A Panchayat Samiti derives its income from two sources - tax revenue and non-tax revenue. The former includes such taxes as the local rate and the professional tax, and the fees on the sale of food, the fairs and the vehicles. The latter comprises grants that the State Government gives to it on regular and ad hoc basis, donations and contributions from the Gram Panchayats and the general public, and interest on loans and deposits. The average budget of a Panchayat Samiti in Kangra district ranges from Rs. 67,000 to Rs. 1,57,000. The tax revenue forms about one fifth or one fourth share of the total income. The rest is derived from other sources, most important of which is the Government grant-in-aid (Table No. 35).

**Tax Revenue**

1. **Local Rate** It is an important component of the Panchayat Samiti income. It is a sort of a cess levied by the State Government on land at the rate of 25 paisa per rupee of its annual value. It is also collected by the State Government through the agency of the village Lambardar along with the land revenue. It is then reimbursed to the Panchayat Samiti and the Tila Parishad.

---

1. The Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Tila Parishad Act, 1961, Section 61, Sub-section (1).
The latter is given only that much share as is sufficient to meet its establishment and other expenditure. The ratio in which the local rate is distributed between these two institutions is decided by the Government every year. In the district of Kangra, the ratio has been 60 percent (to the Panchayat Samiti) and 40 percent (to the Tila Parishad).

The local rate is quite a lucrative source of income to a Panchayat Samiti. It accounts for as much as 35 percent of its total income. (Table No. 15). It has another advantage also, namely, that it does not involve any burden on the Panchayat Samiti either in regard to its assessment or collection.

The analysis of the figures for the best three years, i.e. from 1963-64, to 1965-66, reveals that its yield has everywhere been showing a decrease, except of course, in the case of the Baijnath Panchayat Samiti where it has recovered back slightly after a fall of 4 percent in 1964-65. The decrease, on the whole, has been from 70 to 53 percent (Table No. 16). No satisfactory reason could be traced for this declining trend.

2. Professional tax: The principal source of income of the Panchayat Samiti is the professional tax. Formerly it vested with the District Board. But now it is imposed by the Panchayat Samiti in accordance with the provision laid down in Section 64 of the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Vila Parishad's Act, 1961. Everyone residing within the territorial bound of a Panchayat Samiti and carrying on some trade, profession or calling or employment is subject to the payment of this tax. Unlike the local rate, it is levied and collected by the Panchayat Samiti through their tax-collectors.

This tax is also a very lucrative one. It contributes about 14.5 percent to the total revenues of the Panchayat Samiti (Table No. 35). Since 1963-64, its yield, on the whole has been showing a steady increase. It has gone up from 100 percent to 178 in 1965-66 (Table No. 37). In the case of the Nadaur Panchayat Samiti, the increase has been as
tremendous as 156 percent. On the other hand, the
performance of the Sujampur Panchayat Samiti has not
been good. The yield has gone down to 87 percent. As
regards the reasons for this healthy trend, the respond-ents explained that the increase had taken place partly
due to the greater efforts of the Panchayat Samiti
officials in the field of collection and partly because
of the instructions of the State Government to all the
local heads of departments to deduct the professional
tax of their employees at the source.

Table No. 37
Showing the receipts of the Professional tax during
the years, 1963-64, 1964-65 and 1965-66.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panchayat Samiti</th>
<th>1963-64</th>
<th>1964-65</th>
<th>1965-66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indora</td>
<td>12,936</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>14,817.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakrota</td>
<td>5,653.46</td>
<td>8,154</td>
<td>12,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bejimath</td>
<td>14,655</td>
<td>13,082</td>
<td>16,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sujampur</td>
<td>6,028</td>
<td>4,819</td>
<td>5,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadaum</td>
<td>5,291</td>
<td>8,095</td>
<td>20,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>8,840.69</td>
<td>10,229</td>
<td>14,052.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The said instructions were issued vide Memo No. 811-2 LD (P & E)-65/1103, dated 31.3.1965, of the Office
of the Commissioner Agricultural Production and Rural Development, and Secretary to Government, Punjab, Deve-
lopment and Panchayat Departments, Chandigarh.
I - Progress of income from this source over years.

II - Ratio of recovery from the current demand.

III - Position of arrears over years.

YEARS

1963-64 1964-65 1965-66

INDEX

100 116 178

PERCENTAGE

44.5 53.5

INDEX

140 126 194 237

RECOVERED

UN-RECOVERED
It is, however, felt that the yield of this tax can be, further, increased to a very great extent if the Panchayat Samitis make greater efforts, on the one hand, and the local heads of the government departments show greater co-operation with the Panchayat Samitis, on the other. An important feature of this tax is that huge arrears have piled up everywhere, and that they have been continuously mounting up since this tax has been transferred to the Panchayat Samitis. The index has gone up from 100 (based on the year 1963-64) to 237 in 1966-67. (Table No. 38).

There is no denying the fact that the annual demand has also gone up quite considerably, i.e., from 100 to 196. (In the case of Kadam, it has spiralled up to 460) (Table No. 38). But that does not in any way provide an excuse to the Panchayat Samitis against their poor efforts for its collection. The rate of recovery of the tax in the year, 1965-66 has been just 45 percent (in the year, 1965-66). In the case of Nagrota Bagwan, it has been as low as 21 percent.

