The most crying need in the humbler ranks of life is that they should be allowed some part in the direction of public affairs. That is what will develop their faculties and intelligence and self-respect.

An Enemy of the People, Act II: Henrik Ibsen
CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: FUNCTIONAL EVALUATION

In the nature of the planned development in India, the community development projects are centrally conceived, externally induced and administratively implemented, to bring in changes in the rural social structure in consonance with the changes in other parts of the social system. As such, they are three distinct aspects of the same process such as, the systemic orientations, the situationally specified targets and aims, and finally the administrative arrangements. These three aspects form the core of community development in India.

As we suggested earlier, the nature of social change in India is institutional change, centrally planned by the government and implemented. As such the system needs are defined and delineated by the government through planning commission at the Centre. The priorities in the planning, the administrative arrangements, the resource planning, the technical know-how, etc., are all planned at the system level i.e., at the national level. These plans are translated into programmes, objectives and targets in the name of community development. The major aim of community development is in the first place to
augment the agricultural production mainly and in the process to change the rural social structure in all its aspects, and secondly to raise the living standards of the rural people to a higher level. Administratively, a block is considered to be the unit for action with a Block Development Officer at its top, eight extension officers of various branches, and with ten village level workers as the last units of the administrative hierarchy to establish contact with the rural folk. To help this establishment, other office staff are attached. A year is considered to be the required period to focus the attention of the rural folk to take to the idea of community development. After this pre-extension period, the Phase I period extends for about five years and another five years of Phase II by which time it is expected that the rural folk would be able to take over to be on their own. With this fixation of block area and budgetary provisions, a time limit is set in the form of matrix. Thus the administrative arrangements and the budgetary provisions formed a limiting case for the block to develop the community. What is the nature of community, the block intends to develop?

Before getting into the details, a look into the rural social structure will give a clear picture. The
stratification of the rural social structure is a hierarchical arrangement with Brahmins at the top ending with untouchables at the bottom, the place being decided by the birth (ascription). In addition to this, the higher castes, being the possessors of the land which is a facility and a reward for rank ordering, also stand high in the hierarchy of stratification. There is an apparent mixing up of ritual and economic structures in the rural social structure. Thus castes form the core of the rural social structure.

By 'community', the government have defined, cross-cutting across the caste, creed and religion, which is meant the interests of the people in a given area, and where the decision-making regarding the interests of that area is vested in the community institutions. As such the community development plans do approach the rural social structure by universal criteria rather than particularistic criteria.

In terms of pattern change, the community development programmes attempt to change the pattern from one of particularism to that of universalism. The nature of social change and the nature of government's role have set the pace and direction for the change agent to attempt
it on universal level. The government's interest lies in bringing changes on the universal level, such as building roads, opening up communications, constructing of hospitals, schools and irrigation systems, markets, rural health schemes, etc., which are universal in their appeal to all the people. The village level worker (VLW) is entrusted with the task of raising the agricultural output to meet the system's demands. Although here this appeal is one of formulating block plans, village plans and finally individual farm plans to divide the output in terms of targets and time specifications, to a large extent, he has failed.

The enormity of the country and the enormity of the nature of planned development had a constricting effect on the nature of formulating plans. Naturally, the entire plan frame is prepared at the top and conveyed to the units by the administrative machinery. In this process, because of the one way traffic, there is a breakdown of communication which is inimical during the period of social change. The planning which is required from the bottom has failed to show up since the plans have been given to the villagers in terms of targets.

Moreover, in the universal principle of creating
community development programmes in the entire nation, often the budgetary provisions have worked as a constraint against rising aspirations. Without reference to the motivational requirements the blocks and their staffing patterns have been created universally. Our problem is to study the impact of universally oriented community development projects on the particularistically arranged, ranked, stratification system of the village social structure.

As the plans were formulated from the top, there was no motivational commitment toward the system in comprehensive way, whatever motivational commitment has developed is particularised toward understanding the programme not as a whole but as utilitarian items. There is a lag between the functional necessity of the system, such as agricultural production, and the motivational orientations of the unit. Whatever acceptance is there in the way of change is not sufficiently functional or dysfunctional to the system's needs. Clearly, the system's needs are augmentation of agricultural production. For this purpose, land reforms, fixation of ceiling, ownership and cultivating rights are functional to the needs of the system. But from the present stratification system obtained in the village, it is dysfunctional because of
non-commitment toward the system goals of the stratification system. Thus there is a gap between the system and the unit. What is functional to the system is dysfunctional to the unit and hence it led to communication breakdown. Whatever are functionally conceived as system goals in terms of new values have been absorbed by the units in a perfunctory way and not in a systemic way.

From this point of view, the planned development which is externally induced and the social structure which is organised on a different criteria—are at variance and whatever is accepted by the social structure is a differential acceptance of differential units.

The stratification system is organized on particularistic basis. Hence there are differential units with differential motivations geared up in the system. But when a uniform and universalistic pattern of change is introduced into a differentially arranged social structure, the acceptance is also variable and differential according to the differential participation. Thus we may say that social participation is a function of differentially ranked stratification accepting the universalistic social change in a differential way. The motivation of a unit is a function of the structural position in which the
unit is implicated. As long as the structural position is intact the change is absorbed in a particularistic way.

