To make a world, strange fellows there must be

Faust, Part I: Goethe:
Trns. by Philip Wayne.
CHAPTER VI

VILLAGE LEVEL WORKER

Every changing social structure creates its own status and role-sets with rights, duties and obligations. The new statuses are invariably related to the process of social change that goes on in the social system. These new roles are expected to cope with the new conditions of change. In India the role of Village Level Worker is such a role which has been created to bring about changes in the rural social structure.

The context of creation of this role, i.e. the institutional change has already been discussed in the earlier chapters. Now the present chapter deals with the specific problems of the new role, i.e., the Village Level Worker (VLW).

Firstly, the VLW is a member of a hierarchy of officials who work in the Community Development Projects. In each block there are ten VLWs who carry out the policy and constructive programmes to the rural public. The VLW is the last essential unit of the hierarchy of the officialsdom. As such he is a member of the bureaucracy. As a member of bureaucratic officialsdom he has to carry out the normative patterns of bureaucracy to a degree of
efficiency, first of all, to exist as a member of that organization. From this hierarchical position he has to bring in changes in the village social structure to bring about social change, by making them accept new values to increase agricultural production and to orient the rural folk to the new ways of life. Apart from this, he is an employee eking out his livelihood for the benefit of his own self as well as his family of which he is a member. In the course of the discussion the secondary aspects, such as the nature of his employment to eke out his livelihood has been given less emphasis. At the same time the importance of his job-satisfaction in performing his duties as an agent of change has not been neglected.

Distinctly four problem areas have been focused: his value orientation to seek employment and to accept the values as such, secondly as a member of the hierarchy of officials, thirdly job-satisfaction and consistently accepting the normative pattern of increasing the efficiency of job performance and finally to utilize his resources, by virtue of his membership in the bureaucracy of government, to change the village or rural social structure so as to implement the national plans and targets in terms of new goals.

The role of VI is treated here as a system and the different problems as impingements on the structural
categories of the system. This is to say, the same
type of analysis, viz., the structural-functional is
extended here which we had already occasion to put into
use. The same systemic concepts which were used in the
previous chapters will hold true in the study of role.

It is a matter of "focus of centre of analysis"—
i.e., changing the system focus to that of unit and
treating the unit as a system by itself.

A role is a part of total 'interaction system'
of an individual actor in complementarity with other
roles or any other actors who may come in contact with
a set of common value-orientations and expectations.
The prevailing culture patterns are institutionalized:

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1 For an extended discussion for the change of focus
of analysis of system and unit see, Talcott Parsons
et al, WORKING PAPERS IN THE THEORY OF ACTION,
(Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp.172-179; also see
Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (Eds.), TOWARD A
GENERAL THEORY OF ACTION, (Cambridge: Harvard University
Press, 1951), pp.193-200. Hereafter referred to as
Toward a General Theory.

2 A role then is a sector of the total orientation
system of an individual actor which is organized about
expectations in relation to a particular interaction
context, that is integrated into a particular set of
value-standards which govern interaction with one or
more alters in the appropriate complementary roles.
These alters need not be a defined group of individuals,
but can involve any alter if and when he comes into a
particular complementary interaction relationship with
ego which involves a reciprocity of expectations with
reference to common standards of value-orientations."
Talcott Parsons, SOCIAL SYSTEM, p.33.
in roles and are organized around accepted value-patterns, shared by the members of the collectivity\(^3\). Thus a role of an individual is organized around a set of expectations which comprise a structurally articulated set of statuses and roles as their processual aspects\(^4\).

There is a theoretical convergence between Merton and Parsons, since their premises and the methodological tools are the same. Merton has started with the same tools of definition of status-role and developed certain terminology which is fruitful in the understanding of role-system\(^5\). Particularly the terminological tools developed by Merton are status-set, role-set and status-sequence. These conform to our role-system, as we see below in the model, in structural and processual aspects respectively.

The divergence between Parsons and Merton is

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\(^3\) Toward a General Theory, p. 23.

\(^4\) Parsons, Social System, p. 25. Cf. Accepting the definition of Linton, Merton says that "status and role, in these terms, are concepts serving to connect the culturally defined expectations with the patterned behaviour and relationships which comprise social structure." See R.K. Merton, "Social Theory and Social Structure," (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, Revised and Enlarge Edition, 1957), p. 365. Hereafter referred to as Social Theory and Social Structure.