Asked about the causes of the poor performance of the Panchayat Samitis in regard to tax collection, the respondents said that the tax payers could be divided into two categories - the general public and the government employees, working in the rural areas. There was not much difficulty in realising the tax from the former. They generally paid in time and if at all anyone tried to evade, he could easily be dealt with. Since the Executive Officer enjoys the powers of the Collector,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Panchayati Samiti</th>
<th>Demand for the year 1965-66</th>
<th>Rate of recovery out of the current demand for 1965-66</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nagore</td>
<td>27,074</td>
<td>5,606</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raijath</td>
<td>17,994</td>
<td>12,640.75</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seojnpur</td>
<td>9,969</td>
<td>3,048</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadn</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indora</td>
<td>20,946</td>
<td>12,356.75</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall position</td>
<td>19,737</td>
<td>8,413</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Records of the respective Panchayat Samitis.
Grade II, he could recover the arrears as arrears of the land revenue. But the defaulting government employees were not easy to deal with. They were thus responsible to a very great extent for the huge arrears. The respondents were correct in pointing out this fact, for the study reveals that this category owed as much as 81 percent of the total arrears, i.e., Rs. 1,10,024.60 out of the total amount of Rs. 1,34,966.10.

The respondents complained that the local heads of the departments did not co-operate with them either in the assessment or the collection of the tax. They would not care to submit the lists of their staff in order to enable the Panchayat Samiti officials to assess the tax. It was further complained that the attitude of the Central Government employees, such as those of the Post and Telegraph, Railways, Central Excise and even of the State Electricity Board in particular, was very evasive. The officials of the Baijnath Panchayat Samiti disclosed that they could not procure the lists of the staff from the local Station master, with the result, no assessment of the tax had been made since the inception of the Panchayat Samiti in 1961.

1. In Bagrota Panchayat Samiti out of the total arrears of Rs. 28,409.35 as much as Rs. 4,816.00 were due from the railway staff alone. These figures were computed by this Writer from the Professional Tax Demand Registers for 1964-65 and 1965-66.
It was also complained that the problem was not confined to the procurement of the lists. More important and more difficult than this was the actual collection of the tax. They faced many difficulties in realising the money from the assesses; at times, the collectors were abused and even man-handled.

It was, further added that the problem of non-co-operation was not confined to the local heads of the departments. The higher authorities also tended to be unco-operative. With the expectation that these high-ups would lend their helping hand to the Panchayat Samiti in the realisation of the arrears, they wrote letters to them (high-ups), requesting them to issue necessary instructions to their subordinate officers to furnish the Panchayat Samiti the lists of the members of the staff alongwith their salary statement, and also to directly supply them the where-abouts of those of their employees who, at one time, had been stationed in their blocks and had been transferred long since. But no assistance from them was forthcoming. Under such conditions of non-co-operation from top to bottom it was not surprising if the rate of tax-collection remained low.

The Study Team on Panchayati Raj in Punjab also points out these difficulties in tax collection in the State as a whole. It observes, "One of the main sources of income of Panchayat Samiti is from the collection of profession tax. Investigations made by us reveal that collections of this tax are extremely poor on account of
the manner in which this tax is levied. The major defaults are Government officials posted within the Samiti areas as also functionaries of private bodies and institutions. Most of the institutions, Government or private refuse to even respond to the request of the Samitis to submit the lists of their functionaries and the details of their pay etc. drawn by them. We find further that by the time the Samiti levies the profession tax a large percentage of the functionaries of Government and private bodies are transferred to other stations. This results only in the Samiti, and this also in rare cases, indulging in protracted correspondence with the defaulters or the head of the institution with which they worked last.

To sum up, the problem of professional tax, collection has assumed a difficult position. Unless some formidable steps are taken, the Panchayat Samitis would not be able to derive much profit from this lucrative source. The Government must make it obligatory on all the heads of the departments to supply to the Panchayat Samitis the lists of their staff every year in time. It should further make it incumbent on the Deputy Commissioner to see that all the heads strictly comply with these instructions. Only then, the professional tax arrears would be cleared up and the collection in future would become regular.

Other taxes:

The section 64 of the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act, 1951, empowers a Panchayat Samiti to impose any tax which the State Legislature is competent to do under the Constitution of India. This is, however, subject to the general direction and control of the State Government. For the imposition of any such tax, the previous permission of the Zila Parishad is also to be obtained. So far as the five Panchayat Samitis under study are concerned, none of them has imposed any other tax. The respondents when asked for the reasons as to why they had not thought of augmenting their resources by means of other taxes, said that there was little scope for the same.

9. Fees and Fines:

The section 68 of the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act, 1951, empowers the Panchayat Samitis to levy a variety of fees. Four out of the five Panchayat Samitis covered in this survey, have levied the fee on the sale of food (called food licence fee) and on the fairs held within their territory. The Nadaun Panchayat Samiti has not levied the latter. The Nagrota Panchayat Samiti, besides these two types of fees, has also levied a fee on tongas that ply within their territory.

The analysis of the figures of the total receipts under this head reveals that 62 percent income has been from the food licence fee and 38 percent from the fee on fairs. (Table No. 39).
Table No. 29

Showing the details of income from the fees (Figures based on the actual receipts for the year 1965-66)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panchayat Samiti</th>
<th>Total Income</th>
<th>Food Licence Fee</th>
<th>Fee on Fairs</th>
<th>Vehicle Fee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indora</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagrota</td>
<td>1,208.02</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>573.02</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baijmath</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sujampur</td>
<td>1,270.70</td>
<td>966.70</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadaun</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>918.80</td>
<td>603.74</td>
<td>366.75</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The budget files of the respective Panchayat Samitis.