What is the structural position?

When we referred that possession of land decided the place in the stratification, essentially we were referring that there were land-based hierarchies such as large cultivators, medium cultivators, small cultivators, tenant cultivators, cultivator-cum-labourers and agricultural labourers respectively. At the bottom artisans and other service castes share the rank order with the agricultural labourers. As the land reforms lagged behind and as the system's imperative of raising food production is the need of the hour, the community development programme is formulated in terms of agriculture. And hence the structurally implicated unit is motivated to absorb the new techniques, methods, etc. as far as is functional for the unit to continue as a ranked unit. This has a special implication for the stratification system. In the upper rungs, the power of controlling the changes and absorption of techniques is also high due to the possession of facilities which the lower ranks do not possess. This is to say that higher echelons have the capacity to absorb the entire benefits accruing through
community development projects. Thus the capacity of the lower rung unit to change its structural position is enormously thwarted. In the following sections how participation is affected, and how the new development institutions are manned to perpetuate the structural positions in which the upper caste, landed gentry are entrenched, inhibiting the lower rung agricultural labourers and artisans to change their structural positions are discussed.

What is the approach of the government toward the rural society for infusing the change? It is said that felt-need approach\(^1\) is the best way to gain acceptance.

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\(^1\)This concept of "felt-needs" has been borrowed from U.S.A. which has a different cultural setting. The Allahabad Agricultural Institute in its evaluation of extension methods found that "felt-needs" approach was the best approach, see Allahabad Agricultural Institute, EXTENSION EVALUATION, (Allahabad: 1957), p.ii. The approach was a myth, see, Scarlett Trent, "Community Development Administration—An Evaluation," The Economic Weekly, X(26-28), 1958, especially pp.389-391. Contrary to this Taylor believes; "The first step in community development is systematic discussion among members of the local community of the commonly felt needs. It is only when discussions are systematic, even though among a relatively few representative persons or families, that analysis of important commonly felt need is accomplished. Such discussion is readily induced where local villagers have cause to believe that any organized self-help efforts on their part will be encouraged and assisted by government or some other dependable agency." Carl C. Taylor, A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF INDIA'S COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, (New Delhi: Community Projects Administration, Government of India, 1956), p.15. But 'felt-needs' need not necessarily bring 'felt-action', see Charles R. Hoffer, "Social Action in Community Development," Rural Sociology, XXIII(1), March 1958, pp.44-46. As the
But felt-need approach is a static approach which leads nowhere. It is not dynamic. In villages, as far as felt-needs are concerned, it is generally a family or a group of families which dictate/s the wants or the requirements of the village. Hence it is essentially the group-dominated wants that are given generally. Any attempt of change which does not change the tradition will not be a change, because, otherwise, the domination of the same elements persist. Whatever is suitable for the loosening of tradition must be encouraged in order to bring in changes. McClelland, advocates

"What we are recommending will in many cases disrupt traditional family life, and tear the fabric of social living which represents for any culture an already eminently successful adjustment to its world. The only force powerful enough to weaken the hold of traditional values is a new idealistic set of aspirations which must be widely disseminated throughout the population. In the past it has usually taken the religious zeal of

results have become evident the approach has been abandoned in India, see, M.J.Coldwell, et al, REPORT OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION MISSION IN INDIA, 23rd November 1958 to 3rd April 1959, Appointed under the United Nations Programme of Technical Assistance, (New Delhi: Department of Community Development, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, 17th August 1959), p.47. Hereafter referred to as UNP Mission Report. In the upper echelons the concept is discarded, but it still lingers in the lower ranks.
missionaries, a social revolutionary movement, dictatorship, or the charismatic appeal of a leader like Megasagasy or Nehru to provide the new goals which are sufficiently powerful to wean people away from the old. Perhaps nationalism plus a missionary zeal of some individuals from the rich countries to share the wealth plus greatly improved facilities for public communication will provide a sufficiently strong desire for change in our time in most underdeveloped countries.  

What is needed is a change in the motivational orientation and structural arrangements wherein the changed motivational orientations could be goal-directed. What are the steps involved in this change? How are they to be implemented? A look into the extension methods would give a clear picture.

As usual, the plans should be formulated at the Centre and communicated to the states and the blocks via the community projects' organization. So the decisions should be made at the top. The block officials should

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2David C. McClelland, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE NATURE OF HUMAN MOTIVATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT RESEARCH, Background Paper, Conference on Community Development, (Endicott House: Centre for International Studies, Harvard University, 1957), pp.49-50. Emphasis in the original. Mimeoographed. He further says that "by putting felt-needs and welfare considerations first, planners almost inevitably fall into the "doctors' fallacy." They help those who need help most and in so doing...injure more people in the long run." p.29. Emphasis in the original.

