllabus, rather lessons were given on topics which were considered to be of current seasonal importance.... The training of village farmers in the 'know how' and 'do how' of improved agricultural practices has long been recognised as the most important part of agricultural extension.

The absence of a fixed syllabus resulted in the flexibility of the programme and prevented it from becoming stereotyped. The model farmers received instructions on agronomy, animal husbandry, fishery, plant protection. They were also given lessons on the
introduction of new and non-traditional crops and foreign vegetables. They learned about the use of agricultural machines and implements at the VTCs.  

The subjects of training of the managers included, "problems and techniques of economic development ranging from how to hold a meeting to discussion on economy of tractor cultivation". Managers were also given training in book keeping and accountancy. Training content in Comilla would include non-traditional subjects like cultivation of mulberry, maize, fodder, and sugar cane. Other non-traditional subjects were forestry, horticulture and bee-keeping. Discussion on non-traditional crops would provide new information to the trainees and would strengthen their commitment. After training in horticulture the trainees were supplied with fruit plants for further reinforcement of training.

(d) Preparation and distribution of training materials in Comilla:

In 1962-63 it was found that the trainees (KSS representatives) could not remember the details that were taught to them. To help them recall, instruction sheets in simple Bengali were prepared each week. These became text books and a ready reference for the trainees. These were read out in the weekly meetings so that the ordinary members of the society might also learn. Later it was observed that the lesson sheets were not helpful, as the trainees often lost or otherwise forgot to collect the lesson-sheets. So to support the training programmes a large number of technical booklets were prepared. The system of providing them with booklets on relevant subjects was introduced. The Thana officers prepared training materials, if necessary, in consultation with their superior officers. A small soil-testing laboratory equipped with soil testing kits was also added to the training centre.

In Comilla training materials were carefully prepared and the training programmes were supported by distribution of training
materials. The trainees could use them as reference and also in the weekly meeting. Training materials were frequently revised to adjust to time and the local situation.

(e) Training methods followed in Comilla:

Three-quarters of the village co-operators were illiterate. Hence the model farmers and managers were asked to read the booklets and pamphlets aloud in the weekly KSS meeting. Flip charts, film strips, slides and pictures were extensively used. The 'learning by doing' method was emphasised. The trainees were divided into groups of 10 to 20 to facilitate group discussion. There were practical demonstrations of improved cultural practices and the use of modern agricultural machines. In addition to these, special programmes such as 'meet the members' and reciprocal visits were organised to educate the members about their mutual duties and obligations and also to observe how the members of a good society transact business.

The lecture method was the least used method in Comilla. 'Learning by doing', field visits, group discussions, audio-visual and practical demonstration methods were the regularly utilised methods of training of the KSS representatives. The demonstration extension consisted of setting up a 'Model Farm' in co-operative villages. The aim of this demonstration was to provide a massive visual impact accentuating the need for acceptance of new skills.

(f) Follow-up and Feedback of training activities in Comilla:

Training was constantly reinforced by regular follow-up tours by the Thana level officers (i.e. the trainers) and the Inspectors of KTCCA. There was regular formative and summative evaluation of training both by the BARD faculty and the trainers. This would provide feed-back to improve the subsequent training activities. Observational tours to KSS were undertaken at night time by the BARD faculty, Thana level officers and the staff of KTCCA to observe and assist in the proper conduct of the weekly meetings.

On observational tours in the villages, it was found that the weekly night classes of model farmers aroused
much interest; and that the farmers were asking detailed questions to make certain they understood some of the more intricate problems that arose.

Obtaining reactions and trainee assessment of training activities was thus regular in Comilla. One consequence was continuous reinforcement of the aims of the whole programme.

Another method of reinforcement for this commitment was to provide rewards and sanctions to the trainers and the trainees. The managers of KSS received payment from KTCCA on the basis of performance. "0.50 paisa per member regularly attending the weekly village meetings and depositing his savings; 0.50 paisa per acre, per crop brought under improved cultivation by the society". Over and above they got 1% of loan repayment and rupees 15 per month for organising the use of a low lift pump or a tubewell for irrigation. The model farmers were also paid a training allowance to promote their regular attendance.

Using sanctions side by side with rewards recognised the reality of farmers' needs. The by-laws of KSS provide for sanctions such as suspension and expulsion of an individual member including dissolution of a society for irregularity and wilful absenteeism. The irregular members were not given the benefits provided by KTCCA.

As to the incentive to the trainers, the Thana Officers in Comilla would get a monthly training allowance of TK.30 from KTCCA and TK 15 for each class.

(g) Support and services for the training activities:

Training was always backed by the supply of inputs. "Improved varieties of various crops were multiplied and certified seeds were supplied to the farmers". KTCCA would take dealership of all other inputs and equipment from relevant government agencies and statutory bodies. After training on particular topics, relevant inputs were supplied at a fair price by the KTCCA. The trainees could, therefore, apply their training without having to search for
or wait for inputs or equipment. The marketing branch of KTCCA would make various provisions so that the KSS members got a fair price for their produce. This type of support strengthened the commitment of the trainees to acquire and apply new skills and knowledge for their socio-economic well being.

F. The government and the Comilla models in the 1960s

The government of Pakistan accepted the Comilla models as the strategy for rural development in the 1960s. The Comilla co-operative model was also accepted and a scheme was approved by the government of Pakistan in 1970 to replicate the same throughout the former East Pakistan as previously noted. The government put all its efforts into these models for the development of the rural areas without going for any soft or parallel programmes. This speaks for the belief and conviction of the government of Pakistan in the Comilla models at that time. The first Director of BARD, Comilla, A.H. Khan observed,

The government of Pakistan and of East Pakistan, is a fairly strong government and comparatively speaking, it is a fairly efficient and honest government... It has the fullest awareness of the importance of improving the conditions in the rural areas. If we did not have this advantage, the Academy would have gotten nowhere. If the government were not eager for rural development then we would never have had the chance to try our ideas. And if the government were not interested in rural development then, even if we had developed some methods and ideas, they would have been ignored. On the contrary they have been accepted with great readiness and multiplied with speed.

In another place A.H. Khan noted "Unlike previous leaders of Pakistan, Ayub Khan had a definite rural bias. I would even say that he had in fact an anti-urban bias".102

President Ayub provided a stable government from 1958 to 1969. He was personally committed to the Comilla models of rural development. His personal letter to A.H. Khan bears evidence to this end,

It is the first time 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.

President Ayub would visit BARD, Comilla to exchange views with A.H. Khan and other members of the BARD faculty and also to observe the activities of BARD personally. He made several public statements in support of Comilla models. In one public speech in May 29, 1963 at Lahore President Ayub observed,

You would be surprised how much happiness has been given to the people of East Pakistan by the expenditure of a mere ten crore (100,000,000) of rupees... It is amazing how much value they have obtained out of that ten crores. The amount of work they have done would be worth twenty crores... They rehabilitated their roads, their wells, their means of communication, and so on... We are going to continue this system.

President Ayub was thus whole-heartedly committed to the Comilla models and extended all possible political, administrative and financial support for their effective implementation during his period in power. Between March 1969 and the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, Yahiya Khan replaced Ayub but he had to remain busy with the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and the war with India. However, the scheme for the replication of Comilla cooperatives throughout former East Pakistan received approval during his brief but difficult tenure of office as the President of Pakistan.

The Comilla models thus received whole-hearted political, administrative and other support during the Pakistan period. It can, therefore, safely be concluded that the governments of Pakistan were committed to the Comilla models of rural development. The above evidence shows what commitment in Comilla really meant in the 1960s and what conditions were required to make training of the KSS representatives effective.

The elements of commitment which contributed to the programmes' effectiveness in the 1960s emerge clearly from a
summary view of this chapter. It will then be convenient to examine if the similar elements of commitment existed in the 1970s and mid 1980s at the macro and micro levels.

The Comilla models were clearly an improvement upon the past rural development activities as these provided for a bottom up process of rural development and ensured participation of the local people by organising them at the village and Thana levels. Continuous research and evaluation by BARD kept training relevant to the changing situation and thus met the aspirations of the local people. Planning for RWP, TIP and Co-operatives was done locally by involving the local people. RWP schemes were implemented through project committees constituted with the local people. TIP group formed with the beneficiaries implemented the irrigation projects and both tiers of the co-operative were also managed by the local people. The Thana council was a forum for co-ordination of activities and exchange of views between government officials and the people's representatives. The training of officers and villagers was recognised as one of the most important elements in making such models of rural development effective. The Thana Training Centre would regularly train the members of the project committee for RWP, TIP group managers and members including the members of the local government body namely the Union Council in addition to the training of the KSS representatives.

The government showed unshaken interest specifically in the Comilla models. The firm conviction of the government about the value of Comilla models made their decisions and actions more effective. The decision of the government to place Comilla Kotwali Thana and the Thana level officers under the general control and supervision of BARD as the central research and training institution to conduct research and guide the activities of the Thana level officers, indicates its specific commitment to this form of rural development. The use of Comilla Kotwali Thana for all the four models meant they functioned under one control an
supervision namely, the BARD. This paved the way for effective co-
ordination among the models which as A.H. Khan stated, are
interdependent for their effectiveness,

The building of the three infrastructures - administrative, physical and organisational is closely linked into each other. The neglect of one will hamper the advancement of others. For instance, without strong local councils, it would be very difficult either to reconstruct or maintain properly the rural drainage-embankment-road infrastructure. Or without properly maintained drainage and irrigation infrastructure, the co-operative will neither become solvent nor successfully engage in intensive farming. Conversely, without the co-operative infrastructure the small farmers will not be able to obtain, or utilise economically inputs... like irrigation and credit. Without the co-operative infrastructure there would be little possibility of collection of equity capital for investment and ultimate self-support.

Need for close ties between the local government and the co-
operative institutions was also emphasised. Building of physical infrastructures through works programmes was the responsibility of local government bodies. A.H. Khan also held, "The works programme developed the land, while the co-operatives developed the agriculturalists and agriculture [in Comilla]."

Placement of the four models under supervision of BARD by the specific decision of the government contributed positively to their effectiveness. Stable political and BARD leadership also helped uninterrupted commitment. President Ayub had a stable government (1958-69) and A.H. Khan continued throughout as Director of BARD. The whole hearted commitment of the governments to the Comilla models including the training of the KSS representatives can also be deduced from their reliance for rural development on the Comilla models only. They did not establish any parallel and conflicting programmes of rural development and training of the farmers. The government withdrew the VLWs from Comilla and relied on the model farmers and managers as the extension agents. BARD itself was taken under the President's secretariat and thus it was on a strong footing to co-ordinate and influence the various activities. Taking BARD under the President's secretariat shows the intense interest
of the governments to the BARD and its programmes. President Ayub was personally interested in the Comilla models as evidenced by his personal visits to BARD, regular contact with the Director of BARD through letters, public statements in support of the Comilla models and allocation of adequate funds to the programmes.

It would also appear from the following discussion on the expansion of the Comilla co-operative that the programmes were gradually and carefully promoted in other Thanas after research and creation of the appropriate environment needed for the effectiveness of the co-operative programme. In the interest of effective co-ordination the project prepared by the government of Pakistan for the replication of the co-operative model provided for a strong Rural Development Board (RDB) with the Governor of the former East Pakistan as the Chairperson. The Drainage and Roads Programme (Rural works programme) was replicated in 1961-62, TTDC model in 1962-63 and the Thana irrigation programme in 1967-68 throughout Bangladesh.\(^{107}\)

The following summary of the evidence discussed above will help us to understand the nature of commitment to the Comilla models in the 1960s. It will pinpoint the types of commitment at the macro and micro levels which contributed to the effectiveness of the Comilla model and the training of the KSS representatives in the 1960s. This summary will also be useful as a reference point for subsequent analysis and comparison of commitment at various levels to the Comilla co-operative model and the training of the KSS representatives in the 1970s and mid 1980s.

We have noted in the conceptual framework in Chapter I that Norman Uphoff et al, In-Joung Whang and the UN Hand book identified political support, in other words the commitment of the political environment to the programme and the training activities, as the pre-condition for the effectiveness of the rural development programme or the training of the rural people. The above discussion has shown that such commitment existed in Comilla in the 1960s.
An appropriate training environment, it is argued, is another, equally important, pre-requisite for the effectiveness of any training activities. The government and BARD demonstrated commitment to the training of the KSS representatives by providing for appropriate training environment. The organisational environment provided for full time trainers, faculty members of BARD, and foreign experts in addition to the Thana level officers. The trainers were regularly trained and retrained by BARD. The administrative environment was characterised by effective coordination at various levels under the supervision and guidance of BARD and the charismatic leadership of A.H. Khan, the then Director, BARD. There were well equipped training halls, demonstration plots attached to the training centre, training equipment, and the training facilities in the Comilla Kotwali Thana. Thana Training Committee would meet weekly to co-ordinate the training activities horizontally and sort out problems to make the training effective. The nine principles of training as noted earlier were carefully followed under the supervision and guidance of BARD. Such arrangements for the provision of the training environment demonstrate the intense commitment of the then government and BARD to the training of the KSS representatives.

Competence of the trainers is important for their commitment to training. It was already noted that the Upazila level officers who were also trainers, were regularly trained by BARD to make them competent as the trainers. Moreover the BARD faculty and the foreign experts who also worked as trainers were also competent in the profession. The competence of the trainers helped them to be committed to the training activities of the KSS representatives. The commitment of the trainers to the training activities is also noted from their regular attendance in the training classes and active participation in the administration of various training processes. BARD prepared various extension manuals as a guide to the trainers. Availability of such guide books encouraged the commitment of the trainees to the training activities.
The trainers were involved in research activities to identify appropriate training needs, set training objectives, select appropriate training subjects and methods. There was no fixed training syllabus or fixed subjects. The subjects were selected in consultation with the trainees to meet their needs. The training subjects were organised in such a way as to suit the specific roles of the model farmers and the managers. The lecture method was the least utilised method of training, instead 'learning by doing', group discussion, field visits and audio-visual methods were the most frequently utilised methods of training. Training was supported by training materials like lecture handouts and booklets. Constant evaluation of the training activities would provide feedback and help in taking corrective steps. The training activities were reinforced by the follow-up visits by the trainers and provision for inputs relevant to training subjects which promoted post-training commitment. All these show the intense commitment of the trainers to the administration of the training processes of the KSS representatives in the 1960s.

The commitment of the KSS representatives to the training activities was also noted from their regular participation in the training activities in Comilla in the 1960s. The trainees were carefully selected and their appropriate background would have encouraged their involvement in training. Non-existence of VLW or any parallel programmes intensified their commitment to the KTCCA organised training programmes. There was provision for incentive to the trainees on the basis of their performance. We have seen in the conceptual frame-work that Ribler and the participants of the BRDB organised seminar held that involvement, in other words, commitment of the trainees is essential for the programme's effectiveness. It is evident from the above discussion that the government, BARD, the trainers and the trainees were committed to the training activities of the KSS representatives to make them effective in the 1960s.

The next section will examine the levels of commitment of the governments in the 1970s and mid-1980s to the Comilla Co-operative
model and the BRDB programme which followed. The experiment in Comilla may have been so effective because of the ability of governments and officers to concentrate their efforts in the one place. It is more difficult to maintain such a concentration of resources and energy across a large number of Thanas. Whatever the reasons outlined in the conclusion from the data gathered and reported in the following chapter, the indicators are that at no time has the same level of commitment or effective training been reached.


A. The diffusion and expansion of the Comilla co-operative model including the training of the KSS representatives to other Thanas:

In 1963, the Academy (i.e. BARD) decided to test the co-operative model in three outlying Thanas of the Country.

Under an expansion programme it [the co-operative programme] was put into operation in Natore [Rajshahi district], Gaibandha [Rangpur district] and Gouripur [Mymensingh district] Thanas... Having noted its success and the tremendous response [of the rural people in Comilla and also in the other three outlying Thanas], a scheme entitled the Comilla District Integrated Rural Development Programme [CDIRDP] was drawn up and approved by the then government. ^108

A.H. Khan asserted that Arthur F. Raper, who was then a resident advisor to BARD, first named the co-operative programme Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in 1964 at the time of preparation of the CDIRDP project. ^109 The Comilla co-operative programme was thereafter known as IRDP. Initially seven (out of 20) Thanas of Comilla district were covered in 1965 and the remaining 13 Thanas were taken up in 1968. The responsibility for implementation of the programme was initially given to the provincial Department of Agriculture with BARD playing its role as an observer, researcher and evaluator in addition to providing training to the key personnel involved. Later the East Pakistan Agricultural Development Corporation (EPADC) took over the
responsibility of CDIRDP, when the entire district of Comilla was covered in 1968.

The CDIRDP was continuously evaluated. In 1966, a committee of experts was appointed by the government of East Pakistan to evaluate CDIRDP. Another committee consisting of some university teachers evaluated the programme in 1967-68. The Planning Commission of Pakistan also evaluated the programme in 1970. On the basis of findings of these evaluation reports, it was decided by the government in 1970 to replicate the co-operative model throughout the country in phases. A scheme for the entire former East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was prepared and submitted to the government of Pakistan for approval. The scheme was approved by the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council (ECNEC) in October 1970. Although the scheme was approved in late 1970, it could make little headway till January 1972 due to the outbreak of the war of liberation in 1971; only the establishment of the skeleton head office in Dhaka was possible. The responsibility of CDIRDP was formally handed over by the EPADC to the newly created organisation namely, Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in August 1971. IRDP was given the responsibility of replicating the Comilla co-operative model throughout the newly created Bangladesh.

The First Five Year Plan (1973-78) of Bangladesh provided for bringing 250 Thanas under the programme, and this was achieved within the plan period. (In 1974, IRDP was renamed as Bangladesh Palli Unnayan Sangstha (BPUS) that is, Bangladesh Rural Development Corporation. This changed nomenclature continued only for a few months when the name of the programme was again reverted to IRDP). The following Two Year Plan (1978-80) provided for adding 50 additional Thanas and the Second Five Year Plan (1980-85) provided for extending the programme to the entire country. By June 1985, 448 Thanas were brought under IRDP. Table II-I illustrates the yearly progression:
### TABLE II-1

Year wise adoption of Thanases under the Comilla co-operative model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Thanases adopted</th>
<th>Cumulative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rate of replication of the programme during the pre-independence period appears slow but was in fact deliberately gradual and careful. Only after preparing the personnel and creating the required environment, was the programme extended to a particular Thana. During the Pakistan period the programme was replicated in only 23 Thanases by the governments of Pakistan. After independence of Bangladesh in 1971 the programme was hurriedly replicated in 448 Upazilas, though A.H. Khan had cautioned against haste. The government of Bangladesh failed to realise that the programme objectives could not be achieved in an overall policy vacuum by hasty and careless replication.
Hasty expansion of the programme adversely affected the programme's effectiveness. Organisations at various levels were weakened because inexperienced and inadequately trained personnel were recruited and posted at various levels to carry on with the programme. Young and fresh university graduates were recruited from the open market and posted to the newly adopted Thanas with inadequate training and motivation to run the programme. A BRDB publication itself stated that, "The training of key personnel selected for new Thanas was disrupted".113 In contrast, during the Pakistan period experienced and properly trained civil servants with reasonably good backgrounds were taken on deputation from generalist civil service cadre and put in charge of a Thana to run the programme. Such officers were senior in rank even to the Circle officers and all other officers of the Thanas covered at that time. Securing co-ordination, which is the core of the programme, was thus easier for such senior officers. As has been shown, the programme was placed on a strong footing during the Pakistan period not only because of the staff, but also because of the commitment of the government to the programmes. Speedy replication without arranging for manpower with adequate background put the programme at risk. Thus the seeds of weakness of the programme were unconsciously sown by the government. Emmert in his study observed:

The development of an IRDP bureaucratic hierarchy was contrary to the nature of Comilla programme ... Most of the TCCA... staff had no clear idea themselves why and how Comilla type KSS's are expected to hold weekly membership meetings.... The rapid expansion of IRDP had consequences both at the national level and the Thana level. At the national level, the push to maximise the number of Thanas covered forced a reduction in the time for training the posted IRDP staff.... At several points this pressure appeared about to require that totally untrained staff be sent to organise co-operatives.... At the Thana level, Project Officers felt the pressure to maximise their coverage to as many villages and households as possible.

Emmert reinforced this, quoting Steven Jones thus:

The spreading of IRDP so widely, while satisfying the political need to be seen favouring all districts and sub-divisions equally, has resulted in overstretching the IRDP administration and use of scarce development resources less effectively than might have been
possible, had they been concentrated on smaller numbers of Thanas.

The government of the newly created Bangladesh became more concerned with statistics dealing with the number of Thanas and villages covered than with the quality of performance of those organisations promoting the distinctive Comilla strategies. This rapid expansion in unplanned ways was indeed a blow to the root of the programme. The weaknesses generated in the programme because of rapid expansion must adversely influence its training components, including the training of the KSS representatives.

B. Evolution of the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB):

BRDB as a statutory body was created through ordinance number LIII in December, 1982 to replace IRDP. Section 25 of the said ordinance dissolved IRDP and vested all its assets and liabilities with the BRDB, which was placed under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives. Section 7 of the ordinance enumerated 14 functions of BRDB. Some of the important functions of BRDB are:

(a) to promote village based primary co-operative societies and TCCAs with a view to enable them to be autonomous, self managed and financially viable vehicles for increasing production, employment generation and rural development;

(b) to encourage functional co-operatives for generating income and employment for the rural poor;

(c) to arrange for effective training of members of the managing committees of village based primary co-operative societies and TCCAs and model farmers in agriculture and rural development activities;

(d) to liaise with concerned ministries, departments and agencies for mobilising supplies, services and supports for the TCCAs and village co-operative system...

These functions indicate that BRDB primarily was to replicate and manage the Comilla type co-operatives throughout the country. Thus in essence BRDB was to perform those functions which the dissolved IRDP undertook, i.e. the promotion of co-operatives, education of co-operative members and co-ordination with various
ministries/departments. These roles were the core of the Comilla co-operative approach.

C. The governments, BRDB and the other rural development programmes in the 1970s and mid 1980s:

During the period from December 1971 to June 1985, Bangladesh had at least six governments, which can be divided into three periods according to the tenure of the different governments.

(i) From 1972-74 when Sheikh Mujib's government was in power,

(ii) From 1975-81 when Mustaq, Sayem and Zia governments were in power. During this period Zia had the longest tenure. Mustaq was in office only for a few months. Thus discussion of the period shall mainly centre round the rural development strategies of President Zia and the situation of IRDP during his presidency.

(iii) The third period, that is the period from 1982-85 will cover the rural development efforts of President Ershad and the place of BRDB.

This political instability brought about the varying degrees of commitment to different rural development programmes by various governments. Though BRDB programme was accepted as one of the strategies of rural development by all the governments, it will appear from the subsequent discussion that different governments had different strategies with respect to rural development. The BRDB programme had to encounter duplicate and other conflicting programmes. It will also appear from the subsequent discussion that changes in the political environment resulted in changes in commitment to such programmes.

The government of Sheikh Mujib (1972-74) had a major task in consolidating the war-torn country and organising gigantic relief and rehabilitation works. It framed the first constitution and prepared the First Five Year Plan (1973-78) for the socio-economic
development of the country. It was this government that hastily replicated the Comilla co-operative model without creating prior environments for the effective functioning of the model. The Mujib government for the first time ignored the idea of a Rural Development Board (RDB) and placed IRDP under a sectoral ministry to function as a distinct department and thus sowed the seeds of weakness in the programme. No Board for inter-ministerial co-ordination of the IRDP programme was constituted. The FFYP prepared by the Mujib government however proposed a Co-operative Development Board, (CDB) which was to involve promotional training and research activities. IRDP was to function as the secretariat of CDB. This proposal in the plan was never implemented, nor were the proposals for a number of supportive policies like mobilisation of political machinery in support of the co-operative movement, distribution of agricultural inputs through the co-operatives, modification of co-operative laws and implementation of land reform programmes through the co-operatives. It has been therefore rightly observed that, "Sheikh Mujib's party had no particular commitment to the Comilla approach". IRDP programme including its training component did not receive the necessary policy support at the macro level to become effective.

After the Mujib government, President Zia was in office most of the period from 1975-81 with the other governments in the period relatively short-lived. IRDP experienced a number of parallel and conflicting programmes during the tenure of the Zia government. Zia did not show any specific interest in strengthening the IRDP programme by modifying the decisions of the previous Mujib government. IRDP still functioned as a separate department with no high-powered Board or authority having inter-ministerial co-ordinating jurisdiction. The Zia government failed to demonstrate any real commitment to IRDP making no changes to strengthen its legal or structural framework. The Zia government in reality was more committed to other parallel and conflicting programmes like the Swanirvar movement, Village Food Production Committee, Canal digging, Mass Literacy programme, Own Village Development
programme, Total Village Development programmes and T&V programmes. Zia himself ignored IRDP but personally ensured implementation of some of the programmes, such as the Canal digging and Mass Literacy under his personal supervision from the President's Secretariat. He frequently visited the Swanirvar, Canal digging and Mass Literacy projects and made public speeches in support of these projects asserting that these were his own programmes and thus moulding public opinion in support of these programmes. IRDP was left to operate alone without specific political support. A short introduction to the Swanirvar, Village Food Production Committee, Canal digging, Mass Literacy, Own Village Development programme, Total Village Development programme, T&V programme and Community School Project appears in Appendix-4 to show how conflicting some of these programmes were.

Specific commitment of Zia to these newly introduced and soft programmes not only weakened IRDP but also put it into confusion. Emmert therefore rightly observed:

"In 1975 the new government's rural development efforts were oriented towards creating a new self reliance [Swanirvar] movement at the village level.... IRDP staff again did not know whether Comilla type co-operatives were being replaced or being challenged to join self-reliant activities."

Steven Jones however mentioned that commitment of the Zia government to the Swanirvar movement was based on Zia's desire to consolidate his power base at the rural areas and observed, "The Gram Sakar [Swanirvar movement] was introduced by the late President Zia in part as a way to increase his power base in the country side". The commitment of Zia to the programme like OVD can be traced from his public statements such as "We all can take pride in this work undertaken by the officers for national development.... This pioneering effort of yours will go down in history as a significant national event". As a result the IRDP was deprived of adequate political support. Describing the disadvantageous situation of IRDP during the period, the consultants of the NCRT observed thus:
Co-operative credit has to compete with soft credits where no discipline is imposed. The KSS-TCCA structure has to charge 17.5% interest on loans dispensed by them but the government sanctioned a special agricultural credit of Taka 100 crores in 1979 through commercial banks, on soft term of 12% interest and no other requirements. Naturally it affected [IRDP] credit organisations adversely.

While mentioning the problem of lack of support to IRDP and the vacuum in rural development policy during the period of Zia, the same report also pointed out that the government privatised distribution of agricultural inputs and withdrew the system of distribution of inputs through co-operative institutions. The withdrawal of such privileges badly hurt the KSS-TCCA co-operatives. Agricultural inputs could be procured by the farmers without joining the co-operative groups. Privatisation of fertiliser and other agricultural inputs directly affected the income of those TCCAs which were selling fertiliser. These steps of the Zia government also adversely affected IRDP. It was therefore observed, in 1981,

Government was found to flirt with the Swanirvar movement, tinker with crash programmes and give blessings to systems that militated against the basic concept of programme [IRDP]... Sometimes the government's role has been subversive of the programme [IRDP] which has so far failed to arouse anxiety or concern about its state among the policy makers. Its role in rural development is not appreciated.

Zia was committed to the programmes newly introduced by his government but failed to support IRDP, thereby further propelling it into weakness and confusion. Bypassing IRDP, (i.e. UCCA-KSS institutions under IRDP) agricultural inputs were distributed by appointing private dealers, and credit was distributed through other institutions in softer terms thus weakening IRDP. There were no remarkable statements by Zia in support of IRDP to mould public opinion. No decision, action or interest of Zia showed his specific commitment to IRDP. He did not formulate a comprehensive rural development policy recognising IRDP as the most important strategy for rural development.
The government of President Ershad has been in power since 1982. Immediately after assumption of power Ershad dissolved all the Gramsarkar institutions under the Swanirvar movement and terminated the Canal digging, Mass Literacy, VFPC and OVD programmes to which the earlier government of Zia was specifically committed. Immediately after taking over power Ershad put first priority on the decentralisation of administration, upgraded the Thanas into Upazilas and abolished the subdivision as a tier of administration. Ershad government promulgated the BRDB ordinance in 1982, which will be discussed in the next section. No specific interest was shown or public declaration in support of BRDB was made by Ershad other than the ordinance itself. Government policy remained fragmented as can be noted from the Annual Reports of BRDB where it was reported that the BRDB and BWDB were simultaneously organising the farmers in Comilla type co-operatives. The statutes entrusted such responsibility only to the BRDB. It will be noted in the next chapter that the government of Ershad has so far failed to develop a mechanism for effective co-ordination between the Upazila Parishad and UCCA. It will also appear in Chapter V that the Charters of duties of the Upazila level officers issued by the Ershad government do not specifically ask the Upazila level officers to work as the trainers of the BRDB organised courses for the KSS representatives. There is, therefore, little evidence to show that the Ershad government made any specific commitment to BRDB programmes. Conflicting programmes like T&V and CSP were allowed to continue at the cost of BRDB programmes including the training of the KSS representatives, as was the case since independence.

None of the governments of Bangladesh since independence appeared convinced that they should rely on Comilla type co-operatives and allow them to function as the only system of co-operative in the country. The traditional system of co-operative continued to operate in conflict with the Comilla type co-operative. The Two Year Plan (1978-80) therefore observed thus:
There exist three kinds of co-operatives such as IRDP's two tier co-operative system, the conventional co-operative system of Union Multipurpose co-operatives linked with the Central Co-operative Bank and Jatiya Samabaya [National Co-operative] Bank and TIP-RSS system. These three types of structure and operational mechanisms for a similar organisation create confusion among people, result in wastage of resources and smaller size of each co-operative society, and in mutual rivalry and the thinning out of scarce administrative manpower.

Allowing parallel systems of co-operatives in the country again speaks for the lack of commitment of the governments of Bangladesh to the BRDB programme. The Ershad government did not correct the conflicting situations among the co-operatives by introducing a single type of co-operative in the country.

The above discussion indicates that none of the governments of Bangladesh in the 1970s and mid 1980s was specifically committed to the BRDB programmes. The previous governments of Pakistan relied entirely on the Comilla models with firm conviction and accepted them as the principal strategy for rural development. BRDB never had such opportunities after the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. Steven Jones and Hossain in 1983 correctly described the position of the various governments of Bangladesh with reference to the rural development activities,

There is not and never has been a comprehensive national policy for the rural sector in Bangladesh. Rather, government's rural development policy ... has been characterised by a plethora of overlapping and frequently contradictory programmes run by different government ministries and departments often under the patronage of international aid agencies... [There] is a constant confusion over whether the government is backing private or co-operative sectors as the main vehicle for rural development.... Despite dominance of the rural sector in the economy, it received only about 30% of development expenditure during the 1970s. Moreover its share of the total fell from 34% in 1973-74 to 27% in 1979-80. There is a strong urban industrial bias in Bangladesh development planning.

The Economist in a recent article mentioned the absence of a firm rural development policy of the government and its adverse effect. Following World Bank's advice, the government cut subsidies and so raised prices of farm inputs.... the
farmers are losing interest in incurring the extra cost required to get higher yields... use of fertiliser increased fast in 1980s. But then with the price of inputs rising, the rice price in Bangladesh fell by 8% in 1985 because of a surge in rice imports. According to local economists the extra imports were unnecessary but politically useful. The import take off was needed to finance the government's new political party... It is the small farmers who are going back to low yielding varieties of crops. ... In theory the government should buy rice and jute directly from the farmers at stable prices. In practice farmers are at the mercy of an unstable climate, and erratic import policy and greedy middle man.

The governments of Bangladesh have failed to demonstrate a commitment to the BRDB. The weakness of the BRDB programme because of the lack of commitment of the political environment is likely to adversely affect the training of the KSS representatives with the effect of their losing interest in training programmes. The governments of Bangladesh not only failed to demonstrate a specific commitment to the BRDB programme but also have thrown the entire rural development activities into confusion. The following sections will show that other steps taken by the governments of Bangladesh in respect of co-ordination and training further weakened BRDB. Such weakness has adversely influenced the BRDB programme and its components (including training of the KSS representatives).

D. BRDB and Inter-ministerial Co-ordination at the macro level:

BRDB as a programme can only be effective if the government demonstrates its commitment by ensuring co-ordination among different ministries/departments in supporting the BRDB programme. To ensure supplies and services to the co-operators, BRDB must depend on the Ministries of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries and many other agencies. Officers of various ministries/ agencies at the Upazila work as the trainers in UTDCs. BRDB thus can never perform its educational or promotional role without the wholehearted support of the functionaries of other ministries and agencies. The strength of BRDB programme therefore lies in the extent to which BRDB can secure co-ordination with the other
ministries and agencies. Through macro level co-ordination mechanisms commitment of the government and BARD ensured such co-ordination in Comilla in the 1960s. It will now be argued that the BRDB ordinance did not make adequate provision for inter-ministerial co-ordination at the macro level to make BRDB effective in its role.

Bangladesh has a Presidential type of government. After the re-organisation made according to the Enam Committee Report (1982), there were 18 ministries with 39 divisions at the centre in 1982. The number of ministries however changes from time to time. A ministry may have one or more divisions within it. A ministry is, "responsible for the formulation of policies of the government within its sphere of responsibility". Thus the activities and jurisdiction of a ministry is generally within the sphere defined by the Rules of Business of the government. The Rules of Business framed in accordance with article 56(5) of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and other rules and instructions of the government entrust the authority of macro level inter-ministerial co-ordination with the Cabinet Division and the Planning Commission of the country. Since the President is the head of the state and the government, the President's Secretariat possesses inherent co-ordinating authority over all the government activities. All other ministries including the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives are sectoral ministries, having no direct inter-ministerial co-ordinating authority. The sectoral ministries may consult with each other but cannot directly enforce decisions of one on the other in matters concerning inter-ministerial involvement.

Rule 3 of the Rules of Business empowers the President to constitute a ministry, distribute business of the government among the ministries and assign ministries to the Ministers. The President may take out any programme from any ministry and administer it through the President's Secretariat. This happens when the President is specifically committed to that particular
programme. For example, President Mustaq administered the rural development programme, namely the *Swanirvar* (self-reliant) programme, from the President's Secretariat. President Zia administered the rural development programmes, namely the Canal digging programme and the Mass Literacy programme in the same way. Both Presidents were specifically committed to these programmes and, therefore, wanted them to be executed under their direct supervision. Any instruction from the President's Secretariat naturally receives priority over instructions from other ministries, departments or agencies.

Cabinet Division as a self-contained administrative unit is also under the direct charge of the President. The Secretary of the Cabinet Division is senior in rank and status to all other secretaries of the government. Schedule I of the Rules of Business entrusts 25 items of responsibilities to the Cabinet Division. Some of the responsibilities of the Cabinet Division are,

- Co-ordination of cases involving direction of the President/Cabinet including co-ordination of functions where more than one ministry are concerned.
- General administration in Districts and Divisions including matters related to the discipline of officers connected therewith.
- Regional Development Projects.

Cabinet Division thus exercises the authority for inter-ministerial co-ordination. It is also in charge of general administration at the Division and the District levels. It can also undertake and implement regional development projects. The rural development programme namely the Own Village Development Programme (OVD), was directly administered by the Cabinet Division. This Division also administers the Regional Development Boards for the socio-economic development of different regions of the country.

The Planning Commission of Bangladesh was constituted in January 1972 to formulate policy in the field of the socio-economic development of the country and make recommendations to the Cabinet which remained the final authority on all policy making. It is a body of professional experts and functions as the central planning body. It co-ordinates all matters concerning development planning
The Planning Commission is entrusted with 19 items of duties including,

Co-ordination of the development activities of various ministries and their agencies, where such activities are inter-related or inter-dependent. Co-ordination of economic policies which have economic impact or involve more than one ministry etc.

The Planning Commission thus possesses inter-ministerial co-ordinating authority so far as development projects are concerned. No other ministry except the President's Secretariat, Cabinet Division and the Planning Commission can enforce inter-ministerial co-ordination as per the Rules of Business of the government or other rules and instructions in the country.

Ideally the governments of Bangladesh might have been expected to demonstrate their commitment to BRDB by enabling it to play its co-ordinating role effectively. The most likely way would have been to locate BRDB within one of the above agencies such as the President's Secretariat, Cabinet Division or Planning Commission, since inter-ministerial co-ordination of activities is extremely essential in a programme like BRDB. Since the governments of Pakistan were committed to the activities of BARD, Comilla, they placed it under the President's Secretariat to make its role effective in securing the co-operation of all other relevant ministries/departments in its activities.

The government of Pakistan realised this crucial need of IRDP (now succeeded by BRDB) at the time of the preparation and approval of the IRDP project in 1970. The approved IRDP project document, therefore, made provision for strong co-ordination at different levels on the realisation that,

This scheme would not be given to a single department/agency; or for that matter a new department would not serve the purpose. Therefore, a high-level policy-making body would have to be set up at provincial [refers to former East Pakistan, now Bangladesh] level for overall guidance, policy formulation and co-ordination.
The Evaluation report of IRDP (1974) by the Planning Commission of Bangladesh pointed out,

As per provision of the scheme, a high powered Rural Development Board [RDB] headed by the Governor of East Pakistan and composed of provincial Secretaries of relevant departments and heads of autonomous bodies was constituted... in 1971... Immediately after liberation, a new Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives was formed and the IRDP was attached to that Ministry.

Prior to the liberation of Bangladesh, the government of East Pakistan decided that IRDP would not be administered by a new or separate government department. It would not duplicate functions of other departments. It would help and assist the development of TCCAs in the private sector. RDB was to co-ordinate the activities of the programme through its secretariat and IRDP Head Office in Dhaka was to function as the secretariat of RDB. Thus, as previously mentioned IRDP was directly under the head of the former government of East Pakistan. The original IRDP scheme (1970) also provided for a District Development Co-ordination Committee headed by the Deputy Commissioner of the district concerned to administer the programme at the field level.

After the independence of Bangladesh, IRDP was treated as a separate and distinct programme and was placed under a sectoral ministry namely, the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives. These steps were contrary to the original concept of IRDP.

Schedule I of the Rules of Business enumerates eight responsibilities of the Rural Development and Co-operative Division of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives. These include the responsibility for implementation of IRDP (now BRDB). None of these responsibilities empower the same ministry with the authority to enforce its decisions on other ministries. The Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives as a sectoral ministry does not possess inter-ministerial co-ordinating authority. This ministry cannot,
therefore, directly compel the officers of other ministries to work as trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas, nor can it enforce co-operation of the officers of other ministries even when it is essential for the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

While the effective survival of BRDB programme obviously depends on the strong co-ordination and sincere co-operation of the various ministries, placement of BRDB under a sectoral ministry is one of the important reasons for the weakness of BRDB programmes. This weakness generates deficiencies in the implementation of the various components of the programme, including training of the KSS representatives. In 1979, A.H. Khan observed thus:

At present IRDP, on account of the confusion of goals and means, is in a state of crisis. But it is a self created crisis.... A co-ordinating committee should guide its implementation. The committee should consist of the Deputy Chairman of the Planning commission, the Secretaries of the two ministries [Ministries of Agriculture and the Local government, Rural Development and Co-operatives], Chairmen, BADC, Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB), Power Development Board (PDB), the Director of Agriculture, the Registrar, Co-operatives and others. The Director-General, IRDP should serve as the Secretary and Convener of the committee.

The consultants of the National Committee of Rural Training (NCRT) while examining the training component of IRDP in 1981 similarly observed,

We are inclined to endorse a suggestion that the programme [IRDP] should be administratively under the office of the highest functionary of the government, [indicating the President's secretariat], so that full co-ordination is secured at all levels and ministerial/departmental boundaries do not deter action.

The BRDB ordinance was promulgated in December 1982. It did not include the provision of the original IRDP project that BRDB should be controlled by the head of the government. Instead the BRDB became a distinct statutory body. Framers of the BRDB ordinance also ignored the suggestions of A.H. Khan and the consultants of NCRT
not to place the programme under a ministry having no inter-ministerial co-ordinating authority. They placed BRDB under the same sectoral ministry, namely the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives, which meant that the programme would have weakened political support. This appeared to indicate a deficiency in the commitment of the government to the BRDB programme. Because the past Presidents were committed to the *Swanirvar* movement, Canal digging and Mass Literacy programmes, they brought these under their direct supervision in the President's Secretariat. The apparent indifference of the government to BRDB after 1971 obstructed the desired co-ordination and co-operation of the other ministries and divisions necessary for its effectiveness. The present situation of co-ordination at the Upazila level, where the training programmes of the KSS representatives are implemented, shall be discussed in Chapter III, in an analysis of the training environment for the KSS representatives at the Upazila level. It is clear however that the weakness in BRDB programmes adversely affects its training component, including the training of the KSS representatives at the Upazilas. Further weaknesses in the constitution of the Board of BRDB are described in the following discussion, illustrating the lack of interest and support of the governments for BRDB programme.

The BRDB ordinance 1982 prescribes the composition of the Board as consisting of the Minister in charge of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operative (Chairman of the Board); the Secretary of the same ministry becomes the Vice Chairman, and representation is provided for the Ministries of Agriculture, Finance, Energy, Fisheries and Livestock, Water Development and Flood Control. It does not include representation from the Cabinet Division, the President's Secretariat or the Department of Agricultural Extension. According to the ordinance an officer of the rank of a Joint Secretary to the government may represent any of the ministries named above in the Board. A Joint Secretary works under an Additional Secretary and also the Secretary of a ministry. It is therefore difficult for a
Joint Secretary to speak confidently on behalf of a ministry without the approval of the Secretary or Additional Secretary on important issues. Failure to include the Secretaries compulsorily (in place of Joint Secretaries of the ministries) creates another inherent weakness in the Board. The Rural Development Board (RDB), as provided in the original IRDP project (of 1970), ensured that only the Secretaries of the concerned departments represented the departments on the Board. This is another example of the deviation of the BRDB ordinance from the provisions of the original IRDP project document. The lack of commitment of the government to the BRDB is again evident from its failure to constitute a high powered Board with the head of an inter-ministerial co-ordinating authority and Secretaries of the concerned ministries as its constituent members.

We have seen that totally differing approaches have been adopted in the application of the Comilla Co-operative model, particularly after the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, when the model was accepted as a valuable blue-print for rural development. All of the governments in the 1970s and the mid 1980s demonstrated a lack of commitment to the BRDB programme by their decision not to rely solely on the Comilla model and their failure to consider it as the most important strategy for the rural development of the country. They often supported other conflicting rural development programmes.

Before going on to examine the decisions and actions of the governments in the 1970s and mid 1980s specifically related to training the KSS representatives, the next section will assess the interest of governments of Bangladesh in the training activities in the country in general. It reveals that the governments of Bangladesh took no significant steps to demonstrate their commitment to such training activities.
E. General picture of Training in Bangladesh:

Training in Bangladesh seems to be taken for granted. The sense of responsibility of the government simply ends once a training organisation has been established as though little concern need be shown for its effective functioning. Professional development for trainers is largely ignored; trainers are expected to be born with the skills required for such an occupation. Any one with a good education is assumed to have acquired the ability to train. Subsequent discussion will illustrate that the training activities in general are run in Bangladesh on the above noted assumptions. The civil servants at the Upazila level are the trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazila Training Centres. The training that these civil servants receive in Bangladesh has been described in the following terms,

Training of Civil Servants in Bangladesh is in a state of disequilibrium. On the supply side, there are obvious constraints. For example, there is a dearth of physical infrastructure, resources, well trained and motivated trainers. However the fundamental malady arises from the erratic nature of the demand for training. Despite the government's efforts to a coherent training policy, there are still large gaps in the formulation of a comprehensive training programme [policy]

This statement describes the lack of policy and other support in the training of the civil servants. Lack of commitment of the governments to formulate a comprehensive training policy to support training will also be evident from the following discussions.

It will appear that the government has not yet formulated a policy or undertaken steps to make the training profession attractive. Though the trainer is the key element in any training activity, evidence suggests that the training organisations in Bangladesh can neither attract nor retain qualified trainers in their faculties. At present training is the least preferred job/profession in the country. Usually this is taken by someone as the last resort. Directly recruited staff get very little opportunity for career advancement and the deputationists do not
want to sacrifice their executive powers and other fringe benefits by joining in a training organisation. The training organisations in practice are generally treated as dumping grounds. Usually undesirable persons who otherwise cannot be sacked are deputed to a training organisation to work as the trainers. Alternatively, some persons are forced to work in a training institution on deputation against their will. It is rare to find many persons who voluntarily accepted work in a training institution. The directly recruited staff mostly treat the training job as a stop gap arrangement and continue to search for alternative job opportunities immediately after joining as trainers. They leave the training organisation soon after receipt of another job, primarily because of the lack of opportunity for career advancement and other benefits.

The following evidence will prove that various quarters in the government are quite aware of this unsatisfactory situation but so far have failed to come up with any concrete steps to overcome this serious problem in the field of training. Lack of interest and concern by the authorities to make the training profession attractive further illustrates the government's lack of commitment to training. Syeduzzaman Committee (1983) observed,

The Committee also took into consideration the current training scenario obtaining in the country. It was felt that there was an acute shortage of qualified and motivated instructors in the various training academies. More or less an assignment in training academy for a government officer is considered not prima facie a recognition of one's merit or of academic attainments and unlike the situation obtaining in the Defence Services, a posting in a civil service training institution was seldom construed as a worthwhile assignment. Coupled with these there were no additional facilities or incentives provided to the trainers.

The Ministry of Establishment concurred with this assessment and proposed that

Adequate incentives must be given to attract talented instructors. The foremost incentive for any careerist is to link successful instructional service to his career prospects. A deputationist having done at least a three year stint successfully as an instructor will be assured of a good posting at the end of his term.
Good posting is not promotion, and this decision of the Ministry of Establishment was criticised.

There is, therefore, acceptance at the highest level that posting in the training institution is relatively inferior under the present circumstances. We, therefore, propose that the posts of the Heads of the training institutes may be raised in rank and status and that Secretaries and Additional Secretaries of the government of Bangladesh be compulsorily posted there, by turn, for a fixed tenure. This will at once enhance the prestige of the training institutes and link them up more closely with the administrative ministries and the developmental process.

None of these views have so far been taken into consideration and acted upon by the government.

The consultants of NCRT while studying the situation of the Agricultural Extension Training Institutes (AETI) found,

Almost all the instructors we met during our visit to several AETIs appeared to be disgruntled and frustrated. They had no enthusiasm for the job. They were all biding time to pick an opportunity to go out and join the field extension organisation. They saw no prospect in the present job. The remuneration and benefits they were receiving in the present assignment were much less attractive to them than those of the Thana Agricultural Extension Officers. The instructors find no prospect of promotion in their present assignment. At the same time, they feel that even if they were transferred to the Extension Directorate they would be far behind in the race for promotion.... Most of the fellowships offered by the foreign governments and institutions were being cornered by the Director of Agriculture... for the extension personnel. There was no plan for keeping a special quota for instructors.

Faculty positions of most of the training institutes are generally below the prescribed strength for want of trainers. Table-3 in the appendix illustrates the faculty situation of 21 selected and major training organisations in Bangladesh. It will appear from this table that a total of 886 sanctioned positions in 21 major training organisations are available but as at August 1982 as many as 34 (39.39%) are lying vacant. There is also the possibility that the officers of the departments who generally discharge executive
functions do not usually like to work as trainers on deputation to a training organisation. Out of 537 available trainers in the 21 training organisations mentioned in the table only 68 (12.66%) are on deputation. This prevents enrichment of the faculty by combining the professionals and the practitioners. This situation demonstrates the difficulty on the part of the institutions to attract or to retain qualified trainers. So far the governments have failed to provide for adequate incentives for the trainers and to initiate any positive step to improve the situation. There is little recognition at the macro level that training is a specialised job and that trainers must be developed through regular courses of training. The training institutions with such inadequacies in the faculty, cannot be expected to be effective in their roles.

Lack of a training policy of the government is further evident from the fact that the government is establishing new institutions, when the existing training organisations are handicapped for want of trainers and other support. There has been a proliferation of specialist training through organisations established by different ministries in isolated ways while keeping the conditions of service of the trainers unchanged. Ministries duplicated training organisations without first evaluating the capacity and usefulness of the existing facilities.

The Ministry of Establishment therefore, observed,

In Bangladesh training did not receive adequate attention in the past. A number of training institutions have been set up under different ministries offering training facilities in administration, development and management. But the training activities of these institutes... are in most cases un-coordinated resulting in duplication and wastage of valuable training resources.

Table-4 in the appendix indicates that BARD, RDTI, RDA and BCC are primarily engaged in training the officers of BRDB. Although BARD, RDTI and BCC have been functioning from the Pakistan period, the need for expanding training facilities by establishing new training
institutes like RDA was not specifically explained by the the Ministry of LG RD and Co-operatives. Moreover while the older institutions were suffering for lack of trainers and other resources, creation of new institutions put further pressure on the already limited resources for training. The newly established institutions with similar facilities for the trainers are likely to experience even more serious problems in getting good trainers.

In the 1960s the officers of the Department of Agriculture received training at BARD. Table-4 in the appendix shows that the Ministry of Agriculture established a number of training institutions for the training of the officers of the department of Agriculture after the independence of Bangladesh. GTI and CERDI train the same clientele with almost the same goals. The ministry has never tried to develop a mechanism for the co-ordination of activities of the different training institutions under its control. It was also noted in a report that there was absolutely no co-ordination among the activities of GTI, CERDI, BARI and BRRI. Each institute is maintaining its existence in isolation, resulting in duplication of activities, confusion and wastage of resources. In such circumstances the question of linking these institutions with BARD, RDTI or RDA which do not function under the Ministry of Agriculture does not arise at all.

The KSS representatives are also trained by RDTI, RDA and BCC while the Upazila level training facilities for such trainees are grossly under-utilised (see Table-4 in the appendix). Neither BRDB nor the government have recognised that UTDC and UTU facilities were created for the training of KSS representatives locally and in a decentralised manner. The national or regional training organisations should be involved in the training activities of other rural development personnel, leaving scope for the Upazila training centres to develop specialisation and strength in training the KSS representatives and other villagers. Most of the training institutions mentioned in Table 4 in the appendix are also engaged in training certain groups of villagers, although the
Upazila Training Centre is meant for that. This indicates that the government and the training organisations perhaps cannot rely on Upazila level training and also demonstrates the failure of the government to formulate a comprehensive rural development training policy.

Lack of political and administrative commitment to training in general has been described by S.M. Ali thus:

It is not unnatural to find that the top civil servants and politicians paid attention to training institutions more in rhetoric than in real terms. As a result training institutions multiplied over the years but in real terms they showed the following defects -

(a) Often the administrative ministries appeared reluctant to nominate their officers to the training institutions. In many cases the officers who ought to have received training were not sent. Their places were taken by officers who were relatively more disposable.

(b) The courses that were offered by the training institutions were often not attractive/relevant to the ministries and therefore they were also not much interested in these courses.

(c) Because the training programmes were often not based on training needs, the performance of government servants could not be properly evaluated before and after training and the courses could not be redesigned accordingly.

(d) There was no relationship of training with posting, career development and promotion. So, government servants were by and large not interested in getting training except in foreign countries.

(e) Funds were often available for setting up a number of new institutions, but there was no incentive structure to attract and retain qualified people in these institutions. As a result most training institutions suffered from shortage of qualified staff and remained dependent on guest speakers.

(f) There was inadequate understanding that many training institutions needed autonomy for their effective functioning. Often there was a distinct preference on the part of the ministries to impose their own ideas on captive training institutions. The situation became worse when officers and resources were transferred from training institutes to the administrative ministries and other agencies without determining
loss of efficiencies of these training institutes as a result of these transfers.

The governments of Bangladesh never framed a comprehensive policy for streamlining rural development training. Parallel institutions, often inadequately equipped, have been established without providing for a mechanism for the co-ordination of their activities. This lack of concern of the governments may be interpreted as a lack of commitment to rural development training in general.

The general picture of training in Bangladesh demonstrates that the governments of Bangladesh have failed to demonstrate commitment to training activities in general. When the premier training organisations of the country are experiencing difficulties for want of adequate support from the government, training at the Upazila level is likely to suffer even greater deficiencies.

The next section will however examine what commitments were made by the governments in the 1970s and mid 1980s specifically in respect of the training of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh.

F. The governments and the training of the KSS representatives in the 1970s and mid 1980s:

The FFYP prepared by the Mujib government held thus:

Regular training for both the model farmers and VEAs at TTDCs and at intervals at the AETIs is eventually envisaged. A cadre of subject-matter specialists will be responsible for keeping AETIs and TTDC teachers, Thana Extension Officers... up-to-date with the latest research and its application through systematic training... This information in turn will be passed on to the farmers through VEAs and model farmers.

The government of Sheikh Mujib appeared neither to rely on the model farmer system nor on the training of the KSS representatives in TTDCs. In contravention of the Comilla principle it advocated provision of a low paid, village-level extension agent to function in parallel with the model farmers. Instead of
depending on the decentralised system of training in the TTDCs it proposed the occasional training of the VEAs and model farmers at the AETIs which are located at the regional level. Retention of parallel systems for the same purpose brought them into conflict with each other to the cost of both systems. Proposals for shifting the periodic venue of training from TTDCs to the AETIs prevented development of strength and specialisation of the TTDCs. This lack of clear objectives illustrates the defective commitment of the Mujib government to the Comilla principles and the model farmer system under IRDP/BRDB.

The SFYP prepared by the government of Zia nominated the TTDC as the main centre,

The Thana level Officers would offer courses in the TTDC to develop trainers in different fields who would in turn impart training at villages. All the Thana level and other trainers would be given proper orientation and training.... There would be a central policy-making and co-ordination institution at the national level on rural development training and research. At the national level... a training and co-ordination cell need be established in the Ministry of LG, RD, and Co-operatives.

These proposals in the plan appear to be encouraging. Lack of commitment of the Zia and the subsequent governments to the Thana level training is evident in their failure to implement any of the above proposals. There was no systematic arrangement for teaching the trainers the skills of training. No new central policy making and co-ordination institution was set up nor were any of the existing institutions officially designated exclusively to support and co-ordinate the Thana level training activities. There is no evidence to suggest that any training and co-ordination cell for rural training was functioning.

However in pursuance of the SFYP proposal the Zia government constituted a National Committee for Rural Training (NCRT) in the Planning Commission to co-ordinate rural training activities and offer policy guidance for such training. The following discussion will show however, that the NCRT lacked commitment to rural
training in general and training of the KSS representatives in particular. The NCRT held infrequent meetings to discuss rural training. In the period from July 1976 to June 1984 NCRT held only 15 meetings. On the basis of recommendations of the consultants, the NCRT took some decisions in September 1984. This was, however, after a lapse of about two years after the reports of the consultants were received. These decisions included: organising training for the UTDC trainers, supplying training aids to the Upazila training centres, undertaking research and experimentation to make the training realistic and need based, placing a full-time Training Officer in each Upazila, constituting an Upazila training committee and enhancing the rate of training allowances for the trainers and the trainees etc. This delay in deciding to act on the reports was made worse because, as was noted during the field research, none of these decisions were implemented by any ministry or agency. NCRT never monitored the implementation of their decision.

The following statement regarding the failure of NCRT to strengthen the rural training activities seems to be an accurate description of the present situation of NCRT:

NCRT, as it has been constituted so far, is not equipped with staff to carry out the responsibilities that had been saddled to it [by the government]. It does not have, at present, the professional and specialised staff required for performing its functions... A perusal of the proceedings [of NCRT meetings] indicates that purposeful steps that should have been taken for the acquisition of required capability to carry out its very important seminal duties and functions had never been taken.... If NCRT had been active in its review and monitoring role, the lack of action on the part of government both in its policy making and executive organisations, could be avoided.... Due to structural deficiencies and staffing inadequacies, NCRT has not been able to carry out its functions.

The governments' failure to rectify the inactivity of NCRT provides yet another example of their own lack of commitment to rural training. The indifference of the governments in formulating a comprehensive rural training policy gave birth to conflicting and
parallel training programmes for the farmers and other villagers. The next discussion will show that the decision of the governments to introduce parallel and conflicting training programmes under different ministries abundantly speak for their lack of conviction and interest specifically in the training of the KSS representatives. These conflicting training programmes not only confused the farmers but also considerably weakened the training activities of the KSS representatives.

Parallel to the established KSS system under BRDB and the Ministry of LG, RD and Co-operatives, the Zia government introduced the T&V system. The present government of Ershad is now carrying on with the same T&V programme in conflict with the KSS system. Under the T&V system, the VLW, called the Block Supervisor (B.S.), selects a farmer of his choice, called the contact farmer from the village. The selected contact farmer is to keep regular contact with the BS, try out new ideas and practices and apply them in his own field. He is also to help other farmers in trying those ideas. The role of contact farmer thus conflicts with the model farmer system. T&V system creates wasteful competition between programmes and for resources. While training of the model farmers depends on the commitment of the officers of the Department of Agriculture, a circular from the Department directs their attention to other programmes: "We are committed to the introduction of the T&V system of extension in all districts". The Agricultural officers in the Upazilas are therefore unlikely to be committed to the training of the KSS representatives under the BRDB programme, the attitude of the Ministry of Agriculture towards the Comilla model being so unfriendly:

In Bangladesh two systems have been mainly used for dissemination of improved technology to the farmers. One is the Agricultural Extension Service (DAE) which forms part of the Ministry of Agriculture. The extension work now undertaken by the DAE is organised on the Training and Visit (T&V) lines. The other system is the 'so called Comilla model' [italics mine], with Upazila Central Co-operative Association (UCCA) and Krishi Samabaya Samities (KSS) as its integral parts, operating under Bangladesh Rural Development Board.
Implicit in use of the term, 'so called Comilla model' by the Ministry of Agriculture is its unfavourable attitude towards the Comilla model and the model farmer system. In such a situation commitment of the officers of the Ministry of Agriculture at various levels to the training of the KSS representatives can hardly be expected. The Upazila Agriculture Officers who are the principal trainers of the model farmers are more likely to be committed to the T&V system sponsored by their parent ministry rather than the model farmer system under the BRDB Programme.

The government recognised the conflicting situation and, instead of relying on the model farmer system, issued an inadequate joint circular under the signatures of the Secretaries of the Ministries of Agriculture and LG, RD and Co-operatives and the Director-Generals of BRDB and Agriculture in 1983. Some of the decisions in the circular may be stated thus:

Two systems of agricultural extension have been simultaneously functioning in the country. One is the T&V system under the Ministry of Agriculture and the other is the model farmer system under BRDB. The government feels the need for providing co-ordination between the two. One or more than one model farmer may be treated as contact farmers by the BS... The BS should work through KSS and attend weekly meetings of the KSS.... With the implementation of these decisions, BRDB/UCCA should immediately discontinue the system of imparting training in agricultural subjects to the KSS representatives.

There is a lack of understanding of the Comilla principles and inconsistencies in the circular as can be noted from the fact that it provided for discontinuation of the training of the model farmers in agriculture subjects. In any case, during the field research it appeared that the instructions of the circular are not being followed properly in the Upazilas. Departmental rivalry between the officers of BRDB and Agriculture was noticed as a common feature in most of the Upazilas visited. None of the ministries/departments who had signed the joint circular showed any...
interest in monitoring implementation of these instructions at the field level.

Interestingly, a severe lack of co-ordination between the ministries and the Planning Commission at the macro level may be noted from the following instructions of the Planning Commission in 1984 (i.e. after issuance of the joint circular). Without modifying the previously issued joint circular, the Planning Commission instructed all the concerned ministries that,

"All types of extension services in the village level will be provided through model farmers, including Crop Production, Livestock, Fisheries, Horticulture, Plant Protection, Social Forestry, etc. More than one model farmer will be trained in the UTDC/UCCA system from each village, so that each may have some specialised and extensive training in Crop Production, Livestock, Fishery, Horticulture, Plant Protection, Water Management, Social Forestry, etc., in addition to the training to be imparted under the T&V system with a view to developing para-professional skills within rural community.