Comparing the income of the fees in the year, 1963-64, with that of the subsequent years, one finds that it has shown an upward trend in respect of three Panchayat Samitis, namely Nagrota, Baijmath and Sujampur (Table No. 40). In the case of Sujampur, its yield has gone up as high as 227 percent. At Nadaun, however, it has marked a decline. But there too the position has begun to improve after a sudden decline from 100 to 38 in the year, 1964-65. In 1965-66, it has gone up to 69. As regards the Panchayat Samiti Indora, it has also been marking an improvement, in the sense that in the year 1964-65, the Panchayat Samiti levied the food licence fee and in the year
following on the fairs. It has after all realised its responsibility in this direction.

Table No. 40

Showing the collection of the fees during the years, 1963-64, 1964-65 and 1965-66.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panchayat Samiti</th>
<th>1963-64</th>
<th>1964-65</th>
<th>1965-66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indora</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagrota</td>
<td>1,089,11</td>
<td>1,109</td>
<td>1,208,02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijnath</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sujampur</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>1,270,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badaun</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>713.28 -</td>
<td>699.25 -</td>
<td>999.75 -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:—Figures based on the actual receipts.

Source:—Budget files of the respective Panchayat Samitis.

The Non-tax Revenue:

The non-tax revenue of the Panchayat Samiti can, further, be split up into three categories, the ad hoc grants-in-aid from the State Government, the purpo

*purposive grants-in-aid from the State Government, and the donations and contributions from the Gram Panchayats and the general public.

The State Government gives to each Gram Panchayat Samiti an ad hoc grant which is roughly equi-
valent to 10 percent of the land revenue. It is chan-
nelled through the agency of the Panchayat Samiti of the State. So far it has been disbursed to the various Panchayat Samitis at the rate of Rs. 6,000 per annum. This grant can be utilised by the Panchayat Samiti to any purpose it likes.

Under the Scheme of Panchayati Raj, the Panchayat Samiti acts as an agency of the State Government in the field of development. Accordingly, all the development departments of the State Government, such as agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry, education etc., transfer from time to time some of their schemes to the Panchayat Samitis which look after their execution and subsequent maintenance. The Community Development grants-in-aid meant for these schemes are also passed on to the Panchayat Samitis which utilise them with the help of their extension officers.

Although these grants-in-aid come from the State Department of Community Development, yet these are marked out separately for separate purposes. The Panchayat Samiti cannot shift one grant from one head to the other. These hard and fast rules governing them, in the opinion of some executive officers, whom this writer met, sometimes lead to the lapsing of the grants-in-aid under certain heads on the one hand, and the

1. These figures have been taken from the budget files of the respective Panchayat Samitas.
starvation of some vital projects, on the other. At Bajnath, it was observed that the Government had allotted to the Panchayat Samiti a grant of Rs. 12,000 in 1963-64, for giving subsidy to the tea-planters for the purchase of fertilizers at the rate of 25 percent. The entire amount remained unutilised. The reason as was given out by the Panchayat Samiti officials was that the Indian Tea Board had also sponsored a scheme under which subsidy was available on much better terms. Finding little chances of the utilisation of this grant-in-aid even in future, the Panchayat Samiti requested the Government to stop the grant under that head. But in 1964-65, an amount of Rs. 11,826.05 was again received for the same purpose. The budgetary allotment for the year 1965-66 once again contained a provision of Rs. 15,000 for the purpose.

To cite another instance, it was found again at Bajnath, that every year it received a sum of Rs. 6,000 for the development of minor irrigation. But since the whole region was irrigated by small water-channels, called 'jheels', which involve heavy construction cost, there was thus little scope for the development of other means of minor irrigation. The result was that the grants lapsed un-utilised every year.

1. The Panchayat Samiti Budget for 1963-64.
The State Evaluation Committee on the working of the Community Development Programme in the Punjab (1960) also noted this short-coming in the schematic budget and, in view of the peculiar hilly conditions of the Kangra district, the Committee specially recommended that "the field officers should also be delegated powers to take decisions for diversion of funds from one head to another under the broad pattern".

The Rajasthan Government's Study Team on Panchayati Raj has also discussed this problem at length. Commenting on it, it remarks, "The rigidity in respect of allotment and utilization of funds due to the lack of discretion to make re-appropriations according to local needs and conditions has marred the initiative of the institutions. It has often led to the situation where Panchayat Samitis have un-utilised funds under one head despite deficits or demands under other heads..."

The quantum of these purposeful grants-in-aid in the five Panchayat Samitis under study has varied from year to year. It has ranged from Rs. 71,056 (in the case of the Baijnath Panchayat Samiti in 1965-66) to Rs. 1,58,983.66 (in the case of the Indora Panchayat Samiti in 1963-64) (Appendix 23).

1. Report of the State Evaluation Committee on the Working of the Community Development Programme in Punjab, Development Department (C) Punjab, 1960, p. 32.

As regards the various heads under which the grants-in-aid have been given, agriculture, has received the highest priority during the past three years, i.e. Rs. 2,55,243.15. The Rural Works take the second position with Rs. 1,75,736, and communications the lowest with only Rs. 73,739 (Table No. 41).