3Karl C. Taylor, Ibid., p.7. Also see REPORT OF THE TEAM FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND
prepare a plan of action and communicate with the villagers. In this connection the importance of the VAW is stressed. The Officials concerned should consult him in the formulation of the plans. The Social Education Officer (SEO), plays an important part in inculcating an urge in the villagers to accept the new mode of life. The benefits should accrue to the participating units and the changes should be known to everybody around. The most fundamental aspect of any programme should be one of development of human motivation by which the psychological change could be brought in. Tumin suggests fifteen steps to bring about the change in the villagers' outlook so that change could be affected imperceptibly and step by step. He begins with discontent, a need for change, evaluation of alternatives and consequences of particular action and so on till it is internalized in the ways of life.


5Melvin H. Tumin, SOME SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, Background paper, Conference on Community Development, (Endicot House: Centre for International Studies, Harvard University, 1957), pp. 38-40. It is also possible that all discontent need not lead to action, and to the people may also put up with it, see p. 41.
In addition to this the planners should know the values of the group, past failures, priority in targets, keeping open the communication channels, proper identification of the projects with the influential and non-partisan leaders, etc.  

We observed in the above that felt-needs need not bring felt-action in the direction of change. When there are no dissatisfactions they are to be created and lines of action should be proposed. In this connection Ensinger forcefully puts forward the notion

"To produce the climate for change, dissatisfaction must be created with what people have and the way they are now living. The things that are added to the village culture, must bring new satisfaction and thus create a new level of stability. Specifically, the process of change is starting from stability (satisfaction with existing conditions) to instability (dissatisfaction with existing conditions), from stability to instability and on, up the ladder to a higher level of cultural achievement."


But with the official domination of the programme, it has become well-nigh impossible in the process of two-way communication between the officials and the people concerned. There is a failure of superimposed programme, due to lack of initiative from the side of the people. Compliance with the official programme makes it rather an official programme than a people's programme. The much talked about 'plans from the bottom' never materialised.  

In spite of the best efforts of the planners at the top the two-way communication has broken down in the case of community development projects. They have simply become official programmes without the emotional or motivational commitment of the people. In this situation what has happened to the people's participation?  

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9Several theories have been suggested about the popular participation. Cultural acceptance of the participants is an important item in the promotion of community development projects, see, R. N. Srivastava, "People's participation in Community Development Projects," Seminar on Some Social Aspects of Social Planning, (Agra: Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University, 1960), pp. 137-143. There is an overwhelming need for social education, see Ram Das, "People's Participation in Community Development Programme," in Ibid., pp. 48-68. Hereafter the Seminar is referred to as Seminar on Social Planning; Second Year's Working of Community Projects, p. 31; Mehta Team Report,
From the above it is evident that participation in community development programmes is not such a simple affair but a complex phenomenon entwined with the entire social structure. The different factors are, the cultural factors, lines of communication through kinship, friendship circles, the acceptance by the prestigeful leaders of the village, a discontent with a following strong desire to change, the effectance of the programme, the ideological orientations, the amount of benefits accruing to the participants, the two-way process of communication by way of participation, the organizational arrangements of the programme execution, the integrity of the officials,

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pp. 101-102. The prestigeful stratum of the villagers should accept the programme then others would follow suit, see, Charles R. Hoffer, Op.Cit., p. 46. Participation is an organizational problem, see, D. S. Chauhan, "People's Participation-- An Organizational Problem," in Seminar on Social Planning, pp. 69-79. Sower suggests that "basic to an understanding of community involvement is the existence of a traditional set of beliefs and relationships which may be utilized when activating people in a program defined as for the common good." See Christopher Sower, and Walter Freeman, "Community Involvement in Community Development Programs," Rural Sociology, XXIII(1), March 1958, p. 25 and in general see pp. 25-33. Further it is argued that social distance between the participants should be reduced by means of social education, see D. Ghosh, "Evaluation of Community Development--Some Basic Considerations," The Economic Weekly, X(26-28), 1953, especially 897-900. Still others emphasize the need of understanding the cultural factors, see, Morris E. Adler, Op.Cit.
the presence or lack of village factions, etc., all play an important role in the people's participation. 10

This concern for treating the problem of participation as a general sociological concept turned out attention to the social structure itself. "The fundamental facts of stratification twist the social institutions." 11 This is the nearest to our formulation of the problem in terms of social structural features. Thus we designated that participation is a function of the social structure, more specifically, the function of stratification. A look into the Table No.1 will give the clear understanding of the problem. Beginning with the large cultivators the stratification represented in the table goes down to artisans and landless agricultural labourers. The participation in the different items of development works is a

10 The necessity of a theory of participation is emphasized. "The basic assumption accepted by the author in studying differential participation within a specific type of voluntary group, the cooperative association, was that a sociological concept at the general level of theory could be formulated to encompass participation throughout the range of formal voluntary groups. It was further assumed that additional well-defined conceptual variables could be used in formulating general hypothesis which would contribute toward a general theory of formal participation," from the abstract of Research Notes from John Harp, "A General Theory of Social Participation," Rural Sociology, XXIV(3), September 1959, p.290 and generally see pp.280-284.