\(^5\) See, particularly Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 368-394.
one of degree rather than kin. Parsons' concern is building up of theoretical systems whereas Merton's concern is limited to developing of concepts which are fruitful in validating the empirical research. From the orientations of these two stalwarts, it is possible to derive the theoretical unity of their approaches. From the nature of the case, the concepts developed by Merton form an inclusive systemic units of Parsons. For example, what Merton calls as "role-set" is nothing but a collectivity of part of it in Parsons' theory. As we see in the model below, whereas Parsons gives the value-orientations of the actors in a situation, Merton gives the sub-division of action into structural and processual aspects indirectly bringing in the institutional pattern of the role-sets. Parsons directly gives out or spells out the value-orientations guiding the actors in a situation, i.e., through institutional means. Thus we find the theoretical unity of the structural-functional approach in the methodology of Merton and Parsons.

From this discussion, it appears possible to bring in the two approaches into a systemic unity toward the development of role-theory, but it is beyond the pale of this chapter. However, action-system model developed by Parsons gives the value-orientations and
action-directives guiding in a situation of role-
sets. As the model is divided into four cells, the
role-sets are not the same in each cell and hence
accordingly the changes in the value-orientations in
each cell.

With this much cognizance of the theoretical
background, let us proceed further with the descrip-
tion of the model, application, problems, analysis,
etc.

The Model: As noted above the functional imperatives
of the system are the same in micro-scorpic system as
well as in the case of macroscopic system. Only the
focus of level of analysis is changed. The role of
Village Level Worker is treated here as a system
utilizing the same concepts as are used in the case of
social system. Parsons has given the functional
imperatives of the system in a most generalised manner6,
and this generalised model is adapted to study the role
of Village Level Worker (VLW). Concepts such as need-
dispositions, expectations, rewards etc., are utilized.
to give a coherent view of the role under study.
Nonetheless the logical consistency of the model is kept intact. A word of explanation seems to be in order.
Parsons used the concepts such as 'needs' in a most general sense in the cell 'Orientation to objects' of his model. But the present writer proposes to use "need-dispositions" to be more consistent with the terminology of personality system. Likewise in the cell on 'Integrative standards for Orientation' the term "expectations" is added viz., pattern-maintenance expectations etc.
In the cell "Modalities of objects" for objects of generalized respect, "Commitment for ongoing system process" for objects of identification 'incentives', for objects of cathexis "rewards" and for objects of utility "learning" are used. And again in the adaptation cell, the terminology used by Parsons is taken as it is. With these adaptations let us examine the new model.

When the two terms "need-dispositions" and "expectations" are used, they refer to personality and social system viewpoints respectively.\(^3\)

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\(^7\)Ibid., p.470. See Table No.1.

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<tr>
<th>(Adaptation)</th>
<th>(Goal-attainment)</th>
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Source: Pattern Variables Revisited, p. 470.
Every role-player must have motivational commitment toward role-acceptance. This is not one of spontaneous type, but that of a learner type in society. So the sub-cell of L conforms to the most generalized value-commitment to work and taking up a useful social role. At this level the value need-disposition is undifferentiation toward any specific role. An actor may have to choose between alternatives. Hence in evaluative need-disposition wherein the actor evaluates differential opportunities by the value need-disposition and accepts the relative hierarchy. Authentic need-dispositions are those wherein the actor chooses a particular goal and tries to achieve maximum satisfaction.

The cognitive need-dispositions will give a clear cut view of the alternatives available to an actor for goal-attainment.