Table No. 41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indore</th>
<th>Nagrota</th>
<th>Baijnath</th>
<th>Ladaun</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>63,663.15</td>
<td>36,950</td>
<td>62,990</td>
<td>86,437</td>
<td>2,55,243.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation</td>
<td>26,094</td>
<td>19,500</td>
<td>12,400</td>
<td>16,300</td>
<td>67,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Sanitation</td>
<td>37,486.16</td>
<td>27,480</td>
<td>23,450</td>
<td>26,280</td>
<td>1,16,606.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>32,280</td>
<td>11,650</td>
<td>21,880</td>
<td>20,420</td>
<td>86,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Works</td>
<td>70,785</td>
<td>48,284</td>
<td>55,667</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,75,736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Education</td>
<td>14,942.32</td>
<td>14,081.84</td>
<td>25,850</td>
<td>26,090</td>
<td>80,954.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>21,959</td>
<td>14,100</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>16,880</td>
<td>71,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural crafts</td>
<td>40,806.59</td>
<td>16,100</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>99,906.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Budgets of the respective Panchayat Samitis for the concerned years.
The third component of the non-tax revenue is that of the contributions and donations that the Gram Panchayats and the general public makes towards the Samiti fund. The Gram Panchayats in the jurisdiction of a Panchayat Samiti generally make two types of contributions, namely, the share of the pay of their Secretary and the games funds. Since the day the Panchayat Secretary has become an employee of the Panchayat Samiti, he is paid by the Samiti. It realises the entire amount of his pay from the concerned Gram Panchayat, which make payment in lump-sum once a year.

The games fund is raised everywhere. The usual share of each Gram Panchayat, as has been the practice in these Samitis ranges between Rs. 17/- to Rs. 20/- per annum. It is raised to organise sports and tournaments.

As regards the donations by the general public and other bodies, there has been no such practice and consequently nowhere such donations have been made. The probable reason is two-fold. Firstly, the Panchayat Samiti little feels the necessity for the same. Secondly, there is very little direct contact of the Samiti and the people.

Finally, comes the interest that the Panchayat Samiti gets from the loans and the deposits. Since the

1. The amendment in the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952, as effected in 1965, and came into force on 24.4.1965, transferred the services of the Panchayat Secretaries to the Panchayat Samitis.
Panchayat Samitis have come into existence only a few years back, they do not possess enough funds to invest them in securities or shares. Hence very small income accrues from this source.

Conclusion:

The detailed analysis of the financial position of the five Panchayat Samitis in the foregoing paragraphs, leads one to conclude that the income of the Panchayat Samiti from its own sources (namely taxes and fees) is too little. It is hardly sufficient to meet the cost of its own establishment (Table No. 42). If the salary bill of the governmental wing of its staff, which, at present, is paid by the government itself, is also included, then it appears that the Panchayat Samiti would go in perpetual deficit. This, in other words, means that the Panchayat Samiti is too much dependent on the Government not only to run its development functions, but even to maintain its office.

Although it can never be expected that the Panchayati Raj bodies shall ever be self-sufficient to the extent of meeting all their expenses - administrative and developmental, out of their own funds, yet it is very essential that each level of the Panchayati Raj set up be assured of its regular and independent income. Chapman Brain very aptly remarks, "Adequate financial resources which are independent of the State, are a sine-qua non of proper local government. Without them local authorities become mere agents of the Central Government"
Table No. 42

Showing the comparative position of the income of the
Panchayat Samitis from their own sources and their
expenditure, as based on the actuals for the year, 1965-66

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panchayat Samiti</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Percentage of expenditure to income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indore</td>
<td>30,425.80</td>
<td>27,850</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagrota</td>
<td>21,505.67</td>
<td>21,766.40</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardlnath</td>
<td>26,931</td>
<td>19,785</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dajnagar</td>
<td>8,244.11</td>
<td>8,969.47</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badaun</td>
<td>25,047</td>
<td>23,256</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>24,971</td>
<td>19,125.77</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Budgets of the respective Panchayat Samitis for 1965-66.

and elected representation loses most of its point. 1

The need for independent source of income is felt all the
more in respect to the Panchayat Samiti because to-day
it acts as an agency in the development programme and
tomorrow when the government grants are discontinued
(as they are likely to), it shall have to maintain all
the new institutions. Then it will become a problem to
meet a heavy expenditure out of its own resources.

The desirability of providing independent sources
of income to the Panchayati Raj bodies, has also been

1 Chapman, Brian, Introduction to French Local Government,
stressed by the Rajasthan Government's Study Team, says, "While devising the new scheme of taxation we have to keep in view that the Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad have to carry out certain essential functions in respect of local administration and development and, therefore, they should have their own resources of income so as to be able to augment their financial resources and exercise discretion and greater autonomy in the discharge of their functions".

It is, therefore, highly desirable that the Government should, on the one hand, increase the grants and, on the other encourage them to build their own sources. In this context, the recommendation of the Study Team on Panchayati Raj in Punjab that the whole land revenue be given to these bodies deserves consideration.

Problems of Budgeting

It was observed that the budgetary work at the Panchayat Samiti headquarters is in complete disarray. It is not being done in any systematic manner. The rules of financial procedure, and the norms of efficiency are not being observed by the staff concerned. This is partly

2. Report of the Study Team on Panchayati Raj in Punjab, para 7.6 (1).
due to the lack of the experience on the part of the staff and partly due to the pressure of excessive impatience and haste on the part of the elected element for the development work.