clear indication of the stratification and its influence in the participation. There is fairly a good participation in the construction of roads. But in the case of wells the upper three groups fall out and the lower groups bulge in their participation. As far as schools are concerned the concern of the upper groups up to tenant-cultivators is very high. It goes down with cultivator-labourers and business standing low in the rank. As far as drains are concerned the upper groups' participation is high, thus suggesting the fact that they might be having their own houses and within the recognition of a sense of cleanliness. Same is the case with community centres. But in both the cases, from small cultivators downward the participation is nil. As far as bridges are concerned there is fairly a good participation. Significantly the business group turns up in this item, maybe, due to the business interests with connections in towns or other villages for which the bridges and culverts are very useful. Thus we see the differential participation of people in the community projects. The accruing benefits are also in the same proportion where they have adopted the improved methods of agriculture. The increase in the yields is also hierarchy-wise. A glance at the table no.2 would give a clear idea about this. This is also due to the system imperative of increasing the agricultural yields.
As our evaluation shows, the problem of participation is a function of social structure. Moreover when a uniform programme of development is administered on a differentially ranked social structure, the reception of that programme is also differential keeping the structural unit in the same position. Thus we see the acceptance of the programme in parts rather than as a whole.

Table No. 2
showing the differential increases in yields according to occupational categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>% of respondents in the category who say that their crop yields have increased.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large Owner Cultivators</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Cultivators</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Owner Cultivators</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant Cultivators</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator Labourers</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


"During this initial period all should realize that the achieving of these material targets and goals, has resulted in a series of somewhat unrelated social acts. In many cases, it has not resulted in change through the process of village self-education
that is, the integration of the social acts into the value system of the village culture."\textsuperscript{12}

In other words, the programme is received by the people in a series of individual acts which are not related and which do not occasion for change. Finally the understanding led to the realization that these unrelated acts should be built into the value structure of the villagers. This is to say that the villagers should internalize the new modes of behaviour into their normative pattern. So,

"... Social acts should be made parts of the values of the cultural system, that is when the village itself attaches value to them.... The people in the village must want to have a road, be willing to build a road, and want to maintain a road, because having a road has become important in the culture of the village."\textsuperscript{13}

Finally the individual acts should be built into the motivational orientations of the village so that it could be a self-generating in its own turn.

As a general corollary to the problem of participation, it was felt, that local institutions should take over from the government sponsored projects to locally initiated projects. For this an organization which can take over the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p.132. Italics in the original.
\end{flushleft}
functions of the village, block and district is necessary.\(^{14}\)

In the coming sections, the problem of creation of panchayats as statutory bodies is taken up.

As a part of national development, it was felt, in the early stages of community development, that the plans in order to be effective should be in the hands of the local people through their own institutions. And this awareness for the effective implementation of the plans led the planners to look towards the village institutions as purposeful media for public cooperation and national development.\(^{15}\) This focus on village level development institution was fundamental to the task of developing community. Along with the need for an institution for development, the need for village leadership was also felt. These two things, the village leadership which is capable of leading the entire village behind the development plans and the

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\(^{14}\) A third method to obtain action is the development of a special organization for the project under the sponsorship of an institution or organization already established in the community." Charles R. Hoffer, \textit{Op.Cit.}, p.\texttt{50}. The Mehta Team Report has also emphasized the necessity of a local organization to direct and execute the plans in terms of local needs and the system's imperatives. See Mehta Team Report, p.\texttt{6}. Such an organization which has been traditionally handed over to Indian villages is panchayat.

\(^{15}\) Planning Commission, \textit{ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC COOPERATION}, (New Delhi: 1953), pp.\texttt{111-151}. 
framework, in panchayats, which are needed to utilize such a leadership for developing the community, were recognized very early.

The Mehta Team suggested that such an organization must have ample resources at its command and must be allowed to make mistakes and learn from them. Such a development institution must be statutory, elective and comprehensive in its duties and functions and not be cumbersomely controlled by the government. At the block level also, another statutory body should replace the present advisory committee. The entire process is named as democratic decentralization.\(^\text{16}\) This is often referred to as three-tier system of administrative devolution, viz., at the village level panchayat, at the block level panchayat samiti, and at the district level Zilla Parishad.

"The creation of panchayat samities and Zilla parishads and the devolution upon them of the responsibility of supervising, guiding and assisting the village panchayat and the panchayat samiti, respectively, obviates the need for continuing the maintenance of a separate directorate of panchayats with its own departmental officers for control and inspection. Whatever supervision, guidance and assistance are necessary, will be provided by higher bodies in the constitution of which the lower bodies will have a dominant voice."\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{16}\)Mehta Team Report, pp. 23.

\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. 20.
Thus the recommendation of the Mehta Team Report on the devolution of the power was put into practice by legislative measures to ensure the maximum participation of the rural people in the development plans of villages and blocks.