The next cell integration is of the level of social system reference. Here the expectations are those determined by the social system values. In the sub-cell of pattern-maintenance expectations the emphasis is in accepting the relative hierarchy of the expectation-system. In the next sub-cell integrative expectations, the emphasis in accepting the relative primacy of the expectations in the

As the saying goes "Kiyogam Kurusha Lakshnam," or to work is man's duty, at a most generalized level. See Table No. 2 for the adapted model.
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<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Cognitive Symbolization</th>
<th>Expressive Task Interpretation</th>
<th>Learning</th>
<th>Rewards</th>
<th>Incentives</th>
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<td>Existential Task</td>
<td>Moral Evalutive Task Categorization</td>
<td>Commitment for the on-going system process</td>
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<th>Need-dispositions</th>
<th>Cathetic Need-dispositions</th>
<th>Adaptive Expectations</th>
<th>Goal-attainment expectations</th>
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<td>Need-dispositions for</td>
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<td>Goal-attainment expectations</td>
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Source: Based on Parsons, "Pattern-Variables Revisite."
generalized pattern of the former sub-cell. The next sub-cell of goal-attainment of particular attachments to the given portion of the expectation system. And in the adaptive expectations the actor utilizes situational meaning and thus adapts to the new situations present so that the expectation-system is stabilized at a particular level.

These two cells viz., L and I belong to the structural categories of the action. First there is the value-component in the L cell toward commitment and in the I cell the relative priority of expectations and the orderly preference of these are arranged. Now we go to the next cell of G or goal-attainment.

In goal-attainment cell the most important aspect of all social activity is directed towards rewards. Rewards may be objects of social or non-social nature and include sanctions which are positive as well as negative. So rewards constitute the fundamental "consummatory gratification" of the actor in a situation. Incentives are the mechanisms to obtain greater efficient performance capacity of the actor in a situation. By incentives an actor is oriented toward the fulfillment of the action performance to the highest standards of efficiency. When once incentives are given for the enhancement of action-
efficiency concomitantly it is given that 'learning' should follow for the attainment of efficiency. This is continuous as long as incentives are there. In the system-ongoing process the general activity of goal-attainment is given so that the actor is pre-disposed toward goal-attainment activity. This is a generalized sub-cell.

The adaptive cell is more concerned with the problem of translating structural aspects of expectations into processual aspect. Hence this is the processual aspect of the general action-system. But at the same time it must be remembered this adaptive set deals with the action which is already external to the pattern maintenance and integrative cells. Hence the categorization in this cell is quite different from that of the above mentioned two. Incidentally it may be said goal-attainment too deals with external environment and hence belongs to the processual aspect of the total action system. Cognitive task symbolization is the generalized "objective" understanding of the objects with a generalized meaning, or universalistic meaning. But it is not only ascribing generalized meaning to object-system, but also for goal-orientation a specified particularistic meaning in the capacity of their gratification should also be given. This sub-cell, below expressive task interpretation, does this job. In the sub-cell below expressive task interpretation there is the
moral evaluative task categorization. This is to say that the relations of the objects are externally given and their hierarchy is also given. This is acceptance of the value of the hierarchy of the externally given object-system. The external object-system has a generalized meaning as well as in a hierarchy gives the existential interpretation of task. The lower group defines the structural aspects of the external object-system and the higher group decides the casual relationships of the object-system.

As noted above, the L and I cells of the role-system refer to the structural aspect whereas G and A cells refer to the processual aspect of the role-system.\(^\text{10}\)

**Context of creation of the role of WLW:** A need was felt that instead of an army of experts at rural level to help the farmer, under the control of so many departments, a single multipurpose worker would do better where the villager could turn to him in times of need. Thus the idea of multipurpose village level worker’s role was conceived.

\(^\text{10}\)The general interpretation of the meaning of the cell is based on the logical sequence given by Parsons in "Pattern-Variables Revisited", "Op.Cit., Also the adapted model of the writer has had its origin in Smelser’s model of family economy in Neil J. Smelser SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), p.175.
to meet the growing demands of the villager. The
former village level employee was forced to do paper
work rather than meeting the people because of the time
element and area under his control—what he preached he
never practised, and what he practised he never taught.
So the villager was confused and bewildered at the army
of officials working under all sorts of departments of
the government, working sometimes in opposite sides.
In this situation the role of VLD is created to have an
object of cathedsal to the villagers where they can
confidently meet for one and all, to get things done or
for advice. At least he is credited to have been known
64 items on things which he is expected to perform.
From agricultural extension to animal husbandry, from
the use of simple medicine chest to the anti-malarial
spraying, from laying of experimental plots for sowing to
preparing village and regional plans of development, the
hand of the multipurpose VLD is to be seen. His position
may be defined as

"In very broad terms his function may be defined
as that of making the rural people aware of their
problems, inspiring in them the desire for better
living, educating them to realize that improvement
in their conditions can be secured only by their
own effort and assisting them in formulating their
needs, assessing their resources and securing the
assistance of the various supply and other services
provided by governmental agencies for executing the programmes drawn up by them.