The biggest defect lies in the procedure of budgeting. According to the budget rules (framed under Section 115 of the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Vila Parishads Act, 1961) a Panchayat samiti is supposed to prepare and pass the budget for the next financial year by the 15th of February every year and submit it to the Vila Parishad for approval so that all the formalities are finally gone through before the 15th of March, i.e., a fortnight before the commencement of the new financial year. But it was found that the Panchayat Samitis ordinarily did not adhere to this time scheme. Since these rules had not been finally passed until as late as August, 1964, the officials did not show much regard for them. The obvious result was that the budgets were seldom prepared and passed in time. It was mentioned that the Nagrota Panchayat Samiti discussed their budget for the year 1964-65 as late as July 10, 1964. Going through the inspection report of the Panchayat Samiti Sujan Pur Tira it was found that the Deputy Commissioner, Kangra, in his report, had noted that the said Panchayat Samiti had transmitted their budget for the year, 1964-65 to the Vila

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1. The said Budget rules were framed by the Government and notified by it vide the Development and Panchayat Department's notification dated 17.8.1964.
Parishad as late as September 28, 1965, and the latter had approved it on 3.10.1964. Again, the Commissioner, Agricultural Production and Rural Development and Secretary to Government, Punjab, addressed a communication on November 5, 1965, to as many as fifteen Panchayat Samitis of the District, asking them to submit the copies of their budgets to him for the year 1965-66 which they were ordinarily expected to do by February 12, 1965.

All this implies that the Panchayat Samitis had been incurring their expenditure quite irregularly without the valid vote of sanctions. This is an important lapse because on the one hand it grants a good deal of discretion to the officials, and, on the other, it keeps the duly elected representatives of the tax-payers deprived of their privilege to control the finances of the institution over which they preside.

The second defect is that the various departments of the State Government which give grants to the Panchayat Samitis, according to the rules, are expected to intimate to the Zila Parishad the nature and volume of the grants that they are to give to the various Panchayati Raj bodies next year, sufficiently ahead of the commencement of the financial year, i.e. by the end of November. But generally they do not do so. The obvious repercussion of this lapse is that the grants when received in the middle

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or sometimes in the end of the year, cannot be exhausted during the course of the year. Good many instances of this type were found in the various Panchayat Samitis.

To quote one such instance, it was found at Nagrota that a sum of Rs. 43,290 had been allotted to the Panchayat Samiti for agricultural improvement in 1963-64. Out of this grant, Rs. 13,290 were transferred to the Panchayat Samiti as late as February, 1964. As regards the rest of the amount, the sanction for its transfer to the Panchayat Samiti could not be procured from the office of the Accountant General, Punjab, right till the end of the year for which the grant-in-aid had been received. In the light of such an indifferent attitude of the higher authorities, how the Panchayat Samitis can be expected to frame their budgets in a neat and clean manner and well in time.

The Study Team On Panchayati Raj in Punjab, also refers to this problem. It observes, "In an examination of the manner in which grants are being released to the Panchayati Raj bodies in this State we find that the order of such allocation is not known very much in advance to the concerned institution. Further, the purposive grants under various heads are released at the fag end of the year. All this results in the Panchayat

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1. This particular case found a pointed reference in the inspection report of the District Development and Panchayat Officer, dated 19th to 15th March, 1964 - Panchayat Samiti Nagrota Inspection Book.
Samitis and Vila Parishads not being in a position to undertake any advanced planning and programming\(^1\).

Another lacuna that was found in the system of budgeting was that the budgets once framed and duly passed were quite often changed, i.e. whenever the officers feel like changing the budgetary allotment of one or more items, they did so by simply modifying the already approved figures. The established and commonly followed practice in all such matters is that if any change is to be effected that must be done by means of a supplementary budget. But none bothers to adopt this process. The reason, is, as most of the Samiti Accountants disclosed, that the Chairman and their political supporters who generally wish for a modification of the figures sometimes get too impatient to wait for the time that the normal procedure of preparing and passing the supplementary budget would involve. They direct the officials to do the needful without caring for what the rules prescribe. Hence, the irregularity is committed.

The maintenance of the provincialised schools and veterinary dispensaries, which, of late, has become a point of controversy between the State Government, on the one side, and the Municipalities and the Vila Parishads, on the other, is another item on the budget whose irregularities...

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ties are committed. The Accountant of the "Vila Parishad stated that the Panchayat Samitis did not make adequate provision in their budgets for meeting their share of the cost of the maintenance of the erstwhile district Board Schools and veterinary dispensaries (whose administration has now been taken over by the State Government), a certain percentage of which the "Vila Parishad are required to pay to the State Government every year. The Panchayat Samitis, in the first instance, consider this contribution as quite an undue burden on their tender resources because they think that it is totally unjustified to pay for the maintenance of those institutions which have long ceased to be theirs. Then they entertain a grouse against the Vila Parishad which, as some of the respondents said, has fixed their share in quite an arbitrary manner. Thus there ensues a controversy between the Vila Parishad and the Panchayat Samitis. There is a little likelihood of its coming to an end in the near future.

Meeting:

1. According to the provision of the law, a Panchayat Samiti is supposed to hold one ordinary meeting every two months. Besides, if need be, it can convene special meetings also, for which a notice of comparatively shorter duration (i.e. of four days instead of ten days)

1. The Panchayat Samitis and Vila Parishads Act, 1961, Section 22.
2. Ibid, Section 32, sub-section (2).
is required. During the year, 1965-66, the Nagrota, Baijnath and Badaun Panchayat Samitis have adhered to this schedule of six meetings a year. The Indora and Sajampur Panchayat Samitis have, however, held less number of meetings, i.e. four each (Table No. 43). Even in the past years, the average number of meetings in these Panchayat Samitis has remained comparatively smaller as compared to the rest. As to the reason why these two Panchayat Samitis held comparatively less number of meetings, their Chairman and Executive Officers explained that they deliberately did so because of their poor finances. They could not afford the expenditure of a larger number of meetings. This argument of theirs does not seem to be a convincing one. They might be unduly restricting the number of the meetings at the cost of the democratic functioning of the Panchayat Samitis.