The creation and investiture of the new system of power relationships brought sharply into focus the different elements and this had an effect on the aspirations of the local people. It is said that "aspirations would rise in geometric proportion."\textsuperscript{13}

The creation of panchayats on a three-tier basis is significant of the understanding that the presence of motivations, by itself, is not a sufficient guarantee to implement development plans but there should also be an

\textsuperscript{13}The setting up of the welfare state as the nation’s goal indicated the realization by the framers of Constitution that the aspirations of the people would rise in a geometric progression and that the exercise of power at the Centre and State levels, even though all right in a law and order state, was not enough if democracy were to strike deeper roots at the lowest level." See Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, \textit{Democratic Decentralization}, (New Delhi: 1959), p.1. For a general understanding of the Panchayat raj see V.T.Krishnamachari, \textit{Community Development in India}, (New Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, Revised Edition, 1962), pp.141-157 and also UNP Mission Report, pp.69-71.
institutional framework such as panchayats where these motivations could be given a meaningful direction and a purposive orientation.19

What are the functions of the panchayat at the village level? They are: giving top priority for the production of agricultural commodities as a highest national priority, promotion of rural industries and cooperatives, to develop local resources and their optimum utilization, assistance to the economically weaker sections of the village, developing harmonious relations

19 See S.K. Dey, "The Unit and the Individual," The Economic Weekly, V(45), 1953, pp.1213-1216. The idea that better utilization of local talent could be affected by this structural arrangement. See Evelyn Good, "Power to the Peasant," The Economic Weekly, X(41) 1958, p.1306. In addition to this rationalistic approach to the problems of the village development institution, there is, parallel to this, another trend which may be termed as "romantic trend" emphasizing that the villages are republics and they should be given all facilities. This is also fortified by the nature of the national movement (see charismatic movements) and the influence of Gandhism. See U.N. Bhebar, THE ROLE OF PANCHAYATS IN NEW INDIA, (New Delhi: Indian National Congress, December 1957), p.1-22 for such a romantic trend. For the realization of sarvodaya society (see charismatic movements) it is said, panchayat will be a vehicle, see P. Ranga Reddy, Excerpts from Panchayati Raj Convention at Sarvodayapuram, Untur, Andhra Pradesh on 17, 18th April 1961, Bhooman, VI (1 and 2 as one), 1961, pp.7 and 15.
between the officials and the local representatives, etc. 20

If panchayats are recognized as the structural framework for the initiation of local talent, the possessors of such talents are recognized as village leaders. It is thought that the village leaders who were acceptable to the majority of the community would be able to carry the plans in an easy manner so that the implementation would be effective and rewarding. Such village leaders would be able to command the respect and administration of the villagers. A village leader is defined as

"In other words, exchange of ideas can best be conveyed from one person to another only if the difference between the mental levels of the two persons is very small. Thus a leader has to be chosen from among the people a person who belongs to them but who is slightly better and commands the respect and confidence of the rest. The villagers will almost do anything for such a person who truly represents them and has earned their loyalty. He will be successful even if he is a poor shopkeeper, illiterate or has little personal magnetism or the commonly accepted attributes of leaders."

20 Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Annual Conference on Community Development and Conference of State Ministers of Community Development and Panchayati Raj at Hyderabad, (New Delhi: July 1961), pp.162-163. It is suggested that the Collector should be associated with the Zilla Parishads as its member but outside the pale of the day-to-day administration with a right to intervene as a representative of the State government in times of necessity. Thus linkage is and ought to be established between the state government and Zilla parishads. For the role of Collector see, Ibid., pp.176-177.
What is the type of the leadership that is emerging from the constitution of the panchayats? How are they manned? To such problems, again, we have to turn to the social-structural features of the social system at rural level. From the participation point of view we suggested that it is a function of the social structure. To the emergent leadership too, the same principle applies.

From the Table No. 3 it is quite evident what type of leadership is emerging through panchayats! The general social structural feature of age is still dominant. Very negligent percentage of youth are the members of presidents of the panchayats. As usual the educational qualifications have no meaning in the rural context of leadership. Whether literate or illiterate, ownership of land, status of caste, and financial status of the incumbent are more important in queering the pitch for wielding the power in panchayats. It appears there is a large proportion of members who come from other than rich category (still landowners), but at the same the effective power wielding presidency is still in the hands of the rich, high caste incumbents, thus nullifying the members coming from poor classes. These presidents and members of the panchayats are respected for their power-wielding capacity. At the level of panchayat samitis and zilla parishads, the power concentrated in the
Table No. 3.
showing the characteristics of the members and
the presidents of the Panchayats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>% of total number of members</th>
<th>% of total number of presidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Age Group:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Below 25 years</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) 25 to 40 years</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) 40 years and above</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>53.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Educational Qualifications:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Illiterate</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Primary</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Middle</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Matric</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Above Matric</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ownership of Land:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Land holders</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>95.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Non-land holders</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Financial Status:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Rich</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Other</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Caste Group:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) High</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>97.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Low</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Whether respected:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Yes</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) No</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Number of Presidents who are conversant with the Panchayat Act:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Yes</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hands of the president is enormous and consequently the
capacity for manipulation and corruption. As the Samiti
presidents have become central figures the block staff
including the B.D.O. have become satellites and underv
standably ineffective.22