While retaining in force the previously issued joint circular which was intended to stop training model farmers in agricultural subjects, the Planning Commission instructed the continuation of training for the model farmers in agricultural subjects. This illustrates the lack of concern and absolute non-co-ordination at the macro level and the lack of a policy for making the farmers' training effective. It proposed retaining the conflicting T&V system in addition to the model farmer system making it hard to argue that the government had any commitment to the model farmers system or to the training of KSS representatives.

To make matters worse, at a time when the training of the KSS representatives was facing challenge from the T&V system, the government launched yet another programme. The Community School Programme (CSP) in 1983, was established with the aid of the Asian Development Bank to train farmers and other villagers in farming and other skills. Under the programme Community Schools were constructed in various Upazilas and courses for the villagers in agriculture and mechanical trades were offered. Training syllabi
for such courses were centrally designed by the project office in Dhaka and distributed to community schools all over the country to be taught in a stereotyped manner. Actions such as this point to a severe vacuum in the government's rural training policy.

Theoretically, the Upazila Parishad is supposed to co-ordinate all the rural training activities in the Upazila. Evidence below will show that the Upazila Parishads have been separately organising courses for the farmers in Upazila Training Centres in addition to the courses for the KSS representatives by BRDB, T&V programme of the Agriculture Department and the CSP of the Ministry of Education. It became evident during discussion with the officers of the Upazila Parishad at the time of field research, that they did not think it their duty to co-ordinate and support the training activities of the KSS representatives. They considered this the responsibility of the BRDB officers only. Table II-2 below will indicate the amount spent by the Upazila Parishads of some of the Upazilas visited on the training of the farmers in courses independent from and unco-ordinated with BRDB, T&V and CSP courses.

### TABLE II-2

Allotment of funds for the farmers' training by the Upazila Parishads.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Upazila Parishad</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount allotted for the farmers' training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Babuganj</td>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>TK. 1,56,470/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhikargacha</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>TK. 34,268/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabtali</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>TK. 10,000/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manikganj</td>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>TK. 10,480/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scarce resources are thus split between various conflicting programmes, while the training of the KSS representatives was suffering for a lack of adequate funds as will become evident in Chapter IV.
Another organisation, BADC also selects farmers (called Contact growers) and trains them to grow crops for seed production. The NGOs as a component of their programmes also organise courses for the farmers in their project area. Agricultural training of farmers is thus organised under T&V, CSP, and also by the Upazila Parishad, BADC, NGOs and some regional training institutions in addition to the training of the KSS representatives by the BRDB.

Moreover the villagers are trained by the Department of Ansar and VDP in self reliance, Department of Youth Affairs in agriculture and livestock etc, Department of Social Services in garment making, knitting of fishing nets, screen printing and grassmat making etc. The Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training also trains the villagers in vocational skills. All these courses are conducted within the departmental context in an unco-ordinated way. The same village farmer in many cases is approached separately by different departments to participate in the courses organised by them and this creates confusion about training among the villagers. If the governments were really interested in the rural training activities they would provide a policy framework for the implementation of training programmes for the villagers including the programmes for the KSS representatives.

The discussion in this section proves unequivocally that none of the governments of Bangladesh have demonstrated a specific commitment to the training of the KSS representatives. No action was undertaken to strengthen the training of the KSS representatives. Instead of demonstrating their concern for the training of the KSS representatives, the governments introduced parallel and conflicting training programmes for the farmers. The training of the KSS representatives suffered for lack of resources because the governments had split the limited resources among the parallel and conflicting programmes. The training of the KSS representatives was overlooked. Non-reliance on the Comilla principles for the training of KSS representatives in the 1970s and mid 1980s indicated a lack of belief and understanding amounting to
a lack of commitment to the training of the KSS representatives. Governments never showed interest in research to strengthen the training activities and never provided for adequate incentives for such training.

5. SUMMARY:

The conceptual discussion on rural development indicated that training the rural development personnel, including the villagers, is an essential component in any rural development programme. The effectiveness of the training component of any programme largely depends on the strength and effectiveness of resources provided and the content of the programme in question. It was argued that the government needs to be committed to both the programme and the training component by offering policy and other supports to contribute to their effectiveness. This chapter attempted to analyse the relationship between the commitment of various governments to the rural development programme, including the rural training component, and more specifically to the BRDB and the training of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh. To ensure proper sequence in the discussion and also a meaningful analysis of such relationship this chapter examined the issues in three different periods: firstly the period prior to the evolution of the Comilla models, and up to the 1950s; secondly, after the emergence of the Comilla models and during the 1960s; and, thirdly, during the 1970s and mid 1980s, that is, after the emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign nation.

It was noted that the urgent need for rural development in the sub-continent had been recognised by the various governments since the second half of the last century and they initiated some rural development activities in various states of the Indo-Bangladesh sub-continent. Evidence showed that neither the British nor the governments of Pakistan prior to the evolution of the Comilla models were committed to such programmes. They failed to recognise the need for the training of the villagers and other
rural development personnel. They also failed to formulate a comprehensive rural development policy to guide and support the programmes. The unstable governments of Pakistan in the 1950s failed not only in imparting training to the villagers but also in providing for their participation in the various processes of rural development in the country. The V-AID programme of the government of Pakistan primarily relied on the low paid and inadequately trained VLWs rather than creating a base for co-ordination at various levels. Failure to recognise the need for training and to make provision for the involvement of the rural masses in the programme and also to formulate a comprehensive rural development policy to support such programmes rendered these efforts obviously ineffective till the 1950s.

The Comilla models were developed by BARD in the 1960s after rigorous research and experimentation in its laboratory area, the Comilla Kotwali Thana. The Comilla models attempted to bridge all the past gaps and attached supreme importance to training and research as the central components. It provided for Thana Training Centre for the training of the villagers. The stable governments of President Ayub indicated a firm commitment to these models including their training component, such as the training of the KSS representatives. The governments were so strongly in favour of the manager and model farmer system that they withdrew all the VLWs from Comilla. The governments never encouraged any soft, parallel and conflicting rural development or farmers' training programmes. They allocated adequate resources and made public statements in support of the programmes to mobilise public opinion in favour of the programmes. They provided for adequate training environment and because of the specific and strong commitment of the governments to the Comilla models and the training of the KSS representatives, they had political and administrative bases for effective functioning. President Ayub was so mentally wedded to the Comilla models and the activities of BARD that he personally took responsibility for supporting BARD and its activities by placing it under the general supervision of the President's Secretariat.
The faith of the governments in the training of the villagers under Comilla approach was so firm that they ensured construction of Thana Training Centres in each Thana of former East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, in the 1960s. Utmost care was taken during the replication of the Comilla co-operative model in this way. After several evaluations the co-operative model was gradually replicated in 23 Thanas in the 1960s. To facilitate co-ordination among the models all the programmes in Comilla were placed under the supervision and guidance of BARD by placing the Comilla Kotwali Thana at its disposal and thus ensuring mutual support of these models for their effectiveness. Commitment of the stable political leadership and also the continuation of the committed leadership of BARD thus contributed to the effectiveness of the Comilla models and the training of the KSS representatives in the 1960s.

A totally differing level of commitment to the Comilla programmes and the training of the farmers became apparent after 1970 in independent Bangladesh. The first evidence of non-commitment to the Comilla model by the unstable governments of Bangladesh was the placement of the programme under a sectoral ministry having no inter-ministerial co-ordinating authority. Co-ordination, education and promotion are the defined major roles of the Comilla co-operative model. Instead of placing the programme under the control of a high-powered Board to make it effective, IRDP, which was replicating the co-operative model, was treated as a separate department leaving scope for duplication of its functions by other departments.

BRDB (formerly called IRDP) was created in 1982, again with a weak Board, and was not placed under an authority having inter-ministerial jurisdiction. The governments in the 1970s and mid 1980s totally lacked any attachment, loyalty or commitment to the co-operative programme and the training of the KSS representatives as administered by BRDB. By launching parallel and conflicting rural development and farmers' training programmes such as the Swanirvar movement, Canal digging, Mass Literacy, VFPC, T&V, and
Community School Project, they prevented BRDB from becoming strong and effective as a co-ordinating agency for rural development and the training of the farmers.

Instead of relying on the manager and the model farmers system, they posted ill paid and inadequately trained VLWs in a parallel and conflicting programmes to the villages. They also failed to provide policy support for the BRDB and the training of the KSS representatives, discontinued the system of distributing inputs through the co-operatives, and split the resources among the parallel programmes. They showed little concern to ensure co-ordination of activities and provide for proper training environment, as will appear in the next chapter. Without creating the required environment and undertaking research and evaluation they expanded the programme hastily and in a routine fashion, unconsciously sowing the seeds of weakness in the programme. Comilla principles and practices were not carefully enforced and the governments never showed a specific interest in the BRDB programme. They made no attempt to put the decisions recorded in the development plans into action; and did not make adequate public statements to mould public opinion in support of the programmes. The general picture of training as presented in the chapters speaks for the lack of the government's interest in and concern for training as a whole.

Another example of lack of commitment of the government to rural training is evident from the fact that it failed to note the inactivity of the NCRT. The governments in Bangladesh thus failed to demonstrate a specific commitment to the BRDB and the training programmes for the KSS representatives. This lack of commitment on the part of the government was bound to contribute to the ineffectiveness of the BRDB programme and training of the KSS representatives.
The next chapter will attempt to assess the commitments of the government and BRDB in providing for training environments in the Upazilas in the country.
CHAPTER II - FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid, p. 2.

3. Ibid.


6. Supra, f/n 57 of Chapter I, p. 31

7. A.T. Mosher, Getting a Prospective Rural Structure in M.A. Zaman, "Role of TTDC in rural development in Bangladesh" ibid.


10. Ibid.


12. A.H. Khan, Tour of Twenty Thanas (Comilla: BARD, 1971) p. 27.


15. Elliot Tepper, Changing pattern of administration in rural East Pakistan (Syracuse, New York: Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 1966), pp. 15-16.


19. 'Sri' in Bengali and Sanskrit stands for a complex of meanings such as prosperity, beauty, fortune and welfare, while niketan means 'abode'. Sriniketan may be taken to mean 'abode of prosperity or fortune'.

20. Ralph Braibanti, Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan in Najmul Abedin, "Development administration, government policy and public service training", op. cit. p. 3.

21. Sundarban area is situated in the Southern part of Bangladesh (in the greater Khulna District) and by the side of the Bay of Bengal.


34. *Ibid*, p. 149.


41. *Ibid*, p. 16.


52. Village Level Workers (VLWs), Village Extension Agents (VEAs), Block Supervisors (BS), and Union Agriculture Assistants (UAAs) are the village level extension officials of the government. VLWs were the multipurpose (including Agricultural) extension workers under the V-AID programme. UAA, VEA and BS are the village level agricultural extension officials of the government. UAAs functioned in the 1960s but were abolished and followed by the system of VEA in the 1970s. With the introduction of the T & V system (see Appendix-4) in the late 1970s the system of VEA has been replaced the new system of BS. A.H. Khan's observation about the inadequacies in the village level government officials included all types of government's extension officials at the village level. Currently the system of BS as the village level agricultural extension official of the government is in operation in Bangladesh.


64. Abboy Ashram, 'Retreat of the Fearless', was a Gandhian retreat site. It is located a mile south-east of Comilla town and was founded in 1923. BARD used the campus from mid 1959 to April, 1963. At present the Comilla UTDC and KUCCA have been functioning in the campus. See Arthur F. Raper, Rural Development in Action, op. cit., p. 38.


67. Ibid., p. 50.


76. Bangladesh, BARD, Rural Co-operative Pilot Experiment: Third Annual Report [of Comilla KTCCA], 1963, op. cit., p. 44.

77. Ibid, p. 45. See also Bangladesh, BARD, Rural Co-operative Pilot Experiment: Fifth Annual Report [of Comilla KTCCA], 1965, (Comilla: BARD), pp. 43-44.


82. Ibid, p. 51.
86. Bangladesh, BARD, Fifth Annual Report [of BARD], 1963-64 op. cit., p. 45.

100. A.H. Khan treated the Comilla models as the hard programmes of rural development. According to him a hard programme is with a long term perspective. It builds permanent institutions and organisations interlinked with each other. It makes these institutions fully responsible for local planning and implementation. A hard programme promotes autonomy and demands progressive self-support.

A soft programme on the other hand, is with a short term duration and expects very quick results. It is a two to five year syndrome. It depends primarily on posting of large numbers of low-paid village level government officials. It concentrates on special packages, disregarding other constraints or linkages. It requires large subsidies and overhead expenditure. A soft programme according to Khan is tempting but confusing as it may come in conflict with other established programmes. A hard programme if supported, can offer long term solutions to rural problems. See A.H. Khan, "Framework for Rural Development in Bangladesh and a Plan for 250 Co-operatively Organised Thanas" in BARD (compiled), The Works of Akhter Hameed Khan (Vol. III; Comilla: BARD, 1983), pp. 210-211.


110. Integrated Rural Development Programme (now BRDB) (compiled) *Five Years of IRDP, op. cit.*, p. 15.


113. Integrated Rural Development Programme (now BRDB) (compiled), *Five Years of IRDP, op. cit.*, p. 18.


122. *Gramsarkar* means Village Government. *Gramsarkar* was the village level organisation under the *Swanirvar* Movement. See also Appendix-4.


125. A.K.M. Ahsan and A.S.M. Kamaluddin worked as the consultants of NCRT from June 1980 to September 1982 and submitted five reports to NCRT (Planning Commission). Ahsan is a retired civil servant. Apart from holding various field positions, Ahsan held the posts of a Secretary to the Governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh, Secretary-General of the Government
of Bangladesh, Member of the Planning Commission of Bangladesh and Chairman of the East Pakistan Agricultural Development Co-operation. Kamaluddin is a reputed agricultural scientist.


127. Ibid, p. 42.


138. Government of Bangladesh, Cabinet Division, Rules of Business; (Schedule I, Allocation of Business Among the Different Ministries and Divisions), op. cit., pp. 75-76.


143. Syeduzzaman is the present Finance Minister of Bangladesh. He headed the committee in his capacity as the former Finance Secretary in 1983.


159. Annual Development Plans of Upazilas for the years mentioned in the table.
CHAPTER III

TRAINING ENVIRONMENT IN THE UPAZILAS AND INVOLVEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND BRDB

Environment has been defined "as consisting of all external sources and factors to which a person or aggregate of persons is actually or potentially responsive". It may be broken down into physical, social and cultural elements. It is also the "surrounding objects or circumstances". A training organisation is to depend on external agencies for environmental support to make its programmes/activities effective. In many cases a training centre itself cannot create such environments for its effective functioning.

Appropriate environments for the Upazila Training Centres for the KSS representatives require commitment of both the government and BRDB. BRDB alone cannot create various environmental requirements for the Upazila Training Centres, particularly when BRDB does not control the training hall, the demonstration plots and some other components of the Upazila Training Centres. Involvement of both the government and BRDB is, therefore, essential for an adequate training environment for the KSS representatives in the Upazila Training Centres.

Provision for an adequate training environment is crucial for the effectiveness of training programmes for the KSS representatives. An organisational base is essential for the administration of various processes of training in the Upazila. The planning and evaluation stages of the training process, for example, require support from the organisational and economic environment. The preparation and the presentation stages of the training processes particularly require support from the physical, socio-psychological and economic environment. However, each component of the training environment has a certain role in all the processes of a training activity. The involvement of the trainers
and the trainees (i.e. KSS representatives) can hardly be expected without provision for an adequate training environment.

This chapter will assess the commitment of the governments in relation to their decisions and actions in providing a training environment in the Upazilas. The actions of the governments in ensuring adequate physical and administrative environments shall be analysed. Commitment of both the government and BRDB shall be examined with reference to their actions in arranging for an adequate economic and socio-psychological environment in the Upazilas. Similarly the commitment of BRDB in particular shall be assessed in terms of its actions in providing for an organisational base and also its support for and enforcement of the Comilla principles in the Upazilas for the training of the KSS representatives since the BRDB is also expected to provide training facilities and equipment in the Upazilas.

The nature of the political environment of the training of the KSS representatives has already been discussed in Chapter II. The subsequent discussion includes analysis of the organisational, physical, socio-psychological and administrative environments of the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

1. ORGANISATIONAL ENVIRONMENT:

An organisation is a "system of co-operative activities undertaken by two or more persons" and this includes a training organisation. The personnel in an organisation must be selected carefully according to the requirements and functions of the organisation concerned, and need to be developed through regular and refresher training courses to achieve the objectives of the organisation.

We have seen in Chapter II that in the 1960s there was provision for a Principal and a full-time Deputy Director (Training) with supporting staff, members of the faculty of BARD
and foreign experts in addition to the Thana level officers, to plan and implement courses for the KSS representatives in Comilla. Because of the provision for full-time personnel in the Comilla Thana Training Centre, there existed a regular structure for the training organisation for the KSS representatives. BARD as a training and research institution and also in its direct supervisory capacity of the activities of the Comilla Kotwali Thana, regularly trained and retrained the trainers of the Comilla Kotwali Thana.

Similarly the Block administration system in India also provides for a full-time Social Education Organiser (SEO) to look after the informal educational aspects of the villagers. The SEOs are intensively trained for six months in the following areas:

- Sound knowledge in the theory of social organisation and reconstruction in villages with special reference to the community project programme.
- Practical training in the techniques of all round village reconstruction, emphasizing techniques for **arousing and sustaining villagers' interest** and participation in village self-help programmes for better agriculture, sanitation, health, housing, small scale industries, adult literacy, voluntary co-operatives efforts and in active and creative citizenship in a democratic society.
- Practical training in techniques of organising and conducting adult literacy programmes, cultural and recreational activities, organisation of rural libraries, effective use of audio-visual aids and other methods of informal education.

In addition to an SEO in each block there are regular Farmers' Training Centres and Co-operative Training Organisations with full-time qualified instructors in various regions for the training of the co-operators and farmers. Regular training organisations with professional staff for the training of the farmers are also available in Sri Lanka and in other neighbouring countries.

BRDB replicated the Comilla model throughout Bangladesh in the 1970s and mid 1980s. It did not provide for any full-time person to look after the Upazila Training Centre and the training of the KSS representatives. The Upazila level officers of BRDB are
organising courses in addition to their principal duties as the URDOs or ARDOs, and the Upazila level officers of the other nation building departments are working as the trainers for the KSS representatives. In the absence of any structure with full-time officials, the existing Upazila level training arrangements cannot be treated as a training organisation.

The need for a full-time training officer in each Upazila for organising courses for the KSS and other village co-operative representatives was felt by different investigators. The SIDA - ILO report (1974), BIDS report (1974) and the report of the consultants of NCRT (1981) strongly recommended the need for placement of a full-time Training Officer with comparatively higher rank and status in each Upazila to organise courses for the KSS and other village co-operative representatives. The participants in a BRDB organised seminar also strongly advocated the need for placing a full-time Upazila Training Officer with comparatively higher rank and status in each Upazila. The BRDB authorities ignored all these recommendations. However in one instance under the persuasion of the Danish experts, BRDB could not avoid placing a full-time Training officer in the Upazilas under the joint DANIDA - BRDB project in Noakhali district.

The Danish experts and BRDB have been jointly working in Noakhali district to administer the BRDB programmes since 1977-78. This joint project is now in operation in 15 Upazilas of the greater Noakhali district. At the insistence of DANIDA, the Upazila Training Centres under the DANIDA-BRDB project have been provided with a full-time Upazila Training Co-ordinator with supporting staff such as a graphic designer, an artist, a photographer, a technical assistant, an offset printing operator, a typist, etc. to run courses for the KSS representatives with the help of the Upazilas level officers. To support and supervise the Upazila level training activities, there is also provision for a full-time District Training Officer with the necessary supporting staff. DANIDA made available the training equipment and the
training materials are locally prepared. The Upazila Training Co-
ordinators and the District Training Officers are regularly trained
and retrained in training methodology, andragogy and related
subjects. With the co-operation and advice of the Danish experts,
the courses for the KSS representatives are carefully planned and
implemented. Participation of the trainees in these Upazilas was
found excellent. In 1982-83, 1983-84 and 1984-85 the average annual
attendance of the trainees was around 96% in those Upazilas.14
Adequate provision for an organisational environment contributed to
the better design and implementation of courses and encouraged
excellent attendance of the trainees in the training sessions in
the Upazilas under the DANIDA - BRDB project in the Noakhali
district.

The BRDB authorities, however, ignored the Comilla practice
(i.e. the organisational arrangements) of training of the KSS
representatives in the 1960s, the recommendations in various
reports, examples of the neighbouring countries and their own
experience with the DANIDA - BRDB project in Noakhali district.
They have failed to provide any full-time person either at the
regional or at the Upazila level to provide for an organisational
environment for the training of the KSS representatives.

As noted in Chapter II, training organisation in the Comilla
Kotwali Thana provided for regular research and evaluation of the
training activities of the KSS representatives. There was also
provision for various committees to ensure participation of the
trainers and the trainees. No such facilities exist now in the
present training arrangements by BRDB in the Upazilas. Failure of
BRDB to provide a training organisation (i.e. structure with full-
time officials) for the KSS representatives or to follow the
Comilla practices indicates its lack of interest amounting to non-
commitment to such training. This is likely to hinder the effective
administration of the various processes of training and obstruct
the Upazila Training Centre from becoming organisationally
autonomous or innovative.
2. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF TRAINING AT THE UPAZILAS:

The physical setting and layout of the training site is important for successful training. A training facility should be located in a setting which is free from distractions and interruptions. It should provide an atmosphere conducive to study. The internal arrangement of classes is also important. The physical setting and location of training centres are important elements of any learning environment.

A training centre should provide facilities for the production of training materials, such as printing and duplicating, photographic, graphics and audiovisual aids. The produced materials should be distributed. The centre should provide consultation and instructional opportunities for individuals and groups. It should also have demonstration, display, information processing and control facilities. A training centre should have the capacity for evaluation of teaching methods, materials and facilities. There must be provision in a centre for administration, staffing and budgeting. A training director should take these into consideration when he plans the learning place. The training personnel will be able to involve themselves in these activities to improve the internal environment, if the external environment provides them with the appropriate facilities.

Training personnel to be effective require a proper learning environment. An outline of the appropriate physical environments for training together with a description of the existing provision of physical environments in the Upazilas will follow. In this way the level of commitment of the government/BRDB to provide such environmental facilities will become evident.

(i) Learning Space:

The determination of educational philosophy and objectives must precede a design for learning space. The space may be flexible so that it can be used by an individual learner or by groups of
varying sizes. The space should be designed to provide for a choice of materials, media, subjects or achievement levels. It should be close to library or training resources centre. Learning space should provide for social interaction and for future needs of changing training methods and equipment. The size of the room depends on the nature of the meeting, the seating arrangements and the number of participants attending.16

The government has decided the learning space in the Upazilas should be controlled by the UNO on behalf of the Upazila Parishad. The BRDB officers are to depend on the UNOs for the learning space to conduct courses for the KSS representatives. Training the KSS representatives, especially the model farmer, in improved cultural practices requires demonstration and practical training in agriculture. UTDC originally (in the 1960s) provided for an equipped training hall, sixteen acres of land for the purposes of practical training and demonstration of improved agricultural practices, as well as a pond for training in improved pisciculture. The governments of Pakistan accordingly approved a type-plan for TTDC (now UTDC) with provision for a training hall and demonstration plots and a tank for pisciculture.17

Field research in 1985 indicated that the demonstration plots in the UTDC compounds were occupied by newer buildings constructed mostly after the upgrading of the Thanas into Upazilas. New offices and staff quarters along with the recreational facilities were constructed on the demonstration plots within the UTDC compounds leaving practically no land for practical training and demonstration purposes. It was noted during field work in Gabtali, Balaganj, Babuganj, Biswanath and Wazizpur Upazilas, that the following new constructions on the specified demonstration plots within the UTDC compounds18 were completed in the late 1970s and early 1980s:
(a) BADC workshop and BADC godown (i.e. warehouse) (in all the Upazilas surveyed),
Public Health Engineering Office and a machine house (in all the Upazilas surveyed),

Courts for the Munseff and Magistrate along with a Bar Library and Hazat,¹⁹ (in all the Upazilas surveyed),

New quarters for Class I, II and III officials of the government and dormitory for the bachelor officers and staff (in all the Upazilas surveyed),

BRDB godown, a separate Upazila Training Unit (in Gabtali and Balaganj) and Upazila workshop for BRDB in the selected Upazilas (in Gabtali),

Office for Veterinary Surgeon (in Gabtali),

Upazila Health Centre (in Gabtali),

Public Library (in Babuganj),

Flood Shelter (in Biswanath),

Family Planning Centre (in Babuganj).

Babuganj Upazila has turned the only available plot of land within the UTDC compound into a playground and plans to turn it into a permanent stadium. Plans for the construction of a mosque within Gabtali, Wazirpur and Babuganj UTDCs were approved. The recent plan of Biswanath provided for the construction of a madrasa (an institution for Moslem religious study) within the UTDC compound. Virtually little land within the UTDC compound is now available for utilisation for demonstration and practical training purposes. Facilities for practical training of farmers and demonstration of improved method within the UTDC Compound have been thus spoiled since the independence of Bangladesh. In the newly created Upazilas however, the maximum land ceiling for UTDC has been brought down from 20 acres to only 8 acres.²⁰ This area of land is barely sufficient for the construction of offices and staff quarters. The question of having demonstration plots in the newly created Upazila does not therefore, arise. The demonstration ponds for pisciculture within the UTDC compound now lie abandoned. These actions of the governments of Bangladesh adversely affected the learning environment of the Upazilla Training Centres. This is yet another example of the non-commitment of the governments of Bangladesh to the training of the KSS representatives.
(ii) Training Hall:

In Comilla the training hall of the TTDC was maintained by the Circle Officer (Development) who was also the chairman of the Thana Training Committee and vice-chairman of the Thana Council. Because of the leadership of BARD there was no problem of co-ordination. There was also no problem for KTCCA obtaining the training hall regularly because the Circle Officer (Development) would control the hall in his capacity as the vice-chairman of the Thana Council and chairman of the Thana Training Committee.

Later in the 1960s when the co-operative programme was replicated in the other Thanas of Comilla district on an experimental basis, senior officers belonging to the general administrative service were taken on deputation and put in charge of the co-operative project in each Thana. They were senior to all the Thana level officers in rank and status and because of this and their past experience in administration, they had little difficulty in getting the co-operation of the Circle Officers and other officers of the Thanas. They regularly obtained the training hall even though the hall was maintained by the Circle Officer on behalf of the Thana Council.

After the independence of Bangladesh problems arose in getting the training hall regularly. The policy vacuum and lack of action of the government to which reference has already been made led to a decline in interest in the training of the KSS representatives. Abolition of the Thana Training Committee destroyed the forum for discussion of the various issues of the Thana level training and relieved the Circle Officer/UNO of direct responsibility regarding the villagers' training. Moreover posting of young, inexperienced and inadequately trained officers by BRDB to take charge of the Comilla co-operative project in the Thanas added to the problems. Such officers were unable in most of the cases, to exert any influence over the Circle Officers or other officers of the Thana because of their inadequate rank, status and background. They were even unable to maintain good relations with
the Circle Officer and other Thana level officers. The Circle Officers (later UNOs) as usual controlled the training halls of the Thanas/Upazilas. The BRDB officers experienced difficulty in getting the training hall regularly to run courses for the KSS representatives. K. Rahman in his survey (1979) found

TCCAs do not have demonstration farms... in the training classes of five TCCAs, Circle Officers do not take any class... The training hall is frequently not available for training purposes due to its being used as a storage place for relief goods etc. The situation becomes worse when the Project Officer IRDP [now called URDO] is not on good terms with the Circle Officer.

Emmert in his study (1981) described a similar case:

Keys to open the training hall were regularly unavailable at the times classes were scheduled to start, causing delays up to one to one and a half hours. The only set of keys were kept by a person in the office of the Circle Officer [who controls the training hall].... Conflicts between Circle Officer and IRDP officer make the situation worse. At the harvest time when the government was conducting compulsory rice procurement, the large training hall was pressed into service as a grain warehouse. Rather than storing the grains at one end of the hall, it was placed in the middle making the conduct of the meeting and seating of the trainees awkward.

The BRDB Head Office and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives were aware of the serious physical problems of training in the Upazilas. They did not take any serious steps to solve the problem. Instead, their actions remained limited to the writing of a few routine letters requesting that the training halls in the Upazilas be made available for the BRDB organised courses.

The following letter from the BRDB Head Office to the Deputy Commissioners (who would control the Circle Officers) is an example.

It is found that the TTDC Halls are not always made available for holding the training classes... You are requested to kindly ensure that the TTDC training halls are made available for the purpose of training and all the officers of the nation building departments at the Thana level take the training programme seriously and
participate in training classes regularly as per programme drawn by TCCA.

The request was ignored. BRDB then referred the problem to the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives which controls both the Upazila Parishad and the BRDB programmes. The Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government Rural Development and Co-operatives through a demi-official letter to the Deputy Commissioners in 1981 had addressed the same problem, but this letter had no effect either.

It has been noted with deep regret that the TTDC training halls are not made available for the purpose of training in many cases. These training halls are utilised otherwise on the day of IRDP organised training courses for the village co-operative representatives. Sometimes, these halls are utilised as godowns. This hampers the training activities of KSS representatives... it is therefore, requested that the Circle Officers of your district be asked to ensure regular availability of the training halls on the day of IRDP organised training programmes for the KSS representatives.

The problems in obtaining the training hall continued in the 1970s, with the government equally uncommitted to solving the issue of the training hall even after the upgrading of the Thanas into Upazilas. When the Thanas became Upazilas, the post of Circle Officer was replaced by the Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) who now controls the Training hall in the Upazila on behalf of the Upazila Parishad. The Secretary, Ministry of LG, RD and Co-operatives wrote another demi-official letter to the Upazila Nirbahi Officers in 1984 on the same problem:

It has been noted with deep regret that the UTDC training halls in many cases are not made available for the BRDB organised training programmes for the KSS representatives. It is imperative to make available the halls regularly for such training. These halls in some cases are utilised as godowns, offices or camps. The training halls must not be utilised otherwise at the cost of the Upazila level training activities. In many cases the training programmes had to be abandoned by the BRDB officers simply because of the non-availability of the training halls, and the trainee village co-operative representatives who had come from distant places had to go back without taking the training. Non-availability of training halls for the purpose of training is, therefore, severely hampering
the training programmes of village co-operative representatives. Your personal attention is again drawn to this vital issue and you are requested to always make the training halls available for the BRDB organised training programmes for the village co-operative representatives.

No sign of improvement in the situation was noticed during the field research in 1985 even after these letters from the Secretary and the BRDB. The training halls are not regularly made available to the BRDB Officers. The practice of utilising the training halls as godowns or offices etc. in many cases is still continuing. The Upazila Parishad including its executive officer (i.e. UNO), and BRDB, though controlled by the same ministry, appears ineffective in resolving this serious problem. The circulars appear to have been issued in a routine manner rather than as a serious attempt to solve the problem. There was no follow-up to ascertain whether these orders had been implemented.

This is another illustration of the lack of commitment of the government to provide a favourable training environment for the KSS representatives. The Ministry (Secretary) could have ensured that the training hall was placed under the control of the BRDB officer who regularly needs the training hall for organising weekly courses of the representatives of KSS, BSS and MSS, and thus could solve the problem permanently. This would have been possible as the same ministry (that is, the Ministry of LG, RD and Co-operatives) controls both the BRDB and the Upazila Parishad. However, the BRDB officers remain dependent on the UNOs' goodwill to obtain the training halls on the day of training of the KSS representatives. The regular holding of classes thus depends on the whim of the UNOs.

Even with the more recent construction of Upazila Training Units (UTUs) in 15 Upazilas (at a per unit cost of Taka 15.20 lakhs) with the aid of the World Bank, this lack of commitment has been demonstrated once again. Field research in 1985 revealed that the UTU in Gabtali Upazila was utilised as a court house for the Munseff and the Magistrate, as construction work of the court
The UTU building in Balaganj Upazila was partially utilised for the purpose of training and partially for accommodating offices of some other departments.

In addition to the UTUs, six Upazila Workshop cum Technical Training Centres (UWTTC) in six different Upazilas have also been constructed by BRDB to give technical training on maintenance and repair of agricultural implements to the KSS representatives and other villagers during the same period. The URDOs find it difficult to maintain these additional facilities (i.e. UTU and UWTTC) without a full-time person for the purpose. These additional facilities are therefore not properly maintained or regularly used. In the absence of other environmental support and with the lack of concern for training at various levels, the state of training in the Upazilas with UTUs/UWTTC is in no better shape than in the other Upazilas.

Several reports describe the gross inadequacies in the Upazila training halls and reinforce the above assessment. K. Rahman reported (1979) that, "In none of the auditoriums of the reported eight [TTDC halls] could one find any teaching aids or leaflets, wall papers etc." Similarly the working group appointed by the Ministry of LG, RD and Co-operatives on training for the rural sector reported (1980),

Physical facilities at TTDC training halls should be improved in terms of furniture and equipment; repairs, renovation and simple extension and alterations. Facilities built for training purposes should be freed from other uses, if necessary, by insisting upon other construction to be undertaken, e.g. stores and godowns. The Thana Training Unit project should be completed to determine whether it should be extended to all Thanas over time.

Some of the ministries undertook separate construction works for the purpose of training the villagers for example the Community School Project and the Vocational Training Institutions. The efforts of the BRDB to have separate training halls are still limited to the 15 Upazilas where separate UTUs were constructed for
the training of the village co-operative representatives. However, as previously noted, even these have not been successful.

(iii) Seating arrangements:

Seating arrangements should be such as can be modified to suit specific training requirements. Otto and Glaser cite such alternatives as auditorium type arrangements, U-shaped or horse-shoe type layout, conference table arrangement, individual learning carrels and concentric - semicircle layout. The room should be well-furnished. The acoustics of the meeting room should also be such that people seated in the rear of the room can hear the speaker. Very large rooms usually require a public address system. The meeting room should have heating and air-conditioning facilities for year round comfort. It should have good ventilation to extract smoke and keep a flow of air-circulation.

It was noted during the field research that the Upazila training halls for the KSS representatives lack adequate furniture, making the seating arrangement uncongenial for both the trainees and the trainers. At the time of construction of the training halls in the 1960s, the government had provided adequate furniture, but the furniture had to be shifted when the halls were utilised as godowns or offices etc. Such frequent movement caused breakages and many items got lost. These were never replaced causing severe problems to the seating arrangements of the trainees. The limited furniture available in the training halls in almost all the Upazilas visited were found to be dirty and dilapidated. Since the halls are not under the control of BRDB, BRDB is unable to put money into furnishing the training hall. The Upazila Parishads seemed to be unconcerned about this. Thus the problem of seating arrangement has continued unresolved, creating severe inconveniences for both the trainers and the trainees. Some of the URDOs during the field trip suggested that if full-time Training Officers are not placed in exclusive charge of the training halls, equipment etc. the situation is unlikely to improve. Lack of interest in providing for adequate seating arrangements in the
Upazila training halls is another example of the absence of commitment of the authorities to the villagers' training in the Upazilas.

(iv) Location of the training centres:

The training site should be situated in a location that is convenient to as many participants as possible in order to keep the cost and the travelling time of the participants and faculty to a minimum. A location which is well serviced by transport is therefore the most desirable. The amount of difficulty and inconvenience participants encounter in travelling to and from the training site will, to some extent, affect their attitude towards training. The effect of climatic changes on the training site need also be considered.

Apart from a few exceptions the majority of the Upazila Headquarters (and UTDCs) are centrally located. Since one of the objectives of training of the KSS representatives is for them to get to know and develop good relations with the Upazila level functionaries of the government who are also the trainers, the location of the training centre as a part of UTDC Complex can be treated as an appropriate arrangement. However Table III-1 below prepared on the basis of facts from four Upazilas indicates that some of the trainees have to cover as much as 20 miles to come to the training centre. This is a significant distance because communication and transportation systems are very underdeveloped in the majority of the rural Upazilas of Bangladesh.
TABLE III-1
Distance of some of the KSS from UTDC/Upazila Headquarters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance in miles</th>
<th>Name of the Upazilas</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Gabtali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of %</td>
<td>No. of %</td>
<td>No. of %</td>
<td>No. of %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.59</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 5-10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.96</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 10-15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26.77</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 15-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>42.51</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This problem could be overcome, for example, by giving adequate training allowances to the trainees to cover travelling expenses. The training sessions could be started in the afternoon, so that the trainee KSS representatives could attend after covering long distances. Village Training Centres (VTCs) could also be introduced as was the practice in Comilla in the 1960s. These suggestions were offered by the personnel at the macro and micro levels interviewed during the field trip. However, in reality, no step was taken to implement any of the above suggestions.

(v) Equipment and Training materials requirement:

The United Nations in their Handbook of Training suggested that a training centre should have the following equipment as the minimum requirement: Motion picture projector, slide projector, copying machine, mimeographing or other duplicating machine, calculator, dictating machines with dictating and transcribing units, typewriters, filing cabinets, supply cabinet, cabinet with large shallow drawers suitable for storing charts, drafting table, furniture for class room and office, chalk board, portable display.
easels with carrying cases, heavier display easels, instruments for drafting and lettering.\textsuperscript{34}

The commitment of the government and BRDB in supplying the minimum items of training equipment and training materials required in a Upazila Training Centre can be assessed from the extent to which these items are available. The audio-visual method is one of the most important means for adult learning. This is particularly so when a significant number of the learners are illiterate or inadequately literate. Audio visual equipment is therefore, particularly important for the training of KSS representatives. The minimum items of equipment necessary for any training centre as enumerated by the United Nations is compared with what was available in four Upazilas surveyed (Table III-2).

This table illustrates the very unsatisfactory state of training equipment and furniture in these Upazilas. They are supposed to provide a learning environment for approximately 25-35 people usually trained at one time in each Upazila. The duplicating machine and the typewriter purchased for UTU in Gabtali Upazila are used mostly for other office work than training. The slide projectors purchased for UTUs in Balaganj and Gabtali are still unpacked as they neither have the supply of slides from BRDB Head Office nor do they have any expertise, funds or facilities for preparing slides at the local level. During their interviews URDOs pointed out that they were not trained in preparation of slides nor do they understand the handling of the slide projector. The Nandigram Training Centre did not possess even one blackboard. There is therefore no equipment in the Upazilas for the audio-visual method of training.
**TABLE III-2**

**Availability of training equipment/furniture in the four Upazila Training Centres**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of equipment/furniture</th>
<th>Number of item available (March 1985)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balaganj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackboard</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overhead projector</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide projector</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film projector</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copying machine</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplicating machine</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long carriage typewriter</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filing cabinet</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drafting table</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables for classroom</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairs for classroom</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benches for classroom</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk for classroom</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the training centres visited had samples of seed, fertilisers or insecticides for the purpose of demonstration during training sessions, nor were there any facilities for maintaining such items. Effective learning in such a deplorable learning environment can hardly take place. If the governments or BRDB were even minimally committed to the training activities of the KSS representatives they would not fail to provide the basic equipment.

Neither the Upazila Training Centres nor the newly constructed UTUs provide for production and distribution facilities of the training materials. Syeduzzaman, Assistant Director (Training), BRDB in his tour note on the Gabtali Upazila reported that, "it is difficult to supply lesson sheets [to the trainees] because the only duplicating machine of the TCCA remains out of order". There is no graphic or display material. There is not even a small library cum reading room, where the trainers and the
trainees can study. The newly constructed UTUs provide for dormitory facilities, but no arrangement for bedding or utensils was made. The centres lack any facility for research and evaluation, information processing and control. Absence of these facilities prevents a relevant and effective training programme.

The above discussion described the gross inadequacies in the physical environment for the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. Correction of such inadequacies requires determined action of the government and BRDB. These inadequacies in the physical environment not only contribute to the ineffectiveness of the training in the Upazila Training Centres but also reveal the severe lack of commitment of the government and BRDB to the Upazila level training activities in general and training of the KSS representatives in particular.

3. SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT:

With the change of the Thanas into Upazilas, it appears that the concept of UTDC has disappeared from the minds of the authorities. The sign board 'Upazila Training and Development Centre (UTDC)' has been replaced by the sign board, 'Upazila Parishad Bhaban'. During discussions on site, it was revealed that the Upazila level officers psychologically feel better with new nomenclature as a symbol of the increased status of the Thana. The genesis and purpose of the 'UTDC' appeared unclear to the majority of the officers, including many UNOs, URDOs, UAOs, and others. Many felt that the present Upazilas are a miniature version of the District Collectorate. They preferred to remove the nomenclature 'Training Centre' and displayed the new signboard 'Upazila Parishad Bhaban', in place of UTDC. Psychologically UNO and many other Upazila level officers feel that Upazila Parishad building should function like an old collectorate instead of a training and development centre. This change in outlook among the officers to a great extent also influences the attitude of the villagers who were so long acquainted with the concept of Upazila
Training and Development Centre. The villagers were not consulted at the time of the change, so they thought that it was a government's administrative decision with which they had nothing to do. The Upazila Training Centres in some cases are now treated as the unimportant adjuncts of the new prestigious administrative complexes. This attitude does not contribute to a healthy learning environment for the villagers and indicates lack of interest of the Upazila level trainers in the training of the villagers.

Training itself is treated as a low prestige activity. It was shown in Chapter II that most staff recruited to the training job treated it as a stop gap arrangement. The United Nations Handbook also indicated,

The prestige of training has been so low in some countries as to result in a low classification and salary for the position of the Training Officers. Thus, a person of ability assigned to these duties often must look to transfer away from them as the only avenue of improvement in grade and salary.

The general attitude towards rural development training is still frustrating. Rural development training is usually viewed as less prestigious than administrative or management training. It was also observed during the field research that the training of the villagers particularly is treated as a still less prestigious activity than the training of the rural development officers in Bangladesh. Norman Uphoff et al of the Cornell University observed thus:

In the rural development programme, however, pay and prestige were low. Applicants were accepted who had been rejected for other training programmes and whose motivations often centred around the security of a government job, with little interest or concern for problems of rural people. The training consisted of a few weeks of class-room instruction by dispirited and bored instructors.

Observation of the present state of training in general in Bangladesh as discussed in Chapter II suggests that the above statements of the United Nations and Norman Uphoff et al are still an accurate assessment of the present attitude towards training in Bangladesh. This was confirmed by the personnel interviewed at
different levels during the field research. Out of 55 UTDC trainers interviewed, 43 (78.18%) felt that training of villagers at UTDC was less prestigious than the rural development training of officers and 5 (9.09%) did not respond. The remaining 7 (12.73%) did not find much difference.

Discussion with the KSS representatives in Balaganj and Fakirhat left the impression that they feel psychologically and socially happier about participating in the training programmes organised by BARD, RDA or RDTI as these possess higher prestige and better training facilities than the Upazila Training Centres. The percentage attendance of KSS representatives in the training programmes organised by these institutions is always much higher than the locally organised training programmes for them in UTDC.

A favourable socio-psychological environment is likely to act as an incentive to motivate both the Upazila level trainers and their trainees to participate in the training activities of the KSS representatives. If the environment encourages them to feel that their prestige and self-esteem are increased by participation in the training activities then the trainers and the trainees are likely to be more committed to contribute to their effectiveness. It was noted in the conceptual framework that the commitment of trainers and trainees is one of the preconditions for the effectiveness of any training activity. The existing socio-psychological environment, as discussed above, influenced adversely the commitment of the trainers and the trainees and hinders the effectiveness of the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The governments have made no public statements to encourage the trainers and the trainees to think differently. Neither Ershad nor the previous governments of Bangladesh showed any interest or took any action to improve the prestige of Upazila level training activities. Nor has BRDB also taken any positive steps to change the situation.
4. ADMINISTRATIVE ENVIRONMENT IN THE UPAZILAS:

(a) Co-ordination between the officers at the Upazila level:

The British government during the colonial period realised that a generalist administrator had to work as a co-ordinator at various tiers of administration. On this assumption the British government first ventured to train the ICS Officers in rural development.\(^4^2\) When A.H. Khan, was developing the Comilla models of rural development, he repeatedly suggested placing a generalist administrator in charge of co-ordination.\(^4^3\) To be effective a co-ordinator should have a higher scale of pay and status than the officers whose activities he is going to co-ordinate. On this assumption the post of Circle Officer (Development) as a generalist administrator was created in the 1960s with higher pay and status than the Thana Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries and Health officers.

Co-ordination between the officers of various departments was the pre-condition for the effective operation of Comilla model. The BRDB officers have to depend on the Upazila level officers of various departments to function as trainers for implementing the training activities of KSS representatives. Moreover, for the supply and maintenance of inputs, BRDB must depend on the co-operation of the officers of BADC, BWDB and other organisations.

When the co-operative project entitled Comilla District Integrated Rural Development Programme (CDIRDP) was introduced in the seven Thanas of the Comilla district on an experimental basis in the 1960s, Thana Project Officers of CDIRDP were taken on deputation from the generalist administrative cadre and put in charge of the co-operative project in the Thana. Such officers had adequate administrative experience and training and possessed higher status and scale, than even the Circle Officers. They were effective in their role in implementing the programme because they were capable of securing co-ordination at the Thana level.
examination of co-ordination and administrative arrangements for the project in Bangladesh reveals a different picture.

In Bangladesh pay scales usually determine the status of the officers in the public service. The government of the newly independent country considered it necessary to revise the pay scale and to raise the status of the officers of the technical departments in the Upazila. With the implementation of new pay scales from 1973 the Circle Officers (Development) were placed below the grade of the Upazila level Officers of Agriculture, Livestock, Fishery, Health, etc., whose activities he had previously co-ordinated as the senior officer. Table 5 in the appendix has been prepared to indicate the scale of pay of various Thana/Upazila level officers during the Pakistan period and after the implementation of the reports of three pay and services re-organisation commissions by the governments of Bangladesh. It will appear from Table 5 in the appendix that the Thana project officers (now replaced by the Upazila Rural Development Officers) of the CDIRDIP project in the experimental Thanas in the Comilla district were the most senior officers in scales of pay during the Pakistan period. The latest implementation of pay scales in June '85, placed URDO at the fourth level (in pay and thus status) of the Upazila level officers. The UNO, Upazila Health and Family Planning Officer, the Upazila Agriculture Officer and the Upazila Livestock Officers are now senior to URDO in scale.

There was no alternative mechanism provided for another officer to fill the role of co-ordinator in the Thanas in the face of the down grading of the pay scale and status of the Circle Officers (Development). In the changed situation the technocrats were not ready to accept co-ordination by lower status Circle Officers (Development). Chaos in the Upazila (formerly called, Thana) administration was the result. It is naturally difficult for the URDOs to be effective in enforcing and securing co-ordination of the officers who are, according to the present arrangement, senior to them in scales etc. Moreover the UNO, UAO, ULO and many
others whose involvement is imperative for the implementation of the training activities of the KSS representatives are not only senior in scale but also belong to the government service, whereas the URDO is an officer of a statutory body, namely BRDB and junior to them in scale of pay.

As the development administration of the Thana began to collapse the government, instead of restoring the scale and status of the Circle Officer as the senior most officer of the Thana, issued the following instructions:

In the interest of efficient administration and implementation of development projects and to ensure maximum co-ordination in the conduct of government activities in the districts and adequate co-operation 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.... The Circle Officer (Development) will be generally responsible for co-ordination of development activities within their respective Thanas.... This issues with the approval of the President.44

Thana Agriculture, Livestock and Health Officers refused to accept the above instructions as they were on higher scales than the Circle Officers (Development). There were repeated strikes by the Officers of Agriculture, Livestock and Health against the circular and ultimately the government had to issue a press note suspending the operation of the circular. The relationship between the Circle Officers (Development) and other officers still remains bitter because of the introduction and subsequent suspension of the above circular. The Circle Officers (Development) became more ineffective and co-ordination at the Thana level was further limited, while the rift between the technocrats and the generalists increased. The already chaotic condition of co-ordination of activities at the Thana level was further aggravated. Training of the KSS representatives which depends on effective co-ordination could not operate in such a fragmented administrative environment.
URDOs are still in a difficult situation in regard to their co-ordinating role, as a more recent review by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) indicated, "Co-ordination and co-operation are the keys of success of IRDP; at the moment the keys do not fit the locks which are supposed to open". The consultants of NCRT in an even more recent report (1981) pointed out,

Co-ordination at Thana level does not exist. At the beginning of IRDP, there was a training committee at Thana level consisting of members representing the various nation building departments. The Circle Officer [Development] used to be the chairman. At present there is no committee. The committee has ceased to exist because, due to the latest dispensation of service structure, the Circle Officer [Development] is no longer the senior most officer. In fact, some of the officers of the technical and specialised departments enjoy higher status and receive higher salary than Circle Officers [Development]. As a result, there is no co-ordination at the Thana level. Worse than that, there is little goodwill amongst the IRDP officials and other officers.

The actions of the government after the introduction of the Upazila administration in 1982-83 did nothing to improve the situation of co-ordination between the officers in Bangladesh. The government initially entrusted the responsibility of supervision of the activities of all Upazila level officers with the UNO. UNOs also had the responsibility of writing annual confidential reports (i.e. Annual Performance Appraisal Reports) on all the officers of the nation building departments in the Upazila as a mechanism for controlling them and enforcing inter-departmental co-ordination among the officers. The officers belonging to the technical departments resisted this arrangement and went on repeated strikes. The present government yielded to the demand of the officers of the technical departments and the responsibility of writing the annual confidential report was given to the elected Chairmen of the Upazila Parishads. With the withdrawal of such authority from the UNO, the UNOs have become ineffective in co-ordinating the activities of the various officers at the Upazila level. The next section will analyse the co-ordination of activities by the elected persons.
Co-ordination at Upazila level by the elected persons (Chairmen):

Thanas have been upgraded into Upazilas in 1982-83. An elected Chairman has been placed in charge of the development administration of the Upazila. He co-ordinates all the development activities of the Upazila. The government grants, in block form, are placed at the disposal of the Upazila Parishad which in turn prepares its annual development plan covering agriculture, livestock, fisheries, education, works programmes, etc. Through the control of funds, Upazila Parishad should be able to exercise effective control over officers of various departments. Moreover, the services of the Upazila level officers have been placed at the disposal of the Upazila Parishad which pays their monthly salary. The elected Chairman of a Upazila Parishad should be able, therefore, to exercise significant control over the Upazila level officers.

However, the availability of this control has not improved the level of co-ordination between UCCA/BRDB officers and the other Upazila level officers. This is because UCCAs, not Upazila Parishad pay and supervise the BRDB officers; moreover they are headed by the different elected Chairmen (i.e. Chairmen of UCCAs). UCCAs receive grants directly from the BRDB Head Office and create their own funds by accumulating savings of the members, undertaking business operation and other means. The UCCAs are not dependent on the Upazila Parishad for funds or the salary of their staff. The Upazila Parishad and the UCCAs have been functioning in parallel with the BRDB officers who directly work under UCCAs virtually isolated from other Upazila level officers working directly under the Upazila Parishad. This has also hampered the co-ordination and co-operation between the BRDB Officers and other officers of the nation building departments in the Upazilas.

The URDOs and the Chairmen of UCCAs were made ex-officio members of the Upazila Parishad in order to establish a forum for co-ordination of activities, but the situation has not be
improved in practice. This is revealed from the example of Bagherpara Upazila of Jessore District. All the proceedings of Bagherpara Upazila Parishad for the period from its upgrading on 1.8.83 to 20.7.86 were carefully scrutinised to see how the BRDB activities were co-ordinated. 59 meetings of the Upazila Parishad were held during the period. The findings are as follows:

(a) In none of the meetings were any issues relating to BRDB - UCCA reviewed despite the fact that the Chairman of UCCA and URDO as the ex-officio members of the Upazila Parishad attended almost all the meetings. Nor did they raise any recorded problem concerning their programmes in any of these meetings.

(b) At meeting number 46 (held on 19.2.86 at 11 a.m.) Resolution Number 3 was passed:

considered the proposal of the Upazila Agriculture Officer. It is resolved that a society with 1920 contact farmers under T&V programme be established at the Upazila level immediately. Upazila Agriculture Officer to initiate early steps to this effect.

This is a clear attempt to establish a parishad programme in parallel with a UCCA type organisation in the Upazila with the contact farmers under T&V system. The Chairman of UCCA and the URDO were present at this meeting, but surprisingly neither opposed the decision. This example adequately illustrates the relationship between BRDB programme and Upazila Parishad to which previous reference has been made. In these circumstances the problem of co-ordination, particularly between Upazila Parishad and UCCAs, seems to have intensified.

(c) Meeting number 56, held on 3.6.86 (Resolution number 5) decided to ask the Chairmen of the Union Parishads to select 10 villagers from each Union to participate in a training course on livestock. Upazila Livestock Officer was asked to organise the training course. BRDB training facilities for the KSS representatives were thus again by-passed.
(d) Meeting number 55, held on 24.5.86 (Resolution number 4) decided to ask Chairmen of Union Parishads to select 10 villagers from each Union to participate in a training program on population control and family planning. The Upazila Family Planning Officer was entrusted with the responsibility for organising the training activity. KSS representatives were also provided with training by BRDB programme in the same subject.

(e) Meeting number 48, held on 8.3.86 [Resolution number 5(4)] decided to ask the Chairmen of the Union Parishads to select five youths from each Union to participate in a training programme in Poultry farming. The Upazila Livestock Officer was asked to organise the course.

Apart from these no other discussion regarding training of villagers took place in any of the meetings of Bagherpara Upazila Parishad. These decisions for parallel courses for the villagers were taken at meetings where both the Chairman UCCA and the URDO were present. There is no record that they opposed these decisions for conflicting training programmes. Thus the Upazila Parishad is now independently organising courses for the farmers and other villagers in conflict with BRDB programmes for KSS representatives. The Upazila Agriculture Officer, Livestock Officer and Family Planning Officer cannot be expected to commit themselves to the BRDB organised training programmes for KSS representatives when they are directly involved in organising courses separately for the farmers and the villagers as a result of decisions in the Upazila Parishad meetings. The Upazila Training Centre is controlled by the Upazila Parishad. When the training hall is being used for training programmes sponsored by the Upazila Parishad, it becomes impossible for URDO to get the training hall for the programmes for the KSS representatives. Such arrangements for organising ad hoc courses for villagers by Upazila Parishad damages the very root of the BRDB organised courses for the KSS representatives. A similar situation prevails in many other Upazilas as was confirmed by the BRDB and other Upazila level Officers during the field research.
The training environment for the KSS representatives has been unnecessarily complicated with the upgrading of the Thanas into Upazilas. Training of the KSS representatives is dependent on coordination among the Upazila level officers and their active cooperation which was not forthcoming as the examples show. It was similarly pointed out in Chapter II that multiple organisations involved in the training activities of the farmers and the other villagers often provide parallel and conflicting programmes.

5. SUMMARY:

Autonomy is a necessity for a training institution. In the existing situation the URDO neither asks for autonomy nor does the BRDB bother to grant autonomy for planning and implementing training programmes for the KSS representatives. There is no trained staff to undertake research to keep the training programme relevant to the needs of the trainees. The training activities lack leadership in the Upazilas. Comilla principles of holding of weekly meetings and annual general meetings and of selection of proper persons as model farmers and managers are not properly followed. Slackness in observance of basic Comilla principles also adversely affected the overall training environment for the training of the KSS representatives. It was observed during the field research that the BRDB neglected to enforce the Comilla principles in the Upazilas.

Adequate provision for training environment is one of the pre-conditions for the effectiveness of training activity. Without the specific interest and action on the part of the external agencies, the trainers by themselves will find it difficult to create a suitable training environment. Effective administration of the various processes of the training activities of the KSS representatives requires the availability of an adequate organisational, physical (that is space, training hall, seating arrangements etc), socio-psychological, administrative, and economic environment at the Upazila Training Centres.
The BRDB officers in the Upazila who organise courses for the KSS representatives do not control the training space including the training halls in the Upazilas despite government decisions. Analysis in this chapter revealed that the training environment for the KSS representatives at the Upazilas is extremely unsatisfactory particularly after the independence of Bangladesh. As to the physical environment it was noted that demonstration plots for the purpose of practical training and demonstration of improved practices, originally provided within the UTDC compound by the governments of Pakistan, have been destroyed by constructing new buildings by the decision of the government of Bangladesh after the liberation of the country.

It was learnt during discussion with the BRDB officers that they cannot spend funds on proper seating arrangement in the training hall as the control of the training hall was not formally handed over to them by the government. The training centres lack the minimum of equipment, production and distribution facilities of the training materials, demonstration and displaying facilities, and provision for information processing and control systems.

Socially and psychologically the villagers' training is viewed as a low-prestige activity. So far neither the government nor BRDB took any steps to raise the socio-psychological status of the training of KSS representatives. The salaries of the Upazila level officers makes it difficult to maintain a reasonable living. In a situation of hardship many find it difficult to devote their minds whole heartedly to their assigned jobs. The training budget does not provide for adequate financial incentives to either the trainees or the trainers to be committed to the training activities. The training fund allocated by BRDB is always far below the minimum requirement. It was observed that most of the KSS representatives are so poor that they have to work each day to earn their livelihood. Apart from that they have difficulties meeting the cost of attending training classes from distant villages and
for their afternoon meal at the Upazila headquarters on the day of training.

Since the governments have withdrawn preference from co-operatives as a channel for all the agricultural inputs, the KSS representatives must procure inputs from the private dealers, at times in the blackmarket. Thus the incentive of obtaining inputs at fair prices from UCCA has now disappeared. This economic environment is standing in the way of the smooth operation of the training activities of the KSS representatives.

Although strong co-ordination of activities at the Upazila level is vital for the training of the KSS representatives, government decisions especially after the creation of Bangladesh, totally destroyed the administrative environment in the Upazilas. The government entrusted the responsibility of Upazila level co-ordination with the elected Chairman of the Upazila parishads who have little expertise or background and time to go into the details of administration and ensure co-ordination of activity at the Upazila. It was also noted that the Chairman of the Upazila Parishads are the least interested in the BRDB organised training activities for the village representatives. Here again, the governments' serious lack of commitment to the training of the KSS representatives becomes very evident.

In the 1960s there was a regular organisational base for running courses for the KSS representatives in Comilla Kotwali Thana. BRDB has so far failed to provide such an organisational environment in the Upazilas. At present there is no full-time person to organise courses and ensure internal learning environment for training at the Upazilas. The BRDB officers and other officers have to work as trainers in addition to fulfilling other closely monitored items of duties. It is unrealistic to think that such an officer will whole-heartedly involve himself in training only, especially when commitment to such training at the macro level is highly inadequate. Learning environment at the Upazilas also
depends on the regular observance of various Comilla principles. It was observed that BRDB is not interested in enforcing Comilla principles and practices. BRDB was also found to be little committed to providing proper training environments for the KSS representatives at the Upazilas.

The gross inadequacies in training environment at the Upazilas because of lack of commitment of the government and BRDB has been severely obstructing the motivation and commitment of the trainers and the trainees which is essential for the effectiveness of the training of the KSS representatives at the Upazilas.

The next chapter will assess the commitment of the BRDB head and regional level offices to the training of the KSS representatives.
CHAPTER III - FOOTNOTES


5. Ibid.

6. In India, the block ... is the basic unit of developmental organisation. Usually, a block consists of about 100 villages and a population of about one lakh. The administrative setup in the block consists of a Block Development Officer (BDO), a number of extension officers for different areas of work like agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation and works, co-operation, panchayat [Local government], women and child welfare etc. The functionaries at the village level are known as the *gramsevaks* [male village level workers] and *gramsevikas* [female village level workers].... The BDO is the chief administrator and co-ordinator of the developmental programmes in the block.... Wherever the Block panchayats [a local government body] exist... he [BDO] serves as its chief executive and guides its functions in close collaboration with the elected members.


   A block in India is a little smaller than an Upazila in Bangladesh (an Upazila has around 150 villages). The Sub-division level is just above the block level in India. In Bangladesh Sub-divisions have been upgraded into Districts in 1983-84. Subdivision as a tier of administration thus no longer exists in Bangladesh. The newly created districts are just above the Upazilas in Bangladesh. A block in India thus more or less corresponds to an Upazila in Bangladesh.