The Nagrota and the Baijnath Panchayat Samitis have also convened three special meetings. The former held them in addition to the six ordinary meetings, and the latter treated them as ordinary ones also. The occasions for holding special meetings have been certain administrative matters of some acute urgency, or to find out the ways and means how to lead production campaigns.

1. Appointment of the staff against certain vacant posts according to the recommendations of the District Committee, Meeting of the Panchayat Samiti Nagrota, dated February 3, 1965.

or to promote defence effort, for which express instructions have been received from the State Government, and for such other purposes.

As regards the attendance of members, they appeared to have shown a reasonable degree of interest in the Panchayat Samiti work. The average attendance of all categories of members has been 78 per cent. This percentage is quite encouraging, especially in view of two factors. First, the Panchayat Samitis are still in their infancy and the members cannot be expected to be very regular. Second, the journey in the hills is quite arduous, particularly in the rainy seasons, which in Langra district is both quite fierce and prolonged. The members seem to have defied all these hurdles and have attended the meetings more or less regularly and only unavoidable circumstances appear to have held them up.

Amongst the various categories, the associate members (the State Legislators) and the Sub-Divisional Officers (Civil), who are the ex-officio members of the Panchayat Samitis within the jurisdiction of their sub-divisions, have taken comparatively less interest in the Panchayat Samiti affairs. The percentage of the attendance of the former comes to 10 and that of the latter to 14. (Table No. 43).

Several elected and the co-opted members when contacted made a pointed reference to the continued and deliberate absence from the meetings of the legislators members. Most of them complained that they (the legislators) came to the meetings only when they had some personal motive to solve. At Nagrota it was mentioned (which was later on verified from the minute book also) that out of the two legislators associated as members with that Panchayat Samiti one never cared to come to any meeting of the Samiti, since it came into existence. The other attended but twice — once when the campaign for the defence fund was to be initiated in 1962 and the second when a resolution of condolence was to be passed to mourn the death of Prime Minister Nehru. Such was their degree of interest, the respondents ironically remarked.

The legislators' lack of interest in the institutions of Panchayat Raj is not a peculiar feature in the District of Kairana or the Punjab alone. But it is a tendency noticed almost all over the country. The Rajasthan Government's Study Team on Panchayati Raj also complains of this. It observes, "The A.L.A.'s. have taken interest at the Zila Parishad level and have been quite regular in attending the meetings. But at the Panchayat Samiti level, they have not taken much interest nor have they attended the meetings of the Panchayat Samiti regularly". 

It can quite reasonably be recognised that the legislators have many pre-occupations and that they cannot come and attend every meeting of the Panchayat Samiti, but that does not in any way completely absolve them of their responsibility that the membership of the Panchayat Samiti puts on them. Their presence is not only expected to encourage the Samiti members, but will also help raising the standard of the debate, because coming, as they do, from the higher echelons of parliamentary circles, they will bring with them a higher sense of discipline and decorum. (The Study Team on Panchayati Raj in Punjab does not agree with this view). They must, therefore, be compulsorily required to attend at least a few meetings. The recommendations of the State Evaluation Committee on the working of the Community Development Programme in the Punjab (1960) made in this behalf, deserve to be implemented. The Committee suggested that any legislator who was a member of the Block Development Committee (the predecessor of the Panchayat Samiti) be removed from its membership if he failed to attend three consecutive meetings of the Block Development Committee.


The absence of the Sub Divisional Officers from the meetings of the Panchayat Samiti is also not a very healthy sign; because he being a representative of the State Government and the incharge of the Civil administration of a sub-division can play an important role in the deliberations of the Council. The Punjab Administrative Reforms Commission also takes note of this lapse of duty on the part of the Sub Divisional Officers. The reasons for this lapse, as are generally advanced by the official and the non-official elements, have lucidly been summed up by the Commission in these words: "The general feeling is that the Sub Divisional Officer is not in a position to play an effective role. The complaint from non-official elements is that Sub Divisional Officers, who are only members of these Samitis, rarely attend the meetings of the Samiti, some because the Chairman is a non-official and some others out of sheer indifference and a few, because of other engagements".

Since the Reforms Commission is of the view that the existing jurisdiction of the Panchayat Samiti, which is co-terminus with that of a Community Development Block, be changed so as to encompass the whole sub-division, it recommends that the Sub Divisional Officer be adequately empowered to play an effective role. That is possible only if he is made the Executive Officer of the Panchayat Samiti. This writer in the first instance

2. Ibid, para. 9.10.
does not agree with the basic proposal that the jurisdiction of the Panchayat Samiti be expanded (it should not be disturbed,) and then feels that any additional power given to the Sub-Divisional Officer will be just adding to his already heavy burden. Better it is that the Sub-Divisional Officer be absolved from all responsibility towards the Panchayat Samiti. For all supervisory function, it should be put under the District Panchayat Officer, for the creation of whose post this writer is making a suggestion elsewhere.

The order of proceedings of the meetings has been determined by the Government through a circular. According to it, a meeting opens with the question-hour. First thirty minutes are devoted to the asking of questions. But the minute books of the Panchayat Samitis under study reveal that the members have not evinced much interest in asking questions. Meetings after meetings have taken place but not a single question has been asked. The number of questions asked in various Panchayat Samitis during 1965-66 has been, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indora</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagrara</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baijnath</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sujampur</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamirpur</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that the members have not developed


2. Ibid, Rule No. 85 (2) (l)

3. Figures taken from the minute-books for the year, 1965-66 of the respective Panchayat Samitis.
that degree of political maturity, which they ought to have possessed. But this is not something very much surprising because such things grow but gradually. It will, therefore, take sometime for the local leaders to shake off their fear complex and to develop the democratic spirit of interpelating the officers in the meetings.