Contrary to the romantic ideals of some, the
village panchayats have become cockpits of factional fights
and the intrigues of the political parties. What are the
root causes for the failure of the panchayats? Although
there are other causes such as lack of finance and lack
of will to impose new taxes and other economic measures,
the real causes are in the nature of the social structure
by its peculiar power equation. The leadership could not
enthuse the villagers. The old feudal elements captured

-- Special Correspondent, "Panchayat Raj in Andhra Pradesh," The Economic Weekly, XII(47), 1960, pp.1681-1682. The correspondent refers to the introduction of political parties into the area of panchayat samitis. With this type of leaderships, Wood suggests, there is a failure of communication, see Evelyn Wood, Op. Cit., pp.1305-1307. By analyzing the nature of panchayats leadership and power groups, Thorner, has come to the conclusion that the panchayats are a great failure and hence a new institution should be found out to implement the development plans. See Daniel Thorner, "The Village Panchayat as a vehicle of change," Economic Development and Cultural Change, III(3), October 1953, pp.209-215.
the power and where they could not, they made it
difficult for others to work the panchayats. Added to
this there is factional fight coupled with political
rivalries, which are again characteristics of the status-
conflict. 23

The transfer of power is too rapid and the conse-
quently breakdown of communication between leaders and the
village folk on one hand and the block staff on the other.
The initial fears were expressed thus:

"Some fears have been expressed by the village
people to research personnel conducting village
studies that the panchayat will develop into a
privileged group, with an increasing amount of power—
all power, in fact, in their hands." 24

These fears have come true. In spite of the universal
suffrage, there is the constricting effect of the land-
owning classes on the power structure of the panchayats.

When the idea of decentralization of power was mooted,
it was felt, that a village institution capable of directing

23Community Projects Administration, SUMMARY RECORD OF
FIFTH DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONERS' CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT, held at Naini Tal from 5th to 7th May 1956,
245-249.

24UNP Mission Report, p.73.
and implementing the national plans into situationally specific goals and targets would be necessary when the government terminated the official promotion of C.D. after the Phase II period. In this connection the Central Government have goaded the states in bringing out the social legislation for the statutory local bodies with power to plan and execute the community development programmes. As such the commitment for new legislation has come from the system viewpoint, and passed on to the units, viz., states, districts and villages.

From the nature of this commitment, it is evident, the administrative hierarchy too has begun its downward communication of ideas from the top. This communication mode has a special significance in terms of our system model.

The decisions are made at the Centre at political level and the plans have a bias for economic development in the processes of industrialization and increasing agricultural production. They refer to our G and A cells in particular. But by the nature of change conceived by the system viewpoint, the I and L cells have become static. The social stratification remained the same and the values also followed suit in the stable pattern. Apart from this, in the village model, the commitment to the system viewpoint
is less and so there is a breakdown in the process of communication. Moreover, the administrative hierarchy at village level also failed to convey the system-commitment to the unit, viz., the village. These two levels of commitment in the process of bringing in change is important and hence they are designated as macroscopic and microscopic levels referring to the system viewpoint and the unit viewpoint respectively.

The macroscopic viewpoint of the system is formulated by a special elite at the Centre who are imbued the western ideologies, technologies and a zeal for development of the country as a unit. As far as this elite is concerned, there is a high commitment for change of the entire system in a planned way. But due to the peculiar social structural features at the village level, the commitment to the nation is not as high as the elite at the centre had. Moreover the village situation is an action field for implementing the system goals in terms of targets. Even at the Centre the bureaucracy who has been accustomed to 'law and order' type of administration was not able to gear itself for the development needs. Such an incongruent situation obtains more so at the village level. The official hierarchies of the state government have not come out of the 'revenue mentality' attitude. Thus by the constitution of elites at the village level and the
nature of official hierarchy on the one hand and the constitution of highly system-oriented elite in formulating plans and the disjoined bureaucracy at the Centre have brought the failure of the communication between macroscopic and microscopic levels.

In terms of the model what is the significance of the breakdown at the microscopic level, i.e. at the village level? There is an acceptance of the development projects as far as A cell is concerned. But at the same time the social structure I and the traditional values I have a constricting effect on the successful implementation of the development plans of the G cell. As we have seen in the case of panchayats the indecision to press for the change is evident. This involves the stratification system. As far as this involvement is avoided the changes are accepted in A par se but not beyond. Thus we find the acceptance of the improved methods but not the cooperative farming or joint farming etc. What is the role of the VLM in G to resolve this indecision?

The VLM is entrusted with the task of selling the ideas of development and change to the villagers. As a representative of the system he singularly earned the credit of failure. Of course more will be said of the role of VLM
in the next chapter. Thus the breakdown of communication is complete and full with the failure of the VLN.

With this breakdown, the long cherished goal of handing over to the village institution of development functions after phase II period seems to be absent in the foreseeable future. In view of this what is the total impact of community development projects on the rural social system?