   A block under the T&V system in Bangladesh (*Appendix-4*) is substantially different from a block in India. A block supervisor under the T&V system in Bangladesh (like the *gramsevak* in villages in India) is a village level worker, usually in charge of 900 to 1000 farm families. A block under the T&V programme in Bangladesh thus exists at the village level.

   Appreciating the crucial role of informal education for 'arousing and sustaining villager's interest in the rural development activities' the block administration in India
provides for a full-time Social Education Organiser (SEO) with supporting personnel for the purpose. The Upazila administration in Bangladesh though providing for a regular Training Centre for the training of the villagers, does not provide for a full-time officer to organise courses for the villagers at the Upazila level.


8. Farmers Training Centres (FTC) are located at various regions of India for the training of farmers in improved agricultural practices. FTCs are adequately equipped to impart training in 'High Yielding Varieties, package of Practices and water management etc.' During our visit to FTC, Rajendranagar, Hyderabad, it was noted that the training centre has 9 full-time teaching/technical staff and 8 other supporting staff. The FTC is headed by a senior officer of the rank of a Deputy Director of Agriculture. The Centre has necessary training space and other facilities. It has transports and holds mobile courses at the villages. See India, FTC, *Annual Administration Report, 1985-86* [of the FTC], (Rajendranagar, Hyderabad, India: FTC, 1986) pp. 1-8 and 17; and India, FTC, *Action Plan of FTC, 1986-87*, (Rajendranagar, Hyderabad, India: FTC, 1986), pp. 2-4. During an interview, Mr. Prem Kishore Nigam Deputy Director in charge of FTC, Rajendranagar said that the staff positions in the FTC do not generally remain vacant and attendance of the farmers in courses is very high (around 90%).

Mr. Ch. Rangaiah of Co-operative Training College, Rajendranagar, Hyderabad in his "letter number 11-(XIV)/14/B-84/CTC/1110 of the 17th February 1987" informed us that the Andhra Pradesh State Co-operative Union Ltd. is responsible for organising regular courses for village co-operators in the state. There is provision for a full-time Chief Education Officer, Zonal Education Officers and forty Instructors for the training of the village co-operators. There are vans equipped with audio-visual equipment for organising mobile courses for the village co-operators. The training centres for the farmers and the village co-operators in India thus provide for adequate numbers of full-time trainers for organising courses.

9. In Sri Lanka there are 18 District Agricultural Training Centres (Farm Schools) for the training of the farmers, farm women and out of school youths who are interested in farming and possess land for cultivation. Each centre is adequately staffed and conducts courses of varied duration. See Government of Sri Lanka, *Training in Agriculture* (Peradeniya, Sri Lanka: Department of Agriculture, 1983) pp. 3-4. Training Centres for farmers in Sri Lanka thus provide for full-time trainers.

11. Recommendations of the workshop on TCCA Training at the TTDC held at RDTI, Sylhet from the 25th to 27th February, 1982. (Dhaka: Training Division, BRDB, 1982) p. 82.

12. The joint DANIDA - BRDB project under title "Noakhali Integrated Rural Development Project (NIRDP)" was started in 1977-78. Initially it operated in three Thanas of Noakhali district. Subsequently all the 15 Upazilas (former Thanas) of Noakhali district were brought under the project in 1983-84. The total cost of the project is Taka 10,595.56 lakh; (out of which DANIDA is to provide Taka 10,415.56 lakh and the government of Bangladesh is to provide Taka 180.00 lakh). One of the aims of the project is to impart functional training to the co-operative representatives and to develop agriculture and co-operatives. Danish experts have been working at the project site along with the BRDB and other local officers. See Bangladesh, IRDP, Annual Report of IRDP, 1977-78, (Dhaka: IRDP Head Office), pp. 61-62; Bangladesh, BRDB, Annual Report of BRDB, 1983-84, (Dhaka: BRDB Head Office), p. 31; Bangladesh, BRDB, Annual Report of BRDB, 1984-85, (Dhaka: BRDB Head Office), p. 45.


16. Ibid, pp. 73-74.


18. Chief Martial Law Administrator's (CMLA) Secretariat in letter number 7131/1/IV/Impl-2/622 of April 27, 1983 instructed the Secretary, Ministry of Works for undertaking new construction works of court building, married accommodation of officers and staff and unmarried accommodation all over the country. Construction of court buildings included construction of courts of Munseff and Magistrate, Bar-library and court Hazat. Constructions in the Upazilas were mostly undertaken on the demonstration plots within the UTDCs.
Letter number S-XI/313-17/73/180 of April 14, 1983 of the Ministry of L.G. RD & Co-operatives indicates that lands from the UTDC compound were allotted to BRDB for construction of a separate UCCA/BRDB office in the Upazilas all over the country. Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operative again with letter number S-VIII/IC-7/83/170(460) of April 10, 1984 instructed all the Upazila Nirbahi Officers (UNOs) to prepare a Helipad by the side of UTDC complex. Land for the purpose is likely to be allotted from the demonstration plots as the government desired the Helipad to be nearer to the UTDC complex. Memorandum number Sec - VI/IB-77/83/709 of September 13, 1983 of the Ministry of works indicates that a sum of Taka 900.00 million (nine hundred million) was sanctioned in 1982-83 for undertaking new constructions in the Upazilas. Almost all the construction works took place in the demonstration plots within the UTDC compounds all over the country. The demonstration plots within UTDC were thus destroyed by the new constructions.

19. *Hazat* is the building/place where the under trial prisoners are kept.


24. Demi-official (D.O.) letter: This form will be used in correspondence between government officers when it is desired that a matter should receive the personal attention of the individual addressed. A demi-official communication will be addressed to an officer by name. It will be written in the first person singular...


27. The project for construction of Upazila Training Units (UTU) each with facilities for two class rooms; a Hostel for 30 trainees; a dining hall, a kitchen & storeroom, a pucca well, a hand tube well and a guard room was undertaken in 1976-77 to provide additional physical facilities for the BRDB organised courses for the village co-operative representatives in the 15 Upazilas. (Bogra Kotwali, Sherpur, Sariakandi, Gabtali, Trishal, Muktagacha, Gaffargoan, Satkania, Jhikargachha, Pirganj, Raipur, Raipur, Shujanagar, Dautat Khan and Balaganj Upazilas) The total cost of the project was Taka 210.50 lakh out of which the World Bank provided Taka 146.71 lakh. Each of the two floors of a UTU building has a space of 2032 sq. ft. The area of the kitchen, store and guard room is 408 sq. ft. The project document for UTU provides for a Upazila Training Co-ordinator for each UTU. The post was not filled up by BRDB authorities. See Integrated Rural Development Programme, "Project Proforma for Thana Training Unit." (Revised in 1980) (Dhaka: Planning Division, IRDP Head Office, April, 1980) pp. 1-6 and 8.

14 UTUs (except one) were constructed by 1984-85. The Annual Report of BRDB, 1984-85 mentioned that the URDOs could not utilise three UTUs as these were used by the Upazila Parishad for other administrative purposes. See Bangladesh, BRDB, Annual Report, 1984-85 (Dhaka: BRDB Head Office), p. 26.


29. Upazila Workshop-cum-Technical Training Centres (UWTTC) were constructed in six Upazilas (Debidwar, Gobindaganj, Daulatpur, Bhola, Trishal and Lakshimpur Upazilas) at a cost of Taka 43.02 lakh. The project aimed at imparting training to the managers, model farmers and other villagers in production, repair, maintenance and operation of agricultural implements. The centres also produced spare parts for such implements and supplied them to the farmers at a fair price. Concerned UCCAs/URDOs are responsible for the maintenance and operation of the centres. There is, however, provision for one Manager-cum-Instructor, one Foreman and three Mechanics for each Centre. Two Japan Overseas Corporation Volunteers (JOCV) worked as the consultants for the six UWTTCs. The six UWTTCs were constructed during the year 1977-78. See Bangladesh, IRDP, Annual Report, 1977-78 (Dhaka: IRDP Head Office, 1979) pp. 36-37; and IRDP, Thana Workshop cum Technical Training Centre project (in Bengali) (Dhaka: Planning Division, IRDP, April, 1976), pp. 1-17.


33. Data collected from the Upazila Rural Development Officers of Biswanath, Balaganj, Nandigram and Gabtali Upazilas.


35. Data collected from the Upazila Rural Development Officers and the Upazila Nirbahi Officers of Balaganj, Biswanath, Gabtali and Nandigram Upazilas.

36. Tour notes (November 20, 1980) of Syeduzzaman, Assistant Director (Training) of IRDP Head Office, Dhaka.

37. *Bhaban* in Bengali means building. 'Upazila Parishad Bhaban', therefore, means the 'Building for the Sub-District Council'. Conflict in attitude about the nomenclature of UTDC at the macro level can be noted from the following:

Chief Martial Law Administrator's Secretariat with their circular number 713/1/III/imple-2/533 of April 10, 1983 instructed all concerned to use signboard, 'Office of the Upazila Parishad' in place of earlier signboard. With the introduction of Upazila administration system, the Martial law authority ignored the need for retaining the 'Training and Development Centre' as nomenclature of the Upazila administration complex. The Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operative in a subsequent memorandum (no. S-IV/ID-4/83/292(21) of June 12, 1983) did not take notice of the instructions of the Martial law authority and used the nomenclature, UTDC. It instructed all concerned to acquire a reduced area of land for the Upazilas where construction of UTDC were not completed. This indicates a conflict in attitude about the nomenclature 'UTDC' at the macro level.

It was learned during the discussion with the Upazila level officers that they feel that adding "Training Centre" to the nomenclature of new Upazila administration complex is unnecessary.

38. District collectorates usually bear the memory of the colonial administration. As the principal office of the district, a collectorate was responsible for the law and order and revenue administration. It was also responsible for the maintenance of land records. It was headed by a District Magistrate cum Collector. Now it is known as the office of the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner is now responsible for
development, revenue and law and order administration of the district. People still call the office of the Deputy Commissioner the 'Collectorate building'. This is the most prestigious office in the district even in the present administrative arrangements.

39. Supra, f/n 144-147 of Chapter II, p. 132-133.


42. Supra, f/n 16 of Chapter II, p. 76.

43. Supra, f/n 13 of Chapter II, pp. 73-74.


CHAPTER IV

BRDB AND THE TRAINING OF THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES

Training of the KSS representatives is one of the components of the BRDB programme as has previously been discussed. Effectiveness of this component requires committed support by the authorities of BRDB at the national and the regional levels. This chapter attempts to assess the commitment of the BRDB Head Office on the basis of its efforts in maintaining a strong Training Division at the centre to effectively support, monitor and guide the training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The background of the personnel in the BRDB national and regional levels shall be investigated to assess their competence in discharging the specialised training responsibilities. Their attachment to and interest in training shall also be investigated on the basis of the frequency of their visits to the training centres of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas, of their involvement in preparation and distribution of the training materials for the KSS representatives, and of the allocation of adequate funds to make such training effective. Some of the decisions of BRDB with respect to such training shall be analysed to assess its interest in such training and the eventual effects of these decisions at the Upazila level. Another aspect of these decisions is the extent to which BRDB took action on the various recommendations on such training or strengthened the training structure at the field levels.

This chapter also attempts to analyse the degree of commitment of the BRDB officers at the regional level to the training of the KSS representatives in terms of their background, frequency of visits to the training centres and actions to include the training of the KSS representatives in the agenda of the monthly conference of the URDOs organised by the Project Directors of BRDB at the regional level.
1. BRDB AND ITS CO-ORDINATIVE, PROMOTIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ROLES

According to the Comilla concept BRDB is to concentrate on promotional, educational and co-ordinative roles. A.H. Khan in 1979 pointed out the deficiencies in the existing strategy/role of IRDP (BRDB) thus:

The IRDP [Head Office] Office in Dhaka was warned not to become a magnificent new department. On the contrary it was to remain a small nucleus of leadership to promote a movement of rural co-operation.... It was a client not a patron, an agent not the chief.... At some point the IRDP Head Office changed its direction. It began to aspire to be a big government department rather than a small leadership nucleus... for completely decentralised, autonomous, self managed and self supporting co-operative movement... It did not pay enough attention to its educational role... More and more it concerned itself with control and supervision and less and less with liaison with the departments and the achievement of self management in the TCCAs.

This structural deficiency and change in direction from the original idea of the approved project of 1970 as discussed in Chapter II has affected adversely those defined roles. A.H. Khan in the above statement also noted even then the negligence of IRDP in its educational and co-ordinating roles. The following discussion briefly examines the existing situation of BRDB in each of the three roles mentioned above.

The problems of BRDB in its co-ordinating role mainly arose because of its placement under a sectoral ministry as was noted in Chapter II. The most unsatisfactory state of co-ordination at the Upazila level was also discussed in Chapter III. The World Bank in the following statement, made in 1979, also drew attention to the deficiencies in that role,

The programme [IRDP] has suffered from too little concern to establish clearly beforehand what was to be achieved... Research on proper design would have repaid itself in solid achievement... In the Thanas, rural people, not consulted about the programme, remained unaware of what IRDP might have meant for their communities. Ministries and departments were not consulted about their precise role in the programme...as a result they did not really become committed to its execution... co-ordination among
concerned ministries and departments has continuously left much to be desired... Supervision work has been inadequate.

The World Bank thus argues that the programme is confused about its objectives and ignored the need for research to put the activities in proper track. The Bank also found the co-ordinating role and supervision of the programme to be inadequate. On the basis of earlier discussion in Chapters II and III and the observation of the World Bank it may be accepted that BRDB is not yet effective in its co-ordinating role.

As to the promotional role, BRDB has organised increasing numbers of KSS, BSS and MSS in the country. Table IV-1 indicates the number of various village level societies organised by BRDB till June 1985.

**TABLE IV-1**

**Numbers of various village societies including the number of their members under BRDB till June 1985.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>KSS</th>
<th>BSS</th>
<th>MSS</th>
<th>Total number of UCCAs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Number of Societies</td>
<td>Number of Members</td>
<td>Total Number of Societies</td>
<td>Number of Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>53,843</td>
<td>1,949,938</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>97,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>57,757</td>
<td>2,110,577</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>108,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>63,001</td>
<td>2,312,345</td>
<td>10,911</td>
<td>313,432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of village societies: 63,001 + 10,911 + 8,719 = 82,631 in June 1985.
BRDB thus promoted a good number of village level societies; but it has not been able to balance that by increasing its roles in education or co-ordination.

This chapter will examine the commitment of BRDB to its educational role in general, and to the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas in particular, on the basis of criteria established in Chapter 1 and summarised at the beginning of this chapter. Before entering into discussion on the specific indicators it may be worthwhile to present the following general observation of the World Bank on the IRDP's educational role as it found in 1979.

The country's main instrument for rural development, the IRDP is based on the principles of village participation and training at the Thana level of elected village representatives... Although it was launched with considerable local enthusiasm and foreign acclaim and showed good initial progress, results of the IRDP have generally remained below expectations... Finding little of practical use in it, participants have attended courses irregularly [in TTDC] and have not bothered to disseminate information to their fellow villagers. All around, implementation has suffered from lack of attention on the part of those who were to guide it and lack of enthusiasm and respect of those who were supposed to benefit.

This unsatisfactory picture accords with the findings of this chapter, the following sections of which examine the annual training load of BRDB and BRDB Headquarters' Training Division, its organisation, staff and activities.

(a) Training load of BRDB

BRDB annually publishes a training calendar fixing date, place and number of various types of personnel to be trained during the year. Table IV-2 below will indicate the annual training load of BRDB.
### Training load of BRDB in 1984-85 and 1985-86.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of trainee</th>
<th>Number to be trained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. BRDB HQ Staff, PDs and DPDs, URDOs ARDOs and Accountants</td>
<td>2,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Joint course for the district level officers of BRDB, Agriculture and BADC.</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Joint course for URDOs, Upazila Agriculture and BADC and Sonali Bank Officers</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Trainers of DANIDA-BRDB Training Centre and ARDOs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chairmen, Directors and Office Staff of UCCAs</td>
<td>2,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. KSS Managers, Model Farmers, Chairmen and Members</td>
<td>142,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. BSS and MSS Directors and Members, Organisers and Motivators</td>
<td>17,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Block Supervisors, Block Leaders and Study Circle Leaders</td>
<td>5,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>175,258</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* NOTE: This is the group (except Chairmen and Members) with which this thesis is concerned.

It is evident that BRDB fixed targets of 175,258 persons in 1984-85 and 254,194 persons in 1985-86 to be trained through various training organisations in the country. The Training Division of BRDB is to organise, supervise and guide implementation
of the annual training calendar and is responsible for the achievement of the targets fixed in the training calendar. In addition, cases of foreign training of BRDB officers are also to be finalised in the Training Division. Such a huge training load requires a strong and well equipped Training Division with clearly defined objectives.

To organise training activities for such a huge number of varied clientele, the Training Division of BRDB has to keep constant liaison with over 500 training centres. Table IV-3 below sets out the number of training centres where BRDB proposed to train its personnel. BRDB Head office is thus expected to maintain close contact with all these training centres for the effective implementation of the courses in the training calendar.

The Training Division of BRDB was able to publish its plans, but it could not supply information on whether the targets, set in the annual training calendar were achieved nor did the reports of BRDB contain information on this. The lack of any evaluation may well be an indication of lack of action and lack of interest of BRDB and poor resources for evaluation.
## TABLE IV-3

| Training organisations involved in the training of the BRDB personnel as proposed in the training calendars |
|---|---|---|
| **1984-85** | **1985-86** |
| **Name of Training Organisation** | **Number of Centres** | **Name of Training Organisation** | **Number of Centres** |
| | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 1. BARD, Comilla | 1 | 1. BARD, Comilla | 1 |
| 2. RDA, Bogra | 1 | 2. BRAC Trg. Centre | 1 |
| 3. RDTI, Sylhet | 1 | 3. RDTI, Sylhet | 1 |
| 4. PDs Offices | 21 | 4. RDA, Bogra | 1 |
| 5. GTI, Mymensingh | 1 | 5. UTUs | 15 |
| 6. BCC, Comilla | 1 | 6. BCC, Comilla | 1 |
| 7. Majeed Court Trg. Centre | 1 | 7. CZIs | 8 |
| 8. UTUs | 1 | 8. Majeed Court Trg. Centre | 1 |
| 9. UTDCs | 448 | 9. NIPORT | 1 |
| 10. COTA, Dhaka | 1 | 10. PD's Offices | 21 |
| 11. Sonali Bank Staff College, Dhaka | 1 | 11. UTDCs | 448 |
| 12. STI of BADC, Madhupur | 1 | 12. UWCTTCs | 6 |
| 13. BRAC Trg. Centre | 1 | 13. Jahanara Cottage Industry | 1 |
| 14. FIVD, Sylhet | 1 | 14. BSCIC Trg Centres | 4 |
| 15. PROSHIKA | 1 | 15. FIVD, Sylhet | 1 |
| 16. Jahanara Cottage Industry | 1 | 16. GTI, Mymensingh | 1 |
| 17. BSCIC Trg. Centres | 4 | 17. NIPSOM | 1 |
| 18. Institute of Nutrition, UNI/Dhaka | 1 | 18. New Life Club | 1 |
| 19. UWCTTCs | 6 | 19. BCSIR | 1 |
| 20. Swedish Technical Trg. Institute | 1 | 20. STI, BADC | 1 |
| 21. BADC Workshop in Upazilas NA | 21. BADC Workshops in Upazilas NA |
| 22. BCSIR | 1 | 22. Swedish Technical Trg. Institute | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | 509 | **TOTAL** | 517 |
The next section investigates the resources of the Training Division of BRDB to implement such a gigantic nationwide training task. If there is a strong commitment by BRDB to the training task, it should provide a strong Training Division at Headquarters with adequate facilities at the Regional (greater district) and Upazila levels.

(b) The Training Division of BRDB Head Office:

This Division is to guide, monitor, evaluate and supervise the educational role through the training activities of the BRDB officers and the village co-operators including the KSS representatives. Strength of the Training Division of BRDB at the Headquarters will significantly affect the training operation at other levels. The gradual process through which the Training Division of BRDB reached its present stage will be traced in order to assess the extent to which resources and objectives matched expectations.

Since the inception of IRDP Headquarters in Dhaka in 1971 there was a separate Training Division with the following personnel to supervise and guide training activities:

- Director (Training) - 1
- Joint Director (Training) - 1
- Deputy Director (Training) - 1
- Deputy Director (Training materials production) - 1
- Assistant Director (Training programme) - 1
- Assistant Director (Training materials production) - 1

After the liberation of Bangladesh the functions of Director (Trg.) IRDP were merged with Planning, Evaluation and Monitoring Division of former IRDP with one Director looking after planning, evaluation, monitoring and training functions. Thus, instead of strengthening the Training Division of former IRDP, it was considerably weakened.
The practical difficulties of the arrangement soon surfaced and by an internal arrangement, the Director of Rural Development Training Institute (RDTI), Sylhet, was given the additional responsibility of looking after the Training Division of the 1RDHP Head Office in Dhaka in addition to his own duties. It was impossible for the Director, RDTI, Sylhet to do justice to either of the jobs especially when the distance between BRDB Head Office in Dhaka and RDTI, Sylhet, is over 200 miles. This inadequate arrangement in the Training Division continued till BRDB was re-organised by the Enam Committee in May 1983 and approved by the President of the country for immediate implementation (see Appendix-5 for details). The staffing pattern of Training Division of BRDB, as provided for in the Enam Committee Report was to be

a. Director (Administration, Co-ordination, Special Projects, Extension and Training) -1
b. Joint Director (Administration and Training) -1
c. Deputy Director (Training) -1
d. Assistant Director (Training) -1

With the expansion of the BRDB programme throughout the country and the adoption of new special and other projects under the programme, the training load of BRDB is constantly increasing, although the already understaffed Training Division had been further squeezed in 1983 by the above re-organisation of BRDB. This was despite the recommendation of consultants to the National Committee for Rural Training (NCRT) in 1981 that the Training Division of BRDB should be strengthened not only with more management staff but also with some subject matter specialist who would help prepare training manuals, extension literature, and other training materials.

The Training Division of BRDB prepared a paper proposing the strengthening of Training Division in 1984. It argued that the new arrangement for the Training Division was 'not workable' and suggested the following alternative staffing pattern,
Director (Training) -1
Joint Director (Training) -1
Deputy Directors:
   Rural Training -1
   Officers Training -1
   Trg. Materials Production -1
Assistant Directors:
   Rural Training -1
   Officers Training -1
   Trg. Materials Production -1

Rural training management includes training of managers and model farmers of KSS and other co-operatives such as BSS and MSS. Officers training management covers arranging training programmes for BRDB officers at various training institutions like BARD, RDTI and RDA in the country. It also includes selection and processing of cases of officers for foreign training. Training material production includes production and supply of training materials primarily to the UTDCs and UTUs.15

The Enam Committee report and the subsequent proposal of the Training Division mentioned above did not make provision for personnel to undertake research, evaluation and development activities for the training of the KSS representatives or other BRDB personnel. This is an undesirable situation since we have noted in Chapter I that research should be treated as the life blood of an effective training operation.16 Research is particularly important for the training of villagers where flexibility and regular change in training programmes according to the seasonal and local needs are essential to keep the training activities relevant and lively. Moreover no provision was made for subject-matter specialists in the Training Division as suggested by the consultants of the NCRT. Even this new proposal by the Training Division of BRDB, grossly inadequate as it is, it has so far failed to receive approval and has not been implemented. By local arrangement, the Director, RDTI, Sylhet has been continuing to hold
the responsibilities of the Training Division in addition to his main responsibilities as the Director, RDTI, Sylhet.

This lack of commitment to the educational role is illustrated by the failure of BRDB and governments to provide for a Training Division with adequate numbers of personnel and facilities. BRDB expects that the two full-time officials in the Training Division with the help of other part-time officers (Appendix-5) should perform fourteen items of duties assigned to that Division. These include: formulation of rural and staff training policies; assessment of training requirements and preparation of annual training plan and calendar; supervision of Upazila level training of village co-operators; monitoring, reviewing and evaluating the training programmes; organising training and seminars; producing training materials; co-ordinating the training programmes; preparing the budget of the Training Division and ensuring its proper utilisation, co-ordinating with other rural development training institutions like, BARD, RDTI, RDA, BCC and NGOs etc.; processing of foreign training cases; and preparing reports and returns. 17

It is absurd to assume that only two full-time Officers in the Training Division with the help of part-time Officers (Appendix-5) should be in a position to perform such vast and nationwide training responsibilities effectively. It was noted during the field trip that the two full-time officials had to give priority to processing cases of foreign training and organising courses for the BRDB officers and staff. They have little opportunity to look into the training activities of the villagers in the Upazilas.

The Director, RDTI, Sylhet who had been given the responsibility of looking after the Training Division of BRDB Head Office, Dhaka in addition to his principal duties as the Director, RDTI, Sylhet, has, from 1985-86 been given further responsibilities at the BRDB Head Office, such as the supervision of special
projects like Women's Programmes, Sirajganj Integrated Rural Development Programme (SIRDP) and ILO sponsored projects of BRDB. Because of his country wide responsibilities with regard to the newly added special projects, he gets even less time to devote to the activities of either the RDTI or the Training Division of BRDB Head Office. The same practice was continuing from the past as found by the consultants NCRT.

In addition to his training work he [Director (Training)] was in charge of the Asian survey on Agrarian Reforms and Rural Development (ASARD) project, the fertiliser project of FAO and the training of youth. He had, also, to undertake a lot of touring outside the country... he was deterred from doing full justice to his assignment due to multiplicity of functions imposed upon him.... The Training Division of IRDP Headquarters has failed to be effective. Its activities had not been able to sound the alarm in time about deterioration of the quality of training.... It was inadequately staffed.

Thus the weakness in the Training Division of BRDB has prevailed since the inception of IRDP in 1971 with the subsequent actions of the government of Bangladesh and the BRDB authorities contributing to its further weakening. Once again BRDB and the governments have demonstrated their lack of understanding of the educational role of BRDB in general and of training of the village representatives in the Upazilas in particular.

It can therefore be safely concluded that the Training Division is ill-equipped to make the training of the village co-operative representatives (including the KSS representatives) throughout the country effective. Further evidence comes from the failure of BRDB Head Office to place a full-time training officer either at the greater district (regional) or at the Upazila level to supervise, guide and implement the training activities of hundreds of village co-operators. Failure of the BRDB authorities to ensure a strong Training Division in the Head Office and at the field level illustrates their lack of commitment to the educational role in general and training of the KSS representatives in particular.
In accordance with the recruitment rules of BRDB, the Director-General and the Directors are appointed by the government. They are usually appointed from the general administrative service of the country. The Director-General holds the rank and status of at least a Joint Secretary to the government whereas the Directors possess the status of at least a Deputy Secretary to the government. As generalist administrators, they will have worked in different ministries and departments of the government. There is, therefore, little scope for them to acquire specialisation either in the field of rural development or training prior to their appointment in BRDB. It is a well recognised fact that training is a specialised type of activity and requires special skill and knowledge for its implementation, supervision and guidance. It was learnt during the field trip that the Director-General or the Director (Training) is never specifically trained in training management, or social research methodology before or even after their appointment to the posts. There is, therefore, little probability that the Director-General who is the chief executive of BRDB or the Director in charge of the Training Division would be a specialist in training or would even understand the essential role of training in rural development. The consultants of NCRT found that, "the Directors of Training Division so far have not been training specialists".

However, the Director-General or the Director (Training) of BRDB, could be expected to acquire skill and knowledge in training management through trial and error by working in the positions for a considerable period of time. Unfortunately, evidence collected during the field research suggest that the average tenure of the Director-General or the Director (Training) is so limited that they find little opportunity to develop their skill by continuing on the job. It was observed in 1981 that, "in Bangladesh within ten years of its inception [in 1971] the IRDP is being now headed by the sixth Director-General". The average tenure of a Director-General
was less than two years and this is an ongoing situation. During the period from July 1980 to June, 1985 IRDP/BRDB was headed by five Directors-General making a total of 11 in 14 years.

This short period in office would, no doubt, prevent the Director-General from developing specialisation and attachment, in other words commitment, to BRDB programmes in general, not to speak of the specific training component of the programme. Five Directors headed the Training Division of BRDB during the period from July 1980 to June 1985, the average tenure of a Director (Training) is slightly more than one year. Lack of concern of the government and BRDB to develop the Director in charge of Training Division in the specialised field of training and also to retain him in the same post for a reasonable period of time again demonstrates their misunderstanding of the training task.

The posts of Joint Directors and Deputy Directors are filled through promotion from the eligible officers of BRDB. The post of Assistant Director is filled by promotion, or by direct recruitment. The revised organisational chart of the whole BRDB prepared on the basis of report of the Enam Committee (Appendix-5) provides for seven Joint Directors, 17 Deputy Directors and 32 Assistant Directors in the BRDB Head office. For the purpose of promotion, these officers have to acquire some years of experience in lower posts. This does not mean, however, that they would necessarily have past experience in training or research management. Promotion is usually made on the basis of common seniority and past service records from among the eligible candidates of the BRDB organisation as a whole. There is, therefore, no certainty that the Assistant Director or the Deputy Director who previously worked in the Training Division would be promoted in that Division. Moreover, persons working as Joint Director, Deputy Director or Assistant Director in the Training Division are transferable to any of the other four Divisions of the BRDB organisation.
It was also gathered that BRDB never formally trains the Joint, Deputy or Assistant Directors specifically in training or research management before or after their posting to the Training Division. These officers therefore have to continue with an inadequate background. It was also gathered during the field trip that posting to the Training Division remains the last option for most of the officers, who, in many cases make all out efforts to leave the Training Division as soon as possible and work in other Divisions where they may exercise more power and authority.

Despite extensive efforts, exact facts about the numbers of Joint, Deputy and Assistant Directors who worked in the Training Division from 1971 could not be procured. However during discussions in the BRDB Head Office it became clear that the average tenure of any such officers in the Training Division does not usually exceed two years. In the circumstances, it is hard for such officers to develop specialisation by continuing on the job or to become committed to the training activities of BRDB. Unfortunately BRDB has so far shown no concern for developing the Joint, Deputy and the Assistant Directors of the Training Division by specialised training nor has it retained them in the same Division for a reasonable period of time. This again clearly demonstrates BRDB's lack of interest in making the training component effective.

(d) Visit to the training centres of the KSS representatives:

One way to ascertain the level of interest and commitment of the Director-General and the officers of the Training Division of BRDB to the training activities of the KSS representatives, is to see how frequently they visited the training centres in the Upazilas to observe the training activities, understand the Upazila level problems of training and to encourage trainers and trainees.
During the period from July 1980 to June 1985, none of the five Director-Generals visited the twenty Upazila Training Centres we toured during the field trip. The Director (Training) visited Balaganj Upazila Training Centre only once but none of the other 19 Upazilas at all. The URDOs in the twenty centres informed us that there were no visits by the Joint or Deputy Directors of Training Division and that the Assistant Director (Training) visited Gabtali Upazila Training Centre only once during the period from 1980-85. The URDOs met during the field trip emphasised that they do not receive any encouragement from the higher authorities to devote more attention specifically to the training activities of the village co-operative representatives and admitted that training of the co-operators is the least monitored item by the higher authorities in BRDB.

(e) Supporting UTDC training with training materials:

In Comilla, BARD and KTCCA printed and supplied training booklets to the trainees. Resources may not now permit an individual Upazila Training Centre to print the training booklet locally and supply them to the trainees in this way. However, lecture handouts on specific topics according to the local situation and needs could probably be prepared by the Upazila Training Centres and distributed to the trainees. BRDB Head office could similarly print training booklet on general topics and supply to the Upazilas for distribution to the trainees. BRDB could also develop mechanisms to obtain locally prepared training handouts from the Upazilas, print these centrally and distribute them to the Upazilas. So far unfortunately, BRDB has shown little interest in this important matter.

The indifference of BRDB to this important task is evident in the Annual Reports of BRDB. The Annual Report of BRDB for 1983-84 pointed out that the British government under their Technical Assistance Programme supplied modern video, audio visual, photographic and graphic equipment along with offset printing, silk screen printing and some other office equipment worth sixty
thousand pounds in 1982 for printing and production of training materials for the trainees of the Upazila Training Centres and other training organisations of BRDB. BRDB took no steps to use this equipment to produce training materials till the middle of 1984, though this equipment was received by BRDB in 1982. The same annual report mentioned that BRDB was just making arrangements for recruiting personnel in 1984 to operate these machines. 28

The subsequent Annual Report (1984-85) reveals, BRDB's continued negligence in this matter, pointing out that BRDB was unable to finalise recruitment of personnel to handle these machines even three years after receipt of the equipment from the British government. 29 The donated valuable and essential machines were thus left packed from 1982 to 1985. It will be noted in Chapter VI that effective administration of training processes of the KSS representatives have been suffering for want of provision of training materials. If the BRDB Head Office had any attachment for, interest in or desire for improving the situation of training of the KSS representatives, it would not keep the donated equipment in packed condition for three long years and would take urgent action to use it to produce training materials for making the Upazila level training effective.

(f) Allotment of funds for the training of the KSS representatives:

There is gross inadequacy of funding for the training of the KSS representatives as can be seen from Table IV-4 below:
### TABLE IV-4

**Requirement (according to the Project Directors) and actual allotment of funds for the training of the KSS representatives by the BRDB.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Jessore Region</th>
<th>Sylhet Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Funds required (in Taka)</td>
<td>Funds allocated (in Taka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>829,920</td>
<td>448,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>936,320</td>
<td>448,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>1,069,970</td>
<td>466,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>1,069,970</td>
<td>240,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>1,254,720</td>
<td>620,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that BRDB in most years allocated funds around 50% of the requirements indicated by the Project Director in the Jessore region and 60% in the Sylhet region for the training of the KSS representatives. In more recent years less than 25% of the requirements were allocated. It was observed during the field trip that the training activities of the KSS representatives were suspended after the first quarter of the year in Babuganj Upazila for lack of funds. Although the requirement for training funds increases with the increase in the number of KSS because of the formation of new societies, the BRDB surprisingly reduces allotment of funds for such training. BRDB Head Office is aware of the gross inadequacy in allotment of training funds; but so far has failed to take steps to allocate adequate funds for the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. If BRDB was committed to the training of KSS representatives, it would provide the necessary means.
(g) Some of the decisions of BRDB and their effect on the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas:

The following examination of two decisions of BRDB will vividly illustrate the impact of such decisions in the Upazila level training and the lack of interest of BRDB in the training of the KSS representatives. It will also appear from the second case that a discriminatory decision of BRDB added to the already chaotic training environment in the Upazilas and further weakened the training activities of the KSS representatives.

(i) Prioritisation of various items of responsibilities by the BRDB:

BRDB in a recent circular defined the priority of various items of responsibility of the UCCA/BRDB officers at the field level. Performance of the BRDB/UCCA officers at the Upazila level is likely to be assessed on the basis of these criteria. The various items of responsibility of UCCAs have been allotted marks. Categorisation of the UCCAs is done on the basis of total marks secured by the organisations. Relatively poor categorisation of the UCCA is likely to reflect on the annual performance evaluation report of the BRDB officers working in that UCCA. Table IV-5 will indicate the marks (that is weight) allotted to various items and the criteria of assessment.

This table indicates that training for the representatives of the village co-operative societies is the lowest item in priority. It further transpires from the table that BRDB is happy to award full credit if only 65% classes of village representatives are held. This statement indicates that BRDB is not ready to enforce regular holding of classes. Attaching the lowest priority and displaying an open indifference to enforcing the regular holding of classes of the KSS representatives again illustrate their non-commitment to the training activities of the KSS and other village level co-operative representatives. With such an attitude at BRDB Head Office towards the training activities of the KSS representatives, URDOs can hardly be expected to place a high
priority on the effective training of these KSS representatives. The URDOs and other Upazila level officers of BRDB naturally attach more care and attention to the items on which BRDB puts higher priority in order to obtain higher marks for their organisation and get recognition of their services from the top.

**TABLE IV-5**

Marks allotted to different items and manner of their assessment.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item of assessment</th>
<th>Marks allotted</th>
<th>Manner of assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Recovery of Loan</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Full marks for 40% recovery and no mark for 20% or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ability of UCCAs to meet the expenditure of UCCAs out of their own income.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Full marks for 60% and no mark for 20% or less.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ability in regular collection of share and saving deposits from the co-operative members</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Full marks for 80% and no mark for 15% or less.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Existence of A &amp; B categories of KSS in the Upazila.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Full marks for 45% and no mark for 15% or less.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Proper maintenance of accounts</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>No criterion mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Regularity in holding meetings</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>No criterion mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Regularity in holding training classes for the village co-operative representatives</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Full marks for 65% and no mark for 20% or less.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 100

NOTE: Achievement of overall 60% marks is required for "A" category and 50% marks for "B" category classification of the UCCAs.
(ii) Discrimination in fixing the rate of honorarium to the trainers in the Upazilas:

BRDB decided to pay a lower rate of honorarium to trainers of the KSS representatives and a higher rate to the same trainers when they impart similar training to the managers of BSS and MSS. For example, since November 1982, a trainer giving exactly the same lecture to two different groups gets honoraria at two different rates. A trainer gets TK 15.00 for taking each class of the KSS representatives subject to a maximum of TK 75 in a month.\(^{33}\) In January 1986, BRDB instructed URDOs to pay at a higher rate of TK 25.00 to the same trainers for each class taken for the managers of BSS and MSS without any maximum monthly ceiling.\(^{34}\)

Managers of the KSS, BSS, and MSS are trained in co-operative management by the same trainers in the Upazila Training Centre. BRDB did not give any reason for such discrimination in the rate of honoraria. Allowing a lower rate to the trainers of the KSS representatives who also train the managers of BSS and MSS clearly indicates the lack of commitment of BRDB to the training activities of the KSS representatives. Two rates for the managers of the Village Co-operative representatives are bound to add further to the already chaotic training environment in the Upazilas. The Upazila level trainers are naturally less interested in teaching the lower paid training classes of the KSS managers.

Some national and international organisations surveyed the BRDB programme as a whole and made occasional comments on the state of training of the KSS representatives. BRDB never showed any interest in examining and implementing such findings. It was therefore observed in 1981 that, "Important evaluation reports and reviews gather dust in the official archives [of BRDB]. No action is taken for years together."\(^{35}\) BRDB thus took no positive action to strengthen the Upazila level training activities, or to strengthen the structural framework of the training at the national, regional and Upazila levels, nor did it initiate action
to train the trainers in training management and methodologies. These circumstances do not in any way suggest that the BRDB Head Office is really committed to the training activities of the KSS representatives. The next section will examine the involvement of the BRDB officers at the regional level in the training activities of the KSS representatives.

2. COMMITMENT OF THE BRDB OFFICERS AT THE GREATER DISTRICT (REGIONAL) LEVEL TO THE TRAINING OF THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES:

BRDB has regional level offices in the 21 greater districts of the country. In the regional office of BRDB, Sylhet there is provision for one Project Director, one Deputy Project Director, one Accountant, one Accounts Assistant, one Clerk cum Typist, one Sub Assistant Engineer, one Driver, one Messenger, one Office peon (i.e. Messenger to work within the office. In Bangladesh such officials (i.e. peons) are also known as the members of the lower sub-ordinate service) and one Night Guard. The Project Director and the Deputy Project Director of Sylhet are responsible for supervision of BRDB programmes in 36 Upazilas of the region. Other staff are responsible for office work and to assist these two officers. The staffing arrangement is similar in most of the regional offices of BRDB. There is no provision for a full-time staff member in the regional offices to supervise and monitor the training activities of the village co-operative representatives of the Upazila Training Centres.

The Project Director (PD) has been assigned twenty three items of responsibility. So far as the training responsibility is concerned, the charter of duties of the Project Director states, "To prepare the annual training programme for co-operative representatives, [and] to act as trainers and subject matter specialists in different training courses organised in the district." The responsibility regarding preparation of an annual training programme is redundant, because the training programmes are now prepared centrally at the BRDB Head Office and distributed
to the URDOs for implementation. The BRDB has no training Institute at the district level. The second statement of duty that the Project Directors should work as trainers and subject-matter specialists in the districts is again vague, confusing and redundant. They have not been specifically asked to work occasionally as the trainers in the Upazila Training Centres within their respective jurisdiction. The prescribed training duties of the Project Directors therefore have little relevance to the Upazila level training activities of the KSS representatives. Moreover these statements of training duties do not make the Project Directors specifically responsible for the supervision, monitoring and guidance of the training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

The Deputy Project Director (DPD) is to assist the PD and also to perform eighteen items of assigned responsibilities. His charter of duties included, "To help UCCAs in preparation of training programmes for KSS, BSS, MSS representatives". This statement of responsibility is again redundant because the UCCAs are supposed to follow the centrally prepared training programme from the BRDB Head Office for the training of the village co-operative representatives. The DPD has not been specifically entrusted with the responsibility of implementation, supervision and monitoring of the Upazila level training activities of the village co-operative representatives either.

No regional level officers of BRDB appear to have specific responsibility for the training activities of the KSS and other village co-operative representatives in the Upazilas. Though the regional level officers of BRDB are responsible for the general supervision and guidance of the Upazila level activities of the BRDB programme as a whole, the charters of duties of the PDs and the DPDs framed by the government and BRDB do not specifically make them responsible for the supervision and monitoring of the Upazila level training activities. In the absence of any full-time training officer at the regional level the present regional level officers
of BRDB are unlikely to make any effort to undertake supervision and offer necessary support to the training of the village co-operative representatives in the Upazilas after fulfilling to their other closely monitored duties. This is especially so since training has been assigned the lowest priority by BRDB as discussed above. The existing BRDB arrangements at the regional level do not provide any facility for research and evaluation of the training activities. This is also true, as we have seen, of the national and Upazila levels of BRDB. Without facilities for research and evaluation of training activities at various levels, the effectiveness of training programmes of the KSS representatives is bound to suffer.

(a) Background of the Project Directors and the Deputy Project Directors:

Possession of appropriate educational background or qualifications helps develop attachment to particular jobs. There is at present no evidence to suggest that the PDs or the DPDs possess adequate background in the field of training. The posts of PD and DPD are usually filled by promotion from the lower posts. They are usually graduates from a university. None of them is provided with technical skills in training and research management either before or after joining their posts. There is in fact little opportunity for them to develop skills in specialised field like training. Table IV-6 below will indicate that tenure of PDs and DPDs in a particular region is as short as the Director-General or Director (Training) of the BRDB Headquarters. They do not find adequate time to acquire sufficient ideas about the peculiarities of the region and cannot acquire skills by working in a similar type of job in the same place for a reasonable period of time.
TABLE IV-6

Number of PDs and DPDs who served at Bogra, Jessore and Sylhet regions of BRDB from July 1980 to June 1985.39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of BRDB regions</th>
<th>Project Directors (PD)</th>
<th>Deputy Project Directors (DPD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of PDs</td>
<td>Average tenure in years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogra Region</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessore Region</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylhet Region</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average tenure of such officers in a region mostly lasted for little more than one year and did not usually reach up to two years. Gaining a thorough understanding of the regional requirements for training cannot therefore be expected within such a short tenure. Nor can they necessarily increase their skills by transferring to another region in the same position. They may be transferred to any of the Divisions of the BRDB Head Office in an equivalent position, as they are not specifically recruited for the training job. There is therefore, little opportunity for them to develop specialisation as training supervisors. It is again hard to expect that the PD or the DPD would be effectively involved in the supervision of the training activities of the KSS representatives with such an inadequate background and with no specific responsibilities for the task.

(b) Visit to the Upazila Training Centres by the PDs and the DPDs: Attempts were made in Balaganj, Biswanath and Nandigram Upazilas to inspect the tour notes of the PDs and DPDs to ascertain their interest in the Upazila level training activities. Visits to Upazila Training Centres by regional officers would have at least shown that they were seeking to supervise training activities.
During the period from July 1980 to June 1985, the URDO, Biswanath stated that no one had visited the Upazila Training Centre. URDOs in Balaganj and Nandigram remembered that the Project Directors concerned had visited the training centres once in each of the five years mentioned above. None of the URDOs could however show any tour note of such visits, but they did recall that during that single visit to the training centre the PDs met with the trainee village co-operative representatives and held discussions on loan repayment and other issues of the village societies. The tours were not recorded in any tour notes and the statement regarding the visits to Balaganj and Nandigram Upazilas could not be verified. DPDs never visited any of the three Upazila training centres during the period. Such infrequent visits to the training centres of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas again bear evidence of the lack of interest and concern of the PDs and DPDs for the training of the KSS representatives.

(c) Monthly conference of the URDOs:

The Project Directors hold a conference of all the URDOs of the region once a month to evaluate the progress of activities of the BRDB programmes in various Upazilas in the region. The proceedings of such monthly conferences for the period from April 1985 to January 1986 of the Sylhet region and for the period from July 1983 to September 1985 of Jessore region were carefully scrutinised to ascertain if the training of the KSS representatives formed a regular part of the agenda.

Discussion on items of training of the KSS representatives took place only on two occasions and then only as the last item, out of the 16 conferences of URDOs held in the Sylhet region (more than one conference a month was held because separate monthly conferences were held in some of the newly created districts). The conference held on the 5th October 1985 in Sylhet merely lamented the distressing situation of training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The URDOs mentioned in the conference that inadequacy of training funds is the principal reason for the unsatisfactory
situation in training. The conference however did not produce any constructive decision or take any steps to improve the situation. The second discussion on the training of the KSS representatives was held at the conference of the 9th June 1985 in the Sunamganj District of the Sylhet region. The discussion was limited to a warning by DPD to the URDOs that they should not make payment of arrears in training allowances to the trainees out of the fund provided for the purpose a few days before the above noted conference. DPD also cautioned the URDOs against making any irregular payments to the trainee out of this training fund. No other discussion for the improvement of the situation of the training of the KSS representatives was found in the same proceedings. This warning of DPD to the URDOs raises the question as to the possibility of there having been irregular use of the already inadequate training funds in the Upazilas.

No item on the training of the KSS representatives appeared in the discussion at conferences in the Jessore region during the period mentioned above. It was however noted in the minutes of the conference of Jessore region held on the 15th of March 1984 that the PD, DPD and the URDOs decided to train some villagers separately as mechanics to repair deep and shallow tubewells. The model farmers should have been given training to repair and use tubewells for irrigation purposes, so arranging training for a separate group of villagers indicates the lack of conviction of the BRDB officers in the role of the model farmers. This is in fact a parallel effort by the regional office of BRDB, Jessore to train the farmers, adding to the already conflicting efforts to train the farmers and other villagers.

Evidence produced above suggests that the Officers of BRDB working in the regional level are not effectively promoting the training activities of the KSS representatives nor are they taking any interest in the supervision and monitoring of such training activities. The professional background of the PDs and DPDs as training supervisors was found inadequate. The above discussion
indicated that the PDs and DPDs did not take an interest in the training activities of the KSS representatives, and it can, in the circumstances, be argued that the PDs and DPDs at the regional level are not committed to making such training activities effective.

3. SUMMARY:

Co-ordination, promotion and education are the important and inter-related roles of BRDB. Discussions in Chapters II, III and this chapter indicated the unsatisfactory state of BRDB in its co-ordinating role, though effectiveness of BRDB in the co-ordinating role is essential for its effectiveness in the promotional and educational roles. The present promotional role is mainly limited to the expansion of the programme all over the country and increasing the number of village level societies. The number of village level societies (KSS, BSS and MSS) have been increasing steadily but efforts of BRDB to support such societies with adequate supervision, supply and services are extremely limited.

Increases in the number of village level societies has definite implications for BRDB's educational role. First, it requires the strengthening of its Training Division and the regional and Upazila level structures to cope with the increasing load of training of the village co-operators. Second, if the training is not supported by the provision of supplies and services for the use of training by the village co-operators, they are unlikely to become committed to the training activities. Because of the ineffectiveness of BRDB in its co-ordinating role it has so far failed to procure necessary inputs from the other departments and ensure regular supplies to the village societies.

This chapter examined the degree of commitment of the BRDB Head office and the regional offices to the educational role in general and training of the KSS representatives in particular. BRDB proposed to train more than 240,000 persons in a year through over
500 training centres in the country; but it has not strengthened its Training Division to shoulder these huge training responsibilities effectively. It could indicate its commitment to such a huge training load by strengthening its Training Division in the Head Office and the field level structures effectively to support, supervise, monitor and implement the training activities.

Analysis in this chapter showed that instead of strengthening the Training Division, BRDB has gradually made the Training Division weaker over the years after the independence of Bangladesh. BRDB showed no concern either to strengthen the regional and Upazila level structures for effective supervision and implementation of the increasing training load. Lack of interest of BRDB in the educational role is further evident from its absurd expectation that the PDs in the regional level and URDOs in the Upazila level should be able to do full justice to their large training responsibilities, while they remain busy with other closely monitored duties. Non-commitment of BRDB to the educational role is further clear from the decision of BRDB to place only two full-time officers in the Training Division of the Head Office to support and monitor the huge training load and to maintain liaison with over 500 training centres. Although research and evaluation are vital for the effectiveness of any training, the existing training structure of BRDB at both the macro and micro levels totally ignored this important need.

The background of the training personnel of both the BRDB Head and regional offices was found inadequate to the understanding of the intricacies of the specialised training job and for the development of a sense of commitment. BRDB so far has taken no steps to develop the personnel in the Head and regional offices specifically in training management or training and research methods. Neither the training personnel of BRDB Head Office nor such personnel of the regional offices showed an interest in the training of the KSS representatives by their regular visits to the Upazila Training Centres to seek an understanding of the Upazila
level problems of such training and to encourage the trainees and the trainers in the Upazilas.

BRDB indicated little interest in printing training booklets and distributing training materials to the Upazilas to make the training of the KSS representatives effective. BRDB demonstrated extreme indifference to the requirements of training by its failure to utilise for over three years the valuable equipment and machinery donated by the British government for the purpose of preparing training materials. BRDB does not allot adequate funds for conducting courses for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The allocation of funds for such training varies from 25% to 50% of actual requirements. Effective administration of courses with such inadequate allotment of funds can hardly be expected.

The decisions of BRDB to make training its last priority in the criteria for assessing the performance of the UCCAs and to sanction a lower rate of honorarium to the trainers of KSS representatives vividly illustrate their non-commitment to the training of the KSS representatives. Total indifference and inactivity of BRDB in considering the recommendations of various national and international organisations to make the training of the village co-operative representatives effective again indicates its non-commitment to such training.

The charters of duties of the PDs and the DPDs do not specifically entrust them with the supervisory responsibility for training activities in the Upazilas. The PDs and DPDs do not regularly include the training item of the KSS representatives in the agenda of the monthly conference of the URDOs to show their commitment to such training. Analysis of facts in the chapter clearly indicated the non-commitment of the BRDB Head and regional level offices to effective training at the Upazila level in general and of the KSS representatives in particular.
The next two chapters will attempt to describe the situation at the Upazila level of the training of the KSS representatives in Bangladesh. Assessment of the commitment of the trainers and the trainees to such training will be attempted. First, however, Chapter V will examine the commitment of the Upazila level trainers to make the training of the KSS representatives effective.


7. Bangladesh, BRDB, Training calendars for 1984-85 and 1985-86 (Dhaka: Training Division, BRDB)

8. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


12. In addition to the main BRDB project, BRDB has five special projects (Chandpur Irrigation Project, Barisal Irrigation Project, Karnafuli Irrigation Project, Hand Tubewell Project and Special Women's Programme); three experimental projects (Population planning and rural women co-operative project, Distribution of fertilizer in exchange for cash loan project, irrigation equipment for the landless project) and seven area development projects (Rural Development Project-II, Noakhali-DANIDA Project-II, North-West Rural Development Project, South West Rural Development Project, Sirajganj Rural Development Project, Deep Tubewell Project-II and Second Tubewell Project). The main BRDB project and the special, experimental and area development projects equally provide for training of the village co-operative representatives. The training load of BRDB is thus increasing with the implementation of all these projects. See Bangladesh, BRDB, Annual Report, 1984-85 (Dhaka: BRDB Head Office, 1985), pp. 42-69, 70-80 and 81-88.


15. Ibid., pp. 7-8.


17. The Director (Training) BRDB, "A Proposal for Strengthening of Training Division of BRDB" op. cit., p. 5-6.


24. Ibid.


27. Supra, f/n 85 & 86 of Chapter II, p. 102.


30. Data Collected from the Project Directors, BRDB of Jessore and Sylhet regions.

31. BRDB, Training Syllabus for the training of the representatives of the Primary Co-operative Societies (in Bengali) (Dhaka: BRDB Head Office, 1982), preface.
32. BRDB Head Office, *Banking Plan* (in Bengali); Dhaka, October, 1983.


36. Data procured from the Project Director, BRDB, Sylhet region during the field research in 1985.


39. Data supplied by the Project Directors, BRDB of Bogra, Jessore and Sylhet regions.
This chapter examines the design and implementation of training programmes for the KSS representatives in some Upazilas to see if these are stereotyped, ritualistic and lifeless as observed by the Director (Training) BRDB. The commitment of the Upazila level trainers administering various processes of training will be observed to assess whether they are sufficiently interested in making the training effective.

"Success [in training] is directly related to the quality, number and involvement of the instructional staff". Trainers are one of the key elements in any training activity. Achievement of desired training objectives to a large extent depends on the involvement, competence and credibility of the trainers. Competence and credibility of the trainers in turn depend in part on their background. Selection, age, education, training and tenure of the main Upazila level trainers shall also be examined to assess the competence and credibility of such trainers. Effectiveness of the trainers and their involvement are essential for the effective administration of various processes of training. "The trainers' effectiveness requires skills in training, the motivation to utilise these skilfully, [and the] capability to apply these skills". This chapter will accordingly examine the background of the Upazila level trainers to see if they are adequately qualified to work for the specialised job as the trainers and to determine the sensitivity of the trainers to the needs of training and the training activities of the KSS representatives.

To help the trainees to perform better, it is necessary for the instructor to use a proper training methodology and instructional technique. Effective training can be learned by any person willing to spend time on planning a course, preparing the training sessions and on practising presentation.

Effective training not only requires good trainers but also requires proper planning of the training programme. Preparation of
the programme, systematic presentation to the trainees, followed by evaluation and follow-up of the training activities are essential. The administration of the various training processes for the existing training programmes for the KSS representatives shall be examined. As noted earlier, effective administration of the training processes and commitment of the trainers to the training activities are interdependent.

Commitment of the Upazila level trainers to the training of the KSS representatives requires that the trainers possess adequate competence in their training role. Their actions and decisions should indicate their intense interest and involvement in the planning, preparation, presentation, evaluation and follow-up of the training of the KSS representatives specifically. They should also involve themselves in research activities to design and implement relevant and dynamic programmes for each of the KSS representatives according to need and their expected role in the society. They are also expected to provide a forum for the participation of the trainees in the planning and other relevant stages of the training processes. The trainers should treat their involvement in training as an obligatory part of their responsibilities involving their self-esteem. They should suffer psycho-social penalties in case of any default in or ineffectiveness of the training activities. Their involvement in such training should be combined with a personal pledge to administer the training processes effectively. Espousal of training in this way by the trainers in the Upazilas requires that they become mentally wedded to the effective training of the KSS representatives.

The Upazila level trainers should demonstrate their commitment to the training of the KSS representatives by performing their roles as the advisers, exponents, diagnosticians, managers, learning specialists, researchers, innovators, facilitators and moral supporters of the training activities. These functions/roles
involve planning and preparation of training programmes, and the co-ordination of the training activities with other activities.

To be effective in the above noted roles and functions a trainer should possess certain characteristics. He should first think of his trainees - their convenience and welfare. He should be interested in training and should develop interesting and useful programmes in consultation with trainees and implement them in a conscientious manner. He should keep pace with the changing needs and environments of training. He should be a specialist in the field of training and should be positive and creative in his outlook. He should also be persistent in selling good ideas. These characteristics are essential to an effective trainer.

Subsequent discussion on the background and the nature of involvement of the trainers in their expected roles and functions will demonstrate the characteristics of the trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. First, however, to facilitate analysis of the various stages of the training process of the KSS representatives and also the activities of trainers in the different training processes, the next section analyses the distinction between the concepts of training, education and extension.

1. TRAINING, EDUCATION AND EXTENSION:

Training is widely recognised as different from general education.

Training is akin to following a tightly fenced path, in order to reach a pre-determined goal at the end of it. Education is to wander freely in the fields to the left and right of the path preferably with a map.

Training is specific and deals with improvement of performance in a specific job. It is "any activity which deliberately attempts to improve a person's skill in a job as opposed to education which is mainly concerned with personal development as opposed to direct job relevance." The more specialised and advanced the education, the
greater is the tendency to refer to it as training. Education is
general cultural preparation. It is a preparation for life. A young
person may obtain education in schools and universities. Training
denotes specialised instructions offered in vocational institutes.
Education is general and training is specific. Training focuses on
skills in action in real life situations. It fills the gap between
education and the practical work situation. Education has a long
term orientation, with future application of current learning
always problematic, while training deals with current needs and
immediate application. More often than not education deals with
younger people as the learners, while training deals with
comparatively older people as the learners. "Training utilises the
basic principles of education. At the same time the objectives of
training are more sharply defined than those of education." Formal
education starts from a theoretical framework and leads to
practical work. It has a fixed and pre-decided curriculum. Teaching
is curriculum centred. Training of farmers should be oriented
towards practical problems. In a training programme for the
villagers there should not be a fixed syllabus and the contents
should be flexible depending on the actual needs of the farmers or
the other villagers concerned. Such trainees should have freedom to
choose subjects for training.

Training is thus significantly different from general
educational activities. Training requires different types of
treatment for its effectiveness. Training is problem oriented and
an andragogic activity to improve the knowledge, skill and
attitudes of the learners to enable them to perform a specific job
in a better way. It is a two-way and horizontal process, in which
the participation and contribution of the trainees is essential.

Though it is difficult to draw a clear line between rural
training and extension, Bryant and White pointed out some
differences between the two. According to them, training includes
non-formal education, use of mass communication and literacy
programmes. Training is a part of bottom-up planning and gathering
suggestions from the farmers and other learners. Training can be therefore designed for a specific group of farmers to meet their needs. Bryant and White stated that the extension service model is a top-down commercialisation process and not deeply committed to increasing participation (of the farmers) in decision making.¹⁰

Training is thus a specialised type of activity significantly different from general education and somewhat different from the extension service model. This difference should be kept in mind for the effective design and implementation of a training programme. Training of farmers should be practical and local need based. It should be a bottom-up process and should not be curriculum centred. It should also be a reciprocal learning activity where the participation of the trainees (i.e. farmers) is ensured. A dynamic training programme for the farmers should not be class-room oriented and should make provision for the trainees (i.e. farmers) to learn by doing and through methods such as demonstration, group discussion, audio-visual and field visits.

Subsequent discussion in this chapter will show that the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives have little understanding about the distinction of training from general education. They do not treat training of the KSS representatives in the manner discussed above. The trainees do not get an opportunity to participate in the various processes of training to ensure a reciprocal, bottom-up and local need based learning activity. It will also appear from the subsequent discussion that such a lack of understanding by the trainers has significantly contributed to the ineffectiveness of the training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The next section will identify the trainers in the Upazilas and shall discuss their roles and characteristics.
2. **THE TRAINERS OF THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UPAZILAS AND THEIR ROLES:**

A. **The trainers in the Upazila Training Centres:**

At the beginning of the Thana level training activities in Bangladesh in the 1960s, the former governments decided, Training to the villagers can, at least to begin with, be imparted by various officers posted at the Thana level. These officers, of course, will have to be trained to become teachers in addition to being extension workers.

Since then the Thana level officers of various nation building departments have been functioning as the instructors in the Thana/Upazila Training Centres in Bangladesh in addition to their own departmental duties. As the Comilla co-operative programme was not widely expanded in the 1960s, courses were organised for the members of the project committees for rural works programme, managers of village level irrigation groups and the officials of the local councils in the TTDCs where the Comilla co-operative model was not in operation. The Circle officer would work as an instructor in local government and also as the Training Director of such training activities and the Thana level officers of the Departments of Agriculture, Livestock, Fishery Co-operatives, BADC, Health and Family Planning would work as the instructors in their departmental subjects in addition to their normal departmental duties.