After the question hour, the relevant papers, comprising important letters and circulars of the Government, reports of the Standing Committees, are tabled. As a rule, no discussion takes place on them. Then follows the main part of the proceedings. The resolutions for which proper notice of six days, as required by the rules, has been received, are moved. Discussion at this stage is quite free and frank. The members forcefully press the claims and counter-claims of their respective Gram Panchayats, especially whenever the issues pertaining to the distribution of grants and such other benefits are under consideration. Sometimes tempers also fray. But, on the whole, discussions are orderly and peaceful. It was only once in the last five years that a meeting had to be dispersed in a pandemonium. The occasion arose at Nadaun and the issue involved was the

1. Ibid, Rule No. 25 (2)(2).
2. Ibid, Rule No. 5 (2)(6).
location of the Panchayat Samiti headquarters. The two groups, pleading the case of two different places, came to a bitter clash. The exchange of hot words continued for a pretty long time and when the Chairman lost all hopes to restore order, he dispersed the meeting. No where else such a situation ever arose.

Assessing the role that the Panchayat Samiti meetings have played in providing training of parliamentary procedure to the local leadership and in properly safeguarding the interests of their constituents, one finds that these are doing a very useful work. Hundreds of members all over the State, most of whom never had had the opportunity of witnessing the proceedings of any legislative chamber, are to-day receiving practical training and conducting the proceeding of a house, which can favourably be compared to the State Legislative Assembly or even the Lok Sabha. Their participation in the deliberation of the house and the freedom with which they can take part in its debates would tend to liberate them from the fear complex which centuries of alien rule has injected into their minds. The number of questions has, however, been very small, yet, at times, they have pulled up the negligent officials. All that gives a proof that the Panchayat Samiti meetings have begun to prove their utility.

The minute book of the Nagrota Panchayat Samiti revealed an interesting case depicting the democratic nature of the Samiti's functioning. It so happened that once a grant of Rs. 25,000 was received by Panchayat Samiti
for the improvement of the water supply in the villages.

When the Executive Officer brought that to the notice of the members of the Samiti and asked them to frame the schemes on which that amount was to be utilised, one of the members who happened to be the Samiti's representative in the Parishad demanded that the whole amount be passed on to his village for the installation of the pipes on the plea that it was exclusively due to his hard efforts that the grant had been secured from the Parishad. But the rest of the members would not agree to his suggestion and demanded the distribution of the grant among all the needy villages. Since the member happened to be a strong one, some of the officials and the Chairman supported him. But the members would not listen. Ultimately everyone had to bow to the wishes of the majority. Had such a grant been received during the earlier days of community development programme that person might have got allocated the whole grant to his village by exerting pressures on the Block Development Officer. But now the representatives of the people would not allow anyone to oblige anyone.

An equally interesting case was traced in the minute-book of the Sujampur Panchayat Samiti, where the members asked the Government to recover their travelling and daily allowances from the salary of the acting

Executing Officer who, after fixing the meetings, had deliberately absented himself on that day. This shows the sense of democratic functioning on the part of that people, who, until recently, feared the officials.

In this way one finds that healthy traditions of democracy are beginning to be laid through this institution of the Panchayat Samiti.

**Standing Committees:**

With a view to saving the time of the general House over the discussion on details and to ensuring closer consideration of the items, and above all to indicate greater interest among the members in the affairs of the Samiti by drawing them closer to the various aspects of its working the Punjab Panchayat Samiti and Tila Parishad Act, 1961, has provided for the establishment of three Standing Committees. These Committees are known as Standing Committee Nos. I, II and III. The first deals with Taxation and Finance, second with agriculture and allied fields, and the third with education and health.

The details of the constitution and mode of functioning of these Committees are governed by the by-laws of the respective Panchayat Samiti which it has framed under Section 59 (2) of the Punjab Panchayat Samiti and

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2. The Punjab Panchayat Samiti and Tila Parishads, Act, 1961, Section 59, Sub section (1).
Villa Parishad Act, 1961. The broad outlines of these by-laws were originally worked out by the Government and circulated to all the Panchayat Samitis, these, framed them accordingly. Hence they are the same everywhere. According to them, each Committee consists of six to eight members, i.e. one Chairman, one Secretary and four to six ordinary members. The Standing Committee No. 1 is presided over by the Samiti Chairman, who does so in his ex-officio capacity. The Chairman of the other two committees are elected by the Samiti members. The Executive Officer, the J.L.P.O., and the Extension Officer for Agriculture respectively act as the Secretaries of the Standing Committee No. 1, 2 and 3. The members of all the Committees are elected by the Panchayat Samiti.

The Standing Committees are supposed to meet once a month. The meetings are convened by the Committee Chairman with a week's notice. Besides, any five members of the Committee can also ask for the meetings, which the Chairman must convene. But it has been observed that the meetings of the Standing Committees are held a day or a few hours before the Samiti meeting, so that the members may not have the trouble of coming to the Headquarters again and again. All the Panchayat Samitis have adhered to this schedule pretty seriously. (Table No. 44).