By closely associating himself with the development work, he could discover the new leadership and could give a boost so that the new leadership could be accepted by the villagers more and more. Thus he could effect the wider participation of the villagers in the development work. Side by side he is also entrusted with the task of building community organizations such as village cooperatives and panchayats. As such he is related to the new institutional framework of panchayats and cooperatives. This is to say he also works in the capacity of change agent. He tries to change values, attitudes and relationships of the villagers while serving as a multipurpose worker. As a change agent he is the representative of the national plans who is entrusted with the task of formulating local targets in terms of the overall plans at the national level.

The VLN could be aptly termed as a system's agent whose responsibility it is to translate national plans into working targets at rural level. As an agent of the

system he has to meet the system's demands by increasing the agricultural production. As pointed elsewhere his predominant concern is one of raising agricultural production which is the system's need. As an agent of the system he is described as

"In all of India's development programmes, none are more important than those which help cultivators get bigger yields, and produce better livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, swine, chicken). You must give first priority to increasing agricultural production. This is your first responsibility. It is your greatest opportunity at this time for service to your people. In your hands is great power for good. Only you can use it."

Thus the system imperative of raising agricultural production has been entrusted with the VL. It is so directly put into his head lest he may forget it, starting with a big YOU. That is proposed to be achieved through surcharging the emotions of the VL. It is,

"India must, through increased agricultural production, produce the new wealth it requires if the people of India are to have: improved family conditions, schools and universities, health programmes and medical schools, social welfare programmes, roads and railways, growing industries, planned villages, towns and cities, housing programmes, improved water and better sanitation, clothing, and recreation."


13Ibid., p.4.
With these goals in view, he has to translate the overall national plans into situational specifics such as targets and time-schedules. In this process it is also hoped that the villagers should realize that they are participating in the wider objectives of raising the system's goals by their concentration on situationally specific actions.

"Each village cultivator should be helped to understand as he adopts improved agricultural and livestock practices and increases his production he first improves his family's wealth, second, his village community wealth, third, his state's wealth and finally he contributes to increasing the wealth of all of India.

All village cultivators should be impressed with the opportunity to contribute to the development of free democratic India by giving up their traditional agricultural practices and taking to the new practices. Village people should understand that since agriculture is the foundation of India's economy, agriculture must therefore be developed along modern and scientific lines."

In addition to this, each farm should have "family farm plan," and each village to have "community plan," to increase the agricultural production. By accepting the improved methods the villager could put his plans into action thus linking himself to the wider system of which he is an unit.

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14 Ibid., p. 5
15 Ibid.,
To sum up, the VLW is a multipurpose worker and a change agent. As a change agent he is expected to change values and outlook of the villagers to accept better and improved techniques to augment the agricultural production. Being primarily concerned with the agricultural production he is performing the important task of fulfilling the system's imperative needs to sustain it as a system and to cope with the changes coming in other parts of the system. With these general orientations of the role of VLW let us proceed to apply the theoretical model in order to understand the role better.

Application of the Model: As the model is divided into four parts, the first part, that is B cell which refers to the recruitment and orientations of the VLW, the I cell refers to his membership in the bureaucratic organization and training, the G cell to his personal and public goal-orientations, and finally the A cell refers to the social structure with which he has to come to grips with by virtue of his membership in the bureaucratic organization.

It is felt that for the effective understanding of rural problems and to be able to help the villagers in their production efforts, the VLW's rural background would stand him in good stead. Apart from physical fitness,
general knowledge, histrionic talent and personality, and power of expression are emphasized as the basic need dispositions for commitment to be VLA. The educational background is given as minimum of secondary school certificate. The policy is not uniform but different states have different policies, sometimes allowing the educational background even upto B.A. Power of adjustment and to be able to undergo for training in a disciplined way as his evaluative need-dispositions. With this background it is expected that VLA would be able to concentrate cathetic need-dispositions of development work. Leadership and initiative and power of endurance are considered to be his cognitive need-dispositions which will stand to the rigours of the development work. In this cell the personality variables and general background to orientation of objects are emphasized. This background, the planners assume, would be suitable for the training of the VLA.