With the replication of the Comilla co-operative model throughout the country by BRDB, the URDOs have been working as instructors in Comilla co-operative principles and also organising courses for the KSS, BSS and MSS representatives as the Training Directors in the Upazila Training Centres. It will be recalled that the analysis in Chapter II (see also Appendix-4) indicated that the traditional co-operatives in Bangladesh are administered by the Department of Co-operatives and the Comilla type co-operatives are organised and promoted by BRDB. The Upazila Co-operatives Office:
belonging to the Department of Co-operatives is responsible for the regulatory and auditing aspects of KSS and other BRDB organised co-operatives in addition to his principal task of supervision of the traditional co-operatives. The Upazila Co-operative Officers, therefore, work as instructors of the KSS representatives in the regulatory aspects of KSS.

The URDO is from BRDB. He is responsible for organising and promoting the KSS, BSS and MSS. He also works as an instructor in these matters in courses for the managers and model farmers as well as being responsible for organising all courses as Training Director.

The Upazila level officers of the other nation building departments such as Agriculture, Livestock, Fishery Co-operatives, BADC, Health and Family Planning have also been working as the instructors. The term trainers shall be used to include both the Training Director (i.e. URDO) and the instructors (i.e. the Officers of the nation building departments). It has already been noted that there is no full-time trainer for the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. All the trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas perform their training job in addition to the other duties.

The BRDB Head Office instructed that 22 Upazila level officers as mentioned in Table-5 in the appendix should work as the trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. Field research suggests that the URDOs do not follow this instruction carefully and select instructors for the courses of the KSS representatives according to their own choice. Sometimes an Imam (Moslem religious leader) is selected as a trainer by the URDO to teach the KSS representatives belonging to various religions on Namaj and Roza (Moslem prayer and fasting). A survey by the Civil Officers Training Academy (COTA) noted that as many as 34 Thana level functionaries at one time or other assumed responsibilities for training of the KSS representatives. URDOs thus failed to
recognise that training is a specialised type of activity requiring persons with adequate background and skill to work as the trainers. The Training Division and the regional level offices of BRDB were found to be unconcerned about such whimsical selection of instructors by the URDOs. They never checked the situation to issue corrective instructions to the URDOs.

For the purpose of this study, the selection, education, age, training and tenure of 22 Officers in each Upazila (including URDOs) as suggested by the BRDB to work as trainers and mentioned in Table-5 of the appendix shall be examined. Development of the huge number of trainers (the total number of Upazila level trainers in 448 Upazilas of the country thus comes to \(448 \times 22 = 9856\)) through regular courses to make them effective in their specialised job as trainers requires the determined effort and commitment of both the government and the BRDB. An assessment of the quality, competence and involvement of these trainers requires an initial analysis of their backgrounds followed by a discussion of their own training and then the administration of processes of training of the KSS representatives.

B. Role and characteristics of the ideal trainers:

(i) The role of trainers:

In an expert group meeting organised by the United Nations (Social Welfare and Development Centre for Asia and Pacific) in Manila, Soon Nam Choi described the role of the trainers thus:

A teacher, guide, facilitator, enabler, a moral supporter and in effect a friend, philosopher and guide depending upon a specific situation at a given moment of time.\(^{15}\)

Makhija identified the role of an instructor, "as a teacher, as a research worker and as an extension worker."\(^{16}\) M.S. Islam described the role of the trainer as the learning specialist, administrator, consultant and researcher.\(^{17}\) Alan Mumford, however, suggested the following roles of what he calls a training man (i.e. the trainer):
(a) An adviser: He is to advise on the production of training schemes, courses and individual programme. A trainer is to provide a bridge between learning theory/methods and the training needs.

(b) An exponent: As an exponent he is to perform the training functions directly. He will be required to lecture, run discussion groups, lead case analyses, demonstrate techniques, and analyse performance on exercises.

(c) A diagnostician: This role may be a part of the advisory role since diagnosis is required to analyse training problems. The diagnostician is asked, and is able, to look for alternative definitions of the problem, and for other than training solutions. His concern may well be to analyse the needs of KSS organisation as a whole and of the training.

(d) A manager: The managerial role in training is occupied by both the training specialist and by the man to whom he reports. He plans both short and long term training activities in relation to needs and resources.

An ideal and committed trainer should accordingly perform his role as researcher, learning specialist, innovator, exponent, adviser, diagnostician, manager, teacher, guide, facilitator and administrator. All these roles are important but there are obvious overlaps of roles in the various processes of training.

In the activities of the Upazila level trainers these roles should be undertaken in the following way.

As the advisers, the Upazila level trainers should advise the higher authorities on the courses of the KSS representatives. The trainers in the Upazilas should work as the teachers and make regular presentation to the trainees in their role as the exponents. As the diagnosticians the trainers of the KSS representatives should identify the training problems. They should analyse the needs of the KSS and assess the training needs of the managers and model farmers. As the managers the trainers in the
Upazilas should plan training actions of the KSS representatives in both short and long term in relation to needs and resources.

Arising out of the above roles the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives should to be involved in research. Without research the trainers would find it difficult to become innovative and advise the higher authorities on training matters properly. Research helps to make the presentation as exponents effective. Assessment of training needs of the KSS representatives including short and long term planning of training activities also requires research. These responsibilities call for an appropriate background and commitment of the Upazila level trainers which shall be examined later by analysis of the selection, age, education and training of the trainers and their involvement at the various processes of training later in this chapter.

Over time, various governments have enumerated the duties (including the training duty) of the Upazila level officers. As noted earlier, the governments of Pakistan ordered that the Thana level officers of the nation building departments should also work as the trainers in the Thana Training Centres to train the villagers as a part of their departmental duties. The same arrangement continued after the independence of Bangladesh and till the upgrading of the Thanas into Upazilas in 1982-83. Lack of commitment of the governments of Bangladesh to the Comilla models in general and to the training of rural people in particular as described in Chapter II created confusion among the Thana officers after the independence of Bangladesh as to whether they should seriously involve themselves in the rural training activities. Uncongenial administrative environments in the Thanas/Upazilas and the non-existence of Thana/Upazila Training Committees contributed further to confusion about the training responsibilities among the Thana officers.

The governments of Bangladesh did not remind the Thana officers of their training responsibility after the independence of
the country until the upgrading of the Thanas into the Upazilas. The consultants of NCRT therefore observed in 1981 "It was learnt from some Thana level officers that they were not quite sure if training was a part of their job description". In such a confusing situation many Thana level officers who continued to hold classes, did not feel that participation in the training activities was an obligatory part of their responsibilities. Many Thana level officers treated their participation in training as an optional responsibility. Such Thana level officers, in the circumstances, did not become committed to the training activities in the Thanas after the independence of Bangladesh.

With the introduction of Upazila system of administration replacing the Thanas, the government in the Cabinet Division restated the duties of the Upazila level officers in the Upazila Administration Manual, volume I in 1983. (Table-6 in the appendix has been prepared to show the training duties only of the Upazila level officers). It will appear from that Table that the latest enumeration of the training duties of the Upazila level officer has added considerably to the already prevailing confusion among the Upazila level officers of the nation building departments about their training duties in general and participation in the courses of the KSS representatives in particular.

The statement of duties regarding training at Table-6 of the appendix does not specifically ask the Upazila level officers to involve themselves in the training of the KSS representatives or in the other training programmes for the village co-operators organised by the URDOs. The government asked the officers at serial number 1–5, 10, 12, 19 and 22 of Table-6 in appendix that they be responsible for the training matters of their respective departments. The government instructions are not at all clear as to whether such officers should organise independent courses in subjects related to their departments or if they should participate in the training programmes organised by the other departments. Nothing is specifically mentioned about their participation in the
BRDB organised courses. It was therefore noted in Chapter III that the Upazila level officers in some cases independently organised parallel courses for the villagers. Officers at serial numbers 7, 11 and 13 of the same table have been asked to be responsible for the training of the field level staff belonging only to their own departments. They are, according to the charter of duties, responsible for the training of the village level government workers only. For example, the Upazila Fishery Officer has been specifically asked in his charter of duties to prepare a training schedule and to train the fish farmers. He is therefore likely to treat participation in the BRDB organised courses for the KSS representatives as outside his prescribed duties and to organise courses for fish farmers independently. Similarly the Subject Matter Officer has been asked only to look after the training of the Block Supervisors. He is also likely to think that participation in BRDB organised programmes is outside his responsibility. It was also noted in chapter III that the UNOs do not consider it their responsibility to co-ordinate the BRDB organised training programmes for the KSS representatives.

Enumeration of the new charter of duties of the Upazila level officers by the government has thus created severe co-ordination problems in the field of training of the KSS representatives. It was observed during the field trip that most of the Upazila level officers of the nation building departments feel that participation in such training activities is not a part of their duties. Many also feel that training of the KSS representatives is the responsibility of the BRDB officers only. The Secretary to the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives was also aware of the situation and in November 1984 observed thus,

Many Upazila level officers feel that participation in the training activities of the KSS representatives is not a part of their responsibilities. It is only the responsibility of the BRDB officers.

The concern of the Secretary was limited only to this observation and no corrective steps were taken by the government to improve the situation and to strengthen the training activities of the KSS representatives.
representatives as of 1985 (the field research year). Most of the Upazila level officers in the circumstances feel that participation in the BRDB organised training activities is optional to them. They do not have to be concerned about any sanctions if they do not participate in the training activities of the KSS representatives because of the vague and unspecified statements of training duty. In fact, many attend the training classes only to get the honorarium.

The URDOs are responsible for organising courses for the KSS representatives as Training Directors as one of fifteen allotted duties. In order of priority these have been shown in Table 6 with training duties specifically at serial numbers 8 and 15. After responding to the closely monitored duties given higher priority, URDOs find little time to do even minimum justice to their training duties. All the URDOs and ARDOs interviewed during the field research unanimously stated that the training duty was the least monitored item of their duties. They can barely devote 3%-5% of their working time for organising training activities for the large number of the village co-operative (KSS, BSS and MSS) representatives in the Upazila Training Centres. The decision of BRDB Head Office that recovery of loan is the most important item of duty (discussed in Chapter IV) also illustrates how low in priority the training activities of the village co-operative representatives were ranked by the BRDB Head and regional level offices.

Effectiveness of training of the KSS representatives requires involvement of the Upazila level trainers in their roles as the advisers, diagnosticians, exponents, researchers, facilitators, innovators, managers and learning specialists etc as discussed earlier. Table-6 in the appendix clearly indicates that the present statement of duties of the Upazila level trainers is so inadequate and incomplete that it does not specify anything about their involvement in these roles, and has not encouraged them to fulfil these roles. Moreover, analysis of the background and training of
the Upazila level trainers in the next section will illustrate that they are not given any specific training as trainers or even informed about these various roles. Discussion on the various stages of the training process of the KSS representatives will also show that involvement of the Upazila level trainers is limited only to the delivery of lectures as a part of their role as the exponent or teacher. There is little to show that the Upazila level trainers involve themselves in any of the other roles of trainers to demonstrate their commitment to training and to make the training of the KSS representatives effective.

(ii) Some characteristics of the ideal trainers:

To be effective in their role a trainer is expected to possess certain characteristics. A good trainer should first think of his trainees and what they need to know in order to perform better after training. He will then develop an informative, interesting and attractive course. Saxena mentions that a good trainer is committed to perform the training job in a conscientious manner in order to achieve the training objectives. He should keep pace with the changing environment to keep the training relevant and useful. According to Watson a good instructor should be familiar with the subject-matter to be taught including its practical applicability. He should know and understand the learning process and should bring the trainees to the stage of learning by using appropriate and striking methods. He should be able to establish a rapport with the trainees and earn trainees' attention, acceptance and trust, and be genuinely interested in helping the trainees to learn.

Otto and Glaser mention that a good trainer should be positive, tolerant, dynamic, creative and innovative. He should be persistent in selling good ideas and should take an interest in the growth of the individuals. He should be able to inspire others. The subsequent discussion about the involvement of the Upazila level trainers in the various stages of the training process shows that most of the trainers of the KSS representatives in the
Upazilas do not possess the characteristics of good and effective trainers.

3. BACKGROUND OF THE UPAZILA LEVEL OFFICERS WHO ARE ALSO THE TRAINERS OF THE ESS REPRESENTATIVES:

During the field trip to 20 Upazilas as mentioned in Chapter I, the backgrounds of 19 URDOs were surveyed. Hasan of the BARD faculty also surveyed the backgrounds of 40 DPOs (now called ARDO) in 1981, and in the same year M.S. Rahman of the Rajshahi University also surveyed the backgrounds of 24 Thana level officers of various departments of the Puthia Thana of Rajshahi district. The backgrounds of the Upazila level officers will mainly be analysed on the basis of facts obtained in these surveys. As the Assistant Director Rural Development of Comilla during 1972-73 and Additional Deputy Commissioner of Jessore district during 1974-76, and also during the field research in 1985, we observed that there is insignificant variation in the backgrounds of the officers of various Upazilas. Hence the analysis of the backgrounds of the officers on the basis of the relatively limited surveys may be more generally applicable to the Upazila level officers across the entire country than might otherwise have been thought.

Most of the Upazila level officers are new recruits to the public service. On the first appointment they generally continue in the same position for five to seven years in the different Upazila until they are promoted. An extract from the latest recruitment rules of the Upazila level officers in Appendix-6 will indicate the minimum requirement for each post in terms of age and qualifications etc. The actual survey findings in some cases do not tally with the requirements mentioned in the recruitment rules, because some officers may have completed several years of service in the Upazila and others might have been promoted to the present position from lower posts. Moreover, the government varies the conditions in the recruitment rules from time to time. Appendix-6 is intended to show a general picture of the Upazila level officers
of the entire country in terms of their age, qualification and method of selection at the time of their entry into the public service. Selection, age, education, and training of the Upazila level officers of BRDB and other nation building departments and the length of stay of the URDOs and ARDOs of the selected Upazilas are analysed below.

A. Selection:

Different views about selection of the trainers are bound to occur, but there are some common elements. Watson suggested that it would be wise to obtain evaluation of the prospective instructor from someone who has knowledge about the candidate before the selection is made. He further suggested that the consideration of age difference between the trainees and the instructor at the time of selection of the instructor is relevant. If the trainees are middle-aged or older, they will not, as a rule, respond favourably to young instructors, no matter how much they know. As an exception to this general principle, the younger instructor can be effective if the subject is technical, matter of fact and mechanical in nature - and not subjective or philosophical. Thus the age of the trainers with relation to the trainees is an important factor at the time of their selection.

Otto and Glaser suggested that some sort of yardstick, such as job responsibilities should be determined first before determining the required qualifications of the prospective trainers. The needs of the training organisation and background of the candidate should therefore be considered at the time of selection.

In order to have a mix of professionals and practitioners in the faculty some organisations select a certain percentage of trainers from the personnel of the relevant organisation for a limited period of time and recruit others directly and develop them as the professional trainers. The Upazila Training Centres should
have a combination of both types of trainers for the most effective form of training. In a conference in India it was recommended that Persons with an academic bent of mind and with special aptitude for training should only be selected to serve on the faculty of training institutions. Such officers should normally serve for a period of five years.31

Ideally the Upazila Training Centres should follow the above principles in staffing the Centres. At present no professional trainer is selected for the Upazila Training Centres to enrich the faculty. As already mentioned previously all the trainers in the Upazilas are part-time trainers and departmental officers and their length of stay in one Upazila usually does not exceed 2 to 3 years. The above criteria for the selection of the Upazila level trainers and their retention for a reasonable period in an Upazila are not followed in Bangladesh.

Staffing of a training institute depends on the nature and objective of the training organisation and the number and the range of interests of the clientele to be covered. The common elements which require consideration at the time of selection of the trainers are the education, age and training of the candidates. The selection of the government officers involved in training in the Upazilas is generally made by the Bangladesh Public Service Commission on the basis of duly framed recruitment rules for each post. Article 140 of the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh entrusted the following function to the Bangladesh Public Service Commission: "To conduct tests and examinations for the selection of suitable persons for appointment to the service of the Republic".32

Recruitment rules are framed by each ministry/department as required under Article 133 and clause (2) of Article 140 of the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The recruitment rules prescribe age, qualification and method of recruitment of the officials in various posts. (See Appendix 6).
Since Upazila is the lowest tier of administration in Bangladesh, the newly recruited officers of various departments usually start there. They may be subsequently promoted to higher responsibilities. A significant number of Upazila level officers who are newly/directly recruited obviously do not possess previous experience for the job.

BRDB and BADC are autonomous bodies. They recruit their Upazila level officers (i.e. URDO, ARDO, Accountant UCCA, UO, SO, FI and SI) directly without having to involve the Bangladesh Public Service Commission. Recruitment rules in BRDB were framed in 1983. Prior to that the general conditions of services in the government departments were usually followed by BRDB at the time of recruitment of officers. It may also be noted at this stage that the Upazila level officers, including the BRDB officers, are mainly selected for the purpose of running the Upazila administration; training criteria are not seriously considered at the time of making such selection. Their attitude towards training, their age and background receive little consideration at the time of selection, though such officers have to function as the trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazila Training Centres.

B. Age:

During the field research 19 URDOs were interviewed. Table V-1 below will indicate their distribution according to age.

**TABLE V-1**

Distribution of the URDOs according to age (as of 1985).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age ranges</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 &amp; over</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The age etc. mentioned in Appendix-6 with respect to the BRDB officers may not necessarily be in conformity with the age ranges shown in Table V-1 after 1983 when BRDB formulated its own recruitment rules. It is evident from the table that 14 (73.68%) of the URDOs interviewed were within 35 years of age.

M.S. Rahman of the Rajshahi University in his study of Puthia Thana of Rajshahi district found an almost similar age distribution of Thana level officers in 1981 (Table V-2).

Rahman's survey indicates a general picture of the age ranges of the Thana level officers of various government departments and statutory organisations. Rahman concluded that young and middle-aged personnel dominated the Thana level administration in Bangladesh.33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 &amp; above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table indicates that over 66% of the Thana/Upazila level officers who are also the trainers of the KSS representatives are within 40 years of age. Analysis in Chapter VI will show that around 70% of the KSS representatives are also within 40 years of age.35 Thus the majority of the trainers and the trainees are within the same age range. As mentioned previously, according to Watson, if the trainees are middle aged or older, they may not respond favourably to young instructors.36 The fact that the
majority of the trainers are of the same age range as the trainees is one favourable item in the training environment of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

C. Academic background:

Minimum qualifications necessary for various posts have been prescribed in the recruitment rules (*Appendix-6*). The educational background of the 19 URDOs interviewed is tabulated as follows:

**TABLE V-3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last degree obtained.</th>
<th>Major field of specialisation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social science</td>
<td>physical science</td>
<td>commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor degree</td>
<td>1 12.50</td>
<td>2 25.00</td>
<td>5 62.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master degree</td>
<td>9 81.82</td>
<td>1 9.00</td>
<td>1 9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>10 52.63</td>
<td>3 15.79</td>
<td>6 31.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority (57.92%) of URDOs hold a Master's degree from a university. 9 (47.37) URDOs do not have a background in social science. The officers without a background in social science, therefore, require special training to enable them to deal with the problems of rural society. Qualifications prescribed in the recruitment rules of many generalist Upazila level officers like URDO, ARDO and UNO etc. (*Appendix-6*) are very wide, as the rules make provision for any University graduate irrespective of social science, physical science or commerce background to compete for these posts though these officers have to deal with the socio-economic problems of the rural society. Ideally, officers having degrees in social sciences would be better suited to such Upazila level posts to deal with rural socio-economic problems and the recruitment rules should be more specific on this requirement.
Hasan, a member of BARD faculty made a survey of 40 Deputy Project Officers (now called ARDOs). He found the academic background of the Deputy Project Officers (ARD0s) as follows:

**TABLE V-4**

Distribution of the Deputy Project Officers (ARD0s) according to academic qualifications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last degree obtained</th>
<th>Major field of specialisation</th>
<th>Number %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literature %</td>
<td>social science %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor degree</td>
<td>0 0.00</td>
<td>10 43.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master degree</td>
<td>2 11.76</td>
<td>7 41.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>2 5.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>17 42.50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hasan's study, therefore, indicates that all the Deputy Project Officers (DPOs), (now called ARDOs), are at least graduates. 42.50% hold Master's degree from a university. Only 42.50% have backgrounds in social science and the remaining, constituting the majority (57.50%), have no background in social science during their academic career, though they have to deal with the socio-economic problems of the rural people in their capacity as DPOs (now ARDOs). The alternative is to make adequate arrangements for training in order to help them to acquire competence and credibility. Tables V-3 and V-4 indicated that all the URDOs and ARDOs are at least graduates. The majority of the URDOs are Master's degree holders and the majority of the ARDOs are graduates.

Rahman in his study of the background of Thana level officers of various departments at the Puthia Thana found their academic backgrounds thus:
### TABLE V-5

Distribution of the Thana level officers of Puthia Thana according to academic qualifications. 38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last degree obtained</th>
<th>Number of Thana Officers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School Certificate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Secondary Certificate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A. / B.Com. / B.Sc.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A. / M.Sc. / M.Com.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.B.B.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Agriculture</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Civil Engineering</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table indicates that 11 (45.83%) of the respondents have either a Bachelor's or Master's degree. The remaining 13 (54.17%) Thana level officers are undergraduates. Though not mentioned specifically, it may be presumed that a significant percentage of the Thana level officers must have degrees in either physical science or commerce rather than social science, therefore requiring subsequent training in dealing with the socio-economic problems of the villagers.

The facts discussed above indicate that the academic background of a significant number of Thana/Upazila level officers does not contribute to their competence and credibility as trainers of the KSS representatives. Moreover the environment of general education in Bangladesh in recent years has been subject to criticism by Akbar Ali Khan and Hossain.

The academic environment in Bangladesh has deteriorated considerably since the liberation and the rot continues unabated. It is not perhaps unrealistic to assume that the deterioration of the educational system is much faster in Bangladesh than in the neighbouring countries. The situation has been compounded by large scale recruitment in recent years. In view of the low quality of trainees and the urgent need to remove some...
of their academic deficiencies, the duration of foundation [training] course should be increased.

Akbar Ali Khan and Hossain also quoted from the report of the Public Service Commission,

The Commission agrees with the examiners that the standard is very poor. The examiners are justified in believing that these deficiencies indicate not only low intellectual calibre but also inadequate efforts on the part of the majority of the candidates to attain reasonable standard of scholarship. Such shortcomings must furnish serious cause for anxiety. It is for the educational institutions and universities to produce efficient material for the service of the state. Until academic standards improve, the only remedy is to impart a thorough and intensive training to the selected candidates during their period of probation.

The general environment of education in Bangladesh has not yet improved; rather the deterioration has been continuing. In his address to the Jatiya Sangshad (National Assembly) of Bangladesh in January 1987, the President also expressed his concern over the deteriorating situation of general education in the country. In such a situation, the academic background of the newly recruited Upazila level officers cannot be expected to be sound, thus seriously affecting their competence and credibility. The next section takes up the question of whether the training arrangements for such officers bridge the gaps in their general education and whether such training helps them to gain an understanding of the requirements for training.

D. Training of the Upazila level officers:

Training is accepted as a specialised type of activity. The role of a trainer is therefore a specialised one in which it is necessary to train the trainers, not only in their subject areas, but also in the skill of training methodology and training management. In order to be effective in their role as trainers they need also to be trained in methods of social research to assess training needs, design appropriate training programmes and evaluate training activities. Norman Uphoff et al of the Cornell University suggested,
Whatever facilities are provided, they should include facilities and programmes for ample practical experience in rural development. This is especially true for programmes of training of trainers. How can a person really train others to do something that he has not himself done?

A single course of training of the trainers is not sufficient. There must be provision for periodic renewal and updating of their skills and ability to respond to the specific real life conditions faced by low income villagers, by studying subjects related to the dynamics of participatory rural development. Such periodic refresher courses for the trainers should include topics like training techniques, research and evaluation methodologies and the specific role of the trainers at each process of training. They should also be updated in the subjects of their specialisation in periodic courses.

Table-4 in the appendix shows a list of training institutes for the training of the Upazila level officers in Bangladesh. The unsatisfactory state of training in general in Bangladesh has already been discussed in Chapter II. The vacancy situation as illustrated in Table-3 of the appendix illustrates the inadequacies of some of the important training organisations for the training of the Upazila level officers. Since the training profession is generally treated as the least preferred one by the really capable persons in Bangladesh (as discussed in Chapter II) it usually fails to attract the talented professional, leaving the training organisations for the Upazila level officers in Bangladesh generally short of capable and talented instructors. A deficiency in the quality and quantity of trainers in the training organisations in Bangladesh must adversely affect the training activities of the Upazila level officers.

It was also observed during the field research that very few training institutes in Bangladesh have instructors trained in training methodology, training management, or in research
methodology. As a result, there are very few refresher and in-service courses on these subjects for Upazila level trainers. Consultants of NCRT in their reports (1980 and 1981) occasionally pointed out the deficiencies in the trainers of GTI, AETI, CERDI and other institutions. In these circumstances, it is impossible for the Upazila level officers who are also the trainers of the KSS representatives, to be adequately trained by deficient trainers and inadequate training institutions. The outcome can only be inadequate and ineffective Upazila level trainers. Dahama and Bhatnagar quoted Nobel Laureate poet Rabindra Nath Tagore thus:

A teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself. A lamp can never light another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame. The teacher who has come to the end of his subject, who has no living traffic with his knowledge but merely repeats his lessons to his students, can only load their minds; he cannot quicken them. Truth not only must inform but must inspire. If the inspiration dies out and the information only accumulates, then truth loses its infinity.

A.H. Khan as early as 1971 found, "The Circle Officers have not been called for biennial training conference. Instructions and circulars have lost their vitality". Hasan, a trainer of BARD, the leading training organisation for the Upazila level officers, found the following shortcomings in the training activities of BARD:

Insufficient classroom accommodation. Insufficient books suggested for study in the library. Irrelevant discussion by speakers in many blocks. Absence of speakers.... Irregular distribution of lecture scripts and inadequate use of teaching aids.

When such basic deficiencies exist in a leading training institute like BARD the situation of many other training institutes for the Upazila level officers can hardly be expected to be better or even adequate.

It was also noted during the field research that the training institutes for the Upazila level officers themselves rarely follow the various stages in the training process. Planning of courses in most cases is arbitrary and defective. There is no research to
determine the appropriate training needs and to set proper training objectives. The subjects for training of some of the major training organisations for the Upazila level officers are indicated in Appendix-7. It appears that the subjects for the training of the Upazila level officers in the leading training organisations are broad and very general in nature. It is difficult for the Upazila level officers to gain specific training skills out of these broad subjects. None of the training institutes indicated that Upazila level officers were given any training in specialised fields such as training methodology or management, or social research. The designers of the training programme for the Upazila level officers ignored the role of the Upazila level officers as trainers. They are expected to work as trainers of the KSS representatives without acquiring any skill in the field of training itself.

Many officers are not required to undertake any training courses (however defective) and are posted to the field without any training at all. It was observed during the field research that most of the officers of the Departments of Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries and Health are directly posted to the Upazilas immediately after recruitment without any training. In 1985 BRDB appointed two groups of 44 ARDOs and 75 ARDOs directly from the open market to the field offices without any training as the appointment letters showed. The ARDOs thus had not acquired the necessary skill or knowledge to discharge their training responsibilities.

As mentioned above even those Upazila level officers who attended a training programme, did not get adequate training. Rahman's study found that the majority of officers spent less than six months in training.
TABLE V-6

Distribution of the Thana level officers of Puthia on the basis of duration of their training. 49

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training period</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 1 month</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-6 months</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-18 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No training received</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that 25% of the officers surveyed did not receive any training at all after their appointment; another 37.5% attended a course of less than one month duration. Any meaningful training to develop knowledge, skills, and attitude of the trainers within a period of less than one month is difficult to imagine. In addition training for the Upazila level officers is neither followed-up nor regularly evaluated to get feedback for the training organisations.

The above discussion demonstrates the gross deficiencies in the training of the Upazila level officers. The shortcomings in the educational background were noted in the earlier discussion. The existing training arrangements for the Upazila level officers cannot therefore bridge the gaps in their general education or provide any lessons on the value of training. The present training institutions do not offer any courses on research and training to the Upazila level officers to increase their effectiveness in their role as the trainers.
E. Length of stay of the URDOs and ARDOs in a particular Upazila:

As trainers, continuity of appointment of URDOs and ARDOs for a reasonable period of time in a particular Upazila is necessary to build their understanding of the various problems and issues of the Upazila concerned. The need to develop close familiarity with the trainee KSS representatives and to bring reality into the training activities is essential. It was noted earlier that the participants in a seminar in India recommended that tenure of selected trainers of a training organisation should continue for a period of at least five years.50

Table-V-7 has been prepared for the period from 1980-81 to 1984-85 of the Balaganj, Gabtali and Nandigram Upazilas to show the average length of appointment of the URDOs and ARDOs during that time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Upazila</th>
<th>URDOs</th>
<th>ARDOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number worked during the five years period</td>
<td>Average length of stay (in years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balaganj</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabtali</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandigram</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that the average duration of the URDOs in one place during the period is even less than two years. Average duration of stay of ARDOs in Gabtali and Nandigram is only 1.25 years, while the average duration of ARDO’s stay in Balaganj is 2.50 years. The duration of stay is no doubt inadequate for the URDOs and ARDOs to develop any background knowledge about the
Upazilas sufficient to be effective in the training of the KSS representatives. Such officers do not have enough tenure in one place to develop an attachment to the place or the people of the locality. They also do not have adequate opportunities to develop themselves as the trainers of the KSS representatives through trial and error by working on the job.

The preceding discussion of the selection and background of the Upazila level officers who are also the trainers in the Upazilas suggests that the trainers are selected without considering specific requirements for their task as trainers. The environment of general education in Bangladesh was found unsatisfactory and many Upazila level trainers do not have enough education in social sciences to readily understand the socio-economic problems of the rural people. The most unsatisfactory state of training of the Upazila level officers to bridge these gaps in their general education and also to acquire skills in the specialised field of training was also emphasised. A significant number of Upazila level trainers do not possess past experience of Upazila administration because of the direct recruitment procedure in certain Upazila level posts (see Appendix-6). Moreover, many do not get the opportunity to take any training to be effective in their role. Analysis of background indicated that the Upazila level officers were not given any specific training as learning specialists, researchers or the trainers. Moreover the length of appointment of some of the Upazila level trainers in any one Upazila in some cases is so inadequate that they can hardly develop an attachment for the place or the people or gain experience about the locality.

In the situation discussed above it is hardly possible for the Upazila level trainers to develop competence in the specialised field of training activities. Without such competence, the Upazila level trainers cannot be expected to gain the confidence of the trainees and credibility in the training profession and thus, are unlikely to become committed to training or to motivate the
trainees. The inadequate background of the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives must obstruct the effective administration of various processes of training. The Upazila level trainers are also unlikely to differentiate between training, general education or extension, a differentiation of fundamental importance in dealing with the specific requirements of the Upazila level training activities.

The next section will examine the involvement of various Upazila level trainers in the training processes for the KSS representatives to make the training effective and demonstrate their commitment to training.

4. INVOLVEMENT OF UPAZILA LEVEL TRAINERS IN VARIOUS TRAINING PROCESSES:

A general discussion on the various stages of the training process is important for the systematic analysis of the involvement of the Upazila level trainers in the various processes of training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The United Nations (ESCAP, FAO and UNIDO) in their joint publication illustrated the various stages in the training process which will be used in subsequent analysis in this section.
A. The Planning Stage in the Training Process:

Prior planning prevents poor performance. This stage needs to deal with such questions as, "Whom exactly am I to train, why is training needed and what should the trainee learn? In other words, in planning the questions of who, why and what are answered."\(^{53}\)

The planning stage in the training process, therefore, requires trainee/job analysis for determining training needs; setting training objectives and selecting subjects for training. Middleton and Quah supported the need for comprehensive training planning and held that organisational analysis would provide a framework for quantitative training needs and that job analysis would provide information for qualitative training needs and thus the design of training courses.\(^{54}\) These analyses require the involvement of the trainers in research activities with the trainees.
The principal planning tool with respect to organisational analysis is manpower analysis. Job analysis is the process of determining what trainees must learn in order to be effective on the job. Job analysis is the basis for, "determining objectives, contents, training methods and time required." Analysis of KSS and their representatives is essential for the proper planning of courses for the model farmers and managers. Diagram V-2 below will indicate the relationship between the two kinds of analysis and the training planning:

(a) Organisational analysis:

Without organisational analysis, it is impossible to plan and budget. The training manager must, therefore, estimate the number of people in different jobs to be trained in a year. The quantitative needs are reviewed and adjusted in the light of data on qualitative needs derived from job analysis. The purpose of organisational need analysis is to determine problems where training may help, to develop an estimate of training requirements for each job and to establish an inventory of current training efforts. Organisational analysis is necessary to identify organisational problems where training may be needed.
Analysis of the KSS is therefore necessary in making plans for the training of the KSS representatives. The problems of KSS should be identified so that training becomes a means of possible remedy. Analysis in Chapter VI will indicate that there are 167 KSS (in average) in an Upazila in Bangladesh. It will also appear that each Upazila is responsible for training of around 501 KSS representatives. The Upazila level trainers should, therefore, analyse the needs of KSS in order to properly plan the training activities of the KSS representatives. It is necessary to develop an estimate of training requirements of the managers and the model farmers. Analysis of manpower in the KSS is also necessary for the preparation of training budget and planning courses for them.

(b) Job Analysis:

Trainees' job and present performance need to be described and tasks differentiated. The need for training will differ for different groups of clientele who require a range of knowledge, skills and attitudes for the improvement of their performance. Job analysis is necessary to identify performance discrepancies between the standard set by job description, and the actual performance. Performance discrepancies refer to the difference, "between some one's actual performance and his desired performance." Discrepancies are then analysed to determine whether or not they are caused by lack of knowledge or skills or by unproductive attitudes. Training needs to respond to the elimination of these discrepancies.

The jobs and the present performance of the KSS representatives need to be described differentiating between model farmers and managers of KSS. Performance discrepancies between the KSS representatives and the farmers, including the village co-operators of other countries where co-operatives and farming are more developed, need be ascertained to impart new and improved information and skill to the KSS representatives for their socio-economic betterment. This job analysis of the KSS representatives is best done by using task analysis techniques, such as
observation, group conference forum, questionnaire survey method, taking tests on current knowledge and on the report of the inspectors of UCCAs. Both organisational and job analysis are essential for the assessment of training needs, setting training objectives and selecting training subjects for the KSS representatives.

(i) Assessment of Training needs:

To define training needs "One should compare the actual job requirements with the existing level of performance. The gap between required and actual level will determine the need for training. The requirements, however, should be in accordance with what is humanly possible under the given circumstances." To determine the training needs of the managers and model farmers of the KSS in an Upazila, the jobs of the manager and model farmer (that is, their present state of knowledge, skill and attitude) need, therefore, be analysed through systematic research. The gaps between the existing level and the desired level of performance must be understood for the realistic assessment of the training needs. Research therefore is an important element for the assessment of training needs and the planning of courses.

In Comilla research was utilised as a means of assessing the training needs of the KSS representatives in the 1960s. However, evidence of the 1985 field trip showed that the part-time Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives do not make any effort to analyse the KSS as an organisation or the present level of knowledge, skills and attitudes of their representatives (i.e. the managers and model farmers). The trainers were not sure as to what knowledge, skills and attitudes they desire to impart to the trainees. The background of the trainers discussed in the earlier section also indicated that they do not possess adequate background either in the field of training or in social research. Neither the government nor BRDB allocated necessary resources in the Upazilas for research activities. The obvious outcome is that the training
needs which are basic to the planning of courses, are not assessed for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

(ii) Training Objectives:
Assessment of training needs should lead to the determination of training objectives, the second step of the planning stage of training. Training goal is different from training objectives.

A goal, also called an aim, is the purpose or object of one's efforts or ambition. It is rather, a general concept of what one wishes to achieve. An objective on the other hand, is the desired achievement of one's action and rather precisely described as to the form that the achievement should take.

With regard to training, it is easier to evaluate an objective than a goal. A training objective has also been viewed as "an intent communicated by a statement describing a proposed change in a learner - a statement of what the learner is to be like when he has successfully completed a learning process."62

A good training objective should state what the trainee will be able to do (and will do) after training. It should describe the quality or level of performance that will be considered acceptable, in other words the yardstick of effective training with reference to the after-training impact. It should also define the situation in which the performance will occur, including the existing difficulties and constraints on the job.63 Performance is an action and should thus be described in an active way. According to Middleton and Qua, for a training objective to be useful it must specify what the learner is doing when he demonstrates that he has learned, according to the standard by which his behaviour is to be judged.64

As to the training objectives of the community leaders, it has been stated that they should upgrade their leadership skills and integrate the capability and knowledge required for performing their roles.65 Maalouf and Contado identified the following general purposes of agricultural training: to cope with the constant changes in the problems of farming in given localities; to
cope with the constant changes in agricultural knowledge, technology and farm improvement; to make adjustments to changes in the pattern of behaviour, and to learn about new procedures, approaches and techniques. Setting training objectives is thus important to the assessment of the effectiveness of training with reference to its after-training impact.

Training needs, training objectives and the training subjects are inter-related in determining what the trainee should know or do on the job but does not yet know or know how to do. Determination of appropriate training objectives helps in the selection of training subjects and methods relevant to the defined training objectives. Effectiveness of training in terms of the administration of various processes of training also requires proper definition of the training objectives. Systematic assessment of training needs should be the basis for setting appropriate training objectives. It was noted that the trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas do not make any effort to assess the training needs of the model farmers and the managers with relation to their expected roles and requirements. Appropriate objectives of the training of the KSS representatives were not defined in any of the twenty Upazilas toured during field study. Discussion with the trainers in these Upazilas left the impression that they were not sure about the objectives or the needed subjects of training and also what they were going to achieve after the training programme is over.

Some broad goals of training of the KSS representatives have been stated by BRDB, BARD and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives. According the BRDB, the manager should learn about the management of society in order to be able to perform his management responsibilities.... The model farmer must know about agriculture and allied activities such as livestock development, fishery, duck farming, agricultural extension system, and about his duties and responsibilities.
This statement implies distinct training objectives for the manager and for the model farmer of KSS, but whether such distinction is made at the time of designing the actual programmes for the managers and model farmers of KSS will be discussed later. The implied distinction was less clear when Director (Training) BRDB in a more general way enumerated the goals of training of both the manager and the model farmer,

(a) To facilitate diffusion of innovation and introduction of new technology in agriculture and other vocations.
(b) To improve management of the co-operatives and other institutions.
(c) To promote co-operative institutions.
(d) To motivate people for adoption of new institutions, ideas and practices.
(e) To promote leadership among rural people.

These goals are broad and vague in the sense that they do not identify which are relevant to the manager and which to the model farmers. They were based on his personal impression and were not derived through systematic research, and were confined to some internally prepared articles/papers which were not even circulated to the URDOs for their guidance.

Various publications, including the annual reports of BARD and KTCCA, Comilla and the works of A.H. Khan, contain views on the goals of training of the representatives of the KSS. The following broad goals of such training represents a synthesis of these views.

(a) Training should be a forum to develop a close relationship between the Upazila level officers (who are also the trainers) and the KSS representatives through interaction in the training sessions. The KSS representatives are expected to develop familiarity with the government programmes and the officers through the training forum. The Upazila level officers are also expected to keep themselves up-to-date with the issues and problems of villages through interaction with the KSS representatives in the training classes.

(b) Training should inspire the KSS representatives and the other members of KSS to adopt new and improved
agricultural practices. It should shape the attitudes and values of the KSS representatives to be effective as the extension/change agents.

(c) Training should help the KSS representatives to understand the individual and group roles for the development of co-operatives and agriculture.

Ghulam Sattar of the BARD faculty formulated narrower goals for the training of the KSS representatives on the basis of his personal experience.

(a) To disseminate useful ideas and information to village leaders which would improve the socio-economic conditions of rural people....

(b) To impart necessary skills in operation and maintenance of agricultural machinery and equipment.

(c) To teach business management, accounts keeping etc. for the smooth functioning of village co-operatives and pump groups etc.

(d) To... demonstrate practical ways and means of increasing production in... agriculture, horticulture, poultry, dairy and tank fishery.

(e) To enthuse farmers to adopt improved practices in raising crops, poultry and pisciculture.

(f) To help villagers in drawing up various plans for village development and to implement them.

Like the Director (Training) BRDB, Sattar did not separate the goals of training of the manager and model farmer inspite of their distinct roles in the KSS. Similarly the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives defined the common goals of the farmers' representatives as,

(a) To help trainees to acquire new knowledge and skills for using mechanical irrigation....

(b) To help trainees to know the roles and functions of the different departments and agencies and their officers in respect of provision of supplies and services.

(c) To help the trainees to gain confidence that increase in agricultural production can be achieved by their efforts.

(d) To help them to learn about the success of their fellow farmers in other villages....

(e) To help them to learn about the working and management of co-operatives.
A summary of all these views will indicate that the broad goals of training of the KSS representatives is to impart improved knowledge, skills and attitudes and to help them to adopt and utilise better techniques of cultivation and co-operative management. The trainee should develop familiarity with the government functionaries and programmes in the Upazilas. The Upazila level officers should also use the training forum to keep themselves up-to-date about the problems of the villages. Training should help the trainee to manage and develop co-operatives systematically. It should also help in developing leadership in the villages and improve agricultural production. The trainees should gain confidence that by their own efforts increases in agricultural production can be achieved. Training should make the KSS representatives effective extension/change agents for their localities.

These goals have not been articulated by any institution as the outcome of any systematic research and were not circulated among the Upazilas as objectives of training. The URDOs and other Upazila level officers were unaware of them and have been repeating the same programmes for years in a stereotyped manner without thinking about the purpose of such training. None of the twenty Upazilas visited took any step to determine training needs and set training objectives. The training programmes for the KSS representatives are therefore conducted without determining its direction. Neither the trainers nor the trainees know the intended results to be achieved by running courses for the model farmer and manager.

(iii) Training Subjects:

The training subjects need to be selected on the basis of the trainees' needs and the training objectives for their effectiveness. The subjects taught in a training course usually carry a title and consist of all the relevant data, facts, figures, opinions, ideas etc., that are useful for a particular group of trainees. All information should, of course, serve to achieve the
specific objective. Training subjects are the information that will help the trainees to achieve the training objectives.

Organisation of content and learning experiences must take into consideration the principles of continuity, sequence and integration. Three general ways of organising the contents are-

a. Topical:... The concept, topics or problems comprising the substantive scope of a course are identified and selected.

b. Conceptual: The content is organised around concepts or big ideas which are the basic structure of the training programme. The idea is to enable the learners to group the basic or essential things that have to be learned in a given course.

c. Sequential: Arranging the content logically in some form or order... or by starting with something familiar [and moving] to the less familiar in the experience of the learners... or ordering concepts from the simplest to those with increasing complexity.

Selection of subjects for a course should be undertaken with care, as, for example, many subjects cannot be taught within a limited period of time. Hence there must be grading of the training subjects and the subject-matter. Diagram V-3 will illustrate grading of training subjects and subject-matter in terms of selection of topics and also the contents in an individual topic for the course:
In selecting topics for training and the contents within a topic for presentation -

Priority 1 Should be on 'Must Know' areas. It should include vital subject and information which must be transmitted to the trainees.

Priority 2 Should be on 'Should Know' areas. It should contain useful information that supports and adds to the value of vital subject and information.

Priority 3 Should be on 'Could Know' areas. This should have incidental subject and information that may be given if time permits.
'Must Know' subjects in Priority 1 should be the principal subjects of training. Attention to priority 2 and Priority 3 areas may only be given if training time and resources permit, and certainly only after doing full justice to subjects and information in Priority 1 category. This diagram is also useful in making a lesson plan (to be discussed later). The information to be given on a subject should be sorted out on the basis of availability of time in the training session.

Training subjects of each of the KSS representatives should therefore be relevant to his expected role, training needs and training objectives. The subjects should be organised properly. Training subjects for the manager and model farmer need also be graded to make best use of the limited time and resources for making the training effective.

It was gathered during the field research that the training subjects for the KSS representatives are arbitrarily selected by an individual BRDB officer without any assessment of training needs and setting of training objectives. In most of the cases the old subjects are repeated in a stereotyped manner for years. Neither the trainers (who belong to various nation building departments) nor the trainees are usually consulted by the URDOs or ARDOs in selecting the training subjects for the courses of the model farmers and managers. In Comilla the Advisory Council, consisting of all the trainers and the representatives of the trainees used to meet weekly for the selection of lesson topics and relevant training subjects for the KSS representatives courses. No such forum now exists in the Upazilas, and nowadays the situation of Comilla with respect to the planning of courses for the KSS representatives is not much different from the other Upazilas. In Comilla also, the training subjects are arbitrarily selected by the KTCCA officers without undertaking any research or securing participation of the trainees. Bari in his recent study of Comilla found gross inconsistencies in prioritisation of the training subjects by the trainers and the trainees,
Both manager and model farmer ranked the topic on winter vegetables cultivation as the highest which was third important topic according to the trainers.... The ranking of the topics by the managers and model farmers demonstrates the inconsistency in designing routine for the clientele it served.

The selection and relevance of training subjects for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas shall again be examined in the analysis of some Upazila level of training programmes for the KSS representatives later in this chapter.

The above discussion illustrated that the planning stage of training process of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas is defective which must contribute to the ineffectiveness of the training activities. It was also noted that involvement of the trainers in the planning stage is extremely marginal. Trainers do not involve themselves in assessing training needs, setting appropriate training objectives and selecting relevant subjects for the training programmes. Trainers belonging to the nation building departments do not participate at all in the planning stage and the URDOs repeat the old subjects in stereotyped manner. This non-involvement indicates the non-commitment of the trainers of the KSS representatives to making the training effective. The trainers in the Upazilas do not now fulfil their roles as the researchers, learning specialist, diagnosticians and innovators. Effective training activities can hardly result from defective planning of courses and non-participation of the Upazila level trainers in the expected roles.
B. Preparation Stage of Training Activities:

The preparation stage of training deals with the question of how should training be conducted? Training preparations are necessary, because without a suitable training method and without a detailed lesson-plan even the most enthusiastic instructor would present a muddled, incoherent, badly organised lesson, which makes learning more difficult than it needs to be.

Selection of suitable training methods and preparation of lesson plans are the elements in the preparation stage.

(i) Training methods and their effectiveness:

To learn, the brain interacts with senses. Without signals sent to the brain by the five senses the brain would not be able to function as a 'think tank'. Audiovisual, learning by doing methods are useful methods of training. "The effectiveness of teaching depends to a large extent on the use that is made of these elements of doing, seeing, hearing etc in instruction". Figure V-1 will show a generalisation of effectiveness of different teaching methods.

The graph indicates that the effectiveness of teaching increases when the teacher talks less, makes use of visual aids and involves the trainees. The effectiveness of teaching decreases both when the lecture is all talk and when the trainees must learn on their own from books without supervision and guidance.

The degree of learning that takes place is highest at point A, when the following occurs: Two way communication, participation by the trainees, by the trainers, follow-up of the lesson through their own effort (exercise, out of class reading etc.). The best teaching method consists of the following elements: Talk with trainees, show trainees something, ask trainee to repeat, give
trainees practice. By 'show' is meant the use of visual aids and demonstration. By 'repeat' and 'practice' are meant the learner's opportunity to do something on his own. Learning is best achieved by seeing and doing.

It is accepted that the lecture method should only be used in teaching students at the college or university level. So called cognitive subjects e.g. history, sociology etc. are mainly taught by lecturers.

Studies of how people retain what they learn show the following:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Learning experience</th>
<th>Retention (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By reading</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By hearing</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By seeing</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By seeing and hearing</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By saying (verbalizing)</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By saying and doing</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was also observed that,

In Tunisia... an increase in the area for silage production from 1300 ha in 1975 to nearly 11,000 in 1980 has been associated with the use of film-strip on the subject. In Honduras, film-strips have been used with considerable success. The extension agents in Afghanistan have been helped by the use of cassette recordings. Video has been successfully used in Peru.

Learning is made productive through the use of appropriate methods of instruction. Some guidelines in determining the type of method or combination of methods for instructions have been suggested as follows:

1. [To] match the method(s) to the objective.
2. [To] choose the method(s) that would involve the trainees in active participation.
3. [To] consider the nature of the subject-matter.
4. [To] consider the nature and characteristics of the learner.
5. [To] check on the availability of resources.
6. [To] select a method or methods that could meet time, location and other circumstances.

Table V-9 will describe the matching methods to desired behavioural outcome.
### TABLE - V - 9

Matching Methods to Desired Behavioural Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Behavioural Outcome</th>
<th>Most Appropriate Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Knowledge</strong> (Generalizations about experience, internalization of information)</td>
<td>Lectures, dialogue, interview, symposium panel, group interview, colloquy, recording, slides, reading and book-based discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Understanding</strong> (Application of information and generalization)</td>
<td>Audience participation, demonstration, motion picture, dramatization, problem-solving, discussion, base discussion, critical incident process, case method, games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skills</strong> (Incorporation of new ways of performing through practice)</td>
<td>Role-playing, games and exercises, T-groups, drills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitudes</strong> (Adoption of new feelings through experiencing greater success with them)</td>
<td>Experience-sharing discussion, group-centred discussion, role-playing, critical incident process, case methods, games, participative cases, T-groups, exercises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Values</strong> (The adoption and priority arrangement of beliefs)</td>
<td>Lecture, debate, dialogue, symposium, colloquy, films, creative literature, dramatization, guided discussion, role-playing, games, T-groups.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The trainer should adopt the appropriate method or methods according to the training situation. The most dominant factor in the learning process is the trainer. Selection of appropriate methods depends on his ability and experience.
provide opportunity for the participation of the trainer and the trainees in the learning activity.

People learn by watching, listening, practising, thinking and reacting. Teachers can only facilitate learning by skilful use of these approaches; they cannot cause learning to take place without the learners' participation.

For the training of villagers at the operational level, there is no better way than to 'learn by doing'. It is also suggested that the use of lectures with visual aids; demonstration method with results; group discussion, field trips and film shows are more appropriate methods for the training of the farmers.

Selection and use of appropriate method is therefore essential for the effectiveness of training. Audio-visual, demonstration and learning by doing methods are the most useful methods for the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The lecture method should have the lowest priority in such training. Group discussion, case study, simulation and study tour can also be the other useful methods of training of the KSS representatives. It was noted in Chapter III that the demonstration plots within UTDC compounds were spoiled by the construction of new buildings. Demonstration of farming within UTDC compound is therefore not possible. The system of holding practical training at the Village Training Centre (VTC) as was the practice in Comilla in the 1960s is now non-existent. Demonstration and learning by doing methods are therefore impracticable and never tried in the Upazilas.

It was also noted in Chapter III that the Upazila Training Centres do not have any audio-visual equipment to use for the purpose of training of the KSS representatives. It will also appear at Appendices 10 and 11 that the training programmes designed by the BRDB Head Office or by the URDO for the training of the KSS representatives provide for the pedagogic lecture method only. No session was marked for group discussion, role playing or any of the other useful methods mentioned above. The lecture method as the
only training method is now in practice in the Upazilas; though it is the least effective method for the training of the KSS representatives. This is especially so since a significant number of KSS representatives are illiterate or inadequately literate. Table VI-3 in Chapter VI will indicate that 22.08% of model farmers and 7.02% of the managers are illiterate and 37.66% of model farmers and 18.12% of managers read only up to class V which is inadequate for them to follow lectures effectively. Effectiveness of training of the KSS representatives, therefore, must suffer in a situation where the lecture method is the only vehicle. Bari in his study found a similar situation in Comilla, where 'learning by doing' demonstration or audio-visual methods are no longer used at all. The lecture is the only method of training. Training materials are not prepared and distributed to the trainees.  

It may be interesting to mention here that some Upazila level officers of Manikganj Upazila informed us that they were trained only through the lecture method in their training institutions. They were therefore not aware of any other methods of training. This indicates the inadequacies and incompetence of the Upazila level trainers who cannot be expected to use other methods of training or to be committed to the training processes of the KSS representatives with such poor knowledge and skills.

(ii) Lesson - plan preparation:

A committed trainer will prepare a lesson-plan to make his presentation effective. "A lesson-plan is an outline of what will be said and done in one single period of instruction. The lesson-plan concerns one subject only". It indicates when and where a visual aid will be used; how much time will be given to complete an exercise; it 'thinks ahead' on what questions the trainer should ask and anticipates questions to the trainer by the trainees. The lesson plan is a guide for the trainer and requires foresight, expertise and originality in thinking about the subject-matter. It requires careful editing to fit the materials into the time available for conduct of the lesson. It prevents a trainer from
either taking too long or digressing from the subject and helps him to achieve the lessons objective. Preparation of a lesson-plan involves five steps:

(a) Collection of all relevant information on the subject. The trainer should generate his own ideas for discussion.

(b) Selection of suitable contents according to the availability of time for the topic. The instructor should retain only the essential facts considering the trainee and objectives of teaching the subjects. Prioritisation of information should be made on the basis of Diagram V-3 discussed earlier.

(c) Organisation of the contents in proper sequence. Once the material to be included in the lesson plan has been selected, the trainer must arrange it in logical sequence - from the general to the specific, from the known to the unknown, from the practical to the theoretical, from the simple to the complex chronologically.

(d) Indicating when and where training facilities, equipment, aids and materials will be used. The most effective training aid is one that is both simple and original. The trainer should make minimum use of words and limit the amount of words to key phrases.

(e) Timing and editing of the lesson-plan.

There is no system of preparation of lesson-plan by the Upazila level trainers. It was understood during the discussion with the trainers of all the Upazilas visited that they never came across the term 'lesson-plan'. We attended some of the training classes of the KSS representatives in Balaganj and Gabtali Upazilas where we observed that the trainers attended the training classes unprepared and delivered extempore lectures. We also observed that the contents of such lectures to a large extent were irrelevant to the topic.
The trainers in Upazilas do not prepare any training material such as lecture handouts or booklets which the trainee could take home after the training is over. The present practice is that the trainers attend classes without any preparation, deliver lectures and leave the class without caring for the effectiveness of their teaching. Effectiveness of lessons cannot but suffer from the lack of a lesson-plan.

It was already noted earlier that the URDOs do not involve the other trainers in the planning stage of the training process. The URDOs as the Training Directors of the courses of the KSS representatives prepare training programmes arbitrarily and distribute them among the trainers. One may reasonably expect that these programmes should reach the trainers considerably ahead of the actual date of training, so that the trainers should be in a position to make adequate preparation and adjustments with their other departmental work. Any committed URDO should prepare programmes involving the trainers and the trainees and should distribute them among the trainers belonging to various nation building departments far ahead of the actual date of training to ensure effectiveness.

The following table has been prepared on the basis of facts of the Gabtali Upazila to show the date of the start of training courses and the actual date of the distribution of training programmes among the trainers (i.e. the Upazila level officers of various departments) of the KSS representatives.
**TABLE V-10**

Date of start of training of the KSS representatives and the date of circulation of the training programmes among the trainers by URDO, Gabtali Upazila.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of starting of training</th>
<th>Date of circulation of the copies of programme among the instructors</th>
<th>Number of copies circulated</th>
<th>Endorsement numbers of Gabtali UCCA. (i.e. the source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1981</td>
<td>17.2.1981</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>IRDP/Gab/81/134/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1981</td>
<td>8.4.1981</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>GTCCA/81/612/308/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.1982</td>
<td>19.4.1982</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>GTCCA/82/E-12/240/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1982</td>
<td>6.5.1982</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>GTCCA/82/292/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1983</td>
<td>6.1.1983</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>GTCCA/T-110/82-83/16/1/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.1983</td>
<td>2.6.1983</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>GTCCA/T-110/82-83/583/1/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1984</td>
<td>7.2.1984</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>GTCCA/T-110/83-84/112/1/1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.1984</td>
<td>14.11.1984</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>GUCCA/T-110/84-85/564/1/7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table indicates that the URDO Gabtali (i.e. the Training Director) circulated the training programmes among the concerned Upazila level officers (i.e. the trainers of the KSS representatives) in all but two cases one or more days after the commencement of the training classes. This indicates utter lack of commitment of the URDO to such training activities. The trainers in these cases do not get information containing date, time and topic of training reasonably ahead of the scheduled date, to enable them to prepare for the assigned topics. The particular URDO could not give any satisfactory reason for this situation and blamed his
predecessors as he was new in the Upazila. This also substantiates the claims of the other Upazila level trainers that the URDOs take few steps to involve them in the planning and preparation stages of training process of the KSS representatives. These trainers often had to cancel or adjust prior engagements on short notice to take training classes. They found this extremely inconvenient.

The Table further indicates that the number of copies of the programme circulated only covers the trainers. It is therefore obvious that the training programmes are not distributed among the trainees (KSS representatives) by the URDO. The trainees knew about the topic only when the trainer started discussion in the class; involvement of the trainees in these circumstances is not possible. The supervisory authorities of URDO did not make any effort to correct this unsatisfactory situation. Similar situations were reported by the trainers in most of the Upazilas visited during the field research. This again illustrates the lack of concern of the higher officers of BRDB in the training of the KSS representatives.

This example not only demonstrates the non-commitment of URDO, the Training Director but also seriously hampers the effective administration of training programmes for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. It also contributes to the non-involvement of the trainer and the trainees in the training activities.

The above discussion illustrated the gross inadequacies in the preparation stage of the training process of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. It also showed the non-involvement of the Upazila level trainers to the preparation stage of training. The trainers in the Upazilas thus do not fulfill their roles essential to the effective training as the learning specialists, facilitators and managers of the training of the KSS representatives.
C. Presentation Stage of Training:

Presentation is the only visible part of training. Effective presentation requires proper planning and preparation for the training programmes. The trainers should know the instructional techniques and possess adequate skills in communication. They must attend the training sessions regularly.

(i) Instructional techniques and communication skills:

The basic components of instructional techniques are to follow the lesson-plan, to use training aids, to speak clearly, to listen carefully and to try to answer trainees' questions. Training methods should be selected in such a way that they provide for two-way communication. Eloquence in speaking and self-confidence of the trainers are essential. The interest of the participants should be aroused. The talk should be broken approximately every 20 minutes with class activity such as question and answer sessions or an exercise etc. The more active and involved the trainees are, the more and better they will learn. Skills should be demonstrated step by step and the trainees should practise the skills individually. Questions should be welcomed from the trainees.

Training aids, like overhead projectors, chalk boards, movies and photographs, should be widely used to reinforce and enhance learning. The trainer should be friendly, audible and should use simple, commonly understood language. His gesture, posture and dress should not detract the attention of trainees from the lesson. The trainer should establish eye contact with the trainees. Natural leadership of the trainer should encourage the trainees to become actively involved. Each instruction should be followed by a conclusion stating a brief summary of the main points.

Inadequacies in the planning and preparation stages of the training process of KSS representatives in the Upazilas have been discussed above. The quality of presentation can hardly be satisfactory when the planning and preparation stages of the
training process of the KSS representatives are defective and inadequate. However to observe the type of presentation and use of the instructional techniques, we attended a few training classes of the KSS representatives in Balaganj, Gabtali and Babuganj Upazilas. In some cases the trainers attended classes late and left the classes early, as did some of the trainees in Balaganj Upazila. Punctuality and attendance was not maintained by either trainers or trainees.

Only the lecture method was followed and there was no systematic effort to make the presentation interesting. There was no attention to class management. Some trainees left or entered the class in the middle of lectures creating inconvenience for the others. It was also noted that the trainees in some cases were not in a position to cope with the speed in delivery of lecture and the dialect of some of the trainers. The presentation in the training session did not arouse the interest of most of the trainees and some trainees were found sleepy in the class. The trainers did not show any concern for making the presentation effective. The following discussion on attendance of the trainers in the training sessions of some of the Upazilas will illustrate their totally uncommitted attitude.