1. The Standing Committee, By-laws, No. 2.
2. Ibid.
3. By-law No. 7 (a)
4. By-law No. 7 (b).
Table No. 44

Showing the record of the meetings of the various Standing Committees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Panchayat Samiti</th>
<th>Standing Committee No. I</th>
<th>Standing Committee No. II</th>
<th>Standing Committee No. III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nagrota</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baijmath</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajapur</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadaun</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indore

Source: Records of the respective Panchayat Samiti

The agenda of the meeting is decided by the Committee Chairman in consultation of the Samiti Chairman. The Standing Committee No. 1 deals with the annual budget, scrutinises all the development proposals, reviews the staff position, looks after the maintenance of accounts and submission of statements, formulation of tax proposals, collection of taxes and fees, sanctioning and recovery of loan etc. The Standing Committee No. 2 examines and approves all the development schemes as formulated by the officers in the field of agriculture, minor irrigation, animal husbandry, seeds, manures etc. Similarly, the Standing Committee No. 3 deals with the proposals pertaining to the school building, social educ-

cation, drinking water, health and sanitation, cultural activities etc.

All Schemes of development, before they are taken up by the Panchayat Samiti, are referred to the concerned Standing Committee for examination and approval. If any one of them involves any monetary expenditure (other than the one not included in the Schematic budget) it is then sent to the Standing Committee No. 1. After the Committee or Committees have examined them and appended their recommendations, these schemes go to the Executive Officer. He now attaches his certificate to the effect that the decision of the Committee is within its competence and may be accepted, or that the decision is beyond its competence and may, thus, be set aside. In the former case the Samiti simply affixes its seal of approval. In the other case, the Samiti may still approve of it or refer the matter to the competent authority for approval. If the Samiti approves of it, the Executive Officer is supposed to send a copy of the proceedings to the Deputy Commissioner for information. He may take any action as he deems fit. It would be final and binding on the Panchayat Samiti. These over-riding powers have been given to the Deputy Commissioner with a view to putting a reasonable degree of restraint in the Panchayat Samitis which in the initial stages are likely to commit irregularities. Nowhere, any irregularity has been committed, so far.

There is another aspect of the working of the Standing Committees. If at any time the recommendations
of a Standing Committee are not found agreeable by the Panchayat Samiti, it cannot over-ride them. In such a situation, the Samiti has no other option except to refer the matter back to the Standing Committee concerned. Now it rests upon the sweet will of the latter whether or not to accept the viewpoint of the Samiti. If the two are drawn opposite to each other, there is no suitable method, to dissolve the deadlock. This is a flaw in the by-laws. It has led to the complete suspension of the execution of project in one Panchayat Samiti. It was learnt that in Hamirpur Block (not covered in this survey) the majority group in the Standing Committee No. III did not see eye to eye with the group of the Samiti Chairman. Whatever the Standing Committee would recommend the Samiti would not accept and there would, consequently, entail a long process of repeated reference to the Committee and back. Towards the end of the year, it was found that the entire budgetary allotment for the projects pertaining to education, health, etc., remained completely unspent.

As regards the respondents' re-action to the system of Standing Committees, all the twenty non-officials and ten officials appreciated the idea of instituting them (Table No. 45). They said that these Standing Committees, on the one hand provided an additional opportunity to the members (who otherwise might have remained passive and disinterested) to come closer to the Samiti administration, and, on the other ensured a better and more detailed consideration of the various
items on the agenda of the House. Some of them even went to the extent of saying that after having served on the various Committees they felt that they had gained in experience and wisdom. Thus everyone appeared to have realised the immense importance of these Committees.

As to the actual functioning of these Committees, 85 percent of the non-officials and 60 percent of the official remarked that they were getting on in a fairly efficient manner. The remaining 15 percent of the former and 40 percent of the latter did not agree with this opinion and pointed out certain short-comings in their working. Sixty-six percent of the dissenting non-officials pointed out that these Committees had become the agencies for distribution of the 'spoils'. It was a general tendency on the part of the members serving on these Committees to share among themselves the benefits accruing from the projects which they review and recommend to the Samiti. It had been frequently observed that the claims of those villages whose representatives had not been included in the Committee were generally ignored. The members of the finance Committee had an additional advantage because they exercised the power of making the budgetary allocations to the various projects.

The Rajasthan Government's Study Team on Panchayat Raj also makes a similar observation. It remarks "The minority group in the Panchayat Samiti generally does
Table No. 45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of the reply</th>
<th>Non-officials</th>
<th>Officials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsatisfactory</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

not get representation on the Standing Committee, and has been often neglected in distribution of benefits. E. Maheshwari also makes a similar complaint. He says, "Because of the domination by the majority group, their (Standing Committees') decisions tend to be more partisan unfair and corrupt."

One non-official respondent complained that the officials had rendered these committees useless. Their too much dominance was mostly responsible for their defective functioning. He blamed the Block Officers for not routing all the papers through these Committees. He further said that the officers had, no doubt, learnt to behave more or less in a reasonable manner towards the Chairman and the 'house', but the old bureaucratic attitude of dominance had not altogether died. They

seemed to consider it somewhat beneath their dignity to submit them to a thorough scrutiny by the Standing Committees. Whenever a member objected that a particular issue should have been referred to the Committee before it was put in the House, the Executive Officers, in most of the cases, would laught out the suggestions. But if the member happened to be a bit strong, the Executive Officers would try to humour him in one way or the other. This hesitation of the officers to show due regard to the Standing Committees, was held responsible for their sluggish working. Some of the official respondents, on the other hand, complained that the non-officials showed little regard for them, quite often their opinion was not taken into account by the Committees while approving the development projects.

Both the members and the officials, it is hoped, will by and by develop a spirit of mutual goodwill and will learn to work with one another as they acquire more and more experience.