The land-owning classes entrenched themselves in the power structure of the village panchayats. The poorer classes have been deprived of what is promised through community development. For the officials it has become a complete official task to run the community projects. The benefits from the projects accrued to a relatively few people. The land reforms have been lagging behind. The socialististic pattern of society has become a far cry in the wilderness. The ruling party has become entrenched firmly in the saddle.²⁵

²⁵For "executive assignment," of the government officials see A.R. Desai, "Community Development Projects--A Sociological Analysis," *Sociological Bulletin*, VII(2), September 1957, pp. 152-155. Desai observes that the advanced elements in the rural social structure quickly absorbed the benefits of the community development, thus establishing original equilibrium. For the failure of revenue officials and the workload of VLN see, V. Venkatappa Shetty, "Community Development Programme--
on the positive side some benefits are coming
as a whole to the village social structure. Particularly,
the effects of polarisation of castes and groupings have
broken down the monopoly of the landowning classes. The
underdog have found a powerful weapon through adult
suffrage to tackle the problem of domination. The birth
superiority is questioned, at least indirectly by the
formation of factions. There is a subtle change in the
attitudes of the villagers where they used to spend on
expressive celebrations such as marriages, feasts etc.,

AN ASSESSMENT," UNIT FOR TRAINING IN THE METHODS OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH 1956 and 1957, (Madras: Madras
University, 1959), pp.74-79. For the accruing of benefits
to the landowning classes, see, J.Bistry Panchanadikar,
"Sociological Aspects of Some Dysfunctional Aspects of
Community Development Projects," SEMINAR ON SOME ASPECTS
OF SOCIAL PLANNING, pp.98-113. The author suggests that
industrialization, which is based on individual initia-
tive is contrary to socialistic pattern of society which
is based on group or collectivity actions. But the
individual initiative is not in vacuum but it is in the
collectivity and the orientations are accruing benefits
to the collectivity. For suggestions of land reforms
see, R.L. Desaiwala, "Institutional Implications of Land
Reforms in the Second Five Year Plan," PAPERS RELATING TO
THE FORMULATION OF SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN, (New Delhi:
Planning Commission, 1955), pp.563-570. All this seems
to have proved the theory that Indian agriculture will
not react to monetary incentives, see, M.B. Desai (through
C.R. Vakil), "Institutional Implications of a Bolder Plan
Agriculture," in Ibid., pp.551-556. The overall effect
is the entrenched of the ruling party in power, see,
Baldev Raj Nayar, "Community Development Programme: Its
Political Impact," THE ECONOMIC WEEKLY, XII (33), 1960,
pp.1401-1410.
now they are investing in improving the land and spending the money on fertilizers etc., to increase the yields. But as we suggested earlier, all these changes are piecemeal changes which are units by themselves and consequently their effect is only in accepting the parts of the programme, such as using improving methods in increasing the yields, etc.

In order to explain the changes in the village social structure we used the functional model of A, G, I, L, putting Economy or agriculture in A, the decision-making or political aspects i.e. panchayat in G, the stratification in I, and values and tradition in L. Basing on this model we arrived at the conclusion that participation is a function of the entire social structure. We suggested earlier in the chapter that a uniform planned change brought on a differentially arranged social stratification would have the effect of differentially absorbing the benefits in order to keep the structural position. Thus the programme conceived as a whole is lost in affecting the changes. The influence of each subsystem of the model is differential on the other subsystems. What are these differential influences of the subsystems on each other?

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26 See UNP Mission Report, pp. 79-82, for change of people's attitudes.
To begin with let us see the effects of charismatic movement which developed as a response to land hunger in the rural society. A brief evaluation will be attempted here, though a separate chapter is devoted at the end. From our theoretical model we can locate the origin of charismatic movement in the I cell, although it had its chequered history during the national movement as a response to the over-westernization and as a boundary-maintaining mechanism. The roots of the movement are in the Indian values, more specifically in the traditions and values of the Hinduism. Added to this, there is the romantic ideal of village republics and village self-sufficiency (no doubt, products of anti-British feelings during the national movement) which it wants to re-establish as a solution to the problems of the day. Maintenance of this tradition of Hinduism and, in general, to establish the romantic ideal of village republic are its main ideals. From this flows its organization, and tenets etc.

Its aims are to redistribute the land which has been usurped by the landlord, to re-establish the Hindu dharma of varnashrama, to elevate the panchayats to glorious heights of the past, and to effect a modicum of land reforms and small-scale cottage industries in the villages. What are its weapons to effect this change?
There is a glorification of dharma as represented in the Hindu sacred books. It wants to change the present stratification system by questioning its validity and offering scriptural explanation that castes were created by God in equality and no caste was superior to the other, establishing the functional dependence of caste system. The charismatic movement accepts the symbolic significance of the caste at ideational level but its earthly manifestation is questioned. Likewise in the G cell, the sanctity of panchayat (panch = five) which is a sacred number, is emphasized, closing its eyes to the presence of landed aristocracy and the political parties. In the A cell it wants to redistribute the land on compassionate ground that all land belong to God and so none should possess it to the exclusion of others.