(ii) Attendance of the Upazila level trainers in the training sessions of the KSS representatives:

The rate of attendance of the Upazila level trainers in the training classes of the KSS representatives was investigated to assess their interest in teaching the trainees. Empirical evidence procured from Balaganj, Gabtali and Nandigram Upazilas for the period from 1980-81 to 1984-85 indicated that some Upazila level trainers did not take any of the allotted classes during a particular year of the period under study. In 1981-82 and 1982-83 for example the Upazila Education Officer, Balaganj, did not take any of his allotted classes. Subject Matter Officer, Upazila Health Officer and Upazila Education Officer of Biwanath and Seeds Inspector, Fertiliser Inspector and Upazila Education Officer of
Gabantli Upazila took none of the allotted classes in 1983-84. Upazila Health Officer of Balaganj, Upazila Family Planning Officer of Biswanath, Seeds Inspector and Upazila Health Officer of Gabtali did not attend any of the allotted classes in 1984-85. The Circle Officer, Upazila Social Services Officer and the Sub-Assistant Engineer of Public Health of Fakirhat Upazila; Upazila Livestock Officer, Upazila Fishery Officer, Upazila Health Officer and Upazila Family Planning Officer of Babuganj Upazila also did not take any of the allotted classes in 1981-82. Total number of classes allotted to each during any of the years noted above varied from 5 to 14.

It was also noted that the Upazila Agriculture Officers (UAO) took only 2 out of 34 allotted classes in Babuganj, 17 out of 43 classes in Fakirhat, 9 out of 16 classes in Gabtali and 8 out of 15 classes in Balaganj in 1981-82. In 1983-84 the UAO took only 3 out of 14 classes in Gabtali and 4 out of 16 classes in Balaganj in 1984-85. Very similar is the situation with the Subject Matter Officer, the Upazila Livestock Officer, Upazila Fishery Officer, Upazila Co-operative Officer and other Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives in most of the Upazilas visited during field study. Average attendance at the training classes in a year thus varied from 00% to at best 50% in the case of most of the Upazila level trainers. It was learnt that the scheduled training classes were suspended in the absence of the trainers and the trainees had to go back without receiving any training on many occasions. Ministry of Local Government Rural Development and Co-operative also observed in 1984, "The Upazila level officers of various departments do not regularly attend the training classes of the village co-operators. Those who attend do not make prior preparation for the class". No corrective step to improve the situation was, however, taken by the Ministry.

Such irregular attendance of the trainers at the training classes vividly indicates a serious lack of interest in the training activities of the KSS representatives. Any committed
trainer would not absent himself from training classes on such a huge scale.

However, to test further the attraction of the trainers to the training profession, 21 Upazila level officers of various departments were asked whether they would like to add, 'and training officer' at the end of their present designation. 16 (76.19%) of the respondents opposed the proposal, 3 (14.28%) did not reply and the rest 6 (28.56%) held that they would not have any objection. This reveals the unfavourable attitude of the majority of the Upazila level officers to training and a lack of attachment to training activities. Trainers with such an unfavourable attitude towards the training activity cannot therefore be expected to become committed to training KSS representatives.

The above discussion illustrated the inadequacies in and the non-commitment of the trainers of the KSS representatives to the presentation stage of the training process. The trainers of the KSS representatives thus do not regularly fulfil their roles as the teachers, exponents, extension agents and the managers in the presentation stage. Such a lack of commitment of the trainers to the presentation stage is bound to obstruct the effectiveness of training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

D. Evaluation and follow-up of training:

(1) Evaluation of training:

Evaluation of training is the final stage in the training process. It provides feedback and tells whether the training objectives have been achieved. There are two types of evaluation of training activities - formative and summative evaluation.

(a) Formative and summative evaluation:

Formative evaluation deals with the effectiveness of the training programme. It can occur throughout the course. Summative evaluation is concerned with the relationship between training and the job performance. Does attainment of training objectives result
in satisfactory job performance? Summative evaluation can only begin after the completion of training programmes. The following activities form part of the process of evaluation:

(i) To decide what will be evaluated....
(ii) To determine the standard of success....
(iii) To list information that is needed to make an evaluation....
(iv) To select method of evaluation and decide when and where the evaluation shall be carried out.
(v) To collect data through a survey or questionnaire or test etc.
(vi) To analyse and interpret the information and to draw conclusions....

The trainers are expected to undertake both types of evaluation for making the training activities effective. Formative evaluation should help effectiveness of administration of the processes of current training programme and the summative evaluation should generate feedback for effective design of future courses.

(b) Feedback of the training activities:

Feedback is generated by evaluation. It helps to improve future training courses. Feedback is "the information which links the training system with its working environment... The information will be used as a control mechanism". Feedback should be specific, precise and diagnostic. Feedback action should begin when the communication process is complete. It determines the degree to which the message has been understood and accepted by the trainees.

There is neither any facility in Upazilas nor any effort on the part of the Upazila level trainers to undertake either formative or summative evaluation of the training activities of the KSS representatives. Research in and evaluation of the present training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas are totally non-existent. Without evaluation the trainers do not get any feedback. Non-involvement of the Upazila level trainers in the formative evaluation must obstruct effectiveness in the administration of various training processes of the KSS.
representatives in the Upazilas. Such non-involvement of the Upazila level trainers also illustrates their non-commitment to the training of the KSS representatives. The trainers in the Upazilas do not fulfil their advisory role in the absence of research, evaluation and feedback of the training activities.

(2) Follow-up of training activities:

Follow-up of training is essential for the purpose of its reinforcement. It should ensure that the subject matter of training is remembered and practised by the trainees. Follow-up of training activities may be done by distributing promotional items and contacting farmers at their work place. "Most of the follow-up activities could already be planned before the course". Regular follow-up increases the motivation of the trainees.

In Comilla follow-up of the training activities of the KSS representatives by the trainers was regular in the 1960s. It was observed during the field research however, that the training activities of the KSS representatives in Comilla or in the other Upazilas visited during the field trip are not followed-up now. Promotional materials are rarely distributed. The trainers in all the Upazilas rarely visit the work place of the trainees to see and reinforce the actual application of the training by trainees and also to encourage the learners. Non-involvement of the trainers in the follow-up of training activities of the KSS representatives again illustrates the lack of commitment of the trainers to the training. This also contributes to the ineffectiveness of the training programmes of the KSS representatives. The trainers in the Upazilas thus do not fulfil their roles as researchers, enablers and guides in respect of training activities.

Discussions in this section have clearly demonstrated the most unsatisfactory level of interest, involvement, attachment and actions of the Upazila level trainers in the planning, preparation, presentation and evaluation stages of the training process of the
KSS representatives in the Upazilas. The trainers of the KSS representatives do not fulfil their expected roles as the researchers, diagnosticians, advisers, exponents, managers, teachers, learning specialists, innovators, extension agents and guides. The trainers in the Upazilas cannot in the circumstances be treated as committed to the training of the KSS representatives. Such non-commitment of the trainers to the training process is no doubt an important factor in the ineffectiveness of training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

The next section attempts to analyse some of the training programmes of the KSS representatives to examine the nature of such programmes, manner of preparation, relevance of the programmes to the needs of the KSS representatives and also the involvement of the trainers in such programmes. The findings of the next section reinforce the earlier findings regarding non-involvement of the trainers in the Upazilas in various stages of the training process and also the non-participation or insignificant participation of the Upazila level trainers in their expected roles as the trainers of the KSS representatives.

The statement of the Director (Training) BRDB that the present training programmes of the KSS representatives are stereotyped, lifeless and ritualistic will be assessed further. The earlier discussion has already substantiated the view of the Director (Training) to the extent that the planning of courses of the KSS representatives is defective and participation of the Upazila level trainers in the training activities is discouraging.
5. TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES:

BRDB Head Office has been centrally designing training programmes/syllabi for the KSS representatives from 1975. The programme designed by the BRDB Head Office in 1975 was revised in 1982. The training programme (i.e. training calendar and syllabus) for the KSS representatives prepared in 1982 still continues in force. The centrally designed programme/syllabus as noted earlier in the chapter is representative of the educational process rather than a training activity. BRDB designed the training programme/syllabus at the top and distributed it to the Upazilas for implementation. In addition to the two BRDB designed programmes/syllabi, the training programmes for the KSS representatives actually used in Fakirhat, Gabtali, Balaganj and also available training programmes of a few other Upazilas shall be discussed to see if the BRDB Head Office designed programmes were followed by the Upazilas. An examination will also be made of the activities of the BRDB Head Office and the Upazila level trainers in the planning, preparation, presentation, evaluation and follow-up stages of the training process of the KSS representatives.

A. The BRDB Head Office designed training programmes for the KSS representatives:

An analysis of the BRDB Head Office designed programmes/syllabi of 1975 and 1982 will indicate that both these programmes/syllabi for the KSS representatives were top-down. These were designed by the individual BRDB officers in the Head Office without any assessment of training needs, setting any training objectives or selecting specific training subjects or methods without giving due consideration of the expected role of the model farmers and the managers. The training syllabi for the KSS representatives were designed on the basis of the impressions of the individual officers of the BRDB Head Office without undertaking any research for appropriate planning of courses. Neither the trainers in the Upazilas nor the KSS representatives were involved in the design of
such programmes. The arbitrary and central design of programmes/ syllabi must obstruct the flexibility of the training activities and is likely to turn the training activities into general educational activities. BRDB Head Office totally failed to make any later evaluation of the training activities. The features of each of the BRDB designed training programmes/syllabi for the KSS representatives is outlined below to ascertain the specific characteristics of these programmes:

(a) Features of the 1975 BRDB Head Office designed training programmes:

The BRDB Head Office designed training programme (see Appendix-8) was meant for the training of the managers only. It did not say anything about the training of the model farmers. It appears from the preface of the programme that it was prepared by one Deputy Director and one Assistant Director of the Extension wing of the BRDB Head Office and there is no indication that the Training Division was involved in preparation at all. Failure of the BRDB Head Office to involve the Training Division indicates that either the senior officials in the BRDB Head Office felt they could not rely on the Training Division and decided to entrust the responsibility to the Extension wing, or the BRDB authority failed to appreciate that training is a specialised activity and not general education. There is no indication that the higher officers, that is the Joint Director, Director or the Director-General, contributed to the preparation of the programme in 1975.

The programme provided for 48 training days in a year and thus retained the Comilla principle of weekly training of the KSS representatives. Three classes were proposed on each training day making the total number of training classes one hundred and forty four in a year. Neither the duration of each class nor the starting time of training sessions on a training day was suggested. Table V-11 below will indicate the allotment of the number of classes to the different subject areas in this programme.
### TABLE V - 11

**Number of classes allotted to different subjects in the BRDB designed programmes of 1975 for the Managers of KSS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of classes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Co-operative</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>33.33% (Co-op)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agriculture</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fishery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>48.60% (Agr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Livestock/Poultry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Forestry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Health and Family Planning</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.72</td>
<td>18.07% (Gen1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Youth and Women programmes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>144</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that only 33.33% classes were allotted to co-operatives in the training programme of the KSS manager, even though the manager has to be an expert in co-operative management for the KSS. Topics in co-operatives are the 'must know' area for the managers and this area should have received top priority in terms of allotment of classes for the managers.

It may be further noted in the above table that 48.60% of the classes have been allotted to agriculture related subjects which could at best come under the 'should know' area with relation to the expected role of the manager of a KSS. In the BRDB designed programme of 1975, the 'should know' areas have preference over the 'must know' areas indicating confusion about the intended outcome of training of the managers. The arrangement indicates that BRDB officials either did not know of or ignored the research findings in Comilla that the managers were not interested in receiving training in the technical subjects like agriculture. The managers of KSS have additional duties as trainers and extension agents for the ordinary members of their respective societies. Moreover one of the goals of such training is to develop leadership qualities among the KSS representatives. No class was allotted to
subjects like research, extension, training techniques and leadership. Too many topics not directly related to the expected role of the managers were included in the programme to be taught within a short time. The subjects were too broad and in some cases too vague.

The programme only provided for the lecture method of training. No session in the programme was earmarked for 'learning by doing' activities, audiovisual, field trip, group discussion or any other method of training. This programme did not provide any opportunity for the Upazila level trainers to fulfil their roles as researchers, advisers, diagnosticians and innovators. Nor did it provide for any evaluation or feedback from the trainees about the value of the programme for them.

(b) The BRDB Head Office designed training programme (Training calendar and training syllabus) of 1982:

After five years of the above programme the BRDB Head Office circulated a revised training syllabus and training calendar for the KSS representatives in 1982 but without making any evaluation of the earlier programme. This time the programme/syllabus in the form of a booklet which included instructions to the URDOs was designed by the Training Division of the BRDB Head Office for both the managers and the model farmers. The Director (Training), in the preface of the booklet mentioned that it was prepared with the help of the officers of the Training Division of BRDB and some instructors of RDTI Sylhet. Neither the Upazila level trainers nor the trainees (i.e. KSS representatives) were involved in the selection of training subjects and the preparation of the training calendar. No research was undertaken by the BRDB Head Office for the selection of training subjects for the KSS representatives. A copy of the training Calendar in Appendix-9.

The confusion in the statement of the Director (Training) in the preface of the same booklet programme is obvious. He strongly advocated the need for uniformity in the training programme of the
KSS representatives all over the country, at the same time suggesting that the URDOs might make changes in the programme if they thought it advisable. Some of the features of the BRDB designed programme of 1982 may be described as follows: It terminated the practice of weekly training of the model farmers and also partly of the managers. This decision was taken without regard for the major principle of the Comilla co-operative model of holding regular weekly training sessions for both the managers and the model farmers. Secondly, the booklet (see Appendix-9) made it compulsory for both the managers and the model farmers to attend for two consecutive years to complete the training programmes. This again ignored the Comilla principle of annual rotation of the managers and model farmers. The training arrangements of the managers and the model farmers were to be as follows:

(i) For the managers of KSS:

Four courses, each of five days' duration should be organised in the first year. The number of training days was thus reduced to twenty days in place of forty eight days according to the 1975 weekly training arrangement. Five classes should be held in each training day thus bringing the total number of training classes to one hundred during the year. Weekly training classes for the same trainees were proposed in the second year.103

A serious lack of consistency in instructions in the booklet is evident. At one place it instructed URDOs to hold weekly training for the managers in the second year and in another place suggested organising course based programmes for the managers in the second year (see Appendix-9). The BRDB authorities showed no interest in correcting the conflicting statements. Effective administration of training activities cannot take place in the face of such confusing and conflicting instructions from the top.
(ii) For the model farmers of KSS:

The training calendar proposed holding four courses, each of four days' duration in each of the two years. Five classes were proposed in each of the training days, bringing them to a total of eighty training classes in each year. Neither the duration of each training class nor the starting time of training in each training day was mentioned. It could hardly be expected that the adult trainees would be in a position to be sufficiently interested and spare the time to attend five classes on a training day. No research was undertaken to provide a reason for raising the number of classes from 3 in 1975 to 5 in 1982 in a training day. Nor was there any reason given to reduce the number of training days to only 16 instead of 48 in a year.

(iii) Training subjects:

Training subjects mentioned in the BRDB designed programmes (i.e. syllabi) of 1982 for the managers and model farmers have been shown at Appendix-10. Table V-12 below will indicate the distribution of classes to various subject areas in the programme:
TABLE V - 12

Distribution of classes to various subject areas for the managers and model farmers in the BRDB designed training programme (calendar) of 1982.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject areas</th>
<th>Manager, KSS</th>
<th>Model farmer, KSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total no.</td>
<td>Total no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of classes</td>
<td>of classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Socio-economic environment of villages</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>9.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Co-operative laws and rules</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>8.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Management (Co-operatives)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Accounting</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Auditing and inspection</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Loan and its utilisation</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Capital formation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Women's co-operatives</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>5.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Agriculture</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.50</td>
<td>32.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Marketing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Animal husbandry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>6.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Fishery</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Population control</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mass literacy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Public health</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Balanced food and nutrition</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Practical classes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Serial numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 of the table relate to co-operative management. It will appear that 112 classes i.e. 56% of classes for the manager were allotted in the subjects relating to co-operative management and the classes at serial numbers 9, 11 and 12, totalling 45 classes (22.50%) were allotted to agriculture related subjects for the managers. Thus the allotment of classes in the programme for the managers indicates that emphasis was placed on co-operative related subjects. It will however appear that considerable time in the overcrowded programme was allotted to subjects not directly related to the expected role.
of the managers. For the model farmers 41 classes (25.63%) were allotted to co-operative related subjects and 68 classes (42.50%) were allotted to agriculture related subjects. Other classes may fall in the "nice to know" category. Allotment of more classes in agriculture related subjects would probably be more appropriate in the overcrowded programme for the model farmers.

The BRDB Head Office arbitrarily selected the training subjects and designed the training programmes for the KSS representatives in both 1975 and 1982. The designs were not based on any prior research and were more appropriate in an educational activity rather than in a training situation, illustrating conceptual misunderstandings among the BRDB officers in the Head Office. The training subjects were broad and vague and did not include topics such as leadership, training techniques and social research which are extremely relevant to the expected role of the model farmers and managers. At the same time many subjects not directly related to those roles of the managers and model farmers occupied a large proportion of the overcrowded training programme. None of the programmes encouraged the need for designing programmes locally on the basis of the local requirements and peculiarities.

The COTA survey of the training of the KSS representatives found that "some Thanas have followed the 1975 BRDB training programme faithfully". The training cannot be innovative in such a situation. BRDB did not revise the 1975 programme till 1982 nor was the 1982 programme revised again till 1985 when the field research for this study was undertaken. This encourages repetition of the same programme (i.e. subjects and calendar) in a stereotyped manner by the URDOs in the Upazilas.

Analysis further suggests that the training programme (training calendar and syllabus) of 1982 designed by the Training Division of BRDB is more defective than the previous programme of 1975 designed by the Extension wing of the BRDB Head Office. It ignored the compulsory Comilla principles by terminating the weekly
training activities of the KSS representatives and preventing annual rotation of the KSS representatives by extending the duration of the programme to two years. The conceptual gap and lack of seriousness at the highest level can be noted from the statement of the Director-General in a foreword to the 1982 programme. The Director-General warmly congratulated the designers of the programme (i.e. syllabus and calendar) on their efforts and hoped that its implementation should bring 'uniformity' in the administration of training activities of the KSS representatives throughout the country.\textsuperscript{106} The Director (Training) BRDB also treated the effort as a landmark to introduce 'uniformity' in the training activities of KSS representatives in the country.\textsuperscript{107} They thus ignored the need for 'bottom up' and dynamic training activities based on local needs. Conceptual gaps with respect to training and education thus exist at the highest level.

BRDB also did not prepare any training module or instruction manual to accompany their programme. It did not supply related training materials and mainly relied on utilisation of the lecture method for training. Effective training of the KSS representatives with such an inadequately designed programme can hardly be expected. This indicates a total lack of understanding of the BRDB authorities about what the training of the KSS representatives involves. Non-participation of the Upazila level trainers and the KSS representatives in designing the programmes is also likely to obstruct their commitment to the training. The two BRDB designed programmes\textsuperscript{108} are bound to turn the training of the KSS representatives into a lifeless activity. These programmes do not provide any opportunity for the Upazila level trainers to fulfil their roles as the researchers, diagnosticians, advisers and innovators.

Analysis of the practice at the Upazila level of providing training through the BRDB Head Office designed training programme for the KSS representatives for the period from 1980-85 follows.
The implementation of the training programmes in the Upazilas is studied on the basis of data from the Upazilas visited.

B. Training programmes of the KSS representatives of Fakirhat, Gabtali and Balaganj Upazilas:

During the field research in 1985 it was found that none of the Upazilas visited was following either the 1975 or the 1982 BRDB Head Office designed programmes. The URDOs found it convenient to repeat their own outdated programmes year after year in a stereotyped manner with the simple change of dates. They neither undertook any research nor did they plan the courses of the KSS representatives properly. The URDOs did not make any effort to assess the training needs of the model farmers and managers and training objectives were not determined. Thus the training processes necessary at the planning stage were not followed. None of these Upazilas prepared any training material or lesson-plan. Lecture was the only method of training. Irregularity of the trainers in attending training classes to present the topic was also noted and discussed earlier. No research, evaluation or follow-up activities of the training of the KSS representatives were undertaken by the trainers in the Upazilas. Specific instances related to the use of the training programmes are given below.

The training programmes of Fakirhat, Gabtali and Balaganj Upazilas will be discussed. These Upazilas belong to three different divisions of the country and an analysis of programmes of these three Upazilas will produce a representative general picture of training activities of the KSS representatives in various regions of the country. Moreover these three Upazilas are among the oldest under the BRDB programme. Sufficient copies of programmes were not available in the other Upazilas. Larger numbers of copies of the training programmes could be obtained from the Gabtali Upazila; hence the available copies of training programmes of the KSS representatives of Gabtali Upazila have been placed at
Appendix-11 to demonstrate the actual training programmes of an Upazila.

The training programme for a complete year (1982) was available only in the Fakirhat Upazila, allowing us to analyse the programme of a complete year of an Upazila, no full-year programme was available in Balaganj, Gabtali or other Upazilas visited during the field research.

(a) Training programmes of Fakirhat Upazila:

In 1982 there were 52 training days with three classes on each day in Fakirhat Upazila. Out of the 156 training classes, 132 classes were allotted for the managers and 24 classes were allotted for the model farmers. An examination of the programmes indicates that the Upazila was not following the BRDB designed programme and substantially reduced emphasis on the training of the model farmers. It was learnt from the BRDB officers of the Upazila that all the programmes were designed on the basis of their own impressions without any research or evaluation of the past training activities.

Table V-13 has been prepared on the basis of the training programmes for the year 1982, to examine the extent of importance placed on various subject-areas by the BRDB officers of Fakirhat Upazila.
### TABLE V - 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Areas</th>
<th>Manager</th>
<th></th>
<th>Model farmer</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of classes</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number of classes</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Agriculture</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37.88</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Co-operative</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>43.93</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Livestock</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fishery</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Population Control and family planning</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Health and sanitation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. General topics (Social welfare, Adult education etc.)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>132</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that 43.93% of the total classes for the manager were allotted to topics related to co-operatives and 47.74% were allotted to agriculture and agriculture related subjects including livestock and fisheries. The URDO, Fakirhat thus did not give priority to the role of the manager as co-operative expert when allotting number of classes in the role-related subjects. More classes on co-operative management should be allotted for the manager who is to work as the co-operative expert for the KSS. 58.33% of classes of the model farmer were allocated to agriculture and agriculture related subjects. Since the number of classes for the model farmer was drastically reduced to only 24 in a year, the course organisers should have allotted more classes in agriculture to make the training of the model farmers more relevant to their expected role as the expert in agriculture for KSS. Subjects which were taught were not specific and did not include any topic which could make the model farmers and managers training and extension experts for the local society or to develop their leadership.
qualities. No session in the programme was allotted for 'learning by doing', and 'group discussion', or any other method of training except the lecture method. In the absence of training programmes for the previous or the subsequent years of 1982, it could not be ascertained whether the same topics were repeated for years in a stereotyped manner.

(b) Training programmes of Gabtali Upazila:

Some training programmes for the period from April 1980 to June 1985 of Gabtali were sporadically available. These are placed at Appendix-11 to facilitate analysis. The programmes for different years have been arranged on a monthly basis to see if the same topics were repeated in a particular month of different years in a stereotyped manner. URDO, Gabtali informed that the programmes were not based on assessment of training needs through research. Training objectives were not determined. The programmes were designed on the basis of URDO/ARDOs personal impressions. There was no forum for ensuring participation of the trainees and the other Upazila level trainers in the planning of training programmes. The subjects of training were selected arbitrarily. Thus no process necessary for the planning stage was observed.

In the years under investigation Gabtali Upazilla did not follow the BRDB Head Office designed programme of 1982. Weekly training instead of course-based training was organised for the managers, and the BRDB instruction that the course should last two years was ignored. Four classes per day were organised. Training lasted from 10:30 am to 1:30 pm on each training day. No class was allotted for practical training, group discussion or any methods of training except the lecture method. No recess was allowed between two classes.

Training subjects were broad, vague and did not include subjects on extension or development as the trainers or extension agents for the members of their society. Training was not supported
with the provision of training materials. Training programmes were repeated year after year in a stereotyped manner. *Appendix-11* will indicate that the same topics were repeated with the only differences being dates and slight rearrangements of the topics. For example, programmes for the month of January for the years 1983, 1984 and 1985, February 1982 and 1983, and April 1983 and 1984 (*Appendix-11*) are the most glaring instances of repetition. Thus there was no effort in Gabtali to plan the training activities of the KSS representatives.

Training activities for the model farmers were almost completely neglected in Gabtali. In 1982 only one course of 3 days' duration was organised for the model farmers. Of that only 33.33% of the classes were devoted to subjects in agriculture and the rest of the time of the course was devoted to other subjects unrelated to the core role of the model farmers. Such unplanned training programmes with minimal preparation and irregular attendance by trainers can hardly be effective. The absence of any research, evaluation or follow-up of training is also bound to contribute to such ineffectiveness. The trainers in Gabtali are obviously not committed to the training of the KSS representatives as is evident from their non-involvement in the various processes of training.

(c) *Training programmes in Balaganj Upazila:*

Available copies of training programmes of the KSS representatives for the period from 1981 to 1985 were examined. These were arbitrarily designed by the URDO/ARDO on the basis of their personal impressions without any attempt to assess the training needs of the model farmers and managers. No training objective was set and the training subjects were repeated year after year in a stereotyped manner, in some cases with slight rearrangements. Training subjects were broad and vague and many were not related to the expected roles of the model farmers and managers. For example, in a training class representing trainees from various religions, the URDO included topics like *Namaz* (Moslem prayer) and *Roza* (Moslem fasting) in the regular programme of the
managers of KSS. Therefore there was no systematic effort to plan the courses with the interest of the trainees in mind.

The BRDB officers in Balaganj do not follow the BRDB Head Office designed programmes. Training of managers was organized on a weekly basis. Ignoring the instructions of BRDB Head Office to organize courses for the model farmers along with the managers, the URDO, Balaganj neglected their training from 1981 and totally discontinued their training from 1983-84.

An examination of the copies of the training programmes indicated that the URDO Balaganj called the model farmers on various occasions to attend only one class of 40 minutes on a training day. One 40 minute class does not justify the trouble of attending from long distances. Although none of the Upazilas mentioned above was following the BRDB Head Office designed training programme, the BRDB Head or regional offices did not show any interest in correcting the URDOs.

The ineffectiveness of the administration of training of the KSS representatives is also evident from the timing and duration of programmes.

D. Timing and duration of training programmes of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas:

Table V-14 below will indicate the starting and ending times of training sessions in a training day in some Upazilas and shows the number of classes and duration of each class on a training day.
TABLE V - 14

Starting/ending times of training, duration of each class and the number of classes held on a training day in the Upazilas. 112

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Upazilas</th>
<th>Starting times of training (Am)</th>
<th>Ending times of training (Pm)</th>
<th>Duration of each class (in minutes)</th>
<th>Number of classes held in a training day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Babuganj</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45/60</td>
<td>3 to 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagherpara</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balaganj</td>
<td>11/12</td>
<td>2/3.20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1 to 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biswanath</td>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>1.20/2.40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakirhat</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabtali</td>
<td>10.30</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhikargachha</td>
<td>9.30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaulaura</td>
<td>10.30</td>
<td>3.30/4</td>
<td>30/60</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandigram</td>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>1.45/3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4 to 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Two figures with respect to the starting and ending time of training, the duration of each class and number of classes held on a training day shown against some of the Upazilas in the table indicate that either of the two figures was followed in a particular year of the five year period (1980-85) under study.

A committed trainer would certainly consider the convenience of the trainees in designing the training schedule. In Comilla in the 1960s the training sessions of the KSS representatives would start in the afternoon to allow the trainees to attend classes after working on their farms in the morning. That would also allow the trainees to arrive at the training sessions punctually even if they had to come a long way. Moreover the KTCCA would run a cooperative canteen within the KTCCA compound for the trainees to get lunch or tea at a fair price. There were recesses for a few minutes at the end of each training session. The above table indicates that the Upazilas mentioned start the training sessions in the forenoon. Most of the Upazilas start training sessions between 9.30 am and 10.30 am. which is the peak farming time in Bangladesh. Many trainees have to cover several miles on foot to attend the training.
sessions. Starting training at 10.30 am must be inconvenient to most of the trainees. The training sessions in most of the Upazilas are over by 2 pm.

Analysis of the training programmes of all the Upazilas mentioned reveals that a gap for even a single minute was not provided in between the training sessions. It would be difficult to maintain the interest of the adult trainees in such continuous training sessions of lectures by unprepared trainers. Balaganj Biswanath and Kulaura Upazilas occasionally provided one break for 30 minutes to allow the trainees to perform Namaz but no other gap in between the classes was provided. Break for only 30 minutes is not enough for the trainees to perform Namaz as well as to eat their lunch.

This table further shows that the duration of a training class varies from 30 minutes to 60 minutes and in most of the Upazilas from 30 minutes to 45 minutes. It was already mentioned that the trainers in the Upazilas are not punctual in attending the classes. A reasonably meaningful discussion on a subject involving the trainees and various training methods can hardly be expected in such a short time. Jhikargachha Upazila held nine classes in a training day. Holding so many short classes in a training day not only obstructs interest and motivation of the Upazila level trainers and the trainees but also involves payment of larger amounts of honoraria to the trainers, thus putting undue pressure on the already inadequate funds available for running the courses. The table thus indicates severe shortcomings in the unplanned programmes of training of the KSS representatives by the BRDB officers in the Upazilas. The field research revealed that there is a similar situation in all the twenty Upazilas visited. The BRDB officers both in the national and regional levels also indicated that the situation of training of the KSS representatives all over the country is virtually the same. The statement of the Director (Training) BRDB about the unsatisfactory state of Upazila level training activities as mentioned previously indicates that the
BRDB authorities were quite aware of the disappointing situation. They however, failed to demonstrate any necessary interest or to adopt adequate steps to improve the situation.

The above analysis indicates that Fakirhat, Gabtali and Balaganj Upazilas do not follow the BRDB Head Office designed programmes and BRDB does not bother to monitor whether their programmes are implemented in the Upazilas or not. The URDOs find it convenient to repeat the old programmes year after year with a simple change of dates in the programmes. Bari in 1976 found a similar situation even then. The training programmes of the KSS representatives were repeated mechanically without any change in a stereotyped manner and he observed, "The 1976 routine for different months bears the clear sign that the same programme was run in 1975. It was neither changed nor modified". 114

None of the processes involved in the planning stage of training are followed in the Upazilas. Involvement of the trainees and other Upazila level trainers is not sought in planning of courses. The training subjects are broad, vague and mostly unrelated to the expected roles and needs of the model farmers and the managers. Programmes of none of the Upazilas provide for any other method of training except in the pedagogic lecture method. None of the trainers prepares lesson plans or any training handout. The unprepared trainers irregularly attend the unplanned training sessions destroying interest among the trainees. No Upazila level trainer undertakes any research, evaluation or follow-up of the training activities of the KSS representatives. Neither the BRDB Head Office designed training programmes nor the URDO designed programmes provide any opportunity for the Upazila level trainers to fulfil their roles as the advisers, diagnosticians, researchers, innovators, facilitators, managers and guides.

Analysis of the programmes also indicated the inadequacies of the trainers in their roles as exponents and learning specialists. The trainers made no effort to make the training activities lively
and interesting. The 1982 statement of the Director (Training), BRDB that the planning of courses is defective and the training activities have become stereotyped and lifeless thus still appears to be an accurate description of the present situation. The Director (Training) is again correct in holding that the participation of the trainers in the programme of the KSS representatives is discouraging and thus the training is ineffective. This also indicates the non-commitment of the trainers to the training of the KSS representatives.

Emphasis on the training of the model farmers has been gradually reduced. URDOs of Balaganj, Biswanath and Babuganj, on their own initiative discontinued the training activities of model farmers but not of managers. The weekly sessions for the managers are necessary for the collection of the weekly savings of the members of KSS from the managers by URDOs, as it saves the UCCA staff from having to tour the KSS to make such collections. URDOs have only a limited interest in the weekly training of the managers and ignored the instruction of the BRDB Head Office to organise course based programmes for managers and model farmers. It should also be remembered that a high priority duty of the URDOs as set by BRDB was the repayment of loans. In this connection it is pertinent to assess the effect of the provision of rewards and sanctions for the trainers to the training activities of the KSS representative in the Upazilas.

6. PROVISION OF REWARDS AND SANCTIONS FOR THE TRAINERS:

BRDB pays an honorarium to the Upazila level officers for taking training classes of the KSS representatives. Organising courses for the KSS representatives and teaching are a part of the normal duties of the BRDB officers (i.e. URDO, ARDO and Accountant of UCCA), so no honorarium is paid to them. As to the rate of the honorarium the BRDB circular states thus, "Training honorarium [of the trainers]... is refixed at Taka 15/00 per class, subject to a
maximum of Tk 75/00 in a month". This rate was made effective from the first day of January, 1983.

The inadequacy of the above rate of honorarium as a motivating factor for the trainers of the KSS representatives is evident when compared with the average retail prices of some of the essential consumer goods in the country. Table V-15 below will show the annual average retail price of selected consumer goods in Bangladesh in 1983-84.

**TABLE V-15**

**Annual average retail prices of selected consumer goods in Bangladesh.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Average retail price in 1983-84 (in Taka)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>one maund (i.e. forty seers)</td>
<td>313.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>one seer</td>
<td>38.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masur (Red-lentil)</td>
<td>one seer</td>
<td>11.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilli</td>
<td>one seer</td>
<td>34.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>one seer</td>
<td>7.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td>one seer (live weight)</td>
<td>30.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>one quire (foolscap)</td>
<td>6.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saree</td>
<td>one piece (medium)</td>
<td>74.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longcloth</td>
<td>one yard (medium)</td>
<td>17.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarette</td>
<td>250 sticks (Capstan)</td>
<td>488.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table indicates that Taka 15/00 is not even sufficient to purchase a yard of longcloth or half a seer of fish or fowl or ten (sticks of) cigarettes. It was also noted during the field research that the URDO cannot even pay this meagre amount to the trainers regularly for lack of funds. The fixing of a maximum
monthly ceiling of honorarium to a trainer at TK 75/00 also
discourages the trainers from taking more than five classes in any
month. The rate of honorarium which is the only visible incentive
to the trainers is thus so inadequate that it can hardly motivate
the trainers of the KSS representatives to be committed to training
activities. Janice Jiggins also found the general motivational
climate of the field officers of Bangladesh unsatisfactory,

Field staff's expectation and motivations are rarely
sufficiently considered; all the efforts and resources
tend to go behind the provision of physical inputs and
mobilisation of technical resources rather than
revising field staff management.

Participation in the training programmes of the KSS representatives
is not linked to the career advancement of the Upazila level
officers. Moreover the government did not specifically make the
participation of the Upazila level trainers in the training of the
KSS representatives a compulsory item of their duties.\textsuperscript{119} There is
therefore no provision for sanctions against the Upazila level
officers, if they do not participate in the BRDB organised training
activities in the Upazilas. The Upazila level officers, therefore,
do not have any fear of sanction nor are they attracted by any
reward since it consists solely of a meagre honorarium.

Holding parallel training programmes with almost similar
goals in the Upazilas by various departmental officers
independently also prevents the trainers from taking an interest in
the BRDB organised courses for the KSS representatives.
Departmental rivalry also prevents motivation of the Upazila level
officers of the nation building departments from taking an interest
in the courses organised by BRDB. The distressing training
environment as has been discussed in Chapter III cannot be
conducive to the trainers being committed to the training
activities in the Upazilas.

The field level extension officers also encounter certain
problems. These problems must adversely affect their involvement in
the training activities in the Upazilas. Benor and Harrison
identified the following general problems of the extension officers.

(i) Assignment of multiple roles to the extension officers hamper their principal job concerning training and extension. The extension officers are at times utilised in regulatory works, elections, procurement drives and collection of statistics by the government at the cost of their principal job.

(ii) Training of the field level extension officers in the majority of cases is grossly inadequate and outdated.

(iii) The field level officers do not have effective links with research. Without a continuous flow of practical recommendations suited to farmers' needs, the extension service runs out of anything to extend.

(iv) The extension officers generally have low status, low morale and low pay.

(v) Duplication of services operates at times. This serves to weaken the extension service and training of farmers.

(vi) Jurisdiction of the extension officers in many cases is large and they find it difficult to cover the area. Mobility of such officers is limited greatly for lack of a vehicle for the purpose.

(vii) Lack of a single direct line of technical support and administrative control also creates problems for the extension officers.120

These general problems of the field level extension officers which adversely affect their motivation to training and extension were found to apply also to the Upazila level officers during the field research. These factors and the present unsatisfactory state of rewards and sanctions obstruct the motivation of the Upazila level trainers, thus significantly contributing to the non-commitment of the Upazila level officers to the training of the KSS representatives.
7. SUMMARY:

This chapter examined the commitment of the Upazila level trainers including their involvement in various processes of training in making the training of the KSS representatives effective. Actual training programmes of the KSS representatives of some Upazilas were also examined to see if the six steps mentioned by Burack and Smith\(^{121}\) to make training effective are followed in the Upazilas. The chapter then attempted to test the statement of the Director (Training), BRDB about the ineffectiveness of Upazila level training activities and the unsatisfactory participation of the trainers in the training activities.\(^{122}\)

It was argued that a training activity is significantly different from a general educational activity. Training activity is significantly different from a general preparation for life. Training of the KSS representatives should be a reciprocal and andragogic activity and should not be a centrally designed curriculum-based activity as is the case with general educational activity. It should be designed locally with the participation of the trainees (i.e. the KSS representatives) and should not be a top-down commercialisation of ideas. These distinctions need be kept in mind when administering various processes of training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

Analysis in Chapter II indicated that training programmes for the KSS representatives in Comilla in the 1960s took account of such distinction. The trainers and the trainees would regularly participated and exchanged ideas through various committees in the planning and implementation of local need based training programmes.\(^{123}\) Such interaction ensured a reciprocal learning environment in Comilla. There was no fixed syllabus and the training subjects were selected according to the local and seasonal needs of the KSS representatives.\(^{124}\)
Evidence presented in this chapter illustrates that the BRDB Head Office has been arbitrarily designing training syllabi for the KSS representatives since 1975. BRDB has been operating in a routine way without observing the various processes of training so necessary for the planning of courses. They have distributed centrally designed training syllabus/programme to all the Upazilas of the country for uniform implementation as if it were a general educational activity. Introduction of centrally designed top-down syllabus/programme has been based on a confusion of ideas about the nature of general education, training, and extension activity. This action of the BRDB Head Office limits the scope of participation of the Upazila level trainers and the KSS representatives in the planning of courses. Reciprocal learning environment and involvement of the Upazila level trainers (and thus their interest) must suffer because of such actions by the BRDB Head Office.

Sometimes the URDOs themselves prepare training programmes for the KSS representatives arbitrarily by selecting any subject of their individual choice. Alternatively they simply repeat the old programmes in a stereotyped manner without following the processes required for the planning of training courses, such as, involving the trainees in the planning, and other relevant stages. These actions of the BRDB Head Office or the URDOs leave no scope for reciprocal learning activity of the KSS representatives. The present planning of courses for the KSS representatives is not in line with the original Comilla practice and is handicapped by its conspicuous neglect of reciprocity in the various stages of the training process. The planning of courses is thus defective. These leave no scope for the Upazila level trainers to participate in the planning of courses and develop interest in the training activities.

It was also argued in this chapter that effective administration of various processes of training requires commitment of the trainers themselves. Milton J. Esman observed, clearly the kind of training required will place a heavy burden on instructors many of whom will have to
expand their knowledge and reorient their teaching. They will require assistance in conceptualizing and developing courses and in producing and assembling teaching materials.

Involvement of the trainers, in other words, their commitment to training, requires competence in discharging the specialised training responsibilities. Analysis in this chapter indicated that the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives are primarily selected as Development Administrators and the criteria for selection of trainers are not considered. The deficiencies in their general educational backgrounds as noted in this chapter prevent the Upazila level trainers from performing the training functions effectively.

The unsatisfactory state of training arrangements for the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives was also noted. Many do not even receive any pre-service training. Those who attend some sort of training course do not get sufficient instruction on how to train, nor are they advised on research methodologies to make them competent for the specialised training job. They do not even get the necessary opportunities to learn about training through trial and error by doing the same job for a considerable period of time, nor can their inadequate tenure in a particular Upazila help them to develop any interaction with the KSS representatives and acquire adequate knowledge about the Upazila concerned. Upazila level trainers with these deficiencies can be neither specialised trainers nor learning specialists. It was accordingly argued in this chapter that trainers with a lack of competence and with inadequate backgrounds will be uncommitted to the training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas, and will obstruct their meaningful involvement in, and efforts to make the training of the KSS representatives effective.

Problems in involvement of the Upazila level trainers in the training activities of the KSS representatives have also been created by the recent enumeration of vague and confusing training duties by government. The statements of training duties have not
specifically instructed the Upazila level officers that they have the responsibility for the training of the KSS representatives. Many Upazila level officers were instructed to organise courses independently for the farmers and other villagers in the subjects related to their departments. In the circumstances they do not treat their participation in the training activities of the KSS representatives as an obligatory part of their duties. The Upazila level trainers do not fear sanctions for non-participation because of the confusing and unspecific statements of training duties. This governmental attitude contributed to the non-involvement of the Upazila level trainers in the various roles necessary to make the training of the KSS representatives effective.

Discussion in Chapter II illustrated that training programmes for the farmers are organised independently and in an uncoordinated manner by the Upazila level officers of various departments, particularly because of a policy vacuum at the macro level. The Upazila level trainers therefore take an interest in the training programmes for the farmers and other villagers introduced by their parent departments. They do not commit themselves to a promise to make the BRDB organised training activities of the KSS representatives effective. The frustrating training environment for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas outlined in Chapter III combined with the other deficiencies discussed above obstruct the commitment of the Upazila level trainers to the training of the KSS representatives.

Analysis in this chapter demonstrated that the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives do not undertake any research to make courses innovative, properly planned and implemented. They do not assess the training needs, determine the training objectives, select subjects appropriate to local needs, methods or prepare lesson-plans for an effective training programme for the KSS representatives.
The URDOs find it convenient to simply repeat the old training programmes with a simple change of date and distribute such programmes among the trainers giving them very little time to prepare for the training sessions. The URDOs as the Training Directors for the KSS representatives do not make any effort to involve other Upazila level trainers or the trainees (i.e. KSS representatives) in the planning and other relevant stages of training process apart from inviting the trainers to deliver lectures on topics arbitrarily decided by the URDOs (or the BRDB Head Office).

The URDOs do not consider the convenience of the trainees when designing training programmes for the KSS representatives. Timing of training classes in the morning which is the peak farming time in Bangladesh creates severe inconvenience for the KSS representatives. No recess is provided in between the classes. KTCCA, Comilla considered the convenience of the trainees and would start classes in the afternoon for the farmers. It also provided for a co-operative canteen to supply lunch and tea to the trainees at a fair price. No such facilities now exist in the Upazilas. These actions of the URDOs indicate their non-commitment to the training of the KSS representatives and significantly contribute to the ineffectiveness of these training activities.

At the presentation stage, the trainers of the KSS representatives do not follow the appropriate instructional techniques to make training effective. Pedagogic and unprepared lectures frequently create boredom among the trainees. The trainers do not take interest in the proper management of training classes. The complete lack of interest of the Upazila level trainers was noted from their irregular attendance in the training classes of the KSS representatives. Evidence presented in the chapter indicated that the Upazila level trainers are neither positive nor creative in their outlook. They do not evaluate or follow-up the training activities of the KSS representatives.
The Upazila level trainers do not perform their expected roles as the advisers, exponents, diagnosticians, managers, researchers, innovators, facilitators, learning specialists and enablers. The role of the Upazila level trainers is now limited only to the most irregular attendance of the training classes of the KSS representatives to deliver unprepared/extempore lectures in a pedagogic manner.

The above discussion illustrates the very unsatisfactory state of involvement of the Upazila level trainers at the various stages of the training processes of the KSS representatives. The present system of rewards and sanctions was also found extremely inadequate to motivate the Upazila level trainers. The deficient backgrounds of the Upazila level trainers, their non-involvement at the various stages of training process and non-performance of various expected roles as the trainers adequately illustrate that the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives are uncommitted to training.

Analysis in this chapter further revealed that the six steps namely, the assessment of training needs, definition of training objectives, trainee analysis, selection of appropriate trainers and training methods, regular presentation in the training sessions and evaluation of the training activities necessary for effectiveness of a training activity as suggested by Burack and Smith are not followed. The existing training activities of the KSS representatives are therefore ineffective. Non-commitment of the Upazila level trainer to the training of the KSS representatives also contributed significantly to this ineffectiveness.

Analysis in this chapter further indicated that the training programmes for the KSS representatives are not properly planned. The same training programmes are repeated year after year in a stereotyped and ritualistic manner. In the absence of proper planning, preparation, presentation and evaluation, the training activities of the KSS representatives have become lifeless. The
unsatisfactory state of participation of the Upazila level trainers in the training of the KSS representatives was also noted. The statement of the Director (Training) BRDB that the planning of training programmes in the UTDCs is defective and the training programmes have become stereotyped, lifeless and ritualistic where the participation of the Upazila level trainers is unsatisfactory appears to be an accurate description of the present training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas in Bangladesh.

The next chapter will examine the commitment of the trainees (i.e. KSS representatives) to the training activities in the Upazilas.
CHAPTER V - FOOTNOTES

1. *Supra*, f/n 33 of Chapter 1, p. 20.

2. Francis C. Byrnes, "Credibility and competence: Key Characteristics of Development Communicators" (paper prepared for presentation in Information and Communication Problems in Development Section, Third World Congress for Rural Sociology, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, August 22-27, 1972), p. 4.


12. BRDB, *Training syllabus for the training of the representatives of the primary co-operatives in TTDCs organised by the TTCAs* (in Bengali) (Dhaka: Training Division, BRDB, 1982), p. 4.


19. Supra, f/n 11 of this chapter, p. 239.

20. Thanas were upgraded into Upazilas in 1982-83, when new instructions enumerating the duties of the Upazila level officers were circulated. Prior to 1982-83 duties of the Thana level officers as enumerated by the governments of Pakistan continued.


23. Supra, f/n 32 and Table IV-5 of Chapter IV, p. 219.


28. Supra, Table 1-8 of Chapter I, p. 48.


35. *Infra*, Table VI-2 of Chapter VI, p. 337.

36. *Supra*, f/n 29 of this chapter, p. 249.


40. Ibid, p. 17.


42. *Supra*, f/n 142-150, of Chapter II, pp. 131-173.

43. *Supra*, f/n 144-147, of Chapter II, pp. 132-133.

44. The consultants of NCRT in various places in their reports, 'The Existing Situation of Agriculture and Rural Training Institutions in Bangladesh (1980)' and 'The Thana Level Training Programme in Bangladesh (1981)' pointed out the deficiencies in the trainers of AETIs, CERDI, GTI and other
training institutions for agriculture/rural development officers in Bangladesh. These reports were submitted to the Planning Commission of Bangladesh.


47. Moinul Hassan, "A follow-up study of the pre-service training for the Deputy Project Officers of IRDP (7th batch),* op. cit., p. 17.

48. BRDB, "Circulation numbers BRDB/per/M/DPO/Appointment/83-84/928" (Dhaka: BRDB Head Office, February 3, 1985).


50. *Supra*, f/n 31 of this chapter, p. 250.

51. Data supplied by the URDOs of the Upazilas mentioned in the table.


55. *Ibid*, p. 11.

56. *Ibid*.


58. *Infra*, Table VI-I, of Chapter VI, p. 333.


73. The United Nations (SWADCAP), *Curriculum Development and Management Training in Rural Development ....* op. cit., p. 79.


78. *Ibid*, p. 56.
79. Ibid, p. 57.
80. Ibid, p. 58.
82. Ibid.
83. The United Nations (SWADCAP), Curriculum Development and Management Training in Rural Development .... op. cit., p. 80.
84. Ibid, pp. 80-81.
85. M. Serajul Islam, "Role of Trainers and Methods of Training" op. cit., p. 51.
89. Supra, f/n 18 of Chapter III, pp. 167-168.
90. Supra, f/n 66, of Chapter II, p. 96. Occupation of demonstration plots within UTDC compound by new construction and discontinuation of courses for the model farmers at the Village Training Centres (VTCs) left little scope for using 'learning by doing' / practical training of the model farmers in improved agricultural practices.


100. *Supra*, f/n 33, of Chapter I, p. 20.


103. BRDB, *Training Syllabus for the training of the representatives of primary co-operatives in TTDCs organised by the TCCAs (in Bengali), op. cit.*, p. 5.

104. Ibid, p. 6.


106. BRDB, *Training Syllabus for the training of the representatives of primary co-operatives in TTDCs..., See foreword.*


108. The two programmes refer to the BRDB Head Office designed training programmes of 1975 and 1982.

109. Training programmes for the Managers and Model Farmers of Fakirhat Upazila for the Year 1982 (UCCA Office, Fakirhat).

110. The fact was noted in the training programme of managers of KSS in Balaganj Upazila. The class on this religious topic was held on 13.8.1984 (between 12.40 pm and 1.30 pm). Because of non-availability of most of the training programmes for the other years in the Upazila, it could not be verified whether the same topic was repeated in other years.

111. See Training Programmes of Balaganj UCCA. Examination of available copies of training programmes for model farmers revealed that the model farmers were called on 27.8.81, 25.2.82, and 17.9.82 to attend only one class of forty minutes.
112. The table has been prepared on the basis of available copies of training programmes for the KSS representatives of the Upazilas noted in the table.

113. Supra, f/n 33, of Chapter I, p. 20.


115. Supra, f/n 32 and Table IV-5, of Chapter IV, p. 219.


119. See Table-6 in the appendix.


121. Supra, f/n 49, of Chapter I, p. 27.

122. Supra, f/n 33, of Chapter I, p. 20.

123. Supra, f/n 74-78, of Chapter II, pp. 98-99.


125. The training programmes of the KSS representatives discussed in the chapter listed the cases of arbitrary selection of training subjects. Example of selection of religious topics like *Roza* and *Namaz* in a training session indicates arbitrary selection of training subjects by the URDO.


127. See Table 6 in the appendix.

128. Supra, Table V-10 of this chapter, p. 285.

129. Supra, Table V-14 of this chapter, p. 309.

130. Supra, f/n 49, of Chapter I, p. 27.

131. Supra, f/n 33, of Chapter I, p. 20.
CHAPTER VI

THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES AND THE TRAINING ACTIVITIES IN THE UPAZILAS

For any training activity to be judged effective a number of indicators must be present. For example, the trainees themselves should spontaneously feel the need for participation in the programme for their own benefit. Alternatively, the training programme should help them to solve their job/work related problems and to improve their situation. At the same time there should be adequate provision for a motivational climate/incentive for the commitment of the trainees to the training programme. This will be assisted by providing appropriate follow-up training to reinforce their commitment to training. It also helps if trainees possess appropriate backgrounds, if they are involved in the relevant stages of the training process and if the training environment is also favourable. Trainees should also be expected to attend the training sessions regularly. In all of these circumstances the commitment of KSS representatives necessary for an effective training activity will be demonstrated by their active interest and involvement in the training to make it useful and relevant to their needs.

This chapter, therefore, attempts to analyse the empirical facts collected from the Upazilas to find out the extent of commitment of the KSS representatives to the BRDB organised training programmes in the Upazilas.

1. THE NUMBER OF KSS AND OTHER VILLAGE CO-OPERATIVE REPRESENTATIVES TO BE TRAINED BY BRDB:

It was previously noted that there were 63,001 KSS, 10,911 BSS and 8,719 MSS till June, 1985 in Bangladesh. The BRDB Head Office designed training programme of 1982 provided for organising courses for the manager, model farmers and chairmen of the KSS in the Upazilas. Since the managers and chairmen of the BSS and MSS
are also to be trained by BRDB, the total number of KSS, BSS and MSS representatives to be trained by BRDB in the country in June 1985 might be calculated thus:

(i) *Number of village co-operative representatives to be trained under the BRDB programme in Bangladesh:*

(a) KSS  
\[= 63,001 \times 3 = 189,003\]

(b) BSS & MSS \[= (10,911 + 8,719) = 19,630 \times 2 = 39,260\]

**TOTAL**  
\[= 228,263\]

(ii) *Average number of trainees in any Upazila on the basis of the above national figures:*

(a) Average number of KSS representatives to be trained in one Upazila  
\[= 189,003 \div 448 \text{ Upazilas} = 422\]

(b) Average number of BSS & MSS representatives to be trained in one Upazila  
\[= 39,260 \div 448 \text{ Upazilas} = 88\]

TOTAL (AVERAGE) NUMBER IN ONE UPAZILA  
\[= 510\]

This shows that any Upazila is responsible for organising courses for over 500 representatives of the village co-operative societies.

To verify the above noted average number of trainees in one Upazila, data from the Balaganj and Gabtali Upazilas were collected. Table VI-1 below will provide a base for calculating the number of trainees on the basis of the facts from these two Upazilas. Numbers of KSS, BSS and MSS during the period from 1980-81 to 1984-85 have been shown in Table VI-1 below.
TABLE VI-1

Number of KSS, BSS and MSS in Balaganj and Gabtali from 1980-81 to 1984-85.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Gabtali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KSS</td>
<td>BSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: In 1983-84 Gabtali Upazila was bifurcated into two Upazilas. 84 KSS and 6 BSS of Gabtali Upazila were transferred to the newly created Sonatola Upazila.

On the basis of the above table the number of trainees in each of the two Upazilas in June, 1985 may be calculated thus:

(i) Balaganj Upazila:
(a) KSS = 145 x 3 = 435
(b) BSS & MSS = (17 + 4) = 21 x 2 = 42
TOTAL = 477

(ii) Gabtali Upazila:
(a) KSS = 190 x 3 = 570
(b) BSS & MSS = (42 + 12) = 54 x 2 = 108
TOTAL = 678

(iii) Average number of trainees in each of the two Upazilas may be calculated thus:
(a) KSS representatives = (435 + 570) ÷ 2 = 502.50
(b) BSS & MSS representatives = (42 + 108) ÷ 2 = 75.00
TOTAL (AVERAGE) NUMBER = 577.50

The figures confirm that the URDO in each Upazila is responsible for the training of more than 500 KSS representatives and 75 representatives of BSS and MSS. Organising regular courses
for such a large number of trainees is no doubt a gigantic task for the URDOs who look after the training activities of the village co-operators as one of their 15 items of duties.\textsuperscript{3} Discussion in the earlier chapters already indicated that adequate resources were not provided for the effective conduct of courses of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

The sudden decision of the BRDB Head Office to train the chairmen of the KSS increased the number of trainees greatly. The KTCCA, Comilla did not organise regular training programmes for the chairmen of KSS in the 1960s, because of their merely formal role. The KTCCA, Comilla organised weekly training courses only for the managers and model farmers. Since October, 1963 the chairmen of KSS were requested, by the KTCCA, Comilla to attend the Central Association only once a month to observe the meeting of the managing committee of the Central Association and to offer their views.\textsuperscript{4} The BARD or the KTCCA, Comilla thus did not contemplate organising regular training courses for the chairmen of KSS in the 1960s.

There is no evidence to suggest that the BRDB Head Office took the decision to train the chairmen of KSS on the basis of any research or evaluation of the activities of the KSS. BRDB neither assessed the training needs nor defined any specific objective for the training of the chairmen of KSS. No additional resources were provided in the Upazilas for such training. Even though BRDB was having extreme difficulties in organising and supporting regular training courses of the managers and model farmers, its abrupt decision to train the chairmen of KSS as well, inflated the number of trainees, causing added demands on the already inadequate training funds for payment of training allowances and on other training resources. This further inhibited the already handicapped training arrangements in the Upazilas.

This chapter will confine itself to an assessment of the commitment of the managers and model farmers of KSS to the training
activities in the Upazilas. The average number of members in a KSS according to BRDB is 36.7.\(^5\) Thus the representatives of each KSS are responsible for imparting training to such a large number of village co-operators during the weekly meetings according to the Comilla Co-operative principles. This is possible if the KSS representatives are committed to undergo training in the Upazilas and if they think the training is useful for their purposes.

2. BACKGROUND OF THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES:

An appropriate background of the KSS representatives is essential for their commitment to the BRDB organised training activities in the Upazilas. The United Nations (ESCAP, FAO, UNIDO) in their joint publication observed that the following personal characteristics influenced the behaviour and learning ability of the trainees: \(^6\)

(a) Physical (or biological) characteristics:

This refers to a trainee’s age and sex. Age has been shown to be very important in determining how well and how fast one can learn. Age affects learners' behaviour in the learning situation and their motivation to study. The age of trainees is important in selecting training methods and instructional techniques. The characteristics, attitude and method of adult learning are substantially different from other groups. In some societies knowledge about the sex of trainees is important to provide adequate training arrangements.

All the KSS representatives were male. The age of the KSS representatives from the three Upazilas studied shall be analysed in the subsequent discussion to find out their suitability for the existing training activities. The existing training methods will be analysed for their suitability to the age of the KSS representatives.
(b) **Educational Characteristics:**

The trainees' literacy level is vitally important. How well a trainee can read and write and how well he can express himself influences his participation in the training activities to a great extent. For learning to take place it is important that the trainees and the trainers speak in the same language, i.e., the local language or dialect itself, as well as the choice of words and the technical terms used. To be effective, it is essential for the trainers be aware of the knowledge and skills of the trainees.

(c) **Socio-economic characteristics:**

This refers to a person's status in his community which is usually dependent upon his income, social ascription or achievements. The trainers need to choose the right approach and use a suitable instructional technique on the basis of the socio-economic background of the trainees to make them involved in the training activities.

(d) **Psychological characteristics:**

Psychological characteristics comprise a person's belief, values, norm, attitude, prejudices, expectations and motivation that influence his behaviour. The psyche influences a trainee's willingness to learn. These should also strongly influence the design of the training programme.

In order to ascertain the background of the model farmers and managers of the KSS, an analysis follows of their age, educational level, size of land holding, length of stay as the representatives of KSS, family size and subsidiary occupations. The information was collected in selected Upazilas during the field research in 1985 from -

(a) 11 model farmers and 28 managers of Biswanath Upazila,
(b) 38 model farmers and 38 managers of Balaganj Upazila, and
(c) 105 model farmers and 105 managers of Nandigram Upazila.
Age range of the KSS representatives:

Age of the KSS representatives substantially influences their participation at the Upazila level training. An old trainee finds it difficult to attend the training classes in the Upazila particularly if he has to cover a long distance to attend. Moreover, age of the trainees is an important influencing factor for their participation in view of the issues raised by the United Nations (ESCAP FAO UNIDO) as discussed above. Table-VI-2 below will show the age ranges of the model farmers and managers of the Upazilas mentioned above.

**TABLE - VI-2**

Distribution of the KSS representative (i.e. the model farmers and managers) of the selected Upazilas on the basis of age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age - groups</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MF*</td>
<td>M#</td>
<td>MF</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 and above</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* MF = model farmers
# M = managers

This table indicates that 112 (72.72%) of the model farmers and 125 (73.11%) of the managers fall within the 20-40 years of age range. The other studies also show a similar age range. Alam in his study of Satkania Upazila found 61.76% model farmers and 73.53% managers of KSS were in the age range of 26-50 years. K.M. Rahman also found 77.80% of the model farmers were in the 19-40 years of age range. It may therefore be concluded that the overwhelming majority of the KSS representatives are less than 40 years of age.
Their age therefore, is not a problem for their regular travel to Upazila Headquarters for training.

It was also noted that around 66% Upazila level trainers are around 40 years of age. Thus the majority of the KSS representatives and their trainers in the Upazilas belong to the same age group. Problems associated with the age difference of the trainers and the trainees as pointed out by Watson do not thus appear a major obstacle for the effective administration of courses for the KSS representatives.

The KSS representatives are adult learners.

It is easier for young persons to memorize than it is for older people to do so. On the other hand adults may quicker grasp the actual meaning of something, because of their accumulation of real life experiences.

In designing a course for adults it must be remembered that the adults have many other roles and responsibilities in life and they differ in many ways from one another. Adults will only learn what is useful in their real life situation. They want to be treated as equals and want to spend only a limited time learning. Adults learn best in an informal atmosphere, through participation, discussion, group work and at their own pace.

Analysis in Chapter V indicated that the above noted factors are not considered when designing and implementing courses for the KSS representatives. Failure of the trainers to consider these factors in courses for the KSS representatives no doubt contributes to the non-involvement of the trainees and the ineffectiveness of the courses.

B Educational levels of the KSS representatives:

Analysis of educational background of the KSS representatives is important because educated farmers would generally participate more effectively in the training process than the illiterate or inadequately literate ones. In the KSS situation, a desirable
level of education of the managers is essential, as they have to maintain all the records of KSS and maintain correspondence with the other agencies on behalf of their societies. Table VI-3 below will give an idea of the educational levels of the KSS representatives of the selected Upazilas.

**TABLE VI-3**

Distribution of the KSS representatives of the selected Upazilas on the basis of their educational level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MF*</td>
<td>M#</td>
<td>MF#</td>
<td>M#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to class V</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes VI-X</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate &amp; above</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* MF = model farmers  
# M = managers

This table shows that 34 (22.08%) of the model farmers and 12 (7.02%) of the managers are illiterate. An illiterate manager can neither maintain the records required by the management of the society nor is he capable of following lectures specifically on cooperative management and accounting at the training sessions. Very similar will be the situation with the 31 managers (18.12%) who read up to class V level only. Neither of these groups can be expected to commit themselves to the Upazila level training. The level of education up to class V of 92 (59.74%) model farmers and 43 (25.14%) managers (including the illiterates) may be treated as grossly inadequate for any useful purpose. 62 (40.25%) of model farmers and 128 (74.86%) of managers read at levels from class VI
to graduation levels. None of the model farmers was above SSC level. With five graduates among the managers, they may be regarded as better educated than the model farmers.

Alam in his study of Satkania Upazila found 44.11% of the model farmers illiterate. It was noted in Chapter I that the rate of literacy in Bangladesh is 26%, so the literacy rate of the KSS representatives is higher than the national rate. Managers of KSS must possess the required level of education in order to be able to perform their expected roles and follow the training sessions effectively. Selection of illiterate or inadequately literate persons as the managers of KSS illustrates the inadequacies in the selection of the KSS representatives and also the lack of proper supervision of the KSS by the UCCA staff to ensure appropriate selection. Poor educational background is likely to obstruct the interest and involvement of the managers of the KSS in training.

As mentioned above the lecture method is mainly used as the method of training in the Upazilas. Very little effort is put into practical training. It was learnt during discussions with the trainees that many of them cannot follow the lectures properly. It is particularly difficult for the illiterate and the inadequately literate trainees to follow lectures, but it was made more difficult by lectures given in the dialect of different regions. The trainers do not follow andragogic principles while designing and implementing courses for the KSS representatives. Many of the KSS representatives, in the circumstances, cannot be committed to the training programmes because of their educational background which is inadequate for understanding the lectures, and because of the non-observance of the adult learning principles by the trainers.
C Size of land holdings of the KSS representatives:

According to the Comilla co-operative model all the KSS members should have a certain area of cultivable land. The model farmer should be in a position to set aside a portion of his land as a demonstration plot on which to apply the gained knowledge and skills. Hence it is essential to know the size of the land holdings of the managers and model farmers of the KSS to ascertain their suitability to the BRDB organised training activities in the Upazilas. Table VI-4 below shows the extent to which the size of land holdings of the model farmers and managers of the selected Upazilas was used as a criterion for selection:

**TABLE VI-4**

Distribution of the model farmers and managers on the basis of size of agricultural land holdings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Ag. land holdings. (in acres)</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. Ag. land up to 1 acre</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.01-2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.01-4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.01-6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.01-8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.01-10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Ag = agriculture
* MF = model farmers
# M = managers

It appears from the table that 119 (77.29%) model farmers and 101 (59.07%) managers possess land holdings of less than 4 acres. It may, therefore, be held that the majority of the model farmers and managers are small land-holders. The number of managers with comparatively bigger holdings is higher than the number of model
farmers. Ideally the situation should have been the other way round as the model farmers are supposed to function as the agricultural experts for the KSS. It further appears that land-holdings of 12 (7.08%) model farmers and 9 (5.26%) managers are below one acre. These persons can hardly be interested in undertaking training as they have so little land on which to utilise their gained knowledge and skill. A model farmer with such a small area of land cannot be expected to keep any portion of the land aside for the purpose of demonstration farming. Moreover they have to involve themselves in other subsidiary occupations to earning their livelihoods. They may not, therefore, be interested primarily in agriculture nor can they be in a position to spare time regularly to attend training or the KSS activities. Surprisingly two landless persons (1.17%) were found in the table as managers of KSS.

Mannan in his study observed, "It is not known how a man whose family does not possess any land can become a model farmer". Ameerul Huq in his study also found that the land-holdings of 63% of the managers were under four acres. The marginal farmer and the landless persons can hardly be expected to take enough interest in the training activities to make them effective.

These examples of the improper selection of the KSS representatives illustrate the inadequate supervision of KSS by the UCCA Staff. In Comilla in the 1960s the selected representatives would go through a screening process. KSS representatives with inadequate background were replaced by others with requisite background. "After a farmer has been selected by a co-operative group to work with the Japanese team, he was screened as a model farmer by the Japanese themselves." This illustrates the close supervision and effort made to ensure the proper selection of the KSS representatives in Comilla during the 1960s. The KSS representatives selected properly are more likely to have an interest in the training activities.
D. Competing interests of KSS representatives:

It was noted in Table VI-4 that most of the KSS representatives are small land-holders. The study of Ameerul Huq found 99 (88.40%) out of 112 managers of Comilla Kotwali Upazila were married having dependent members in their families, 9 (8.03%) were unmarried, 1 (0.89%) was divorcee and 3 (2.68%) did not reply. The vast majority of the managers are, therefore, married. Married persons usually have added commitment to their families. Married persons with inadequate land also have to undertake subsidiary occupations to maintain the family.

The KSS representatives of Biswanath and Balaganj were asked to state for how many months in a year they could feed their families with the crop output from their existing land. Table VI-5 has been prepared on the basis of responses of such representatives to show the extent to which they could rely on their own resources.

Table VI-5 below indicates that 27 (55.10%) model farmers and 36 (54.55%) managers cannot feed their families for the entire year with the crops they produce from their land. They must therefore engage themselves in some sort of subsidiary occupation to earn their living. With the average 2.26% annual growth rate of population in Bangladesh, the size of families has been increasing making larger demands for the food grains. Moreover, because of the existing law of inheritance the size of landholdings in general has been decreasing in the country. Table I-9 of Chapter 1 also confirms that 15.37% of the population of Bangladesh are landless and 45.09% of the population possess less than one acre of land.
TABLE VI-5

The number of months in a year the KSS representatives can feed their families with the crops produced in their own land.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average coverage of period</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MF #</td>
<td>M #</td>
<td>MF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Ag. + land</td>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up to 6 months</td>
<td>3 6</td>
<td>6 5</td>
<td>9 18.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.01 months to less than 12 months</td>
<td>4 10</td>
<td>14 14</td>
<td>18 36.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 12 months</td>
<td>4 11</td>
<td>18 19</td>
<td>22 44.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11 28</td>
<td>38 38</td>
<td>49 100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Ag = Agriculture
* MF = model farmers
⁄ M = managers

More than half of the KSS representatives are, therefore, dependent on subsidiary occupations for earning their livelihood. Such people at times find it difficult to spare the time to participate and become committed to the Upazila level training activities. Table VI-6, prepared on the basis of facts from Biswanath, Balaganj and Nandigram Upazilas, will list the rate of participation in subsidiary occupations of the KSS representatives.

Table VI-6 below shows that 74 (48.05%) model farmers and 86 (50.30%) managers of the KSS have subsidiary occupations like business, cottage industries, house building, medical paraprofessionalism and selling of manual labour. About half of the KSS representatives are in reality involved in some sort of subsidiary occupation. The above noted figures were confirmed by Alam who in his study also found that 48.35% of the KSS
TABLE VI-6

Rate of participation in subsidiary occupations of the KSS representatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MF*</td>
<td>M#</td>
<td>MF</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. only</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. &amp; Business</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. &amp; Private services</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. &amp; Cottage industries</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. &amp; House building</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. &amp; Medical paraprofessionalism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. &amp; also selling manual labour</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. &amp; others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No ag. activity and only selling labour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* MF = model farmers
# M = managers

representatives had subsidiary occupations. Involvement of such a high percentage of the KSS representatives in subsidiary occupations therefore, interferes with their commitment to the training activities. This is especially so since, as was noted in Chapter V, the training subjects did not cover issues relevant to these subsidiary occupations. During the field trip many KSS representatives suggested that they would be more interested in training if it also covered subjects for improving their skills in subsidiary occupations in addition to the subjects on agriculture.
and co-operatives. Involvement of a significant number of trainees in subsidiary occupations and the failure of the existing training programmes to include topics on these occupations stand in the way of the commitment of the KSS representatives to the Upazila level training programmes.

3. ORGANISATIONAL WEAKNESSES IN THE KSS:

A Continuous stay of the trainees as the representatives of the KSS.

According to the Comilla co-operative principles, the KSS representatives should be changed at the end of every year. Continuation of the same representatives for years may result in repetition and thus make the training monotonous. Such continuation of the representatives for years on end also hampers wider coverage of KSS members in the Upazila level training and prevent the wider dissemination of knowledge to the KSS members. Table VI-7 below shows the length of stay of the KSS representatives in the selected Upazilas.

It transpires from Table VI-7 below that the overwhelming majority of the KSS representatives continued for more than one year. 70 (45.45%) of the model farmers and 84 (49.13%) of the managers continued for from over 2 years to over 6 years. Annual rotation of the KSS representatives among the KSS members is therefore not regularly practised: a violation of the Comilla co-operative principles.
TABLE VI-7

Distribution of the KSS representatives on the basis of their continuous length of stay in the positions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay as the representatives. (in years)</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Balaganj</th>
<th>Nandigram</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>MF</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up to 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.01-2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.01-4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.01-6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* MF = model farmers
# M = managers

K.M. Rahman observed a similar situation,

The same persons have been working as model farmers year after year at a stretch. Thus about a fifth of the respondents have been holding the positions of model farmers for over five years without any break.22

Mannan also confirmed in 1978 that,

75% of the respondents [KSS representatives and other trainees of the TTDC] have attended training classes at TTDC for from 2 to 6 years. Among others 16% have attended for from 7 to 12 years and 6% from 13 to 16 years. Three model farmers have been found who have not attended a single training class so far.

This organisational weakness in rotating the KSS representatives annually is bound to limit the enthusiasm of the model farmers and the managers in attending the training sessions. It was also noted in Chapter V that the existing training programmes for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas are stereotyped, ritualistic, and lifeless. The trainees, therefore, do not learn much new from the training programmes after the first year of their attendance. It cannot, therefore, be expected that the trainees, (KSS
representatives) who have continued for years should be enthusiastic about such stereotyped training activities.

B Weak and non-functioning KSS:

Improper selection of the representatives as noted in the earlier discussion indicates an organisational weakness in the KSS which cannot be beneficial for the commitment of the KSS representatives to the training activities. A strong KSS requires observance of the Comilla co-operative principles. The URDOs of Biswanath and Gabtali were asked during the field research to categorise the KSS under them on the basis of the following criteria. The URDOs were also asked to apply their free but best judgement while categorising the KSS on the basis of these criteria.

Category- A: KSS which observe the ten Comilla co-operative principles and send their representatives regularly for training in the Upazila.

Category- B: KSS which observe about 50% of the prescribed Comilla principles and do not send their representatives regularly for training in the Upazila.

Category- C: KSS which observe around 30% of the Comilla principles and very irregularly send their representatives for training in the Upazila.

Category- D: KSS which do not function at all, but are still maintained in the UCCA registers and which do not send any representative at all for training in the Upazila.

Table-VI-8 below will demonstrate the categorisation of the KSS by the URDOs.
TABLE VI-8

Categorisation of the KSS of Biswanath and Gabtali Upazilas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Biswanath</th>
<th>Gabtali</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>category -A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>category -B</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>category -C</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>69.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>category -D</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that only 19 (8.71%) of the KSS have been observing the Comilla co-operative principles whereas 11 (5.05%) of the societies were not functioning at all. The vast majority of the KSS, numbering 151 (69.27%), are following only about 30% of the Comilla Co-operative principles and have been sending their representatives very irregularly for training in the Upazila. Participation of any representatives from a non-functioning KSS cannot be expected. Alam in his study of Satkania Upazila found 86 out of 423 (20.33%) registered KSS were totally inactive. No one attends training classes from such inactive societies. These data aptly demonstrate the organisational weaknesses in the KSS. Commitment of the representatives of the KSS falling under C and D categories to the training activities cannot be expected.

The ten Comilla co-operative principles are very much interlinked. Neglect of one is bound to influence the others. As mentioned previously the weekly meeting, for example, serves three clear functions: agricultural training, the conduct of practical business matters and organisational training. It was therefore observed, "It is as unthinkable to run a village co-operative without a weekly meeting as it would be to run a school without attendance in classes". Andaleeb in his study observed, "regularity of meeting is far from the established norm. Furthermore the rate of participation was found to fluctuate
significantly and had never reached 50%". Emmert in his study also confirms this situation by saying, "weekly meetings were not held. And the occasional membership meetings which were held were not governed by Comilla meeting norms". In the absence of regular weekly meeting the trained model farmers and managers cannot get a forum to disseminate the knowledge and skills they have acquired among the ordinary members of the KSS, and the KSS group cannot put pressure on their representatives to attend the training programmes in the Upazilas regularly.

The Annual Report of BRDB (1982-83) expressed concern for the irregularity in holding the annual general meetings to change the office bearers of the KSS and also to hold discussion on various other issues of the KSS concerned. Only 45.88% of the KSS held annual general meetings during the report year (1982-83). Irregularity in holding of the annual general meeting because of organisational weakness frustrates the growth of new leadership and allows the same representatives to continue for years at a time in violation of Comilla principle.

The KSS in many cases do not take steps to select their representatives in time. It was noted during the field research that only 11 out of 28 KSS of Biswanath Upazila selected model farmers and the rest appeared unconcerned about selecting model farmers. The UCCA staff were also unconcerned about it.

It was noted in Chapter II that Comilla co-operatives and the traditional co-operatives have been operating simultaneously in Bangladesh. Equal allegiance and commitment of a member cannot be expected to both types of co-operatives if he is enrolled in both. Authorities responsible for registering the village level co-operative societies are expected to ensure that dual membership in the societies does not exist in order to maintain the strength of the societies. Chaudhury in his study observed,

on an average 31 members of the Union multipurpose co-operative society [i.e. the traditional co-operative]
have membership with the KSS and 5 with other co-operatives. In reality, the proportion of this dual membership is much higher.

This illustrates lack of care on the part of the UCCA staff and the officers of the co-operative department when organising and registering the KSS as a society. Dual membership is bound to weaken KSS and adversely affect the commitment of its members to the KSS and its activities.

Hasty replication of the Comilla co-operative, posting of untrained or inadequately trained and inadequately motivated personnel in the Upazilas, lack of supervision of the KSS by the UCCA staff, and non-observance of Comilla principles, existence of parallel programmes in the absence of a well-defined rural development policy have all generated organisational weaknesses in the KSS and UCCAs. The representatives of the disorganised KSS cannot be expected to be committed either to the KSS activities or to their training activities in the Upazilas. Improper and irregular selection of the KSS representatives as noted earlier again demonstrates the weaknesses among the KSS. Failure to liquidate the non-functioning KSS also indicates the negligence of the BRDB officers. Organisational weaknesses which now exist in KSS contribute to the poor training activities and performance of the KSS representatives.

4. RATE OF ATTENDANCE OF THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES IN THE TRAINING CLASSES

It was noted during the field research that the URDOs of Biswanth, Balaganj and Nandigram had unilaterally discontinued the training activities of the model farmers from 1983-84, but URDO Gabtali continued to organise courses for both the model farmers and the managers. All the URDOs were however holding weekly training of the managers. Although the BRDB Head Office instructed the URDOs to hold course based training programmes for managers in the first year, the URDOs ignored this instruction and continued to hold weekly classes.
In Gabtali in 1983-84 the annual average rate of attendance at the training sessions of the model farmer was 20% and that of the managers was 24%. In the following year (1984-85) the annual average rate of attendance of the model farmer was 12% and that of the manager was 16%.

In Nandigram the annual average rates of attendance of the managers were 28% in 1983-84 and 27% in 1984-85. In Balaganj the annual average rates of attendance of the managers were 36% in 1983-84 and 35% in 1984-85. This evidence suggests the very unsatisfactory attendance rates by the KSS representatives at the training sessions in the Upazilas. These figures also show that in all the Upazilas mentioned above the rates of attendance of the KSS representatives in training sessions were gradually decreasing.

A most unsatisfactory attendance rate by the KSS representatives at the training session was noticed in the various Upazilas during the field trip. The annual reports of BARD also indicate most unsatisfactory attendance rates by the KSS representatives even in Comilla in the recent years. In Comilla the average attendance rate at the training sessions of managers was down to 7.33% and the rate of attendance of the model farmer was only 0.93% (4 out of 428 KSS) in the year 1981-82. In 1980-81 the average rate of attendance of the manager was 13.74% and that of the model farmer was 2.13% in Comilla. These indicate most unsatisfactory and declining trends of attendance by the KSS representatives at the training sessions even in Comilla which contributed the training model for the country.

Several studies and reports have also confirmed the unsatisfactory state of training and the declining trend in the attendance by the KSS representatives at training sessions. A report of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1974 commented on the training programmes and the rate of attendance of the KSS representatives at the Upazila level training thus:

Training has become peripatetic in nature. Duration of a weekly training class has declined from a full day to
an average of two to three hours. Attendance of the model farmer has fallen and become more irregular.

Although the authorities were clearly aware of the situation in 1974, they failed to take positive steps to correct it. The findings of the Ministry regarding the unsatisfactory state of training programmes concur with our analysis in Chapter V. Its observation on the poor rate of attendance of the model farmers at the training sessions is also in line with our findings.

The quarterly report of BRDB Head Office also indicates the very unsatisfactory rate of attendance of the trainees. It observed that the average rates of attendance at the Upazila level training activities of the managers was 21% and that of the model farmers was as low as 7% throughout the country during the July to September quarter of 1982. Alam found the annual average rate of attendance of managers was 14.52% and that of the model farmers was 6.61% in Satkania Upazila in 1978. Mannan also observed the unsatisfactory state of participation and interest of the KSS representatives in the training sessions in Comilla in 1978.

These people [the trainees] have the tendency to come late to the class after performing various other activities and to leave the class as early as possible... if they fail to attend class or come late, they do not think that they have missed anything... In some classes, gossiping and drowsing are very common phenomena.

Bari in 1976 found in Comilla a similar rate of attendance of model farmers at 22% and that of managers at 46%. He noted that the annual average rate of attendance of the KSS representatives at the training sessions in Comilla was gradually decreasing. No positive step was taken by the authorities to improve the situation after Bari's observation in 1976. Earlier discussion in this section already indicated that the attendance rates of the KSS representatives in Comilla further deteriorated in the subsequent years. In 1981-82 the rate of attendance of model farmers went down to 0.93% and the rate of attendance of the managers in the same year went down to 7.33%. This not only illustrates disinterest and non-commitment of the trainees but also demonstrates utter lack
of commitment by the trainers and the authorities at the macro level.

It was noted in Chapter II that in Comilla the KSS representatives were involved in a number of training processes in the 1960s through various committees constituted for improving the effectiveness of the training activities. The training programmes were planned and prepared with the participation of the trainees. The trainees would therefore identify their problems and participate in assessing the training needs, setting training objectives and selecting training subjects and methods. Such involvement would also make them interested in the training programme as the programmes were designed according to their requirements. Chapter V showed that no forum for the participation of the trainees in the planning and preparation stages of the training programmes exists in the present training activities of the KSS representatives. Failure of the present Upazila level training arrangements to follow the andragogic principles of involving the trainees in the planning and preparation of the training programmes and also of following appropriate methods of training must destroy the commitment of the KSS representatives to the training activities. The motivation of the KSS representatives is essential for their commitment to training. The next section will investigate the motivational climate of the KSS representatives.
5. THE MOTIVATIONAL CLIMATE OF THE ESS REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UPAZILA LEVEL TRAINING:

A. The factors of motivation of the villagers to the training activities:

Motivation is the quality "productive of motion or action; what impels a person to action". Motivation in a strict sense applies only to individuals. The theoretical problems of motivation thus have to do with the inter-relationship of drive and incentive. Motivation is selective or directive in respect to the environment.

Motivation denotes that driving force within the individual which urges him to strive [for an act and] after an objective, whatever the obstructions may be. [In a training activity the motivation process] starts long before the candidate reaches the portals of the training institution, but that must be reinforced as much as possible during the training period, and further nurtured after the training is over. Experience shows that the entrepreneurs [or the trainees] may lose their determination [to the act and] to achieve their goal, if reinforcements are not adequate.

Motivation of the trainees towards training is therefore the precondition to their commitment to the training activities. Alan Mumford identified motivation of the learners as an important factor of learning. The International Centre for Management Development, Bucharest, Romania also observes that effective learning depends on the proper motivation of the learners, clear and well formulated objectives of learning and required practice or use.

According to Dahama and Bhatnagar these four wishes motivates a person:

(a) The wish for security - motivates some people to accumulate more wealth to have better homes, better clothes and the satisfaction of biological and social needs, so that they are free from worries and wants.

(b) The wish for response - all people want to be appreciated and loved by others. This may be called the wish for response.
(c) The wish for recognition - a farmer who wants to be recognised as the best farmer wants status in the society.

(d) The wish for new experience.45

The wishes for new experience, recognition and response might be the important factors for the motivation of the KSS representatives. However, M.V.D. Bogaert, A.K. Sinha, M. Bhowmik and D. Bara identified other factors motivating the villagers. Their factors for motivation, including their techniques for motivating the villagers before, during and after the training will be outlined and applied comparatively to the motivational climate of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

(i) Selection and pre-training motivation:

The careful selection of the trainees from villages is in itself a means of motivating rural people to undergo training. In pre-training motivation the training organisation should spread around the news that such a programme would be held and thus should motivate the entire village community to take an interest in training. The idea of training should be presented to the villagers in an appealing manner. The idea must fit with the religious, social and cultural background of the villagers. Village meetings, seminars and village fairs may be the forums for pre-training motivation. Brochures and leaflets about the training programme may be circulated among the villagers. The motivator himself must be committed to the training programme. The presence of a person who has previously completed a course successfully should have a motivating effect on the others. Personal invitation letters also motivate the trainees from villages to participate in training.

(ii) Factors for motivation during the training:

(a) Environment of the training institution: The training institution must ensure that its own environment functions as a motivator for the trainees.

(b) Training facilities: The trainees should get the impression that the institution is fully equipped for the task. Any
credibility gap between what the institution claims and what actually happens, works as a demotivator for the trainees.

(c) Quality of trainers: Lack of competence and commitment of the trainers to the training activity would be a demotivating factor for the trainees.

(d) Period and timing of training: Training period and timing should consider the convenience or inconvenience of the trainees.

(e) Practical training: 'Learning by doing' method under proper supervision ensures involvement and motivation of the trainees. The training programme must respond to the real needs of the trainees.

(iii) Factors for motivation after the training:

(a) Arrangements must be made so that loans to purchase inputs with relation to training are made available to the trainees.

(b) Inputs at fair prices should be made available so that the trainees are able to purchase the inputs to put into practice the lessons in their own fields without much search for inputs.

(c) Follow-up of training must be ensured to reinforce learning and motivation of the trainees.

(d) Marketing facilities should be provided so that the trainees (farmers) get a fair price for their produce.

(e) Saving habits should be encouraged so that the trainees do not have difficulty in purchasing inputs and repaying the loan when it is due. Unless the trainees are assisted in saving habits their motivation may not be sustained.

(f) Social encouragement - the local community has to welcome the trainee, once he has completed the training course. If the trainee feels neglected his motivation may vanish.

The general factors for motivation of the villagers to a training programme have been discussed. The motivational climate of the KSS representatives including the provision for incentives shall now be analysed.
B. Motivational situation of the KSS representatives towards the present training activities in the Upazilas:

(a) Pre-training motivation of the KSS representatives:

It was noted earlier in this chapter that the selection of the KSS representatives in many cases is not done properly. A landless or a marginal farmer may not be motivated to take training as a model farmer in the Upazilas. Similarly an inadequately educated or a marginal farmer may not also be motivated to receive training as the manager of a KSS. It was noted that a significant number of marginal and inadequately educated persons were selected as the model farmers or managers of KSS.

In violation of the Comilla co-operative principle, the same representatives are allowed to continue training over many years. The motivation of such trainees after the first year of training is likely to diminish. In Chapter V it was also noted that no effort was made by the trainers to involve the trainees in the planning or preparation stages of the training programmes. Non-involvement of the trainees in the planning and preparation stages is likely to adversely affect their motivation. The training programmes are not widely circulated nor are any leaflets or brochures produced for the pre-training motivation of the trainees. The trainees are never invited through letters to participate in a training programme. Table - V-10 of Chapter V indicated that a limited number of copies of the training programmes were circulated only among the trainers and none to the trainees. In the present circumstances the trainees know of the training topic only when the trainer concerned has started the training session.

The top-down training programme by the BRDB Head Office for the KSS representatives takes little account of the local socio-cultural factors of the trainees. The Upazila level trainers can have difficulties in finding a successful trainee (who previously underwent training) to present before other KSS representatives in order to motivate them. No village meeting or seminar for
motivating the trainees is organised by the BRDB officers or the other Upazila level trainers. Activities developing pre-training motivation of the KSS representatives are therefore currently non-existent in the Upazilas.

(b) The state of motivation of the KSS representatives during the training:

The most unsatisfactory state of the training environment in the Upazilas as noted in Chapter III cannot but work as a serious demotivating factor in the KSS representatives' participation in the training programme. The trainees on many occasions have to return home without receiving any training either because of the non-availability of the training hall or the non-attendance of the trainers. The inadequacies of training facilities for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas were also discussed in Chapter III. The unsatisfactory training environment in the Upazilas is no doubt a demotivating factor for the KSS representatives to participate in the training programmes.

The background of the Upazila level trainers as discussed in Chapter V revealed their lack of competence and credibility as trainers. It was also shown in the same chapter, that the trainers were not committed to the training activities in the Upazilas. The trainers do not involve themselves in the planning, preparation and evaluation stages of the training process. Lack of commitment of the trainers to the training activities as noted in Chapter V is again a demotivating factor for the KSS representatives to participate in the training activities in the Upazilas.

The severe shortcomings in the existing training programme and the irrelevance of the training subjects to the need of the trainees as was noticed in Chapter V do not contribute towards solving the real farming problems of the trainees. Because of the stereotyped and ritualistic nature of the training programmes the trainees do not get new information or skills after the first year of attendance. The trainees are interested in specific and relevant
information and experience instead of the pedagogic discussion on the broad, vague and in many cases inappropriate subjects that they receive at present. The motivation and interest of the farmers to get answers to their specific farming problems can be ascertained from the following example: The radio stations in Bangladesh have 'Farm Broadcasting Programmes' to disseminate appropriate information to the farmers. The farmers also write to the organisers of the programme mentioning their very specific farming problems and ask for suggestions through the radio broadcast. Radio Bangladesh broadcasts such programmes on a regional basis and in the regional dialect. Appendix-12 has been prepared by compiling the questions put by the farmers in one week to the organiser of the 'Farm Broadcasting Programme' of the Radio Bangladesh, Sylhet station in November 1984: The programme is called, "Shyamal Sylhet". It will appear from Appendix-12 that the farmers are specific about the issues they want to raise. The farmers spend money in despatching these letters by post. Some illiterate farmers seek help from others to get the letter written. This indicates the eagerness of the farmers to obtain answers to their specific farming problems. The present discussions on vague and inappropriate subjects to the KSS representatives are unlikely to motivate them to the training activities. The farmers are more interested if they can learn through practical training, solutions to farming problems which they have identified themselves.

It was also noted in Chapter V that the training classes in most of the Upazilas start by 10.30 AM and continue without any break. Morning is the busy farming period in the context of Bangladesh. To get from their work to training involves travelling some distance and disrupts their work in the farms. "The furthest distance that some of the representatives are required to cover is about 24-30 miles" and many trainees must find it hard to attend classes in the morning covering such a long distance. This is especially the case when the transport and communication situation in Bangladesh is far from satisfactory. Very often they can only go to training by neglecting the farming activities in the morning.
Bad weather also hinders their attendance at training sessions. The timing of training is thus determined according to the convenience of the trainers totally ignoring the problems of the trainees. It was noted in Balaganj that the KSS representatives were called to attend only one class of 40 minutes in a training day. One class of 45 minutes in a training day is not worth the extreme effort that the trainee has to make to attend. The timing of training, according to many of the KSS representatives met during field research, is extremely inconvenient for them, reducing the motivation of many KSS representatives to participate in the training.

The URDOs, other Upazila level trainers and the trainees met during the field research stated that non-realisation of weekly savings from the members of the KSS was one of the reasons for the non-attendance of the trainees to the training sessions. Many KSS representatives met during the field trip indicated that the training sessions are at times utilised by the BRDB officers as a forum to put pressure on them (KSS representatives) to repay the loans advanced to the KSS members by BRDB/UCCA. According to the present practice, cash loans are disbursed to the KSS members by BRDB/UCCA with the least possible supervision. Inadequate supervision in some cases leads to the improper utilisation of the loan money by the KSS members. Moreover when their crops are damaged by natural calamities, they find it difficult to repay the loans on time. Table VI-9 below will show the huge amount of loans awaiting realisation from the members of the KSS in Bangladesh.
TABLE – VI-9

Amount of loan awaiting realisation from the members of the KSS in Bangladesh.
(Figures in Taka and Crore)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount of loan due</th>
<th>Amount of loan realised</th>
<th>% of the due amount realised</th>
<th>% of the due amount outstanding</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>44.43</td>
<td>22.50</td>
<td>50.64</td>
<td>49.36</td>
<td>Bangladesh, The Annual Report, 1982-83,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Dhaka: BRDB Head Office), p.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>59.69</td>
<td>27.26</td>
<td>45.66</td>
<td>54.34</td>
<td>Bangladesh, The Annual Report, 1983-84,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Dhaka: BRDB Head Office), p.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>87.00</td>
<td>40.77</td>
<td>46.86</td>
<td>53.14</td>
<td>BRDB, The Annual Report, 1984-85,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Dhaka: BRDB Head Office), p.15.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: One Crore = one hundred lacs.

This table indicates that more than half of the due amount of loan is still awaiting realisation from the KSS members. It was also noted in Chapter IV that BRDB attaches top priority to the recovery of loans which is the most closely monitored item of duty of the URDOs. The performance of the URDOs and other BRDB officers in the field levels is, therefore, mainly assessed by the BRDB authorities on the basis of their ability to recover loans from the KSS members. It was observed that the URDOs utilise the training sessions as a forum for putting pressure on the KSS
representative to collect loans from the members. The KSS representatives at times find it hard to recover loans from the other members and so, to avoid pressure of the URDOs, many of the KSS representatives do not attend the training sessions. The use of training sessions as a forum for loan collection by the URDOs constitutes one of the greatest demotivating factors for the KSS representatives who attend the training sessions in the Upazila Training Centres.

Some of the KSS representatives in Balaganj Upazila stated that they could not attend the training sessions regularly as they needed to work in other subsidiary occupations for their survival and that the training allowance was not sufficient to meet the cost of travelling to the Upazila. K.M. Rahman and Bari also confirmed this situation in their studies. Economic reasons contribute to the demotivating factors for the participation of the trainees in the training activities. Factors for the motivation of the KSS representatives during their present training activities in the Upazilas are, at present absent, discouraging rather than encouraging them to be committed to training.

(c) **Factors for motivation of the KSS representatives after the training:**

It was noted in Chapter V that the follow-up of training by the Upazila level trainers to reinforce the training activities and the motivation of the trainees was non-existent. There is no link between the training and the provision for inputs such as seeds, fertiliser, insecticide and irrigation equipment etc. In the absence of the timely availability of these inputs the trainees find it difficult to apply their training. BRDB/ UCCA now prefer to distribute cash loans to the members of KSS instead of procuring agricultural inputs from various sources and distributing them to the KSS members in package form according to their needs at the end of the training to reinforce the motivation of the trainees to put into practice the knowledge and skills gained.
Nowadays the marketing activities of UCCAs do not consider it necessary to support KSS members by procuring and distributing agricultural inputs or by taking steps to ensure that the KSS members get a fair price for their produce. Emmert therefore observed, "Service [support] activities [by TCCA] were conceived primarily as ways to make a profit for the TCCA, not as a way to improve the income or security of co-operative members."\(^54\)

It was noted in Chapter II that the KTCCA Comilla in the 1960s took dealership of agricultural inputs from various departments and sold inputs to the KSS members at a fair price to ensure that the KSS members did not find problems in getting the agricultural inputs and applying their training in the practical field.\(^55\) The marketing branch of KTCCA Comilla made every effort to see that the KSS members got a fair price for their activities. The KTCCA, Comilla was not out to earn profit for the central association but to support and help the KSS members in all possible ways, motivating members to become committed to training and other activities of KSS and UCCA. The absence of support to KSS by failing to provide agricultural inputs with which to apply training and follow-up activities after the training again works as a demotivating factor for the KSS representatives to participate in the training activities in the Upazilas.

Other demotivating factors of the KSS representatives to participate in the training are the multiplicity of the training programmes in the Upazilas and the withdrawal of preference by the government to supplying agriculture inputs to the co-operators. COTA Survey, therefore, observed in 1980, since inputs were available under softer terms through other government programmes, IRDP clientele quickly lost interest... while training solved very few of the villagers' problems, the number of courses have phenomenally multiplied. TTDC, has in fact become a bee-hive of training activities... As many as 30 new courses have been introduced since 1972. This phenomenal increase in training activity has taken place with very little planning or organisational efforts.\(^56\)
Thus, three factors also serve to demotivate the KSS representatives to undertake training:

(i) Poor after-training follow-up and lack of support to KSS with the provision of agricultural inputs by the UCCAs to apply the training.

(ii) The introduction by the governments of parallel training programmes.

(iii) The failure of the governments to compulsorily distribute agricultural inputs through the co-operatives.

Organisational weaknesses both in the KSS and also in the Upazila Training Centres as discussed earlier also stand in the way of the motivation of the KSS representatives to attend the training activities. Factors/activities for pre-training motivation, motivation during the training, and motivation after the training of the KSS representatives are generally absent. One can hardly expect commitment of the KSS representatives to the training in such a frustrating motivational climate. However, even in this situation, given the right incentives KSS representatives might be persuaded to attend. The present system of incentives for the KSS representatives is now examined to ascertain whether such incentives can work as a motivating factor for their participation in the training activities in the Upazilas.

(d) Incentives for the KSS representatives to participate in the training sessions:

Incentive is "a synonym for reward, motivation, goal.... It can be used to denote the goal or end of action or the drive or tendency to act aroused by that goal.... The incentive was assumed to be material reward." Incentive is therefore an additional external factor for motivation.

As an incentive, BRDB pays a training allowance to the trainee, (KSS representatives) at the rate of Taka one for a distance of each mile travelled to attend the training sessions.
with a minimum of Taka five and a maximum of Taka fifteen each day.\(^{58}\) The rates were made effective from the 1st January, 1983. However this small amount is inadequate in many cases even to cover the return journey expenses, and so most of the trainees cannot afford to buy lunch at the Upazila Headquarters. As noted earlier in Comilla in the 1960s the KTCCA ran a co-operative canteen to supply lunch to the trainees at a fair price. Since no co-operative canteens are maintained by the UCCAs, the trainees have to pay higher prices for lunch at private hotels in the Upazila Headquarters. The Upazila level trainers and the trainees were unanimous in considering that the above training allowance is extremely inadequate for the minimum needs of the trainees to meet expenses in connection with attending the training sessions. K.M. Rahman also observed this problem, "As to the training allowance paid to the model farmers by TCCA, 77% of the respondents stated that the allowance was insufficient to meet their actual travelling expenses".\(^{59}\)

It was observed, moreover, during the field research that the URDOs usually adjust the training allowance of the KSS representatives against the unrealised portion of the weekly savings of the KSS members. They make no actual money payment to those KSS representatives who fail to collect the weekly savings from the members of their societies. Many KSS representatives thus do not receive any training allowance. Mannan in his study stated,

The present system of keeping attendance and payment of training allowance to managers of agricultural co-operatives on deposit of weekly savings rather than physical presence has made them less interested in attending classes.\(^{60}\)

The Upazila level trainers and the trainees in Balaganj also confirmed the existance of this practice. Such practices frustrate the very purpose of granting training allowances as incentives and thereby serve as serious demotivating factors for the trainees who attend the training sessions.
A report of the Committee on American Relief Everywhere (CARE), a non-government organisation however pointed out that,

The TPOs [now called URDOs] worry that managers and model farmers will not come to meetings unless they are given a travelling allowance [Training Allowance]. What TPOs failed to realise is that all the TA funds they so meticulously account for are simply bribes to farmers to come to Thana where the farmers would otherwise come for fertiliser etc. anyway. Of course attendance will for a time drop, if TA is suspended. But a far better measure of the value of the TTDC lessons would be the manager's attendance without travelling allowance.

CARE thus stressed the need for improvement of the quality of training programmes and also suggested the need for commitment of the trainers to such training activities. It suggested that the quality of the training programme rather than the training allowance should attract the trainees. Quality of the training programmes may no doubt be a motivating factor for the trainees, but we have shown previously that this is not so at present. With the poor economic background of the KSS representatives, payment of training allowance at least to meet the cost of travelling would surely serve as an important motivating factor towards participation in the training activities. The discontinuation of training allowances would make it difficult for many KSS representatives to manage the travel expenses. The trainees and the officers interviewed at various levels strongly argued for increasing the rates of the training allowances of the trainees.

There are no penalties for absenteeism or irregular attendance by trainees. BRDB officers do not try to put pressure on them to attend by discussing them in public. Benefits from UCCA, such as, the granting of loans could be linked to the regular attendance of training sessions by the KSS representatives. Emmert observed,

The major positive benefits of loans and irrigation were not deliberately used at TCCA as incentives to raise attendance of managers and model farmers at their regular training classes.... Managers from a substantial portion of KSS receiving those benefits did not attend TTDC training at all.
A system of rewards and sanctions is not used to motivate the KSS representatives to attend the training sessions. Despite serious deficiencies in the quality and organisation of training activities of the KSS representatives, the Project Directors of BRDB surprisingly suggested during the field trip, that actions such as raising the rate of training allowances, awarding certificates to the successful trainees and awarding prizes to the outstanding trainees would ensure attendance and effective participation of the KSS representatives at the Upazila level training activities. What the Project Directors failed to appreciate is that if the authorities at the macro level and also the trainers in the Upazilas are not committed to training; if there is no provision for an adequate training environment in the Upazilas; if the trainees (i.e. the KSS representatives) do not get useful information and skills from training and if the training activities are not regularly supported and followed-up, the trainees are unlikely to become committed to the training activities in the Upazila by raising the training allowance. The training programmes themselves should provide incentive and motivation for the KSS representatives by providing useful information and skills.

6. LEARNING FROM THE TRAINING AND USE OF TRAINING BY THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES;

The most important issues are whether a trainee has learnt anything from the training and whether he puts his newly gained knowledge into practice. In Chapter V we discovered that the training activities for the KSS representatives did not follow the principles of learning mentioned by Otto and Glaser:

(a) The learner learns what he does....
(b) Learning proceeds most effectively when the learner's correct responses are immediately reinforced,...
(c) The frequency with which a response is reinforced will determine how well the response will be learned,...
(d) Practice in a variety of settings will increase the range of situations in which the learning can be applied,...
(e) Motivational conditions influence the effectiveness of rewards and play a key role in determining the performance of learned behaviour...

(f) ...Learning with understanding is more permanent and more transferable than learning by some memorised formula...

(g) The learner's perception of what he is learning determines how well and how quickly he will learn.

(h) People learn more effectively when they learn at their own pace....

The learners did not get much opportunity to learn with understanding because the learning principles were not followed in the Upazila level training activities for the KSS representatives. The learning by doing method was not practiced, nor was there any subsequent support or follow-up activity to reinforce the training. The trainers were not committed and the motivational climate was frustrating for the trainees.

The KSS representatives, in the present circumstances, do not get much information or skill from the existing training activities, and therefore cannot put anything from the training into practice in their own fields. The present training activities in the Upazilas can hardly develop a sense of commitment in the trainees.

The only positive aspect of the present training is that the KSS representatives who attend the training sessions in the Upazilas get the opportunity to come closer to the government functionaries through the training forum. Emmert therefore observed,

The training classes were useful sources of information to the KSS representatives, particularly information on various government development programmes and the requirement to participate in them. They were also an important means of making contact with various government officers, this was true particularly for more distant villages which are rarely visited by the government officers.

The trainees also get an opportunity to be known to the Upazila level officers through the training forum.
7. SUMMARY:

Effectiveness of training requires the involvement of the trainees. This chapter examined the commitment of the KSS representatives to the Upazila level training activities on the basis of criteria established in the conceptual framework in Chapter I.

Commitment of the KSS representatives to the training activities depends on their having an adequate background. Analysis of the empirical facts illustrated the gross inadequacies of a significant number of the KSS representatives, particularly with respect to their selection, educational level and possession of land-holdings. The managers of KSS have to maintain various records of the societies in their capacity as secretaries, but a significant number of KSS representatives were found to be either illiterate or inadequately educated. Such managers would have great difficulty in following the lessons on accounts and record management and thus may not be interested in applying what they have learned. Similarly, landless or marginal farmers who were selected as managers and more especially as model farmers are not likely to be interested in the training activities, as such representatives would find little opportunity to apply what they have learned for their own benefit. It was also noted that a significant number of KSS representatives had to undertake subsidiary occupations to earn their livelihood, and found it difficult to spare the time to participate in the training programmes. The commitment by the KSS representatives to training has been hindered by these inadequacies in their background.

Organisational weaknesses both at the UCCA and KSS levels were noted. Because of organisational weakness and lack of supervision of the UCCA staff some KSS representatives have been continuing training for years at a time. After the first year of attendance the trainee obtains almost nothing new from the stereotyped and lifeless training programmes. Failure to rotate the
KSS representatives annually as laid down by the Comilla principles, hampers the spread of Upazila level training activities among the KSS members. It was also noted that a significant number of KSS have virtually become non-functioning, but that the UCCAs took no steps to liquidate or revitalise them. Participation of the representatives from weak KSS can hardly be expected. These organisational weaknesses also obstructed the interest and involvement of the KSS representatives in the training.

The non-commitment of the KSS representatives to the training activities was clearly demonstrated by the poor rate of attendance at the training sessions. Evidence discussed in this chapter indicated that the annual average rate of attendance of the KSS representatives varied from 7% to 36% during the period from 1980 to 1985 in most of the Upazilas visited.

The poor motivational climate in the Upazila training activities was also discussed. Trainers make no efforts in developing pre-training motivation in the KSS representatives. The trainees are not involved in the planning and preparation stages of the training process. The training subjects and methods are mostly unsuited to the needs of the trainees and they get very little from the training to interest them. Starting the training sessions in the morning also creates problem for the participation of the trainees. A serious demotivating factor is the practise by URDOs of using the training classes as a forum to embarrass the trainees by pressuring them to collect repayments of loans advanced to the members of the society. Many KSS representatives absent themselves from training sessions simply to avoid such pressure and embarrassment. There is no effort made for the after-training motivation of the KSS representatives and training activities are not followed-up. The trainees at times find difficulty in obtaining agricultural inputs from the private dealers with which they can put into practice what they have learnt in training.
The training allowances paid to the trainees are inadequate to meet their travelling expenses, and even these meagre training allowances may not be paid regularly because of a lack of funds. The problem is exacerbated when the URDOs adjust the training allowance of the KSS representatives against the weekly saving deposits, if the representatives fail to collect such savings from the ordinary members. Thus in many cases the training allowances are not regularly paid to the trainees at all.

The circumstances of the selected Upazilas discussed above, particularly the unsatisfactory state of attendance and the non-participation of the KSS representatives in the planning and preparation stages of the training process, clearly illustrate why there is a lack of commitment of such representatives to the BRDB organised courses in the Upazilas. Non-commitment of the KSS representatives to the training activities is bound to exacerbate the ineffectiveness of the courses in the Upazilas.
CHAPTER VI - FOOTNOTES


2. Facts supplied by the Upazila Rural Development Officers of Balaganj and Gabtali.

3. See Table-6 in the appendix.

4. Bangladesh, BARD, Rural Co-operative Pilot Experiment: Fourth Annual Report [of Comilla KTCCA], 1964 (Comilla: BARD), p. 15. As to the role of chairmen of KSS, Emmert observed, "The chairman will usually not have time-consuming duties requiring his regular travel to the Thana Headquarters. He may preside at meetings of the KSS or the managing committee ... He may be an older respected person able to carry out his role". The role of chairman of KSS is thus formal. See Jan Paul Emmert, "Breakdown of an Organisational Ideology: The Replication of Comilla type Co-operatives in Bangladesh (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1981), p. 76.


9. Supra, f/n 33 of Chapter V, p. 252.

10. Supra, f/n 29 of Chapter V, p. 249.


14. G.M. Shahidul Alam, "Training as a focus of people - official interaction at the grassroot level ...", op. cit., p. 86.

15. Supra, f/n 85 of Chapter I, p. 50.


24. G.M. Shahidul Alam, "Training as a focus of people - official interaction at the grassroot level ...", *op. cit.*, p. 18.

25. *Supra*, f/n 57 of Chapter II, p. 94.


39. Supra, f/n 32 of this chapter, p.


47. Shyamal is a Bengali word, meaning green. The Regional Farm Broadcasting Programme of the Sylhet Station of Radio Bangladesh is called, Shyamal Sylhet, meaning 'Green Sylhet'.

48. See Table V-14, p. 77 of Chapter V. Examination of training programmes of the Upazilas visited revealed that no recess is allowed in between the classes of the KSS representatives.

50. *Supra, f/n 111 of Chapter V, p. 308.*

51. *Supra, Table IV-5 of Chapter IV, p. 219.*


55. *Supra, f/n 99 of Chapter II, p. 104.*


64. Jan Paul Emmert, "Breakdown of an Organisational Ideology..." *op. cit.*, p. 252.
CHAPTER VII

ASSESSMENT AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Assessment of commitment to training: SOME PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

This study examined the relationship between commitment and the training of KSS representatives in Bangladesh using analytical techniques to provide a profile of the way this relationship affects the effectiveness of the training. This final chapter will recapitulate the basic scenario of this relationship and its consequences on the BRDB organised training activities for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.

The need for co-operative movements and rural development in the Indo-Bangladesh sub-continent was keenly felt even during British rule. Accordingly some efforts at co-operatives and rural development were undertaken by the British government. After the British rule, the governments of Pakistan also initiated action to strengthen the co-operative movement. They attempted rural development activities by launching the V-AID programme. Neither the efforts of the British government nor the attempts of the governments of Independent Pakistan were effective until the evolution of the Comilla models of rural development in the 1960s.

Rural development is especially important in a poor and overpopulated country like Bangladesh where the overwhelming majority of people live in rural areas. The economy of Bangladesh is primarily dependent on agriculture which includes field cropping, fisheries, animal husbandry and forestry. Agriculture is also the principal employer of the vast majority of her population. Despite the fact that, "The country [Bangladesh] is well-endowed with resources. It has fertile alluvial soil deposited by its three great rivers, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna, lakes rich in fish", the agriculture in the country is still traditional and the yield rate of crops is one of the poorest in the world.
Modernisation of agriculture in the country requires of the farmers new skills and knowledge. The main emphasis of rural development programmes should, therefore, be on training the farmers in new skills and providing them with up-to-date information. Prior to the evolution of the Comilla models of rural development, the co-operatives and other rural development programmes were unsatisfactory because of the failure of authorities to organise effective training programmes for the co-operators.

The Comilla co-operative and other rural development models accepted effective training of the co-operators and other villagers as an important component of the models. Emphasising the vital role of training in rural development, the late Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru observed,

If the Community Development Movement, which aims at changing the whole texture of our society, of our thinking and of our actions, ever fails in achieving its objectives, it will not be for the lack of money, but for the lack of trained personnel.

Aziz Khan argued that the human resources to be trained for rural development should include,

Farmers and village artisans; local leaders and the officers; middle and high level officers involved in policy formulation, execution and administration of rural development programmes; middle and high level public representatives who frame and control national policies.

In short, all personnel involved in the rural development programme require training to ensure their effectiveness in their respective roles.

Prior to the evolution of the Comilla models in the 1960s, both the British governments and the governments of Pakistan made some arrangements for the training of the officers, but they totally overlooked the necessity of training village co-operators, farmers and other villagers. BARD and KTCCA, Comilla developed the structure and principles of training of the KSS representatives in the TTDCs after years of research and experimentation in their laboratory area, the Comilla Kotwali Thana. In accordance with the
Comilla model, Thana Training and Development Centres (TTDC) were constructed in each Thana where villagers were trained. In 1979, A.H. Khan the founding Director of BARD observed,

> From 1962 to 1979, 2.74 billion takas have been spent on the TTDC ... and training of officers and village leaders ... Frankly speaking very few of the less developed countries have spent so much money or energy on building rural institutions and creating trained village manpower."

The Comilla co-operative model aimed at modernising agriculture and improving the socio-economic conditions of farmers. The model provided for the weekly training of managers and model farmers as the representatives of KSS in the TTDC (now UTDC). BRDB replicated the Comilla co-operative model throughout the country by 1985. This thesis has concentrated on the training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas and examined the relationship between training of the KSS representatives and commitment both at the macro and micro levels to determine the level of effectiveness of the training and to find the causes of any ineffectiveness.

Training of the KSS representatives both in terms of administration of the various processes of training and also in terms of the after-training impact was found effective in Comilla in the 1960s. By 1982 the Director (Training), BRDB found the training of the KSS representatives stereotyped, lifeless and ritualistic, the planning of courses defective, and the participation of the trainers and the trainees discouraging. The consultants of NCRT, the World Bank, the SIDA-ILO in their reports also found the present training activities of the KSS representatives ineffective. The participants in an ILO organised seminar in Thailand attributed the ineffectiveness of training of KSS representatives in Bangladesh to the lack of commitment at the various levels.

Commitment of the authorities at the macro and micro levels is essential for the effectiveness of any training activity. Without appropriate actions, interest, decisions and support from the macro level, the trainers and the trainees at the micro levels
cannot become effective. In the conceptual framework in Chapter I the meaning and the indicators of commitment at various levels were outlined. The commitment of the government and the BRDB Head Office at the macro level was assessed in Chapters II, III and IV and the commitment of the trainers and the trainees at the micro level was analysed in Chapters V and VI.

The following brief assessment of commitment at various levels shows that lack of interest, inactivity and ill-defined objectives characterised the macro level, while lack of motivation, interest, involvement, co-ordination and resources made trainers and trainees at the micro level totally non-committed. Absence of commitment at the macro and micro levels to the training of the KSS representatives resulted in its general ineffectiveness.

1. COMMITMENT AT THE MACRO AND MICRO LEVELS TO THE TRAINING OF THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES IN THE 1960S:

The governments of Pakistan, BARD, Thana level trainers and the KSS representatives were all committed to the training activities in Comilla. The stable government of President Ayub demonstrated his commitment to the Comilla model by offering political and administrative support, by making favourable allocations of resources and public statements in support of the model to mould public opinion and by accepting the models as the principal strategy for the rural development of the country. The governments did not sponsor or introduce any parallel or conflicting programmes but maintained an unshaken loyalty to the Comilla model. The government and BARD ensured an adequate training environment in Comilla by establishing an organisational base and a well equipped training centre. The co-ordination of activities in Comilla under the leadership and guidance of BARD was excellent. BARD as the central training and research institute, regularly trained the trainers and undertook research. Under the able and committed leadership of A.H. Khan, BARD offered all possible
support to the training of the KSS representatives and ensured regular monitoring, evaluation and follow-up.

Research was the basis of the design of courses for the KSS representatives, and the various training processes were carefully observed. The KTCCA procured inputs from various sources and distributed them to the KSS representatives after the training to facilitate immediate application of the lessons by the village co-operators. The training activities were regularly followed-up. The trainers in Comilla would treat their participation in training as an obligatory part of their duties, while the trainees indicated their interest by their regular participation in the planning and other relevant stages of training process. There was political stability and the government ensured the continued leadership of BARD. The co-operative and the training principles developed by BARD were carefully followed. The background of the trainers in BARD and Comilla Kotwali Thana were adequate for the specialised job of training. The trainers of the KSS representatives were regularly trained and retrained by BARD. The KSS representatives with adequate background were selected under the supervision of the KTCCA and regularly replaced at the end of each year in the annual general meeting of KSS. Factors necessary for the pre-training, during the training and after training motivation of the trainees existed in Comilla.

The governments and BARD were deeply committed to the training of the KSS representatives, and the trainers and the KSS representatives were deeply involved and interested in training because of the proper design and implementation of courses. They were given support and encouragement from the macro level and provision of an excellent training environment in Comilla. The actions, interest, and decisions of the governments, relating specifically to the training of the KSS representatives, indicated their intense commitment to the co-operative programme and the training of the KSS representatives in Comilla. Training in Comilla
in the 1960s was successful because of the commitment of the personnel both at the macro and micro levels.

In subsequent chapters of this thesis dealing with training of the KSS representatives in the 1970s and mid 1980s a totally different picture of commitment at the macro and micro levels was presented. These chapters examined the commitment in order to assess the interest, loyalty and support, at the macro and micro levels, given specifically to the BRDB programme of training of the KSS representatives, and identify the cause of the programmes' ineffectiveness in the 1970s and mid 1980s.

2. COMMITMENT AT THE MACRO LEVEL TO THE TRAINING OF THE KSS REPRESENTATIVES IN THE 1970S AND MID 1980S:

A. Governments of Bangladesh and the BRDB Programme:

As previously mentioned, BRDB replicated the Comilla co-operative model throughout the country. The governments of Bangladesh after the independence of the country could have demonstrated their commitment to the BRDB programme by continuing their support and loyalty to the programme in a well-defined policy framework, by relying on it as the most important vehicle for rural development including the modernisation of agriculture. To indicate their interest in and attachment to the programme the governments could also have made frequent public statements in support of the programme to mould public opinion. They also could have made adequate allotment of funds for the effective administration of the programme. Analysis in chapter II indicated that neither of these possibilities eventuated. It showed an unsatisfactory level of commitment by the successive governments to the BRDB programme. In the absence of a comprehensive policy for the rural development of the country, soft, parallel and conflicting programmes for rural development were introduced by the governments, in some cases to extract political gains and secure popular support. The Economist was correct in its observation,
Politics has made Bangladesh poor. Unstable and corrupt governments have kept a country of rich farmland among world's paupers. Policies which are sound in theory are not allowed to work in practice. President Zia's government introduced loans mortgaged against political support in late 1970s. The loans have gone to the people whose support the government needs.

Analysis in Chapter II revealed that the governments were not specifically committed either to the BRDB programme or to the training of the KSS representatives in that they placed BRDB under a sectoral ministry, expanded the BRDB programme with insufficient planning and support, and introduced parallel and conflicting programmes in competition with BRDB. Analysis further indicated that conflicting programmes such as Mass-Literacy, Swanirvar and T&V systems were better supported from the governments than the BRDB programmes. These other programmes have weakened the BRDB programme and therefore contributed to the ineffectiveness of training of the KSS representatives under the BRDB programme.

(i) Placement of the programme under a sectoral ministry:

The BRDB programmes require committed co-operation and support of other Ministries and Departments for their effective functioning. This requires administration of the programme by an agency with authority to enforce inter-ministerial co-ordination. The original project for expansion of the IRDP (later renamed BRDB) programme prepared by the government of Pakistan provided for a high powered Rural Development Board (RDB) headed by the Governor, the head of the former government of East Pakistan and not placed under a sectoral ministry or Department. The RDB functioned from 1970 till the liberation of Bangladesh in December 1971.

After the liberation of Bangladesh, instead of placing IRDP under the President's Secretariat, the Cabinet Division or the Planning Commission which had inter-ministerial jurisdiction, the agency was placed under a sectoral ministry, namely the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives.
ministry had no direct authority for inter-ministerial co-ordination. The programme was treated as a departmental one and no Board was constituted for interministerial co-ordination till 1982. Even then the newly constituted Board was inadequate because it did not include representatives from inter-ministerial co-ordinating authorities such as the President's Secretariat, or the Cabinet division. The Board included comparatively junior officers for whom it was difficult to speak and act confidently on behalf of their ministries. Instead of the head of government, the Minister of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives was made Chairman of the Board. Thus the successive governments of Bangladesh have sown the seeds of weakness in BRDB, preventing the BRDB programme from becoming effective in its co-ordinating role. The deviation of the governments of Bangladesh from the original expansion project proposal of 1970 which placed the programme under a high-powered Board headed by the head of the government reveals their lack of understanding about what is necessary to develop a sense of commitment among all involved.

(ii) Hasty replication:

The governments of Pakistan believed that the programme should be replicated gradually but cautiously after 1970. They carefully created the required environment in the Thanas for the effective operation of the programme. The independence of Bangladesh was followed by unstable governments and the programme was replicated hastily without formulating a comprehensive rural development policy or strategy or creating environment at the macro and micro levels necessary for the programmes' effective administration. Untrained or inadequately trained and inexperienced persons were appointed at various levels to run the programme. Shams in his study therefore observed in 1980, with the rapid expansion of IRDP, [now BRDB] emphasis however, shifted in favour of programmes which could quickly raise agricultural productivity. While institution building activity, including measures for promoting co-operative discipline declined, crash production programmes multiplied for injecting credit, fertilizers, pumps and other inputs on relatively softer terms.
The hasty expansion of the programme through inexperienced and inadequately trained officials and the introduction of parallel programmes weakened the programme. It also indicated the lack of concern of the government to ensure effective operation of the BRDB programme.

(iii) Launching parallel and conflicting programmes for rural (including agricultural) development:

Steve Jones and Hossain in their study mentioned that none of the governments of Bangladesh showed an interest in framing a comprehensive rural development policy. This deficiency was reflected in the actions of the various governments of Bangladesh in launching parallel and conflicting programmes for rural development and training of farmers and other village co-operators. As described in Chapter II the BRDB programme was disadvantaged because of a commitment by the governments to soft and conflicting programmes like *Swanirvar* movement, mass-literacy and canal digging. Moreover, some of these programmes were provided through the President's Secretariat, thus acquiring all possible political and other support, whereas BRDB never gained such support. The interest in and commitment of the successive governments of Bangladesh to these other, conflicting programmes not only weakened the BRDB programme but also threw it into confusion thus obstructing the effectiveness of the BRDB programme.

Another governmental decision, which contributed to the farmers' loss of commitment to the co-operatives, was the withdrawal of preferences in procuring and distributing agricultural inputs from the co-operatives and the appointment of private dealers to sell the agricultural inputs for profit. In this way BRDB was reduced to a state of helplessness and left to achieve its objectives on its own. This weakness in turn adversely influenced the training component of the programme, including the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.
(B) The governments of Bangladesh and the training of the KSS representatives (in the 1970s and mid 1980s):

A nationwide training network for farmers and the other village co-operators requires over-all policy support. Political and administrative support is essential for the effective administration of these training activities. Governments must provide a comprehensive policy covering not only the training activities of the village co-operators but also linking this with the training of the trainers of the village co-operators. Analysis in Chapter II indicated that none of the governments of Bangladesh demonstrated their commitment to training by formulating a comprehensive training policy for the country. This resulted in gross inadequacies in developing the training organisations and the widespread perception that training was an inferior profession. The government did nothing to improve the image of the training profession. Even though the existing training organisations were experiencing severe hardship and not functioning properly, the government established parallel and conflicting training organisations. Such confusion and fragmentation of training resources and organisations prevented the trainers of the KSS representatives from being properly trained themselves.