By accepting the value that God has created the castes, the charismatic movement established the principle of functional dependence of the castes but it could not wish away the stratification which is an offspring of possession of objects such as, land, power through panchayats and the mark of the caste.

When the charismatic movement collected the land, because of the lack of organization, it would not distribute
the land according to its declared objectives. Thus the collection of the land and distribution have dislocated its programme. Even when it has undertaken the distribution on a large scale as in the case of Koraput, it faced the same problems as the government have faced in the implementation of the Community Development programme.

As a contemporary movement it is a complement to the community development projects. This awareness led for the cooperation between the government and the leaders of the charismatic movement. Thus its policy that "all power is corrupt" principle is set to rest when it has accepted to cooperate with the government which are based on the effective manipulation of power through bureaucracy. What are its effects on the whole?

As a charismatic movement it would collect land from the landowners as gifts when compared to the government's failure. As a movement based on Hindu tradition, it has brought a renaissance generally on the value premises (L), but at the same time put a brake on the rational distribution of land, cultivation and consequently the change in the social structure. At best it could claim its superiority in re-interpreting the Hindu scriptures in modern times. But the acceptance of the scriptures at
symbolic level brought a constraint on the change it proposed to bring in. Finally it adjusted itself to the second position of helping and cooperating with the government in community development projects.

Again let us turn to the efforts of the Government in bringing in changes in the village social structure, we begin again with the values and ideologies in the name of socialistic pattern of society. In the L cell the universal values of the new pattern are emphasized, in the name of socialism, equality, secularism and welfare state. In the I cell the government want to change it to equalitarian model, so that the participants can attain a higher living standards. Its principle in the I cell is one of changing the social structure from ascriptive allocation to one of achievement through secular factors. In the G cell, the idea is to allocate the power rationally in deciding and implementing the programmes of development by the rural people, through panchayats. In the A cell, as in the case of stratification, the government want to bring in a rational reallocation of land to help improve the agricultural production which is a system imperative of the nation, through cooperative farming and other improved method. Thus a universal programme is administered on a particularistic social structure.
We have already seen how landed castes have monopolised the power in panchayats, cooperatives etc. to serve their own interests. This is to say the landed interests have got an interest in maintaining the present gratification by keeping to their structural positions. The effect of vested interests is discussed in the IX chapter. The formation of groups, factions, and cliques are the general symptoms of this process of formation of vested interests. The concept of dominant caste is explained in this context, viz., the monopoly of political and economic power by upper caste people. In terms of the model, if the same people occupy the structural positions planned on the basis of new and different values we call it vested interests. For example, the stratification system is based on birth, but the government plan to bring in new stratification system based on secular principles. We find the same people who have been classified as members of caste based on ascription in the new panchayats based on universalistic principle. Even in the case of cooperatives the same thing is obtained. Whatever may be the value orientation of the new structure the same incumbents occupy the structural position. Moreover, there exists a continuity between the rural vested interests and other urban vested interests. This continuity and change is also treated in the chapter on vested interests.
Again, we find the multiplicity of structures and motivations of the incumbents. Thus we know the presence of charismatic movement based on Hindu traditions. We also know the presence of socialistic ideals. In the I cell the same picture is also obtained, i.e., the presence of feudal and secular structures based on education and political power. In panchayats the statutory panchayats and the caste panchayats exist side by side. In the case of A cell also, there exists the individual uneconomic farming to cooperative farming. What is the significance of all these structures at one and the same time?

We know from the presence of multiple structures there is bound to be multiple motivations of the members who mediate in them. This aspect will be further clarified in the chapter on Village Level Worker. In this chapter we saw the changes from the view point of social structure and in the next one the viewpoint is from the change agent's side to the social structure, i.e., the VLW. Thus we know there are different motivational orientations from different angles. This aspect of the presence of the differential motivations and differential structures based on differential values is treated in the chapter on Transitional Anomie. Chiefly, the failure of the village social structure to keep its incumbents in the village, the problems of migration,
industrialization and urbanization, the rising aspirations and the structural constraints, the formation of vested interests, and political parties, etc., would be dealt with in the chapter on Transitional Anomie.

The functional significance of the model is evident by the spate of problems it raised and the direction it gives for further probing to understand the social change in India. Thus the same model is used on the microscopic level in the study of village level worker. The utility of the model is evident.

**Resume**: With the help of the theoretical model we were able to describe the structures new and old in a systemic manner and located the problems which they raised during the phase of planned social change in the rural social structure. From this model we were able to suggest that participation in the planned change is a function of the social structure. We argued that this insight is developed by analysing the panchayats, cooperatives, and finally the land reforms. The acceptance and rejection pattern of the new mode of social relationships is directly related to the social structure in which the incumbents mediate in structural positions. From the model, we located the problem of vested interests and their entrenchment in the
village social structure. Also from the same model we observed the presence of multiple structures and multiple motivations. This has a significance of far reaching nature to the entire social structure. We christened this process as transitional anomie. We applied the model to the large scale society, that is, India as a unit and on micro-scopic level to the role of the village level worker. Thus the utility of the model is evident by its application at different levels i.e., macroscopic and microscopic.