The governments of Bangladesh again showed their lack of commitment to the training of the KSS representatives by their failure to provide for a central rural research and training institute to train the Upazila level trainers and to undertake research, evaluation, support and guidance for the training of the KSS representatives. The governments developed parallel and conflicting training programmes for the farmers and village co-operators. They failed to ensure the necessary training environment in the Upazilas, and to develop backup programmes for the training of KSS representatives. Such non-commitment on the part of the governments contributed to the ineffectiveness of training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas and demonstrated the governments' disloyalty and lack of reliance on the training of the KSS representatives.
(i) A national level (central) rural research and training institution to support the training of the KSS representatives:

A central research and training institution is essential to train the trainers of the KSS representatives, undertake research and evaluation and to support the training of the KSS representatives. BARD acted as the central research and training institute for the experimental Thanas in the 1960s. BARD also trained the trainers of the KSS representatives. Because of placement of BARD under the President's Secretariat by the governments of Pakistan, BARD received strong political and administrative support in the 1960s to become effective in its role.

After the independence of Bangladesh various governments of Bangladesh appreciated the need for a central rural research and training institution to support the Upazila level training activities. The SFYP proposed that there should be a central institute for co-ordinating various rural training activities. The FFYP also proposed that other rural development institutes should be affiliated with BARD. Neither proposal was implemented, indicating a lack of seriousness, interest and involvement (in other words, a lack of commitment) by the governments of Bangladesh to rural development training in general and the training of the co-operators and other villagers in the Upazilas in particular.

The inactivity and inadequacies in NCRT, constituted to co-ordinate and support the rural training activities, were also noted in Chapter II. Failure of the governments to provide a forum for co-ordination research and monitoring of the Upazila level training of the KSS representatives at the centre not only indicated their non-commitment to the training of the KSS representatives but also contributed to its ineffectiveness.
(ii) **Conflicting training arrangements and vertical training programmes for the farmers and the village co-operators:**

The Comilla co-operative model strongly advocated the need for regular training of the KSS representatives, who would be the providers of the village level extension activities. The Comilla model, after research and evaluation, rejected retention of the 'low paid, half baked and half hearted' village level extension workers of the government and they were withdrawn from Comilla in the 1960s.

However, despite the findings of Comilla, governments ignored the BRDB programme by launching conflicting training programmes for farmers and village co-operators, as described in Chapter II. More than one system of co-operatives and village level extension agents for agriculture were also being maintained. The Training and Visit system and Community School Programmes were some which clashed directly with the model farmer and manager system under BRDB. The Co-operative Department was allowed to run courses for the village co-operators separately through their Co-operative Zonal Institutes. Theoretically the Upazila Parishad was supposed to co-ordinate the training activities of the villagers in the Upazilas. In practice they launched parallel and conflicting programmes for the farmers contributing to the non-co-ordination of the training activities in the Upazilas. The vertical programmes of training for the farmers and village co-operators have seriously contributed to the ineffectiveness of the BRDB organised courses for the KSS representatives. The failure of the authorities to deal with such conflicting situations in the training of the farmers and other villagers indicates their lack of concern for the training of the KSS representatives.

Introduction of parallel and conflicting programmes of training for the farmers on sectoral lines caused unco-ordinated investment and splitting of resources, resulting in all programmes being under-resourced. The governments' lack of a training policy
and their indifference to the training of the KSS representatives is again evident.

(iii) Lack of back-up programme of training for the KSS representatives:

The effectiveness of training of the KSS representatives and the motivation of the trainees depend on support with adequate back-up programmes within a comprehensive policy framed at the macro level. The back-up programmes should ensure adequate provision of agricultural and necessary inputs. The KSS representatives would then find little difficulty in putting into practice their newly acquired skills and knowledge after the training is over.

Those back-up programmes however, require government procurement and distribution policies. Neither BRDB nor the Upazila level officers by themselves can provide all the necessary types of back-up support after the training without the committed support of the government. M.V. Rajasekharan observed that a training programme for the villagers can be effective if the rural people are convinced that there is an effective delivery system; the acceptable technology is readily available and there is reasonable hope of the trainees of considerably increasing their income without unduly high investment and effort, even under the existing systems and conditions.25

Because of lack of commitment and the vacuum in government policy, the training of the KSS representatives is no longer supported with the provision of agricultural inputs after the training, and the agricultural inputs are no longer distributed through the UCCAs. Azizul Haq, a former Minister of Agriculture stated, "If you have no back-up programme, raising aspirations [of the KSS representatives] by education may bring frustration. First, identify the needs then inspire them to do something."26
(C) Training environment for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas in the 1970s and mid 1980s:

Training can operate effectively if there is provision for an adequate physical, administrative, political, economic and socio-psychological environment. This is also true in case of training of the KSS representatives. Provision of such environment for the training of the KSS representatives requires committed actions and support by both the government and BRDB at the macro level.

In the 1960s the governments of Pakistan and BARD ensured adequate training environments for the effective conduct of training programmes of the KSS representatives in Comilla. Analysis in Chapter III demonstrated the most unsatisfactory state of commitment of the governments of Bangladesh and BRDB in providing for an adequate training environment in the Upazilas in the 1970s and mid 1980s.

The administrative environment in general and the coordination of activities in the Upazilas in particular require determined decision at governmental level. To show their commitment to the training of KSS representatives the governments of Bangladesh should take steps to upgrade the image and prestige of training, and to improve the socio-psychological environment of training of the KSS representatives.

Analysis in Chapter III indicated that the governments and BRDB failed to ensure the regular availability of the training halls for the training of the KSS representatives, (BRDB does not control the physical facilities). The construction of new buildings on demonstration plots within the UTDCs permanently spoiled such plots which were originally provided for demonstration and practical training of the KSS representatives in improved agricultural practices. The revision of pay scales of the Upazila level officers by the governments Bangladesh enhanced the scales of pay and status of the officers of the technical department over the
generalist administrators (e.g. Circle Officers) who had previously enjoyed a higher scale and status. The URDOs were placed on a lower scale than many Upazila level officers (e.g. UNO, UAO, ULO, who are also instructors of the KSS representatives) whose work the URDOs were supposed to supervise as Training Directors of the KSS representatives. This caused chaos and confusion in the co-ordination of activities and adversely affected the training environment in the Upazilas. The governments also failed, after upgrading the Thanas into the Upazilas, to develop alternative mechanisms for the effective co-ordination between the UCCA and Upazila Parishad, each of which is headed by an elected chairman.

An unsatisfactory political environment for the training of the KSS representatives was created by the instability of the governments and their failure to provide for the continuation of the BRDB leadership for a reasonable length of time.

It was argued in Chapter II that the enforcement of the Comilla principles required proper provision of an organisational environment, and the supply of training equipment and materials to ensure an adequate training environment. All these require commitment of the authorities at the BRDB Head Office. In the 1960s a regular organisational base was present in Comilla for the training of the KSS representatives. There was provision for a Principal in the TTDC and full time Deputy Director (Training) with supportive staff in KTCCA, Comilla in addition to the Thana level officers as instructors.27

The present training network for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas does not have any organisational base. The URDOs and the other Upazila level officers have been working as the trainers of the KSS representatives in addition to their other closely monitored duties. Failure of BRDB to provide for an organisational base not only illustrates their non-commitment to the training of the KSS representatives but also significantly contributes to the ineffectiveness of such training.
Since the BRDB has been replicating the Comilla co-operative programme, one would expect that the BRDB should regularly enforce the Comilla principles to provide for an adequate environment for training in the Upazilas. Regular holding of the weekly meeting, proper selection of the representatives by the KSS, holding of annual general meetings for the rotation of the representatives by KSS and sending such representatives to the Upazilas for training are essential for a favourable training environment at the micro levels. The BRDB and UCCA staff are responsible for ensuring regular observance of the Comilla principles through their committed supervision of the KSS.

It was noted in the preceding chapters that the Comilla principles are neither regularly followed by the KSS nor enforced by the BRDB - UCCA staff. The weekly meetings and the annual general meetings are very irregularly held by KSS. Many KSS do not generally select their representatives properly and regularly. There is no pressure by the KSS on their representatives to attend the training sessions in the Upazilas regularly. This has primarily occurred because of lack of supervision of KSS by the BRDB - UCCA staff. The following statement by Emmert indicates that the inspection staff are otherwise utilised by the URDOs in the Upazilas.

Three KSS inspection staff who normally should have been focused on KSS supervision were reassigned other duties: the store keeper for cloth business, a typist in TCCA office and the TCCA Accountant in absence of an IRDP posted Accountant. This left only five staff members to supervise 131 KSSs in late 1975.

This observation has been made with reference to the Singhra Upazila of the Rajshahi region, but it was found to be generally true of almost all the Upazilas visited during our field research in 1985. The non-observance of the Comilla principles by the KSS, mainly because of the lack of supervision by the BRDB - UCCA staff has adversely affected the training environment in the Upazilas and KSS levels, and reveals the absence of adequate commitment of the BRDB - UCCA staff to the KSS and the training of the KSS representatives.
A learning environment requires provision of training equipment. Audio-visual, demonstration methods are particularly useful for the training of the adult but illiterate, or inadequately literate, representatives of the farmers. Provision of training equipment materials and facilities requires allotment of adequate funds by BRDB to the Upazilas. Gross inadequacies of training equipment in the Upazila Training Centres were noted in Chapter III.\(^3\)

The above summary of analysis in Chapter III indicates that the training environment for the KSS representatives in the Upazilas is extremely unsatisfactory for the effective conduct of courses. The analysis also indicated that the governments of Bangladesh and the BRDB authorities are not committed to providing an adequate training environment in the Upazilas.

(D) Role of BRDB Head Office and the regional level offices in the training of the KSS representatives:

The BRDB is required to perform three important roles namely, co-ordination, education, and promotion of co-operatives for the effectiveness of its programmes. The unsatisfactory situation of BRDB in the co-ordinating role was noted earlier in Chapters II, III and IV. The promotional role has been limited to the hasty replication of the Comilla co-operative model all over the country and formation of new village level societies. Promotion of the co-operative principles and subsequent support of the KSS with the provision agricultural inputs and the marketing of products of the co-operators has not occurred.\(^3\) Commitment of the BRDB Head Office to the training of the KSS representatives was examined in Chapter IV.

The state of the commitment of BRDB to the educational role in general and training of the KSS representatives in particular could be illustrated with reference to their interest in maintaining a strong Training Division with the training
specialists in the Head Office. The BRDB could also demonstrate its commitment to the training of the KSS representatives by attaching adequate priority to such training. It could place adequate funds and provide for full time training officers at the regional and Upazila levels. BRDB could arrange for training of the trainers of the KSS representatives and ensure adequate length of stay of its field level officers (who are trainers) in a particular place. The officers of the Training Division of BRDB and its regional offices could visit the Upazila Training Centres regularly. The regional level officers could also discuss the training of the KSS representatives as a regular item in the agenda of the monthly conference of the URDOs. However, as the discussion in Chapter IV summarised below showed these possibilities never occurred.

(i) Strength of the Training Division of BRDB and decisions of the BRDB Head Office on prioritisation of training of the KSS representatives:

BRDB plans to train 175,000 to 254,000 personnel annually through over 500 training centres. This gigantic training load calls for a strong Training Division in the Headquarters with facilities for research, evaluation, monitoring and production of training materials. The Training Division should regularly support, monitor, supervise and guide the nationwide training network. The BRDB Head Office had no appreciation of all the importance of a strong Training Division, as Chapter IV showed. There were reductions of staff of the Training Division, there was no training specialist in the Training Division, training was made a last priority item and the salary of the URDO/ARDOs was set at a lower rate (and so the lower status in the public service) than that of many other Upazila level trainers whom they are supposed to supervise and co-ordinate.

BRDB continuously reduced the strength of the Training Division while the training load constantly increased with the formation of new societies in the villages. The present organisational structure provides for only one full-time Deputy
Director and one Assistant Director to look after the huge training responsibilities as well as to process and finalise the candidates among the BRDB officers for foreign training. In addition, personnel in the Training Division were never training specialists. The inadequacies in the background of the personnel of the Training Division and the regional level offices as the training managers and supervisors were also noted in Chapter IV.

In a recent decision, BRDB placed the lowest priority on the training aspect of the KSS and other village level co-operative representatives in the assessment of the performance of the UCCAs. BRDB Head Office also decided to pay a lower rate of honorarium to the trainers of the KSS representatives while it allowed higher rates to the same trainers when they took similar types of classes for the representatives of BSS and MSS.

(ii) Allotment of training funds in the Upazilas:

Analysis in Chapter IV further indicated that the BRDB does not even allocate 50% of the minimum recurring requirement of funds for the training of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas. This not only indicates their non-commitment to the training of the KSS representatives but also significantly contributes to the ineffectiveness of the administration of the Upazila level training programmes.

Lack of interest of the personnel of the Training Division and at the regional level in the training of the KSS representatives was also illustrated by their failure to visit the Upazila Training Centres regularly to understand the problems of the training of the KSS representatives and to encourage the trainers and the trainees. The Training Division ignored the requirements for research in and evaluation of actual needs for the production and distribution of training materials. The BRDB Head Office also ignored the recommendations in various reports on ways to strengthen the training activities of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas.
(iii) Interest of the officers of regional level offices of BRDB to the training of the KSS representatives:

Inadequacies in the background of the regional level officers of BRDB with respect to their training profession was noted in Chapter IV. Their lack of commitment to the training of the KSS representatives can be noted from their failure to include discussion of training problems of the KSS representatives regularly in the agenda of the monthly conference of the URDOs. Nor do they properly supervise and visit the Upazila Training Centres regularly to encourage the trainers and the KSS representatives.

The above assessment of the commitment of the authorities at the macro level after independence of Bangladesh to training of the KSS representatives illustrated that the authorities at macro level were uncommitted to such training. Although the authorities were aware of the ineffectiveness of training activities of the KSS representatives they took no serious steps to rectify the situation, demonstrating yet again their non-commitment to training.


(A) The Upazila level trainers and their involvement in the training activities of the KSS representatives:

Willingness, competence and involvement of the trainers are essential for the effectiveness of the training activities. They also need to be supported and developed through regular training and supplied with adequate resources in order to acquire the competence and credibility necessary for the job. Inadequacies of the training facilities for the Upazila level officers were noted in Chapter II in the general review of training in Bangladesh. The training profession in most of the third world countries cannot attract really talented people. As Mathur observed,

As training jobs did not particularly attract many able development administrators, these positions were
frequently filled by persons who were not necessarily committed to the training profession. Often the main consideration in selecting the trainers has been the instant availability of administrators not considered fit enough to assume other responsibilities elsewhere. Formal training programmes for trainers have been virtually non-existent in many developing countries. Even when programmes for the training of trainers were undertaken, they did not add up to very much, they were not better than rituals.

Bernard Schaffer similarly added,

The new recruits [the trainers] see promotion blocked by less educated and less trained men ahead of them. They are unlikely to feel committed. There is perpetual dilemma of the training institutions attempting to secure its trainees by high promises which are all the more difficult to fulfil.

These observations indicate a generally unsatisfactory situation of the trainers in the training institutions of the third world nations. The situation of the trainers and the training profession in Bangladesh is even worse as was noted in Chapter II. There is little interest in providing appropriate facilities for the training of the trainers in Bangladesh.

In the absence of convenient opportunities to obtain instruction in his own duties, the training officer is self-taught and learns by trial and error and experience. Persons of ability are not allowed to remain in the position of training officer long enough to become thoroughly conversant with its duties.

It was noted that even the trainers of the major training institutions in Bangladesh are not usually trained in the specific skills of training and social research. This indicates the general apathy of the authorities in regard to the training profession. The trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas are trained in defective training institutions by inadequately motivated and trained trainers. Competence and credibility based on the background of the trainers are essential for their commitment to the training activities. It is clear however that trainers of high calibre do not exist either in the training institutions for the trainers of the KSS representatives or in the Upazila Training Centres.
(i) Background of the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives:

The trainers of the KSS representatives in the Upazilas are selected primarily for the purpose of running the development administration of the Upazilas and not as professional trainers. On transfer to a higher tier they may not be required to do any training job at all. The criteria for the selection of the trainers are not considered at the time of their selection and appointment to the Upazilas. The inadequacies with respect to age, education, training and length of stay in a particular Upazila were discussed in Chapter V. The following observation will illustrate the severe deficiencies in the trainers' (including the UCCA officers) expertise.

It seemed that the model farmer's role as developed in Comilla was not well understood [by the trainers]. The TCCA staff did not deliberately use training sessions and their village visits to gain commitment to that role. The lack of understanding of defined responsibilities for the model farmer may be one of the reasons why their attendance is low, and why some KSSs have either no model farmer or select one who has no interest in attending training classes.

This serious deficiency in the expertise of the trainers prevents them from planning and implementing role based courses for the KSS representatives. Inadequate background, and a lack of competence and credibility must prevent the Upazila level trainers from becoming committed to the training of the KSS representatives.

(ii) Role of the Upazila level trainers in the training of the KSS representatives:

Any trainer is expected to perform his role as an adviser, exponent, diagnostician, manager, researcher, innovator and teacher. It was noted in Chapter V that the Upazila level trainers of the KSS representatives do not undertake any of these roles. Their only contribution is an irregular attendance at the training classes. The government specified the training and other duties of the Upazila level officers in 1983. It was noted in Table-6 in the appendix that the training duties specified for the Upazila level officers were utterly confusing, vague, and conflicting, thus
complicating the training environment in the Upazilas. These statements neither specifically asked the Upazila level trainers to involve themselves in the training activities of the KSS representatives nor specifically instructed them to perform the other roles listed above. Confusion with respect to the involvement of the Upazila level trainers in the training of the KSS representatives cannot but obstruct their commitment to such training.

(iii) Involvement of the Upazila level trainers in the various processes of training of the KSS representatives:

A committed trainer must take part in the various stages of the training process. As noted in Chapter V, the trainers of the KSS representatives do not participate in the planning, preparation, evaluation and follow-up stages of the training process. Their involvement is limited only to the delivery of extempore and irregular lectures in a pedagogic manner in the training classes. There is a lack of understanding among the trainers about the distinctions between general education, training, and extension. They do not realise the need for involving the KSS representatives in the various processes of training to make it a reciprocal learning exercise.

(iv) Reward and sanction provision of the trainers of the KSS representatives:

The payment of an honorarium is the only visible reward for the trainers of the KSS representatives. The rate of honoraria for taking classes was found insufficient to motivate the trainers to become committed to the training of the KSS representatives. Moreover, because of a lack in the training funds, even this meagre honorarium is not paid regularly.

Because of the confusing and unspecified statements of training duties of the trainers they do not have any fear of sanctions if they do not participate in the training activities of the KSS representatives. The motivational climate for the Upazila
level trainers is therefore very unfavourable. It may safely be concluded on the basis of analysis in Chapter V that the trainers of the KSS representatives have no sense of commitment at all to their training job.

(B) The trainers and the training programmes for the KSS representatives:

To remain responsive to the learners, a training programme should be based on research and evaluation, should be responsive to the needs of the learners, and should be planned on the basis of local research. This is particularly true in the case of the training of farmers belonging to different regions.

In recent years the BRDB Head Office has been centrally and arbitrarily preparing training syllabi for the KSS representatives without any research or evaluation and distributing them to the Upazilas for implementation in a uniform manner, ignoring local needs. This does not provide a training programme responsive to the needs of KSS representatives, nor does it ensure adequate learning environments in the Upazilas. Top-down curricula may be useful in an educational activity, but the training of the KSS representatives should be a bottom up programme. Thus a severe conceptual gap between training and general educational activities exists even at the highest level of BRDB. Gross deficiencies in the BRDB designed programmes were also noted in Chapter V.

It was also noted in Chapter V that the URDOs who are the Training Directors as well as Instructors in Comilla co-operatives do not undertake any research to identify the training needs of the KSS representatives, nor do they determine proper training objectives or select appropriate training subjects. They find it convenient to repeat the same old programmes year after year with a simple change of dates. Irrelevant and vague subjects were incorporated in many programmes. The pedagogic lecture is the only training method used.
Repetition of the same programme year after year has resulted in making the training programmes stereotyped, lifeless and ritualistic. The deplorably poor level of participation of the trainers and the KSS representatives in various training processes as noted in Chapters V and VI has added to the already handicapped training environment in the Upazilas. The six steps suggested by Burack and Smith are not followed by the trainers in the Upazilas thus destroying any possibility of effectiveness.

(C) Involvement of the KSS representatives in the training activities:

In an adult learning situation the training of the KSS representatives must be treated as a reciprocal learning activity. Participation and commitment of the KSS representatives are essential for the effectiveness of their training.

(i) Background of the KSS representatives:

For the trainees to make best use of their training they need to have an appropriate background. Severe defects and irregularities in the selection of the KSS representatives were noted in Chapter VI. There were cases where a landless or a marginal farmer was selected to work as a model farmer although such a farmer is supposed to be progressive and be in a position to keep a portion of his land as a demonstration plot. A landless or a marginal farmer must involve himself in various subsidiary occupations to earning his livelihood and finds it extremely difficult to spare the time to attend the training classes or to participate in the activities of the KSS regularly. Illiterate or inadequately literate farmers were selected as managers of KSS, even though a manager is required to work as the secretary of the KSS and undertake correspondence on behalf of the KSS, including maintenance of all records of the society. KSS representatives with such inadequate backgrounds cannot take an interest in, understand or put into practice the training and thus can hardly be expected to become committed.
The organisational weaknesses in KSS and the lack of adequate supervision by the UCCA staff resulted in the continuation of the same KSS representatives for years on end,\textsuperscript{48} instead of annual replacement as set out in the Comilla principles. After the first year of their participation the KSS representatives gain very little new knowledge from the stereotyped programmes.

(ii) Participation of the KSS representatives in the training sessions:

At present the participation of the KSS representatives is limited only to their attendance at the training classes, so regular attendance would be an important indicator of their commitment to the training. However, the average annual rate of attendance varies from 1% to around 30%.\textsuperscript{49} This indicates a severe lack of commitment of the KSS representatives themselves to the training activities. Moreover the URDOs do not take steps to liquidate the inactive KSS, so there are many inactive or weak KSS which cannot be represented at the training sessions. The trainees were thus found non-committed to the training activities.

(ii) Motivational environment of the KSS representatives to training:

Although important for the pre-training motivation of the trainees, the Upazila level trainers failed to circulate the training programmes prior to training or to involve the trainees in the planning of training programmes. Unless the training subjects are considered by the trainees to be directly applicable in their fields they will not become interested in the training programmes.

In Sulla Upazila, BRAC, a non-government organisation initially attempted to impart literacy and numeracy training to the villagers. It was observed that the villagers were not interested in such training and they did not attend the training classes. BRAC then developed new courses directly related to the needs of the trainees. The average attendance of the trainees in those courses rose to between 95\% and 100\%.\textsuperscript{50} The example of the farm
broadcasting programme of the Radio Bangladesh, Sylhet as discussed in Chapter VI also demonstrated that the farmers are very specific about their problems and are interested in precise information and answers to specific questions. Vague and irrelevant training subjects do not motivate them to participate in the courses.

It was also pointed out in Chapter VI that the URDOs usually use the training sessions of the KSS representatives as a forum to put pressure on the KSS representatives for the repayment of loans which embarrasses and discourages the trainees from attending the training sessions. At times the inadequate training allowances of the KSS representatives are adjusted against the weekly saving deposit of the KSS members by the URDOs so that the KSS representatives do not actually receive the allowance thus discouraging them even more. There is no other provision of incentives for the KSS representatives to participate in the training activities in the Upazilas. Motivational environment during the training of the KSS representatives is thus extremely unsatisfactory.

The training activities of the KSS representatives are not followed-up by the trainers after the training. The trainers cannot ensure availability of the agricultural inputs after the training to facilitate the practical application of the training. The UCCAs do not take steps for the storage and marketing of the produce of the trainees to ensure fair return for their products. The factors for motivation of the KSS representatives after the training are thus non-existent in the Upazilas.

The above assessment of commitment on the basis of indicators identified in the conceptual framework in Chapter I illustrates that the governments of Bangladesh and BRDB at the macro level and the trainers and the KSS representatives at the micro level are not specifically committed to the training of the KSS representatives.
Such non-commitment at the macro and the micro level has made the training activities of the KSS representatives ineffective.

B. Conclusion

Agriculture is the most important sector in the economy of Bangladesh. The five year plans of the country accordingly attached priority to the sector to raise agricultural production in order to feed its vast population. There are many barriers to the modernisation of agriculture in Bangladesh. For example, the agricultural lands are subdivided and fragmented, which makes mechanisation of agriculture difficult. Moreover the majority of the farmers in the country are small land holders and economic use of irrigation equipment like a power pump or a deep or shallow tubewell is difficult for small farmers. It is also hard for any government agency to keep contact with each and every farmer individually. In the context of Bangladesh there is therefore, a need to organise groups of farmers at the village level to facilitate economic use of modern agricultural equipment. Government agencies can also keep effective contact with the farmers through these groups and offer possible support and services. It was therefore rightly observed, "Successful rural development in Bangladesh critically hinges on appropriate and effective rural institutions."

The principal aim of the BRDB programme is to modernise/improve the traditional agriculture of Bangladesh by organising the farmers into co-operative groups and by supporting them with training, procuring and distributing modern agricultural inputs, and helping them in storage and marketing of their products so that the farmers may get a fair price for their produce. Thus BRDB aims at developing agriculture and improving its yield rate.

The co-operative (KSS - UCCA) system under the BRDB programme was developed by BARD after ten years of research and experimentation in Comilla. To make the co-operative model suitable
for the entire country, BARD also tested the model in other Thanas (Gouripur, Gaibandha and Natore) belonging to different regions of the country and developed the principles of co-operatives and training of the co-operative representatives appropriate to the conditions of Bangladesh. Under the Comilla Co-operative System the UCCA at the Upazila level is to support the KSS at the village level to develop individual agricultural practice and thus improve agricultural production.

The co-operative principles and institutions and the training principles for the KSS representatives developed by BARD operated effectively and contributed positively during the 1960s. After the independence of Bangladesh BRDB replicated the co-operative model throughout the country, but it was noted in the earlier analysis that the model did not operate effectively. The contribution of the model to agricultural modernisation now appears to have been insignificant. The difference in the degree of commitment to the Comilla model and the training of the KSS representatives prior to the independence and after the independence of Bangladesh was identified in this thesis as the major reason for this variation in the level of effectiveness.

Analysis in Chapter II illustrated that the governments of Pakistan were committed to the Comilla model and training of the KSS representatives in the 1960s and relied on these as the strategy for rural/agricultural development in Comilla. They offered all possible political and administrative supports to the model and allocated necessary resources for the effective functioning of the model. Interest and support of the authorities at the macro level encouraged the personnel at the micro level to involve themselves effectively for the administration of the model including training of the KSS representatives at the field level. The commitment of the authorities/personnel at the macro and micro levels to the model and training of the KSS representatives was thus responsible for its effectiveness in the 1960s. The effectiveness of the co-operative model supported by training of
the KSS members and their representatives was at its most satisfactory level in Comilla in the 1960s.

At this stage it is pertinent to point out that Comilla had certain special factors which also significantly contributed to the effectiveness of the model in the 1960s. These were: the location of BARD in Comilla; the leadership of A.H. Khan; the limitation of the experimental area mainly to Comilla and the closeness of Comilla to the District Headquarters; the adequacy of resources and the control of the experiment by BARD.

(a) Location of BARD in Comilla and committed leadership of A.H. Khan:

Governments of Pakistan selected Comilla Kotwali Thana as the laboratory area of BARD to undertake research and experimentation on rural development. Comilla Kotwali Thana thus received constant supervision, support and guidance of BARD.

A.H. Khan continued for eleven years as the Director of BARD and also acted as the Chairman of KTCCA. The dedication, commitment, leadership and personal image of A.H. Khan significantly contributed to the effectiveness of the model in Comilla in the 1960s. The intense dedication of A.H. Khan to rural development works is evident in his own statement,

Rural work like missionary work, was indeed soul satisfying ... like philanthropy, it seemed a palliative ... several times, urged by a desire for social action, I had accepted rural assignments ... when the offer to be the first Director of a Rural Development Academy once again tempted me.

In another place A.H. Khan added,

I never worry about my private affairs. At my home I do not complain if things are untidy. But if I find Abhoy Ashram [where KTCCA is located] dirty I get angry. Thus have my colleagues and myself laboured for this [co-operative] movement.

While mentioning his personal special advantages as the Director, BARD, A.H. Khan further stated,
I had the peculiar good fortune of having resigned long ago from the prestigious Imperial Civil Service surprisingly its halo still clung to my head. My old colleagues, sitting in senior positions, treated me as an equal, not as a subordinate. One of them, then the Chief Secretary, accepted my requests succinctly, 'You are a fool, but a good fool. So I will let you go ahead.' On my part I had enough discretion to ask ... If I had been a simple bureaucrat I would have been overwhelmed. Luckily my own experience as a college teacher saved me ... Having been both a Magistrate and a Professor, I was a nimble bat, a beast as well as a bird. Moreover, I knew the villagers better than the youngsters did.

The unique commitment of this person to the Comilla models, his special advantages as an ex-member of the ICS cadre, and a professor of a college, and his long association with Comilla as a Magistrate and Principal of the Victoria College, Comilla, the largest college of the region of Bangladesh, had no parallel. The stable, dedicated and charismatic leadership of A.H. Khan was absolutely essential for the effectiveness of the model in Comilla in the 1960s.

(b) Limited area of operation:

The co-operative model, including the training of the KSS representatives, operated in Comilla and a few other experimental Thanas in a limited way in the 1960s. Expansion of the model was deliberately gradual but cautious. It was easier to supervise, guide and support a smaller area of operation than the whole country. Comilla and the experimental Thanas, therefore, received close guidance and support from BARD and other quarters for the effectiveness of the programme.

The proximity of Comilla Kotwali Thana to the District offices helped the Thana level officers to derive support from their higher officers. District level officers would also find it easier to guide and support the Thana level officers of the Comilla Kotwali Thana.
(c) Adequacy in allotment of resources:

Comilla was provided with adequate financial, human and other resources for the effective operation of the model in the 1960s. The BARD faculty and a number of foreign experts were closely involved in the activities of the KTCCA including the training of the KSS representatives.

(d) Placement of the four models under common supervision of BARD:

The four models for rural development developed by BARD were complementary to each other. Placement of Comilla Kotwali Thana at the disposal of BARD, helped BARD to co-ordinate models to the benefit of each other. This again helped BARD to ensure effective horizontal co-ordination of activities among the officers in Comilla.

Moreover, the stable and committed governments of Pakistan in the 1960s accepted the Comilla models as the important strategy for rural development and ensured continuation of leadership of BARD by retaining A.H. Khan as its Director in the 1960s. The personal interest of the President of Pakistan in the Comilla models made available the political support for the model which was also an important factor in its success in Comilla in the 1960s. However, analysis in the thesis has revealed that the model was not operating with the equal success after its replication throughout the country in the 1970s and mid 1980s.

Is the model replicable?

Obviously the special factors which existed in Comilla in the 1960s as mentioned above cannot be replicated in each Upazila of the country. One cannot expect an internationally acclaimed Academy like BARD, a charismatic leader like A.H. Khan, foreign experts and so much investment in each Upazila of the country. However, the principles for co-operatives and rural training developed by BARD over the years of experimentation were thought suitable for the conditions in the whole of Bangladesh. They could not however be
applied without the same commitment of the individual officers involved and of the Bangladesh government. Application of the principles moreover required adequate resources. There is also the question of whether BRDB was the appropriate body to be entrusted with the task of replication.

It was argued in this thesis that the BRDB programmes are not now run effectively. The BRDB no longer adequately enforces the Comilla principles and practices, and this has had adverse effects both on the programme and the training of the KSS representatives. For example, BRDB has so far failed to ensure the regular holding of weekly and annual general meetings of KSS, which is a Comilla principle. BRDB recently instructed the URDOs to discontinue weekly training and to organise course-based programmes for the KSS representatives in the Upazila. The recent BRDB designed programme provides for a two year training programme for the KSS representatives, violating the Comilla principles of annual rotation of the KSS representatives. The BRDB also failed to ensure proper selection of the trainees and to promote inter-departmental co-ordination at various levels, although these are essential for the effectiveness of the BRDB programme and training of the KSS representatives.

These findings are similar to Emmert's in a 1981 study. Emmert was critical of BRDB for its failure to follow and enforce the Comilla principles and practices in the Thanas after the independence of Bangladesh, but he strongly supported the Comilla principles as the important strategy for rural/agricultural development of Bangladesh, "Even though this thesis is critical of IRDP [now BRDB], I hope my many friends in IRDP understand that I support their basic objectives."

It has been argued in this thesis that the present activities of BRDB in many cases deviate significantly from the Comilla cooperative principles and practices of the 1960s. There is also no evidence to suggest that BRDB deliberately made these deviations on
the basis of any research or evaluation; it is clear that BRDB is no longer committed to Comilla co-operative principles. It is not therefore possible, on the basis of the 1970s and mid 1980s' experience to argue that the Comilla principles are no longer applicable or to suggest whether they are still useful tools for agricultural and co-operative development. Neither may it be proper to say that the Comilla principles are not replicable since these were not properly administered or tried with the same level of commitment in the various Upazilas after the independence of Bangladesh.

Accepting the fact that the special factors in Comilla as mentioned above which contributed to the effectiveness of the model (in Comilla) in the 1960s are hard to replicate in all the Upazilas, the BRDB should have made more efforts to provide opportunities to practice the Comilla principles. However, their commitment to make effective the principles in present day Bangladesh has been shown to be unsatisfactory.

Training of the KSS representatives in isolation can hardly be effective under a weak BRDB programme. "If training is to become more effective in terms of programme output, IRDP [now BRDB] itself has to become more effective". This will be possible only if the government of Bangladesh becomes committed to the programme. If the government decides to rely on the BRDB programme it needs to declare it as the most important strategy for the agricultural development of the country and offer all possible political, administrative and other support. The present practice of introducing soft, parallel and conflicting agricultural extension and rural development programmes, including the introduction of conflicting training programmes for the farmers, must be discontinued. The policy of the government must ensure effective co-ordination at all levels and must motivate the field level officers and the farmers to become involved in the programme. Only if the BRDB programme is successful in gaining these commitments at various levels, will the training of the KSS representatives then
gain a favourable environment. The BRDB Head Office itself must understand and appreciate the 'supreme need' for training of the KSS representatives as did the KTCCA Comilla and BARD in the 1960s.69

Short term improvement in the training of the KSS representatives is possible by providing an organisational base, training equipment and materials and more physical facilities. Also required is training for the trainers and an increase in the rate of training allowance for the trainees and honoraria for the Upazila level trainers. Any long term solution of the problems of training of the KSS representatives depends ultimately on the extent to which BRDB programmes receive committed support of the government as the most important strategy for the rural/agricultural development of the country.

BRDB itself needs to understand and apply the Comilla philosophy and principles in a committed manner except where thorough research and indepth evaluation suggest otherwise. Adhocism and arbitrary decisions on important principles and issues based on an individual's impressions without thorough investigation must not guide the programme. Analysis in Chapter II illustrated that instability in the governments of Bangladesh resulted in abandonment of commitment to the rural development programmes of the previous government without much investigation. This also led to the introduction of new programmes often conflicting with the ongoing ones. This practice cannot ensure appropriate and effective rural development or rural training activities in the country. Unless the authorities at the macro level are successful in defining a comprehensive rural development and rural training policy and marshalling resources in a planned way, commitment at the micro level and effective administration of the BRDB programmes can hardly be expected. Any vacuum at the macro level is bound to create vacuum at the micro level contributing to the ineffectiveness of the programme.
Whether the training of the KSS representatives is necessary in the context of present needs of agriculture and BRDB programmes is a question that still needs discussion. Any answer to this question requires decisions by the government. Firstly, if the government is willing to rely on village and Upazila level co-operative institutions like KSS-UCCA as the most important institutions for the development of agriculture in the country, then there is a need for training. The village co-operators need training for the effective management of KSS and to ensure that there is a regular link between the KSS and UCCA. In addition training will provide an opportunity for the free exchange of ideas by the Upazila level officers (who are also the trainers) and the KSS representatives.

Secondly, government needs to decide who it should depend on for the purpose of agricultural extension activities - the model farmers of KSS or the village level extension officers such as the Block Supervisors under the T&V system. If it decides to rely on the model farmers, training is necessary to make them effective extension agents for agriculture. By imparting new knowledge, skills and attitudes they will influence their fellow villagers. Unless these issues are decided by the government it is hard to judge the overall need for training of the KSS representatives. There has not been any study to suggest that the needs for training of the farmers and other villagers have now been exhausted.

In advocating the maintenance of training programmes for the villagers there are various arguments such as provided by Milton J. Esman et al.

Local people with limited training can provide many needed services to low income publics at a price which government and local publics can afford ... they can also perform functions which are not forthcoming from conventional providers ... and those services may be more appropriate to the needs and circumstances of rural publics.

KSS representatives with adequate training work as the agents for development of the co-operatives and agriculture of their locality.
Training of the village co-operators and the farmers is essential to help them to raise their confidence, morale and motivation and improve their performance in the fields of co-operative management and agricultural development. The poor rate of literacy at 26% and the urgency of the modernisation of traditional agriculture also call for the training of the farmers and the village co-operatives of Bangladesh. The five year plans of Bangladesh also appreciated the needs for the training of the co-operators, farmers and other villagers. In the absence of a comprehensive rural training policy and the resources necessary to support such training, including the training of the KSS representatives, the present programmes are completely ineffective. The concern of the government expressed in the development plans, to train the village co-operators and other villagers illustrates that the governments of Bangladesh keenly felt the need for such training. However the lack of commitment of these same governments to this training, in many cases, resulted in its ineffectiveness.

Analysis in various places in the preceding chapters also indicated that the KSS are not properly managed. Training of the managers of KSS to impart the needed knowledge, skills and attitudes to help effective management of the KSS is not being adequately undertaken. The examples of DANIDA - BRDB programme, the Farm Broadcasting programme of Radio Bangladesh Sylhet, and BRAC mentioned above illustrated that the farmers in Bangladesh are still interested in gaining information and skills to improve their agricultural production and to overcome their agricultural problems. In courses organised by the DANIDA - BRDB and BRAC the average attendance of trainees was 90% to 100%. Appendix 12 also illustrated that within a single week at least 19 farmers wrote to the Farm Broadcasting programme to get answers to their farming problems. All these indicate that the farmers are genuinely interested in participating in well organised courses supported by the provision of adequate training environments. These examples also indicate the need for training of the farmers in the present day Bangladesh to improve their agricultural practices.
Neighbouring countries like India, Sri Lanka and many other countries are significantly ahead of Bangladesh in the field of agriculture and co-operatives through their regular efforts for the training of the farmers and the village co-operators. It can therefore be argued that there is a need for the training of the KSS members and their representatives in agriculture and co-operatives even in the present context of Bangladesh.

In Bangladesh the village co-operators are now simultaneously trained by the BRDB and the Department of Co-operatives, who also train the farmers. Moreover the farmers are again separately trained by the Departments of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries. There is therefore, a need for the integration of all such fragmented, conflicting and parallel training arrangements for the co-operators/farmers to ensure a strong organisation in the Upazilas for the training of the village co-operators including the farmers. Such an institution must be acceptable to all the concerned Departments and requires their active participation for its effectiveness.

Analysis in the thesis further revealed that the URDOs generally use the training forum of the KSS representatives as an opportunity to avoid the trouble of touring the KSS by the UCCA staff. The URDOs in many cases also adjust the training allowance (which they control and disburse) against the unrealised portion of the weekly savings of the KSS members without making actual payment to the trainees. The URDOs also use the training sessions of the KSS representatives as a venue to put pressure on the trainees to repay the loan money of the members of their societies. Trainees are thus actively discouraged by the URDOs' improper use of the training session.

Analysis in Chapter IV indicated that the first priority in the assessment of the performance of UCCAs, according to BRDB, is their ability to recover loans. The second priority is the ability of UCCAs to meet the expenditure of UCCAs out of their own income.
The regular collection of share and weekly saving is the third priority. Providing training to the KSS representatives is the last priority. Naturally the higher priority items get more attention from the URDOs than the lowest priority ones. To gain better assessment for the UCCA and better appreciation/recognition for themselves from the top, the URDOs find it convenient to have the KSS representatives, particularly the manager of KSS, attend the Upazila Headquarters every week in the name of training, totally ignoring the instructions of BRDB Head Office to organise course based training programmes for the managers of KSS in the first year. In fact, they hold the weekly training sessions solely for the purpose of maintaining regular contact with the managers of KSS so that they (the URDOs) would not have to visit the KSS regularly. This freed them up for their higher priority non-training duties.

The URDOs arbitrarily ignored the needs for regular training of the model farmers to make them effective extension agents for agriculture. In many cases the URDOs on their own initiative discontinued training the model farmers. The URDOs now appear to organise courses only for the KSS representatives, particularly of the managers of KSS, mainly for their own needs and not on the basis of the training needs of the KSS representatives.

The BRDB is a statutory body under a sectoral ministry. Problems in co-ordination of activities by BRDB at the various levels was also noted in this thesis. An additional question therefore arises as to whether training of the KSS representatives and farmers is best implemented through BRDB. An alternative training arrangement for the KSS representatives and the farmers might be necessary as indicated by the assessment of BRDB's activities in the thesis and circumstances discussed above. Some possibilities are as follows:

The government needs to formulate a comprehensive rural training policy which should provide for an integrated training
organisation for the training of the farmers and the village co-operators in the Upazilas. Such policy must not allow vertical and conflicting training programmes and must ensure effective co-ordination at various levels. Training might be arranged through an agency having interministerial/departmental co-ordinating authority. The policy should also provide for adequate incentives for the trainers and the trainees to make them committed to training. The government policy should also include backup-up programmes to support the training of the KSS representatives.

Effectiveness of training depends on many factors outside the scope of training itself. "Training and research offer no substitute for other policy measures [of the government] such as land tenure reform or farm to market road." The policy of the government should support the training of the KSS representatives for example, with the provision of agricultural inputs so that the trainee may immediately use training for their own benefit. The back-up policy of the government should help the trainees in the storage and marketing of their products to help them to get fair prices by selling their produce at appropriate times of the year.

Once an integrated training organisation for farmers and village co-operators is worked out, the government needs to demonstrate its commitment to it. They must ensure provision of necessary training environment in the Upazilas, allocate adequate resources and make public, semi-public statements to mould public opinion in support of the villagers' training activities. Without a comprehensive policy and the committed support of the government and other authorities at the macro level, commitment of the trainers and the trainees at the micro level can hardly be expected.

It was also noted in the thesis that the KSS representatives, farmers and other villagers are occasionally trained by the national or regional level training institutions like BARD, RDTI, RDA, BCC, GTI, AETIs, BARI etc. Field research indicated that the
objectives of training of such clientele is the same both at the Upazila Training Centre and the national or regional level training institutions mentioned above. These duplicate the training activities of the Upazila Training Centres. Bangladesh is fortunate to have a decentralised and nationwide training arrangement for the farmers and other villagers at the lowest level i.e. Upazila level of administration. The government might better rely on the Upazila Training Centres, equip them adequately and help them develop specialisation in the training of the villagers by discouraging holding of training of the villagers at the national or regional training institutions.

Integration of training activities of the farmers and the village co-operators as discussed above is necessary to help channelling of resources in a unified way, avoiding the present practice of splitting resources through vertical programmes. This would deal with the problem of lack of funds and by ensuring pooling and effective use of the training funds for the co-operators and the farmers.

Finally, it may be stated on the basis of this study that the BRDB programmes now lacks effectiveness and the training of the KSS representatives under the BRDB programme has failed because of the lack of commitment of the authorities at the macro and micro levels. The need for the development of co-operatives and for modernising the traditional agriculture of Bangladesh has been demonstrated. There is still a need for training of village co-operators such as the KSS representatives and farmers. Effectiveness of such training will require that it should succeed in providing new and relevant information, skills and attitudes to the trainees. Trainers and trainees are unlikely to become committed to effective training activities if the benefits are not clear to the trainers, trainees or the authorities at the macro level.
One needs also to remember that such training is intimately linked with the overall rural/agricultural and co-operative development programmes of the government. Training of the KSS representatives cannot be effective without a strong BRDB. This is because a strong programme can adequately support and guide its various components including the training of personnel. This thesis illustrated a severe gap in the rural/agricultural development policy/strategy of the governments after the independence of Bangladesh. Unless the government succeeds in formulating a comprehensive rural/agricultural development policy for the country, unless it defines a specific strategy and offers committed support to such policies and rural development programmes/strategies, the training of all concerned personnel including the co-operative representatives can hardly become effective.

This thesis therefore concludes that political leadership must manifest itself in defining a rural development and rural training policy. The political and administrative leadership of Bangladesh must avoid introduction of parallel and conflicting rural development and rural training programmes. They should produce a well defined rural development programme and a single training organisation at the Upazila level to train the farmers and village co-operators. They should also offer committed support to such programmes and allow for their continuity. Unless the political and administrative leadership become single-minded on these issues, the effectiveness of rural development and training programmes cannot but suffer.

It is very important for Bangladesh that the Upazila level training programmes for the village co-operators and farmers succeed. There should be proper utilisation of the decentralised and nationwide training facilities for the village representatives. Let the political and administrative leadership of Bangladesh demonstrate their commitment by supporting the rural development and rural training activities for the KSS and other village
representatives within a comprehensive framework. They would then succeed in making the trainers and the trainees at the micro level committed to training, with beneficial consequences for Bangladesh as a whole.
CHAPTER VII - FOOTNOTES


2. "Bangladesh: where the right policies get no credit" in the Economist, October 18, 1986, p. 25.

3. Supra f/n 23 and 24 of Chapter I, p. 11.


8. Supra, f/n 37 of Chapter I, p. 22.


10. Supra, pp. 34-44 (Chapter I).


12. Supra, f/n 121 of Chapter II, pp. 118-119. See also Appendix-4.


17. Supra, f/n 130 of Chapter II, p. 122.

18. Supra, f/n 142 and 150 of Chapter II, pp. 131-137.


22. Supra, f/n 154 of Chapter II, p. 139.


27. Supra, f/n 68 of Chapter II, p. 97.


29. Supra, f/n 22, 23 and Table VI-7 of Chapter VI, p. 347.


31. See Table III-2 of Chapter III, p. 178.

32. Supra, f/n 56 of Chapter VI, p. 364. It was shown that the KSS are not properly supported with the agricultural inputs etc.

33. See Table IV-2, of Chapter IV, p.206.

34. Supra, f/n 21 of Chapter IV, p. 212.

35. See Table IV-5 of Chapter IV, p. 219.

36. See Table IV-4 of Chapter IV. p. 217.

37. F/n 33 of Chapter I suggest that the BRDB authorities have been aware of the unsatisfactory state of training of the KSS representatives since 1982. F/n 25 and 26 of Chapter III again suggest that the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operative has also been aware of the acute problems of training the KSS representatives since 1981. They
have failed to correct the situation as of 1985, the time of our field research.

38. Supra, f/n 142-150 of Chapter II, pp. 131-137.


41. Supra, f/n 142-150 of Chapter II, pp. 131-137.


44. Supra, f/n 116 of Chapter V. See also Table V-15, pp. 312-313.


46. Supra, f/n 49 of Chapter I, p. 27.

47. Supra, f/n 16 of Chapter VI, p. 342.

48. Supra, f/n 22 and 23 and also Table VI-7 of Chapter VI, p. 347.

49. Supra, f/n 32 and 33 of Chapter VI, p. 352.

50. BRAC, *Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee*, *op. cit.*

51. See Appendix-12.

52. Supra, f/n 88 of Chapter I, p. 51.

53. The First Five Year Plan observed, "Agriculture, Water sector including rural institutions, irrigation and flood control has the highest share of resources, that is, about one quarter of the total [Plan allocation]". See Government of Bangladesh, Planning Commission, *First Five Year Plan, 1973-78* (Dhaka: Government Press, 1973) p. 33.

The Second Five Year Plan also stated, "The highest priority has been accorded to agriculture and related activities ... These are offered almost one-third of Public Sector outlay or 29% of the total financial outlay of the plan". See Government of Bangladesh, Planning Commission, *Second five Year Plan, 1980-85* (Dhaka: Government Press, 1980), p. III-12.
54. Supra, Table 1-9 of Chapter I, p. 52.


56. Supra, f/n 40 and 57 of Chapter II, pp. 84-85 & 94.

57. Supra, pp. 12-18 of Chapter I. Also see Table-2 in the appendix.

58. Supra, f/n 29 of Chapter II, p. 80.


62. During the period from 1960 to 1969 as many as 77 foreign experts were involved in the activities of BARD and KTCCA. See Arthur F. Raper, Rural Development in Action (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970), Appendix-V.

63. Supra, f/n 105 of Chapter II and pp. 107-108.

64. Supra, f/n 103 of Chapter V, p. 298.

65. Ibid.


67. Ibid, p. IV.


69. Supra, f/n 23 of Chapter I, p. 11.


71. Supra, f/n, 85 of Chapter I, p. 50.

72. See Government of Bangladesh, Planning Commission, First Five Year Plan, (1973-78), op. cit., pp. 157-168 and f/n 141 of Chapter I. The Second Five Year Plan (1980-85) stated, "The co-operative education and training at the grass-root level would be intensified. The training for membership education should be extended as far as possible to the village level".

73. Supra, f/n 14 of Chapter III, p. 165.

74. See Appendix-12.

75. Supra, f/n 50 of this Chapter, p. 402.

76. Supra, pp. 361-362 of Chapter VI.

77. Supra, Table-IV-5, of Chapter IV, p. 219.

78. Supra, f/n 103 of Chapter V and p. 298.

79. Supra, pp. 306-308. It was noted that the URDOs Balaganj, Nandigram, and Babuganj on their own initiative discontinued the training activities of the model farmers.


81. See Table 4 in the appendix.
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### List of ministries directly involved in the rural development activities and their officers at the Upazila level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of ministries</th>
<th>Upazila level officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Livestock Officer 2. Upazila Fisheries Officer 3. Veterinary Assistant Surgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Education Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Establishment:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Nirbahi Officer 2. Assistant Commissioner (Upazila Planning and Finance Officer) 3. Upazila Magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ministry of Social Welfare and Women's Affairs:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Social Services Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ministry of Planning:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Statistical Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Project Implementation Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ministry of Food:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Food Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Officer in charge of Police Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ministry of Land Administration and Land Reforms:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Revenue Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ministry of Finance:</td>
<td>1. Upazila Accounts Officer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This list does not include the supporting staff attached to various Upazila level officers mentioned above.
NOTE: Supporting Staff attached to each officer is not shown. Total strength of personnel (including the supporting staff) in an Upazila according to the organisational chart of Upazila Administration is 255.
APPENDIX - 3

A brief introduction to the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Kotbari, Comilla.

BARD came into existence in May, 1959 to train the senior personnel of V-AID programme. It was initially called, 'East Pakistan Academy for Village Development (EPAVD)'. Later the academy was renamed the 'Pakistan Academy for Rural Development (PARD)'. This name continued till the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. With the creation of Bangladesh, the academy is now called, 'Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD)'. A.H. Khan acted as the Director of the academy since its start and continued till the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971. Comilla co-operative and other rural development models were developed by the academy under his dynamic and committed leadership.

The principal goal of the academy is to function as a training and research institution in the field of rural development. The functions of BARD have been enumerated as follows:

a. To provide training for senior government officers [in rural development].

b. To conduct research in rural development and allied fields.

c. To test... concepts and theories of development.

d. To evaluate programmes and activities relating to rural development.

e. To provide advisory and consultative services to the government and various national and international agencies.

f. To guide and supervise the students - national and foreign in their dissertation works [in the field of rural development].

g. To conduct national and inter-national seminars, conferences and workshops [in rural development].

h. To act as the link institution of UNO and the Centre for Integrated Rural Development in Asia and Pacific (CIRDAP) and other such international agencies in the matters of rural development training, research and experimentation.

i. To help policy planners in the field of rural development.
BARD imparts training in rural administration; rural economies; rural sociology, psychology and communication; co-operatives; rural business management; agricultural research and extension; rural education and public health etc. BARD faculty consists of 38 members.  

BARD was and is the leading rural development research and training institution in Bangladesh. The governments of Pakistan were so committed to BARD and its activities that they took the supervision of BARD under the President's Secretariat (Establishment Division) in order to provide adequate support for its activities. BARD thus received the personal and committed attention of the President of the country, which was one of the main reasons for its success during the 1960s.

After the independence of Bangladesh, BARD has been placed under the supervision of a sectoral ministry namely, the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives having no inter-ministerial co-ordinating authority. Because of this, other ministries now generally treat BARD as an Academy of that particular sectoral ministry only. It has thus virtually lost its generality and its strong support. The Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives also cannot directly compel other ministries to be involved in the activities of BARD. This step has thus greatly weakened BARD's influence and activities. Other ministries preferred to establish parallel and conflicting training organisations in an isolated way, although in many cases the BARD facilities could well have been utilised in a co-ordinated way.

Fazlul Bari, a senior member of BARD faculty, described the present situation of BARD thus:

When [A.H.] Khan left Comilla programme [in 1971], the leadership within BARD suffered heavily. The qualified social scientists who became convinced of [the importance of] relating social science theories to rural development and of the need of learning from village people, left the programme either to accept higher positions in the government or to follow higher
academic pursuits. The BARD failed both in retaining qualified social scientists and in building the younger ones to replace them. 6

Weakness in the faculty of BARD must generate weakness in its activities. A significant change in the degree of commitment to the activities of BARD after the independence of Bangladesh, dragged BARD down to its present condition.
A brief introduction to some of the rural development programmes (excluding the BRDB programmes) launched by the governments of Bangladesh in the 1970s and mid 1980s and their relation to or the effects on the BRDB programmes and the training of the KSS representatives.

(a) Swanirvar (Self-reliant) movement:

Swanirvar (self-reliant) movement, was started in 1975 to build village level institutions namely Gram Sarkar (Village government), with representatives from various interest groups living in the villages, and to mobilise local resources for their effective utilisation for the socio-economic development of the rural areas. The Two-Year Plan (1978-80) prepared during the time of Zia held,

The [Swanirvar] movement aims at mobilising local resources on the basis of self-reliance to obtain additional output by using unutilised and under-utilised local resources. The important feature of this approach is the mobilisation of human resources and ensuring active participation of the local people in the development process.

The Second Five Year Plan (1980-85) which was also prepared during the period of Zia again provided for the continuation of the Swanirvar movement and proposed that Gram Sarkar which would be constituted at the village level should be responsible for preparation of production plans, land use, employment, planning etc. Gram Sarkar under Swanirvar movement was in many ways a parallel and conflicting village level institution to the KSS under BRDB programme. In such a conflicting situation Gram Sarkar got special political support because of the commitment of President Mustaq and Zia. Zia would personally visit the Swanirvar projects at the villages to encourage the movement. President Mustaq was so committed to the Swanirvar movement that he took the movement under the President's Secretariat in order to support personally the Swanirvar programmes. BRDB never had such opportunities and support after the independence of Bangladesh.
(b) Village Food Production Committee (VFPC):

VFPCs were constituted with farmers in villages at the instance of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1978 (thus creating another village level organisation in addition to KSS and Gram Sarkar) for planning, co-ordinating and channeling supplies and services to the farmers for boosting agricultural production.\(^2\) The Two Year Plan (TYP) proposed that the Union Parishad should serve as a supporting and co-ordinating institution for VFPC.\(^3\)

(c) Canal Digging and Mass Literacy Programmes:

President Zia was personally committed to these two programmes introduced by him in 1978-79. Administration of these two programmes was taken under the President's Secretariat in order to ensure adequate support.\(^4\) Canal digging programmes were intended to improve the irrigation facilities as well as the agricultural activities in the country. This was in addition to the Thana irrigation programme and the irrigation programmes of BWDB and BADC. A mass literacy programme was introduced to remove illiteracy from the rural areas. The idea was to teach the villagers reading, writing and simple arithmetic. Political and administrative supports were mobilised by Zia in favour of these two and the Swanirvar programmes. No such commitment was shown to IRDP.

(d) Own Village Development Programme (OVD):

OVD programme was launched in 1977. Under the Programme Officers of the ministries and head offices of the directorates and corporations were sent to their own villages initially for one month to undertake rural development works such as reconstruction of primary schools, re-excavation of derelict tanks to grow fish, adult education, family planning and motivational works. The programme was administered under the supervision of the Cabinet Division of the government of Bangladesh. This programme also received the personal attention of President Zia.\(^5\)
(e) **Total Village Development Programme (TVD):**

Total Village Development Programme (TVD) was tested in selected areas of Comilla district. The purpose of TVD was to widen the scope of village level co-operative societies by taking representation from various interest groups, such as the landless and women etc. to improve the condition of the total population living in the villages. It aimed at providing employment for the villagers by undertaking projects such as, tree plantation, fish and livestock production, salt farming and cottage industries, etc. Subsequently most of its activities were merged with the *Swanirvar* movement. TVD programme was ultimately abandoned.  

(f) **Multiplicity of Co-operatives:**

None of the governments of Bangladesh up to the mid 1980s could introduce a single type of co-operative in the country. Traditional co-operatives were allowed to continue under the Department of Co-operatives side by side with the Comilla type Co-operatives under BRDB. The officers of the Co-operative Department have been organising the villagers separately under the traditional co-operatives (in addition to organising the villagers under the Comilla type co-operative by the BRDB officers). The co-operative mechanism was thus allowed to continue without co-operation. Village groups under the traditional co-operatives in some cases were operating in conflicting and parallel ways. It was found that the same villagers in some cases were made members under both BRDB and the traditional co-operative system.  

(g) **Training and Visit (T&V) System:**

A new agricultural extension system namely the training and visit system was also introduced in 1977. The SFYP prepared by the Zia government supported Training and Visit (T&V), a parallel system of agricultural extension, although the KSS system under Comilla model was already in operation. The SFYP stated thus:

under the T&V system... the village extension agent makes regular visits to groups of farmers headed by a contact farmer to provide instructions on specific topics and assist in trial and demonstration in a plot of contact farmers.
Under T&V system a Block Supervisor (BS), (a village level worker of the government) usually in charge of 900 to 1000 farm families, is given training in specific agricultural practices which are relevant to farm operation during a given fortnight. BS in turn spread the gained knowledge to the contact farmers selected by him in the block. A BS is to identify the boundary of the block and divide the block into eight sub-blocks and then to select a contact farmer from each sub-block. In each fortnight the BS is to visit the eight sub-blocks in 8 days, undertake demonstration activity in one day and attend training sessions in the Upazila Training Centre in one day. The remaining four days in the fortnight are days off.

The selected contact farmer is to keep regular contact with BS; try out new ideas and practices on his own field; advise and help other farmers in trying those ideas and practices; make a list of problems that need special attention assume an active leadership role and initiate co-operative group action. This role of the contact farmer under T&V system conflicts with the role of the model farmer under the BRDB programme. Contact farmers under the T&V system are arbitrarily selected by BS, while the model farmer is an elected representative of KSS. The model farmer is a local resident of the village, whereas a BS is an outsider. The BS has no specific office in the village and stays with the family of a large farmer who can offer him food and shelter in the village. Naturally BS will be obliged to support the big farmers and their relatives. The model farmer is to carry information weekly from the Upazila training centre while BS is to attend UTDC fortnightly. The BS arbitrarily determines the boundary of block and sub-blocks leaving little scope for participation of farmers in the process.

The Agricultural Extension Manual published by the government of Bangladesh supports the introduction of the T&V system by stating that the T&V system should adequately demarcate the functions in respect of agricultural extension and thus should help avoidance of duplication and diffusion of efforts at the farm level. It should help to eradicate confusion from the minds of the
farmers created by multiple and conflicting programmes. Theoretically, according to the manual, the T&V system should remove wasteful competition of programmes and resources and should foster a holistic view of the farm as management unit. But in reality the T&V system of extension was introduced to operate in competition with the already established model farmer system of agricultural extension under the BRDB programme. These statements of the government are, therefore, conflicting. Duplication of programmes, wasteful competition at the farm level and confusion in the minds of the farmers have been unconsciously created by the sudden introduction of the T&V system although the model farmer system was already in operation. Introduction of T&V system resulted in appointment of thousands of BS, thus compelling the government to incur a large recurring expenditure on account of their salaries etc.

As to the functioning of the T&V system, the consultants of NCRT observed, "We were informed by many farmers that they do not know the VEA [i.e. Block Supervisor]". This they observed during their visit to Ranahat block of Pabna Upazila. As to the attendance of BS in fortnightly training sessions at Upazilas, the consultants of NCRT found the rate of attendance at 33.33% at Patgram Upazila, 66.36% at Gangachara Upazila, 69.46% at Kaunia Upazila and 79.72% at Pirgacha Upazila during the period from 14-5-80 to 29-10-80. This picture of attendance does not speak for the serious involvement of the BS to their duties, although they are paid for regular attendance in the fortnightly training sessions as a part of their prescribed duties. The consultants found the training of BS theoretical and the lesson sheets supplied to BSs of very poor standard. Agricultural inputs are controlled by BADC. T&V system have not yet developed a mechanism to link extension activities with the provision of inputs to the farmers. There is so far no evidence to substantiate that the T&V system is an improvement upon the KSS-UCCA system under BRDB.
(h) The Community School Project (CSP):

When the model farmer system and the conflicting T&V system were in operation, the government introduced another conflicting programme namely the CSP in May 1983 with the assistance of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to train the farmers and other villagers. The ADB sanctioned a loan amounting to US $13.5 million for the purpose. The principal aim of CSP is to introduce vocational education with emphasis on Agricultural Training to the farmers and also to improve rural production process by developing the skills of the local community through training.14

New training institutions were constructed at the Upazila level. The Headmaster of the local secondary school was given the responsibility of supervising the community school. Fresh staff were appointed as the instructors. A separate Project Implementation Unit (PIU) was established in Dhaka with a Project Director and support staff to implement the CSP. The project provided for training of rural male persons in agriculture, mechanical and carpentry trades; and rural women in sewing and garment making, food preparation and food preservation. The trainees were to be between 15 and 50 years of age and must not be above the secondary level of education.15 Training syllabi were centrally prepared by PIU, Dhaka and distributed throughout the country for implementation.

(i) Training of the Villagers by the Non-Government Organisations (NGOs):

167 registered NGOs are actively involved in the rural development activities of Bangladesh.16 Training to the villagers including the farmers is one of the most important elements of their programmes. Though the NGOs work independently, the government exercises indirect control over them. Law requires that all the NGOs are to be registered with the Department of Social Services before they can start functioning. The Upazila Social Services Officer has been instructed to supervise and guide the activities of the NGOs within his jurisdiction.17 The governments,
within a broad policy framework for the training of the villagers, should attempt to co-ordinate the activities of the NGOs with the government programmes.

It was noted during the field research that the government did not show any interest in co-ordinating the activities of the NGOs with the government programmes. In practice the NGOs were organising their own programmes including the training activities of the villagers in an isolated way. This has resulted in multiplicity of parallel and conflicting rural development and rural training programmes adding to the already chaotic and confusing situation of training activities for the rural people.
NOTE: Only the main Officers of BRDB organisation have been shown. Total strength of personnel (including the support staff) according to the organisational chart is 1855.
APPENDIX - 6

Extracts from the Recruitment Rules of various Upazila Level Officers in Bangladesh.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Posts</th>
<th>Age limit for direct recruitment</th>
<th>Method of recruitment</th>
<th>Minimum qualifications required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Upazila Nirbahi Officer (U.N.O.)</td>
<td>Entry age in B.C.S. (Administration) cadre is minimum 21 years and maximum 25 years.</td>
<td>Initially appointed as an Assistant Commissioner under Bangladesh Civil Service (B.C.S.) Administrative Cadre. As per rule 6(3) of the B.C.S. (Administrative: Administrative) Composition and Cadre Rules, 1980 at least seven years' experience post. as Assistant Commissioner is necessary for getting the Scale of Taka 2800-4425 (which is the scale of a U.N.O.). Hence the age of the UNOs usually varies from 27-32 years.</td>
<td>A degree with second class/division or degree with First Division in SSC or HSC or an equivalent examination or Post Graduate degree with second class is necessary for applying for B.C.S. (Administrative: Administrative) (i) For direct recruitment: A degree with Honours in Agriculture. (ii) For promotion: 5 years' experience in a feeder post.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Upazila Agriculture Officer (UAO)/ Subject Matter Officer (SMO)</td>
<td>21 to 25 years for initial appointment in B.C.S. (Agriculture) Cadre.</td>
<td>(i) 80% by direct recruitment (ii) 20% by promotion from lower posts of the Agriculture Department.</td>
<td>Degree with Honours in Fisheries or First class Master's degree or second class Master's degree with second class Honours in Zoology (Fishery Group).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Upazila Fishery Officer (UFO)</td>
<td>DO (For B.C.S. Agriculture: Fisheries) Cadre</td>
<td>100% by direct recruitment</td>
<td>Degree with Honours in Fisheries or First class Master's degree or second class Master's degree with second class Honours in Zoology (Fishery Group).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For direct recruitment:
A degree with Honours in Agriculture.

For promotion:
5 years' experience in a feeder post.
4. Upazila Livestock Officer (ULO)/ Veterinary Assistant Surgeon (V.A.S.)

- Degree of Doctor of Veterinary Medicine or Second class degree in Veterinary Science or Second class degree in Animal Husbandry.
- DO (For B.C.S. Agriculture: Livestock) Cadre
- 100% by direct recruitment

5. Upazila Engineer (U.E.)

- DO (For B.C.S. Engineering) Cadre
- (i) Two thirds by direct recruitment and (ii) One third by promotion from Sub-Assistant Engineers.
- (i) For direct recruitment: Degree in the relevant branch of Engineering or its equivalent; or A and B sections of AMIE passed.
- (ii) For Promotion: Diploma in Engineering in the relevant field from an institute recognised by the government and 5 years' experience in a feeder post.

6. Upazila Health & Family planning Officer (UHFPO)/ Medical Officer (M.O.)

- DO (For B.C.S. Health and Family Planning) Cadre
- (i) 90% by direct recruitment and (ii) 10% by promotion from amongst the Sub-Assistant Surgeons.
- (i) For direct recruitment: M.B.B.S degree or its equivalent.
- (ii) For Promotion: Five years' experience as Sub Assistant Surgeon.

7. Upazila Rural Development Officer (URDO)

- 30 years
- (i) 50% by direct recruitment and (ii) 50% by promotion from ARDOs or equivalent posts
- (i) For direct recruitment: Second class Master's Degree or B.Agr. or B.Sc in Engineering.
- (ii) For promotion: Four years' experience as ARDO or in the similar post.

Cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Rural Development Officer (ARDO)</td>
<td>30 years</td>
<td>(i) 50% by direct recruitment and (i) For direct recruitment: Master's degree from a university.</td>
<td>(ii) 50% by promotion (ii) For promotion: Four years' experience as Accountant or in ministerial positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upazila Accountants of UCCA</td>
<td>30 years</td>
<td>100% by direct recruitment</td>
<td>B. Com with minimum two second divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upazila Social Services Officer (USSO)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upazila Education Officer (UEO)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upazila Family Planning Officer (UFPFO)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upazila Co-operative Officer (UCO)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Protection Assistant (PPA)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitary Inspector N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit Officer (UO)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100% by promotion</td>
<td>All employees in subordinate service grade II of engineering pool having Diploma in Engineering/Certificate in Engineering trade course.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BADC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sectional Officer</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SO) BADC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertiliser Inspector (FI)</td>
<td>27 years</td>
<td>100% by direct recruitment</td>
<td>Matriculation with Diploma in Agriculture not below second division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BADC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeds Inspector</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SI) BADC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Unit Officer</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>(i) 80% by direct recruitment</td>
<td>(i) For direct recruitment: Diploma in civil/mechanical/farm engineering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SUD) BADC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) 20% by promotion</td>
<td>(ii) For promotion: All subordinate services grade III (Technical) of Engineering pool. Must be SSC with two years Trade Course. Must have five years' experience for two years Trade Certificate holders and seven years for one year Trade Certificate holders.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX - 7

Subjects of Training of some of the Training Institutions for the Upazila Level Officers in Bangladesh

1. Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla:

Courses offered to the participants included the following fields of rural development with varying emphasis according to needs:
Rural Administration; Rural Economics, Rural Sociology, Social Psychology and Communication; Co-operative and Rural Business Management; Agricultural Research and Extension, Rural Education; Public Health, Family Planning and Women's education.

2. Rural Development Training Institute (RDTI), Sylhet:

Subjects offered to the regular trainees include, Agriculture and allied fields; Book-keeping and Accounting; Credit operation; Inputs procurement and supply; Business Management; Co-operation; Co-operative Laws and Procedures; Rural Economy and Sociology of Bangladesh; Functional Bengali and English and Simple Arithmetic.

3. Rural Development Academy (RDA), Bogra:

The Subjects covered are: Rural Institution; Co-operative and Local Government; Agricultural Development including Irrigation and Farm Management; Rural Economics and Rural Business Management; Rural Sociology; Social Psychology and Communication; Women's Development including Health, Nutrition and Family Planning; Research and Survey Methods; Small Farmers' Development Projects and Organisation and Management of Group Action of Rural Poor.
4. Bangladesh Co-operative College (BCC), Comilla and eight Co-operative Zonal Institutes (CZIs): 

BCC and CZIs are the Specialised Institutions for training in Co-operative Theory and History; Co-operative Accounts; Co-operative Audit; Co-operative Laws and Management.

5. Fisheries Training Institute (FTI), Chandpur:

Introduction to Fishery Resources of the country; Preliminary aspects of the Morphology or Biology of culturable species; Fish Culture, Fish Breeding, Fisheries Survey, Fish Acts and Fishery Legislations and their enforcement; Fisheries Technology and Fisheries Extension.

6. Graduate Training Institute (GTI), Mymensingh:

Provide inservice training to the personnel working in extension, rural development and research agencies of the government, semi-government and autonomous organisations in the broad fields of Crop Science; Animal Science; Agricultural Engineering and Rural Technology; Fisheries; Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology; Population Education; Administration and Personnel Management; Agricultural Extension, Communication and Rural Development.

7. Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre (BPATC) Savar, Dhaka:

The course contents of the foundation course of various BCS Cadres include, 

Historical perspective of Bangladesh; introduction to the resources of Bangladesh; social change in Bangladesh; important policies of the government; Bangladesh and the world; fundamentals of public administration; organisation theory; legal and constitutional framework of administration; financial administration and project management; administrative problems of Bangladesh; quantitative analysis; micro economics and cost benefit analysis; macro economics; objectives and strategies of economic planning; planning in Bangladesh; office procedures; rules and
regulations; techniques of conducting meetings; village study and study in rural development institutions; physical training and games; extra curricular activities.
### Integrated Rural Development Programme, Dhaka.

Training Programme for the Managers of Primary Societies (August, 1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JANUARY</th>
<th>FEBRUARY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Session</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Week</strong></td>
<td>The co-operatives and their characteristics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Week</strong></td>
<td>Principles of co-operatives and their role in rural development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Week</strong></td>
<td>Role of the co-operatives in the development of agriculture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth Week</strong></td>
<td>Agricultural extension and co-operatives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*cont.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARCH</th>
<th>APRIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Session</strong></td>
<td><strong>Second Session</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Week</strong></td>
<td>Preparation of production plan and role of manager of a primary society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth Week</strong></td>
<td>Loans and their objectives: determination of credit requirement.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAY</th>
<th>JUNE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Session</strong></td>
<td><strong>Second Session</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Week</strong></td>
<td>Duties of the Managing Committee of a Primary Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth Week</strong></td>
<td>Marketing of crops through co-operatives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*cont.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JULY</th>
<th>AUGUST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Session</strong></td>
<td><strong>Second Session</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Week</strong></td>
<td><strong>Use of seeds for Aman and IRRI paddy.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Utilisation of Loans and Loan Recovery.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Relationship between primary and central association.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Week</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cutting of Jute plants; collection of jute fibre and marketing of jute.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Programme for loan recovery and discussion on land mortgage for loan.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Co-operative laws and rules.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Week</strong></td>
<td><strong>Changing food habits: Eating more vegetables.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Loans with various terms and their recovery.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Success stories of co-operatives in various parts of the world.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth Week</strong></td>
<td><strong>Soil erosion: Ways to overcome soil erosion.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Needs for loans in agricultural production.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Capital formation through savings.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Taking care of trees.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEPTEMBER</th>
<th>OCTOBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Session</strong></td>
<td><strong>Second Session</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Week</strong></td>
<td>Methods of adopting or rejecting issues in a general meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth Week</strong></td>
<td>Preparation of annual development plan of the primary society and its implementation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOVEMBER</th>
<th>DECEMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Session</strong></td>
<td><strong>Second Session</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International co-operative day.</td>
<td>Co-operative laws, rules and by-laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Session</strong></td>
<td><strong>Third Session</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivation of wheat, onion, garlic etc.</td>
<td>Marketing of crops and storage of seeds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of youth in maintaining cleanliness.</td>
<td>Government efforts in family planning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Session</strong></td>
<td><strong>First Session</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duties of village accountants and importance of co-operatives in agricultural development.</td>
<td>Co-operative laws, rules and by-laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and their role in building a happy family.</td>
<td>Marketing of crops and storage of seeds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Week</strong></td>
<td><strong>Second Week</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duties of village accountants and importance of co-operatives in agricultural development.</td>
<td>Capital formation. Holding of annual general meetings and recording of proceedings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilisation of loans and timely repayments.</td>
<td>Urea, phosphate and potash - their qualities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivation of winter vegetables and their interim care.</td>
<td>Diseases of fish and their prevention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of lime in ponds. Need for control of weeds in ponds for fish farming.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of the Managing Committee of a Primary Society and its duties.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procurement of winter vegetables and their marketing.</td>
<td>Youth and their role in adult education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget of the society and its approval.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of balanced fertilisers: Dangers of improper doses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to improve cattle varieties through artificial insemination?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Translated from Bengali.
APPENDIX 9
Bangladesh Rural Development Board, Dhaka.

Training calendar for the managers and model farmers of KSS (December, 1982). 1

A. FIRST YEAR:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Classes for managers</th>
<th>Classes for model farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAISAK</td>
<td>second</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>A(1) Socio-economic environment of villagers (15 classes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(April-May)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A(6) Loan (3 classes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fourth</td>
<td>A(1) Socio-economic environment of villages (17 classes)</td>
<td>Practical - 2 classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A(5) Auditing of the society and inspection (7 classes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Practical - 1 class.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRABAN</td>
<td>second</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>A(2) Co-operative (Laws, Society formation etc.) (14 classes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(July-August)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A(7) Capital formation (5 classes). (one class was not accounted for)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fourth</td>
<td>A(2) Co-operative laws etc., society formation (25 classes).</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KARTIK</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>A(2) Co-operative laws etc. (14 classes).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(October-Nov)</td>
<td>second</td>
<td>A(3) Management (11 classes).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B(1) Agriculture (18 classes). Practical - 2 classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POUSH</td>
<td>second</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(December-January)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B(1) Agriculture (18 classes). Practical - 2 classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAGH</td>
<td>fourth</td>
<td>A(4) Accounting (16 classes).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(January-February)</td>
<td></td>
<td>A(7) Capital formation (6 classes). Practical - 3 classes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Months</td>
<td>Week</td>
<td>Classes for managers</td>
<td>Classes for model farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAISAK</td>
<td>second</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>B(1) Agriculture (16 classes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Practical - 4 classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>forth</td>
<td>B(6) Loan (14 classes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A(8) Women's Co-operative (9 classes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>practical - 2 classes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRABAN</td>
<td>second</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>B(2) Marketing (9 classes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>forth</td>
<td>B(1) Agriculture (23 classes)</td>
<td>B(3) Animal Husbandry (11 classes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Practical - 2 classes.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>B(1) Agriculture (8 classes).</td>
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<td>B(2) Marketing (10 classes).</td>
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<td>B(4) Fisheries (4 classes).</td>
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<td>A(8) Women's Co-operative (9 classes)</td>
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<td>B(5) Mass literacy, population control and public health (7 classes) Practical - 4 classes.</td>
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<td>B(1) Fisheries (5 classes).</td>
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<td>B(5) Population control, mass literacy and public health (9 classes).</td>
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NOTE: Translated from Bengali
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<tr>
<th>Broad subjects</th>
<th>Specific topics</th>
<th>No. of classes allocated</th>
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1. **THE MANAGER**

A. **SUBJECTS ON MANAGEMENT**

A.1 **SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT OF VILLAGES**

Total number of classes: 17

1. Duties of manager of primary society.
2. Ideal citizens and their qualities
3. Democracy and democratic rights
4. Conditions of Bangladeshi villages: (a) Social conditions of villages
   (b) Economic conditions of villages
5. Introduction to the government departments/statutory bodies involved in rural development at the Thanas/Upazilas:
   (a) Thana Nirbahi Officer/Circle Officer’s office.
   (b) Bangladesh Rural Development Board and activities of the Central Association
   (c) Population control and Family planning
   (d) Activities of Agriculture Department
   (e) Thana irrigation programmes
   (f) Thana Co-operative Office
   (g) Thana Inspectors of seeds and fertilisers
   (h) Rural electrification officials
   (i) Thana Animal Husbandry Department
   (j) Thana Fishery Department
   (k) Social Welfare Department
   (l) Thana Education Department
   (m) Rural Health programmes
   (n) Village Defence Department
   (o) Thana law and order administration

6. Rural leadership and power structure
7. What is a joint plan and how to prepare it?
8. Techniques of training
9. Land utilisation and land development
10. Rural economic activities and cottage industries
11. Role of voluntary labour in development

Total classes: 17
### A.2 CO-OPERATIVES

Total number of classes: 39

1. **Co-operatives:**
   - (a) What is a co-operative and why? 1
   - (b) Basic principles of co-operatives 1
   - (c) Co-operatives in different countries 2
   - (d) Co-operatives in Bangladesh 1
   - (e) Co-operatives for the landless 1

2. **Relationship between the Co-operative Department and BRDB**

3. **Comilla Co-operative and its Principles:**
   - (a) What is the Comilla Co-operative and why? How does it work? 1
   - (b) Disciplines of the Comilla Co-operative 1

4. **Various types of Co-operatives:**
   - (a) The Comilla Co-operative and traditional Co-operatives, (b) Youth, women and the use of Co-operative fish tanks. 1

5. **Formation of a Co-operative Society:**
   - (a) By-laws of a Primary Society 1
   - (b) Formation of Co-operative (Primary) Society 1
   - (c) Qualifications to be a member of a Co-operative Society 1
   - (d) Formation of the Central Association 1
   - (e) Qualifications to be a member of the Central Association 1

6. **Functions of Co-operatives:**
   - (a) What is a managing committee and why? 1
   - (b) Formation of managing committee 1
   - (c) Qualifications to be a member of the managing committee 1
   - (d) Dissolution and reconstitution of the managing committee 1

7. **Registration of a Co-operative Society:**
   - Documents necessary for registration of a society 1

8. **Meetings of the Co-operative Society:**
   - (a) Various meetings of the Co-operative Society and their necessity 1
   - (b) The functions and needs of weekly meetings 1
   - (c) Meetings of the managing committee 1
   - (d) Annual general meetings, special general meetings 1
   - (e) Method of recording proceedings of meetings of Co-operative Societies. 1

9. **Rights and duties of the members**

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<td>10.</td>
<td>Duties of the Officers and Staff of the Society:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) Duties of managing committee</td>
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<td>(b) Duties of Inspectors</td>
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<td>(c) Duties of Village Accountants</td>
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<td>Relationship between Co-operatives and other organisations:</td>
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<td>(a) Local government and Co-operatives</td>
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<td>(b) Union Parishad and Co-operatives</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Role of laws, rules and by-laws etc. in administering co-operatives</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Bifurcation and amalgamation of Societies</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Reasons for success and failure of Co-operatives</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Co-operative education and rally</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Reasons for liquidation of a society</td>
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A.3 MANAGEMENT
Total number of classes: 11

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<td>Management: Definition and functions</td>
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<td>Functions of Co-operatives:</td>
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<td>(c) Functions of Thana Irrigation Committee</td>
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<td>Co-operative management:</td>
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<td>(a) Management of a Primary Society</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Development of Irrigation</td>
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<td>(a) Irrigation Plan</td>
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<td>(b) Annual Development Plan</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Marketing through Co-operatives</td>
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cont.
### A.4 ACCOUNTS
Total number of classes: 16

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<td>Register for accounts of primary society:</td>
<td>Needs and introduction 1</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Cash Book:</td>
<td>How to write a cash book 2</td>
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<td>General Registers</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Other Registers</td>
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<td>Pass Book:</td>
<td>Use and function of a pass book 1</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Voucher:</td>
<td>Need for preservation of vouchers 1</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Small savings and their need</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Profit and bonus</td>
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<td>Reserve fund and other funds and their uses</td>
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<td>Budget:</td>
<td>(a) What is a budget and why? 1</td>
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<td>(b) How to prepare a budget</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Trial balance, final accounts</td>
<td>(a) What is a balance sheet and how to prepare a demonstration of a model balance sheet 16</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Balance sheet:</td>
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### A.5 INSPECTION AND AUDIT
Total number of classes: 7

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<td>(c) Methods of auditing 1</td>
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<td>(d) Audit reports 1</td>
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<td>(e) Audit objections and their replies 1</td>
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<td>Inspection of a society:</td>
<td>(a) Need for inspection and role of manager during inspection 1</td>
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<td>(b) Method of inspection of society 1</td>
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<tr>
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<th>A.6 LOAN</th>
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<th>A.7 CAPITAL FORMATION</th>
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<th>A.8 WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVES</th>
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<td>Need for loans:</td>
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<td>(c) Loans of various terms</td>
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<td>(a) Loan worthiness and determination of needs of loans</td>
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<td>(e) Share deposit and paid up share</td>
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<td>(b) What is a production plan? How to prepare?</td>
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<td>(f) Use of local resources. How a society can be made self sufficient</td>
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<td>(c) Preparation of various papers for loans</td>
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<td>(d) Maintenance of loan ledgers</td>
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<td>(e) Loan sub-committee and its responsibilities</td>
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<td>(f) Distribution of loans</td>
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<td>(g) Utilisation of loans and their recovery</td>
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Total number of classes: 14

Total number of classes: 6

Total number of classes: 9
B. PRODUCTION RELATED SUBJECTS

B.1 AGRICULTURE

Total number of classes: 31

1. Problems of agriculture in Bangladesh 1
2. Agriculture and Industry: Role of Co-operatives 1
3. Agriculture in Japan 2
4. Preparation of seedbeds 1
5. Sowing of seeds 1
6. Methods of improving seed: 1
   (a) Improving High Yielding Varieties of seeds 1
   (b) Sorting of seeds 1
   (c) Storage of seeds 1
7. Crop rotations 1
8. Improved methods of agriculture 1
9. Winter crops: 1
   (a) Wheat 1
   (b) Oil seeds 1
   (c) Potatoes 1
   (d) Vegetables 1
   (e) Fruit Trees 1
10. Cultivating high yielding varieties of paddy IRRI - Boro 2
11. Development of Forestry and Growing Improved Varieties of Fruit Trees 2
12. Insects and crop diseases: 1
    (a) Insects attack in vegetables/trees 1
    (b) Crop diseases and their remedies 1
    (c) Introduction to various insecticides 2
13. Balanced Fertiliser: 1
    (a) What is balanced fertiliser? Proper use of balanced fertiliser. 1
    (b) Organic and inorganic fertilisers and their use 1
    (c) Use of wastes as fertilisers 1
    (d) Introduction to various chemical fertilisers and their uses 1
14. Irrigation: 1
    (a) Local and improved method of irrigation 1
    (b) Procurement of irrigation equipment and its maintenance 1
    (c) Irrigation management through co-operatives 2
15. Crop Insurance 31

cont.
### B.2 MARKETING
Total number of classes: 10

1. **Co-operative marketing programme:**
   - (a) Co-operative marketing
   - (b) Marketing of products through TCCA
   - (c) Mukta Prakalpa (Project of Muktagacha Upazila)
   - (d) Marketing of fertiliser
   - (e) Marketing of insecticides
   - (f) Marketing of fish, fruits and vegetables

2. **Problems of marketing and their solutions through co-operatives:**
   - (a) Problems
   - (b) Probable solutions

### B.3 ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Total number of classes: 10

1. **Improved methods of cattle and poultry farming**
2. **Care and protection of cattle and poultry:**
   - (a) Various diseases of cattle and methods of control of cattle diseases.
   - (b) Various diseases of poultry and methods of control of poultry diseases.
   - (c) Methods of innoculation and vaccination of cattle and poultry
   - (d) Local treatment of domestic animals
   - (e) Care of milking cows
   - (f) Preparation of milk based foods suitable for consumption by babies

3. **Artificial insemination:**
   - (a) Artificial Insemination of cattle
   - (b) Interbreeding of poultry

### B.4 FISHERIES
Total number of classes: 4

1. **Re-excavation of derelict fish tanks**
2. **Improved varieties of fish and their cultivation**
3. **Diseases of fish and their control**
4. **Cultivation of local varieties of fish**
   - cont.
### B.5 POPULATION, MASS LITERACY AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Total number of classes: 9

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<td>(b) Birth control according to Islam</td>
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<td>(c) Uses of various methods of birth control</td>
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<td>Mass literacy:</td>
<td>(a) Mass literacy and the role of the co-operatives</td>
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<td>(b) Methods of attaining mass literacy</td>
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<td>Public Health:</td>
<td>(a) Cleanliness and ways to overcome diseases</td>
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<td>(b) A clean environment and healthy minds</td>
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<td>(c) First Aid</td>
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### B.6 BALANCED FOOD AND NUTRITION

Total number of classes: 5

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<td>What is balanced food and why it is necessary?</td>
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<td>Balanced diet at low cost</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Production of nutritious food and change in food habits</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Balanced food for different age groups</td>
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2. MODEL FARMERS

A. SUBJECTS ON MANAGEMENT
A.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT OF VILLAGES
Number of classes allotted: 15

1. Duties of model farmer
2. Ideal citizen and their qualities
3. Democracy and democratic rights
4. Rural socio-economic conditions in Bangladesh
5. Introduction to various organisations involved in rural development/agricultural development:
   (a) Activities of BRDB and TCCA
   (b) Activities of Thana Nirbahi Officer/Circle Officer
   (c) Rural health
   (d) Population control and family planning
   (e) Agriculture
   (f) Fisheries
   (g) Co-operatives
   (h) The Agricultural Development Corporation
   (i) Irrigation
   (j) Fertiliser and seeds
   (k) Livestock
   (l) Rural electrification
   (m) Village defence
   (n) Law and order

6. Land use and land development
7. T&V System
8. What is joint planning and How to prepare a joint plan?
9. Rural economic activities and cottage industries
10. Role of model farmers as extension agents.
11. Role of voluntary labour in development

No. of classes allocated
### A.2 CO-OPERATIVES
Number of classes allotted: 14

1. **Co-operatives:**
   - (a) What is a co-operative? What are its functions? 1
   - (b) Basic principles of co-operatives 1
   - (c) Co-operatives in various countries 1
   - (d) Co-operatives in Bangladesh 1

2. **Principles of Comilla co-operatives**

3. **By-laws of co-operatives**

4. **Formation of the Societies:**
   - Formation of KSS 1

5. **Managing Committee:**
   - (a) What is a managing committee and what are its functions? 1
   - (b) Constitution of the managing committee 1
   - (c) Qualifications necessary to be a member of a managing committee 1

6. **Various meetings in the co-operatives:**
   - (a) Weekly meetings 1
   - (b) Annual General Meeting 1
   - (c) Special General Meeting 1

7. **Co-operative laws, rules, by-laws etc.**

### A.6 LOAN
Number of classes allotted: 3

1. **Supervised Credit:**
   - (a) Loans of various terms/periods 1
   - (b) The production plan 1
   - (c) Judging credit worthiness 1
   - (d) Method of loan distribution 1

2. **Recovery of Loan:**
   - (a) Method of loan recovery 1
   - (b) Role of model farmer in timely repayment of loan 1

### A.7 CAPITAL FORMATION
Number of classes allotted: 6

1. **Capital Formation:**
   - (a) What is capital in co-operatives? 1
   - (b) Methods of capital formation 1
   - (c) Weekly savings and its necessity 1
   - (d) Methods of withdrawal from savings 1
   - (e) Share deposit and paid up share 1
   - (f) Local resources. How to make a society self-sufficient? 1

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*cont.*
A.6 WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE
Number of classes allotted: 9

1. Problems of rural women in Bangladesh
2. Role of women in development
3. Role of women in enhancing family income and minimizing expenditure:
   (a) Household gardening and production of vegetables
   (b) Rearing of cattle and poultry
   (c) Cottage industries
4. Role of women in child care
5. Role of women in population control
6. Women's co-operative society:
   (a) Methods of forming a co-operative society
   (b) Qualifications necessary to become a member of society

B. PRODUCTION RELATED SUBJECTS:

B.1 AGRICULTURE
Total number of classes allotted: 52

1. Role of agriculture in the economy of Bangladesh
2. Agricultural and industrial extension
   (a) Various types of soil and their qualities
   (b) Condition of land and crop production in relation to soil erosion
   (c) Soil development methods
   (d) Improving soil conditions by use of balanced fertiliser
   (e) Testing of soil
3. Soils of Bangladesh:
   (a) Methods of preparing seed bed
   (b) Sorting and storage of seeds
   (c) Germination of seeds
4. Seed beds:
   (a) Methods of preparing seed bed
   (b) Sorting and storage of seeds
   (c) Germination of seeds
5. Cultivation of Land:
   (a) Cultivation of land for various types of crops
   (b) Use of fertilisers
6. Methods of sowing and broad-casting:
   (a) Methods of cultivating broadcast Aman and pulses
   (b) Cultivation of transplanted Aman
   (c) Line sowing of paddy?
7. Fertilisers:
   (a) What is balanced fertiliser?
   (b) Organic fertiliser and their uses
   (c) Inorganic fertiliser and their uses
   (d) Preparation of fertiliser out of wastes
   (e) Fertilisers for different types of crops
   (f) Top dressing of fertiliser
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<td>(e) Various types of chemicals and their uses</td>
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**B.2 MARKETING**

Number of classes allotted: 9

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cont.
### B.3 ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Number of classes allotted: 11

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### B.4 FISHERIES
Number of classes allotted: 5

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### B.5 POPULATION PROBLEMS, MASS LITERACY AND PUBLIC HEALTH
Number of classes allotted: 7

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<td>4. Production of nutritious food and changing food habits</td>
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<td>5. Balanced food for people of different ages</td>
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**NOTE:**
(a) Translated from Bengali.

(b) The syllabus of model farmers does not include any topic from the broad areas belonging to A.3, A.4 and A.5 mentioned above.
### APPENDIX - 11

Available copies of Training Programmes for the KSS representatives in Gabtali Upazila (1980-1985)\(^1\)

#### JANUARY

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<td>8.12.83</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Proportion of fertiliser</td>
<td>9.12.84</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Proportion of fertiliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Audit of KSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Audit of KSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Audit of KSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Role of co-operatives in family planning</td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Family planning programme</td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Role of co-operatives in family planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Role of AIO in agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Role of AIO in agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Role of AIO in agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.12.82</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Importance of cattle in the conditions of Bangladesh</td>
<td>15.12.83</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Importance of cattle in Bangladesh</td>
<td>16.12.84</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Importance of cattle in Bangladesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Operation of power pump</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Preparation of production plan</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Operation of STW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Preparation of production plan</td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Cultivation of magur fish</td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Irrigation and use of fertiliser in wheat crop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Cultivation of magur (a local variety) fish</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Operation of STW</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Family planning programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.12.82</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Preparation of plans to utilise loan money</td>
<td>22.12.83</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Preparation of plans to utilise loan money</td>
<td>23.12.84</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Preparation of plans to utilise loan money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Operation of STW</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Preparation of seed bed</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Operation of STW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Irrigation and use of fertiliser in wheat crop</td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Role of co-operatives in mass-literacy</td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Irrigation and use of fertiliser in wheat crop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Family planning programme</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Maintenance of accounts of KSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Family planning programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Training Programme for the Model Farmers of KSS (December 1984)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sessions</th>
<th>Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17.12.84</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Ideal citizen and their qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Cultivation of Irri-boro paddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Model farmers as an extension agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Care and protection of cattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.12.84</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Various types of meetings of KSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Soil condition and suitability of various crops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>T &amp; V system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Co-operative laws, rules and by-laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.12.84</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Duties and responsibilities of the managing committee of KSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Cattle diseases and their treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Cultivation of winter vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Use of insecticides in Boro paddy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Note:

(a) All the training programmes in this Appendix have been translated from Bengali.

(b) All the programmes arranged monthwise (from January to December) relate to the training of the managers of KSS of Gabtali Upazila. Only one copy of training programmes of the model farmers of Gabtali for a course held from December 17 to December 19, 1984 was available and enclosed at the end of the Appendix.

(c) The programmes of the managers have been arranged monthwise to facilitate examination of repetition of various topics in stereo-typed manner in a particular month of different years.

(d) The training sessions throughout started at 10.30 am and ended at 1.30 pm. Each training session was of 45 minutes duration. The sessions were continuous and no gap was allowed in between the sessions.

## APPENDIX 12

Farmers' questions to 'Farm Broadcasting Programme' *(Shyamal Sylhet)* of Radio Bangladesh, Sylhet Station.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names and addresses of person(s) asking question(s)</th>
<th>Date of letter asking question</th>
<th>Question(s) they put to Shyamal Sylhet programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Joinal Ahmad &amp; Taifur Rahaman; Birgoan, Sylhet</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>Would you tell us about the improved methods of cultivation of cauliflowers and tomatoes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Lovely; Jharna &amp; Krishna Madhabi; Purkayastha para, P.O. Chaudhuri Bazar, Sylhet.</td>
<td>10.11.84</td>
<td>How to grow and transplant egg-plants in an improved way?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3. Maherunnessa Maher, Rahela Begum and Elias Mia; Sarurhat. | N.A.                           | (a) What types of fertilisers are to be used for *Shim* plants? (*Shim* is a type of bean)  
(b) The leaves of our *Shim* plants are becoming yellowish and the plants are becoming weaker. How are these problems overcome?  
(c) Our *Boroi* (a local fruit) tree is flowering and the flowers fall off without producing fruits. What measures should we adopt to protect the flowers to get the fruits? How can the *Boroi* variety be improved through grafting? |
| 4. Md Surat Mia, Md. A. Kahar, Rasulpur, Lama-Rasulpur, Sylhet. | 10.11.84                        | How many tomato plants can be grown in one *Bigha* (i.e. 33 decimal) of land?  
What spacing of plants should give the best results? |
| 5. Md. Abdun Noor; Panchpara, Tajpur, Sylhet | 10.11.84                        | My tomato plants die after 20/25 days of planting. It is not because of any insect. It seems to be a *marki* (Epidemic). How can I overcome this problem? |
| 6. Md. Masuk Mia, Ahad Mia, Faruq Mia; Magura, P.O. Shilua, Bazar, Sylhet. | N.A.                           | The leaves of our *Shim* (*uri*) plant becomes yellowish and fall from the plant. How can we overcome the problem? |

cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Md. Abdul Kahar, &amp; Md. N.A. Lokman Mia, Dostpur, P.O. Kobajpur, Sylhet.</td>
<td>What treatment of potato plants shall improve output? What doses of chemical fertilisers are to be applied to the potato plants?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sahmin Akhhtar Chawdhury; Boraya Pailtapur, Sylhet.</td>
<td>14.11.84 My Shim (uri) plants have been attacked by some insects. What measures should I take to protect the plants from the insects?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Md. Gayas Uddin, Khidir pur, Kamal-Bazar, Sylhet.</td>
<td>13.11.84 My Shim (uri) plants had good growth. Now leaves are becoming yellowish and the plants are not producing any crop. What should I do to protect the plants and get the best output?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Md. Abdul Malik &amp; Halen Begum, Dona-Ram, Sylhet.</td>
<td>N.A. Our coconut trees grow flowers, but after a few days the flowers fall off without bearing any fruit. How can we retain the coconut flower on the trees and get fruit?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Md. Sirajul Haq, Nayasarak, Sylhet.</td>
<td>N.A. I have some coconut trees. What type and what doses of fertiliser should I put on these plants? How can I prevent the coconut flowers from falling?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Abdul Bari &amp; Rabeya Begum, Kadirpur, Sylhet.</td>
<td>16.11.84 The stems of the coconut and betelnut trees are being destroyed by a type of insect. What measure should we adopt to prevent the insect from attacking our trees?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ayesha Islam; Dakshin-Bagh, Sylhet.</td>
<td>N.A. My coconut tree is two years old. It is not growing and the leaves are getting yellowish. What steps should I take to overcome the problem?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Md. Kalamia, Babir Uddin &amp; Delwar Hossain; Kaziganj, Sylhet</td>
<td>N.A. The coconuts in my trees do not grow. After a few weeks they fall. What can we do to protect the coconuts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Susil Ranjan Paul; Kabila Khai, Sunamgunj, Sylhet.</td>
<td>12.11.84 Some white insects are found inside the coconuts of my tree. These insects spoil the fruits. How can I prevent the insects from attacking the coconuts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Narattam Nath; Karimganj, Assam, India.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>Papaya at a very young stage fall from my papaya tree. The leaves of my <em>Dharas</em> (Ladys-finger) tree is shrinking and bearing no crops. What steps would you suggest to get good papaya and <em>Dharas</em> from my trees?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Md. Abrus Ulla, Balaganj, Sylhet</td>
<td>14.11.84</td>
<td>My coconut tree is about 15 years old with good growth, but it is not bearing any fruit. What steps would you suggest?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Nurul Islam, Barlikha, Sylhet</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>(a) The ripe mangoes in my trees become full of a type of black insect. How can I overcome this? (b) The newly grown mango plants are not having the desired growth. What steps should I take to increase the growth?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Iqbal Hussain Chaudhury; Purba Maria, Beani-Bazar, Sylhet</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>The leaves of my pumpkin plants have become yellowish. The plants have very little growth. Though there are flowers no pumpkin is produced by the plant. Orange coloured insects have attacked the plants. What can I do now to protect the plants from insects and get the desired pumpkins?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: i) The questions have been translated from Bengali. The letters bearing the above questions were addressed to the Regional Director, Radio Bangladesh, Sylhet Station who supplied the copies during our visit to the station on the 5th December, 1984.
FOOTNOTES - APPENDICES

PART - I (GENERAL)

APPENDIX - 1

APPENDIX - 2

2. Ibid.

APPENDIX - 3


5. Supra, f/n 148-150 of Chapter II, p. 134. See also Table-4 in the appendix.


APPENDIX - 4


7. Supra, f/n 3 of Chapter VI, pp. 350-51.


11. Ibid. p. 7.


16. Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh, NGOs in Bangladesh by Upazila (Shown in the Map of Bangladesh), Dhaka, n.d.

APPENDIX - 5


2. Ibid.

APPENDIX - 6


(a) Government of Bangladesh, Cabinet Secretariat, Establishment Division *The Bangladesh Civil Service (Administrative: Administrative) Composition and Cadre rules, 1980* (Dhaka: Government Press, 1980) (For posts at Serial number 1 of this Appendix).

(b) Government of Bangladesh, Establishment Division, *The Bangladesh Civil Service [Age, Qualification and Examination for Direct Recruitment] Rules, 1982* (Dhaka: Government Press, 1982), (For posts from Serial numbers 1-6 of this Appendix).

(c) Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB), *The Bangladesh Rural Development Board [Employees] Recruitment and Promotion Rules, 1983 [Draft]* (Dhaka: BRDB Head Office, 1983), Schedule 1 (For posts from serial numbers 7-9 of this Appendix).

(d) Secretary, Bangladesh Agricultural Development Co-operation (BADC), "Memorandum number O&M/Reorg/48-41/86-87/30" Dhaka, BADC Head Office, August 25, 1986, (For posts at serial numbers 16-20 of this Appendix).

APPENDIX - 7


APPENDIX - 8

APPENDIX - 9
1. BRDB, Training Syllabus for the training of the representatives of Primary Co-operatives in TTDCs (in Bengali) (Dhaka: Training Division, BRDB, 1982), pp. 31-33.

APPENDIX - 10
1. BRDB, Training Syllabus for the training of the representatives of Primary Co-operatives in TTDCs (in Bengali) (Dhaka: Training Division, BRDB, 1982), pp. 7-15.

APPENDIX - 11
1. Copies of the training programmes of the managers and model farmers were collected from the URDO, Gabtali.

APPENDIX - 12
1. Copies of the letters of farmers for the 'Farm Broadcasting Programme' (Shyamal Sylhet) were supplied by the Regional Director of Radio Bangladesh, Sylhet Station.
### Table 1

Average annual rate of attendance/comments on attendance of the KSS representatives in the training sessions in Comilla prior to the independence of Bangladesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Average annual rate of attendance /comments on attendance of the trainee (KSS representatives)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Since the pilot experiment began, 56 organisers' meeting were held at the Academy up to June 1, 1961. The average attendance at the meeting was 93% of the organisers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>From June, 1962 when the model farmer system of extension was launched, to May 10, 1963, 42 weekly classes for these village farmers, commonly called model farmers, were held at the Academy. The attendance of these classes averaged 76%.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>The training conference has become for organisers or model farmers... a way of life, a moral and intellectual necessity, a source of inner substance. When the appointed day comes, it seems all work is abandoned in heat or cold or rain, they wend their way to Abhoy Asram, then go back satisfied and encouraged.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>&quot;Participation in these meetings [Training sessions] was over 80%&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>The effect of the training programme at the Centre is multiplied by the number of members who attend these weekly meetings. The average attendance in these weekly meetings has been estimated at 85% of the enlisted members.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>&quot;The attendance of [model] farmers was only about 50%&quot;.</td>
<td>This poor rate of attendance of model farmers during the year was because cont.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of suspension of training of model farmers in the previous year. Suspension of the programme discouraged the interest of the model farmers but they gradually regained interest after the re-introduction of their training.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>&quot;The average percentage of attendance of the [model] farmers at the Thana Training Centre was about 77% as against 50% in the last year&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>&quot;The average attendance of model farmers at the Thana Training Centre was 76% as against 77% in the last year&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>The number of model farmers increased from 190 to 275 at the end of the report year. The average attendance of model farmer at the TTDC was 69% as against 76% in the last year. The average attendance in the Village Training Centre was 73%. The model farmer attended two classes at TTDC and two classes at Village Training Centres in a month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>&quot;The number of model farmers increased from 275 to 304 at the end of 1969-70... the average attendance of model farmers at TTDC was 64% as compared to 69% in the previous year&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted here that every year new KSS were coming up, resulting in an increase in the number of trainees each year, resulting in a varying percentage of attendance.

This table indicated that the attendance of the KSS representatives in the training sessions was encouraging in Comilla during the period from 1961 to 1970.

cont.
### TABLE 2

Observations/comments on the impact/achievement of training of the KSS representatives in Comilla in the 1960s as appear in various Annual Reports of BARD and Comilla KTCCA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Comments on Impact/Achievement</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>The programme of extension training appears to have been a great success. Its impact is seen vividly in the project villages. In these villages there are more than 2000 farmers who know generally a great deal more about the problems and techniques of economic development than farmers from other villages. Also in these villages there are nearly 40 tractor drivers where there were none before, as well as a large number of power pump drivers where previously there were none. Also in these villages there are roughly 100 farmers who know by experience the problems and techniques of improved agricultural production. Training was one of the important contributing factors for the increase in the acre yield of potatoes etc.</td>
<td>Training was one of the important contributing factors for the increase in the acre yield of potatoes etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>This year a marked increase in the acre yield of potatoes and substantial increase in the area planted in sugar cane and other <em>rabi</em> crops... There were 467 adopters of improved pisciculture... The adoption of the new systematic programme started in this report year represents a very real gain. Training was an important motivating factor for increase in the number of adopters of improved practices. Training could enable the model farmer to replace the UAAs, the cont.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Most model farmers proved good learners and good teachers. Surveys after the <em>Aman</em> crop of 1962 showed that nearly fifteen hundred co-operative members adopted better methods and increased their yield by more than fifty percent as compared with previous years....</td>
<td>Training was an important motivating factor for increase in the number of adopters of improved practices. Training could enable the model farmer to replace the UAAs, the cont.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These latter villages presented a striking sight on account of the extraordinary richness of these crops. It is obvious that adoption is now gathering momentum and soon there will be measurable general increases in agricultural production in Comilla Thana. Since the model farmers proved successful extension agents, the Department agreed to withdraw the 24 Union Agricultural Assistants (i.e. VLWs) who were scattered in Comilla Thana.

1965

The Central Association fills no position by outside recruitment, except for skilled roles, where there are no qualified persons available within the present co-operative set up. It is gratifying to see that through the regular training facilities of the association and the Thana Development Centre, with on the job and pre-service instructions, many local people are being trained to qualify for administrative and technical responsibilities.

1965-66

As a result of the training of the village farmers, maintenance of supplies and efforts of the extension staff of the KTCCA, the number of adopters of improved practices in the village co-operative societies were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aus</th>
<th>Amon</th>
<th>Boto</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2863</td>
<td>2541</td>
<td>1633</td>
<td></td>
<td>7037</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1966-67

The number of adopters of improved cultural practices also increased substantially during the year. IRRI rice was multiplied. Besides, the area under cultivation of Taipei 177 rice, Japanese water melon and vegetables and potato expanded considerably. Livestock have been protected against infectious diseases. Programmes of fish breeding, procurement of fish spawns and fries, and pisciculture have been carried out.

Effective training of the farmers contributed to the increase in the number of adopters of cultural practices.
An increased area was brought under improved agricultural practices as compared to the previous year.

### 1968-69

Several new crop varieties were recommended and introduced in the project area. Area under some previously introduced promising varieties was increased by more than 100% as compared to last year. Improved varieties of various crops were multiplied for supplying certified seeds to the growers.

### 1969-70

The rate of adoption and use of insecticide in Comilla Thana has been shown in the tenth annual report of Comilla, KTCCA (1969-70), thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity used (in lbs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>30,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>25,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>57,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>50,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>1,59,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows an improvement in the rate of use of insecticide in Comilla during the year.
TABLE 3
Faculty situation of selected training institutions in Bangladesh (August, 1982)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the training institutions</th>
<th>Approved strength of trainers</th>
<th>Existing number of trainers</th>
<th>Vacancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bangladesh Administrative Staff College, Dhaka</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. National Institute of Public Administration, Dhaka</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Civil Officers' Training Academy, Dhaka</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Staff Training Institute, Dhaka</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Regional Staff Training Institutes Rajshahi, Khulna and Chittagong</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Training of Trainers (TDT) Project, Ministry of Establishment, Dhaka</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. District Staff Training Institutes, Ministry of Establishment</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Training Academy for Planning and Development, Dhaka</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bangladesh Management Development Centre, Dhaka</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Centre for Handloom Product and Equipment (to train the weavers),</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narshingdi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bangladesh Sericulture Research and Training Institute, Rajshahi</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Rural Development Training Institute, Sylhet</td>
<td>13. Rural Development Training Institute, Sylhet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Agricultural Extension Training Institutes</td>
<td>20. Agricultural Extension Training Institutes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, Comilla</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Rural Development Training Institute, Sylhet</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. National Institute of Local Government, Dhaka</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Institute of Public Health and Nutrition, Dhaka</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. National Broadcasting Academy, Dhaka</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. National Institute of Educational Administration and Research, Dhaka</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Agricultural Extension Training Institutes</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Bangladesh Rice Research Institute, Joydevpur, Dhaka</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the Institution</td>
<td>Year of Establishment</td>
<td>Controlling Ministry</td>
<td>Controlling Ministry Details</td>
<td>Clientele for training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Ministry of Local Govt., Rural Development and co-operatives, GOB</td>
<td>Officers of general administration; BRDB Officers; Officers of Agriculture, Family Planning, BADC, Forest. Co-operatives, Social Services, Livestock, etc.</td>
<td>Farmers; landless villagers; members of village co-operatives including KSS; chairmen and members of union parishad; members of village youth club; rural women, members of Swanirvar (Gram Sarkar) etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Development Training Institute (RDTI), Sylhet</td>
<td>1958 (First started as V-AID Institute)</td>
<td>DO (and BRDB)</td>
<td>BRDB Officers, UCCA staff etc.</td>
<td>KSS representatives, members of Gram Sarkar, UCCA - Directors etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Development Academy, (RDA), Bogra</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>BRDB Officers; UCCA staff; Officers of general administration; Officers of Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries, and BADC etc.</td>
<td>KSS representatives; UCCA Directors; folk artists; Union Parishad members.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh Co-operative College, (BCC), Comilla</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Officers of the Co-operative Dept. and BRDB</td>
<td>KSS, BSS and MSS representatives, Directors UCCA, Co-operative leaders.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Institute of Local Government (NIGL), Dhaka</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Officers of various Local government bodies</td>
<td>Elected persons in local government bodies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Training Institute (GTI), Mymensingh</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture (and Bangladesh Agricultural Univ.)</td>
<td>Extension Officers of Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries and Forestry.</td>
<td>Farmers and farm leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Extension Resources Development Institute (CERDI), Dhaka</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>Instructors of AETIs, Upazila Agricultural Officers.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bangladesh Agricultural Research Institute (BARI),</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Extension officers of Agriculture</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bangladesh Rice Research Institute (BRRI)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Agricultural Extension Training Institutes (AETI)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>UAA, BS</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>BADC Staff Training Institute, NA (STI), Madhupur</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>BADC Officers</td>
<td>Farmers (Contact growers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Fisheries Training Institute, 1961 (FTI), Chandpur</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock</td>
<td>Officers of Fishery Department</td>
<td>Fish farmers. Rural Youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Veterinary Training Institute (VTI), Mymensingh</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Officers of the Department of Livestock</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>National Academy of Social Services (NASS), Dhaka</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Ministry of Social Welfare and Womens Affairs</td>
<td>Officers of the Department of Social Services</td>
<td>Voluntary workers and village leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>National Institute of Population Research and Training (NIPORT), Dhaka</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Ministry of Health and Population Control</td>
<td>Officers of the Department of Population Control</td>
<td>Swanirvar workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 5

Scale of Pay of various Thana/Upazila Level Officers during the Pakistan and Bangladesh period.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of Officers</th>
<th>Scale of pay during Pakistan period and up to 30.6.73 (in Rupees)</th>
<th>Scale of pay from 1.7.73 (in Taka)</th>
<th>Scale of pay from 1.7.77 (in Taka)</th>
<th>Scale of pay from 1.6.85 (in Taka)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Circle Officer (Development) (CO)</td>
<td>325 - 700</td>
<td>375 - 975</td>
<td>625 - 1315</td>
<td>(Post has been abolished)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) (post did not exist)</td>
<td>(post did not exist)</td>
<td>1400 - 2225</td>
<td>2800 - 4425</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Upazila Health &amp; Family Planning Officer (UHFPO)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>475 - 1275</td>
<td>1150 - 1800</td>
<td>2400 - 3600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Upazila Agriculture Officer (UAO)</td>
<td>300 - 675</td>
<td>475 - 1275</td>
<td>1150 - 1800</td>
<td>1850 - 3220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Upazila Livestock Officer (ULO)</td>
<td>300 - 675</td>
<td>475 - 1275</td>
<td>900 - 1610</td>
<td>1850 - 3220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Upazila Fishery Officer (UFO)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>750 - 1470</td>
<td>1650 - 3020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Upazila Engineer (UE) (post did not exist)</td>
<td>(post did not exist)</td>
<td>750 - 1470</td>
<td>1650 - 3020</td>
<td>cont.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Position/Role Description</td>
<td>Min - Max</td>
<td>Min - Max</td>
<td>Min - Max</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Veterinary Assistant Surgeon (VAS)</td>
<td>300 - 650</td>
<td>310 - 670</td>
<td>750 - 1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Subject Matter Officer (Agriculture) (SMO)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>750 - 1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Upazila Education Officer (UEO)</td>
<td>275 - 600</td>
<td>375 - 925</td>
<td>625 - 1315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Upazila Rural Development Officer (URDO) (Formerly called, Project Officer)</td>
<td>375 - 1050</td>
<td>475 - 1275</td>
<td>750 - 1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Assistant Rural Development Officer (ARDO)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>425 - 1035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Accountant, UCCA, BRDB</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>400 - 825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Plant Protection Assistant (PPA)</td>
<td>110 - 170</td>
<td>220 - 420</td>
<td>370 - 745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Upazila Family Planning Officer (UFPO)</td>
<td>300 - 600</td>
<td>375 - 975</td>
<td>750 - 1470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Unit Officer (UO) BADC</td>
<td>300 - 600</td>
<td>375 - 975</td>
<td>625 - 1315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. Sectional Officer (SO)</td>
<td>BADC 300 - 600</td>
<td>375 - 975</td>
<td>625 - 1315</td>
<td>1350 - 2750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Fertiliser Inspector (FI) BADC</td>
<td>175 - 450</td>
<td>310 - 670</td>
<td>625 - 1315</td>
<td>900 - 2075</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Upazila Social Services Officer (USSO)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>625 - 1315</td>
<td>1350 - 2750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** The two scales shown against serial numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 17, 20 and 21 indicated that officers belonging to either of the two scales may be posted in the position.
TABLE 6

Training duties of the Upazila Level Officers as prescribed by the government of Bangladesh in 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of the Upazila level Officers.</th>
<th>Total items of duties assigned.</th>
<th>Serial number in the list of duties and the statement concerning the training duties of the officers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>&quot;10. He will be responsible for all training matters of his department... and will co-ordinate Upazila level training activities.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Upazila Engineer (UE)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;18. He will be responsible for training matters of his department.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Upazila Education Officer (UEO)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;11. He will be responsible for training matters of his department.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Upazila Social Services Officer (USSO)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>&quot;11. Training of field staff and community [leaders] to help in attaining project objectives.... &quot;22. Will be responsible for all training matters of his department.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Upazila Health and Family Planning Officer (UHFPO)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;7. He will be responsible for training matters of both health and population control.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Medical Officer (MO)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>No training duty prescribed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Upazila Family Planning Officer (UFPO)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;9. He will assist UHFPO in organising the training of field workers.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Upazila Fishery Officer (UFO)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;10. Training and motivation of fish farmers, fishermen and preparation of training schedule.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Upazila Livestock Officer (ULO)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;4. Extension, motivation and training of farmers regarding scientific rearing of livestock and poultry.... 5. Extension, motivation and training of farmers on cultivation of high yielding varieties of fodder. 18. Will be responsible for all training matters of his department&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Veterinary Assistant Surgeon (VAS)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;4. To train field staff and interested farmers about basic knowledge of vaccination, hygienic management of livestock and poultry rearing.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont.
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Upazila Agriculture Officer (UAO)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>&quot;19. Will be responsible for all training matters of his department.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Subject Matter Officer (SMO) (Agriculture)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; 2. To provide training as well as supervision to Block Supervisors.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Unit Officer (UO) BADC</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>&quot;He will be responsible for imparting training to the managers of power-pump groups.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sectional Officer (SO) BADC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>No training duty prescribed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Fertiliser Inspector (FI), BADC</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>No training duty prescribed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Seed Inspector (SI), BADC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>No training duty prescribed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Upazila Rural Development Officer (URDO), BRDB</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot; 8. He will plan and organise training programmes for model farmers, KSS managers, UCCA field staff and KSS directors and members.... cont.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;15. He will be responsible for all training matters of his department.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Assistant Rural Development Officers (ARDO), BRDB</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;4. He will be responsible for conducting the training classes of model farmers and managers and chairmen of KSS every week.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Upazila Co-operative Officer (UCO)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>&quot;29. Will be responsible for all training matters of his department.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE - 1

1. **Bangladesh, BARD, Rural Co-operatives Pilot Experiment: First Annual Report [of Comilla KTCCA], 1961 (Comilla: BARD), p. 25.**

2. **Bangladesh, BARD, Fourth Annual Report [of BARD], 1962-63 (Comilla: BARD), pp. 49-50.**

3. **Bangladesh, BARD, Rural Co-operative Pilot Experiment: Third Annual Report [of Comilla KTCCA], 1963 (Comilla: BARD), p. 15.**


5. **Bangladesh, BARD, Sixth Annual Report [of BARD], 1964-65 (Comilla: BARD), p. 41.**


7. **Bangladesh, BARD, Eighth Annual Report [of BARD], 1966-67 (Comilla: BARD), p. 50.**


### TABLE - 2

1. **Bangladesh, BARD, Third Annual Report [of BARD], 1961-62 (Comilla: BARD), pp. 51-52.**

2. **Bangladesh, BARD, Fourth Annual Report [of BARD], 1962-63 (Comilla: BARD), p. 49.**

3. **Bangladesh, BARD, Rural Co-operative Pilot Experiment: Third Annual Report [of Comilla KTCCA], 1963 (Comilla: BARD), pp. 18 & 43.**

4. **Bangladesh, BARD, Rural Co-operative Pilot Experiment: Fifth Annual Report [of Comilla KTCCA], 1965 (Comilla: BARD), p. 26.**

5. **Bangladesh, BARD, Seventh Annual Report [of BARD], 1965-66 (Comilla: BARD), p. 42.**


**TABLE - 3**


**TABLE - 4**

1. The Table has been prepared on the basis of the following papers/documents:
   (a) Papers presented at the consultative workshop of the Heads of the Training Institutions of Bangladesh held in the Bangladesh Administrative Staff College, Dhaka, April, 23-24, 1980.

   (b) Papers presented at the workshop on Role of Training Institutions in Post-Entry Training of BCS Probationers held in the Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre, Savar, Dhaka, December 30-31, 1985.


   (d) Brochure and the Annual Reports procured from different training institutions mentioned in the table.

**TABLE - 5**


   (b) Secretary, Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation, "Letter number O&M/Reorg/4P-41/86-87/30", Dhaka, August 25, 1986. (For the posts at serial numbers 18-21 of this table). According to the instructions of the BRDB Head Office, officers named in this table should work as
the trainers of the KSS representative in the Upazila. See f/n 12, of Chapter V.

2. Rupee was the name of currency during the Pakistan period. Taka is the name of the currency in Bangladesh.

TABLE - 6


(b) Secretary, Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation, "Letter number O&M/Reorg/4P-41/86-87/30", Dhaka, August 25, 1986 (For posts at serial numbers 15-18 of this table).
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"Community School Project - Present Status". n.d. (Typewritten).

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NCRT, "Report on Extension Work of Different Agencies at Village Level and Examination of the Possibility of Channeling all Extension Activities in the Agricultural Sector through one Village Extension Worker" Dhaka, June, 1981.

NCRT, "The Role of Bangladesh Agricultural University in the Agricultural Sector and Integration of Teaching, Research and Extension". Dhaka, June, 1982.


NCRT, "A Proposal for the Revitalisation of the training programmes at the TTDC" Dhaka, n.d.

NCRT, "Integration of Agricultural Research, Education and Extension in Bangladesh", Dhaka, n.d.
B. Institutions and Autonomous Organisation:

(i) Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla:

Annual Reports of BARD (1st to 24th); 1959 to 1982-83. Comilla: BARD.

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(ii) Bangladesh Co-operative College (BCC), Comilla:


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(iii) Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB), Dhaka (includes former Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP))


Training syllabus for the training of the representatives of the primary co-operatives in TTDCs organised by TCCAs [in Bengali]. Dhaka: Training Division, BRDB, 1982.


BRDB budget, 1984-85.


(iv) Bangladesh Agricultural Development Corporation (BADC):


(v) Rural Development Academy (RDA), Bogra:


(vi) Rural Development Training Institutes (RDTI), Sylhet:

"RDTI - Introduction, Progress and Prospect" Sylhet, Bangladesh, 1981.

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