Integration cell: As we said earlier this refers to the bureaucratic organization of the government. He is one of the ten of his kind in the project area. There are eight extension officers of different departments from agriculture to animal husbandry, and from cooperation to social education. In addition to this there are other minor members of the staff. With all of them he has to maintain the pattern of establishment by sticking to the
norms given to him. He cannot disobey the Block Development officer. He cannot be insubordinate to his superior's position. This is the boundary-maintaining aspect of the entire bureaucratic organization, as such, it may be said to be a stable pattern. Whatever he may do as VLO he is expected to maintain this pattern for him to continue as a member of the officialdom. Under integrative expectations he is expected to maintain specific relationships with the different members of the staff. His relationships will not be the same with Block Development Officer and the extension officer. The relationship will be entirely different with the other VLOs. Other minor staff will have different relationships with him. To maintain his specific relationship in a given way he has to maintain certain records of the office through which he could intercommunicate with his other members. He has to attend block level meetings to communicate new experiences of his and others. As such integrative expectations have a central place in the organization of the role-system.

In contrast to the above, the goal-attainment expectations are too many in number. The Mehta Team Report gives the number as 64 obligations. Leaving the details let us mention the major heads of goal-attainment expectations. Under agriculture come the distribution of improved seeds, improved technical equipment, demonstrations, organisation of cooperatives and so on. Animal
husbandry ranges from supplying the stud bulls to the organization of campaign for artificial insemination. Dairy-farming, fisheries and poultry are separate departments by themselves. Health and sanitation are major problems. Mobilization of people in educating them to the organization of the mass inoculation is a big job by itself. Under the heading Works comes a host of things from publicity to follow-up in maintaining the roads. In addition there are about 10 items of miscellaneous works to be done. Besides, as mentioned above, there is a full course of office routine, including reports, charts and maps etc. 16.

What are the adaptive expectations? Through these adaptive expectations he has to carry the content of the programme of community development to the rural folk. Under this comes, contact, demonstration and people's participation. The programme is to be communicated to the village folk through slogans, pictures and posters, pamphlets and publications, cinema, tournaments and competitions, exhibitions and conferences, propaganda meetings, 

16 For a complete list of the jobs assigned to the VLN, see REPORT OF THE TEAM FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND NATIONAL EXTENSION SCHEMES, (New Delhi: Planning Commission, November 1957), Vol. II, pp.140-142. Hereafter referred to as Mehta Team Report, after the leader of the team.
fraternalization, visits by dignitaries, meetings and speeches, group discussions and individual contacts, camps and sight-seeing tours, work with local agents of communication, etc. The participation of the people depends on the capacity of the change agent in communicating and convincing them.\(^{17}\)

**Goal Attainment Cell:** One should have a commitment to the on-going process of the job. That is, one should be interested in sticking to the job and ideals committed to it, such as representative of the system. This, of course, depends on a number of factors which will be referred to later. Incentives are manifold: they could be augmented by success in one field. Special prizes and incentive money, by way of competition in specifically doing some given piece of work to the maximum efficiency, are offered to raise the standards of efficiency. Quite often it is self-sustaining. If there is success in one area it works as an incentive for further successes and efforts. Making the post of the VLD permanent is an incentive. Allowing some of the VLDs to raise their status by further study and hard work is one of the incentives. To offer selection-

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grade as an incentive for better performance, is one of the incentives\textsuperscript{13}.

Rewards are the summa bonum of all social activity. They may either be positive when they are gratificatory and negative when they are deprivational. They refer to punishments too. Rewards are the end products of performing institutionally prescribed norms.

Learning is a part of the goal-attainment system which is almost continuous. The VLS learns how to do it better in every way. There are periodical courses to refresh the knowledge. There are examinations to improve one's own skills. By having discussions and seminars with the other colleagues by way of exchange, also helps, in learning new ways and techniques. Promotion and learning go hand in hand. That is why the age range is deliberately kept from 18 to 30 years, so that an incumbent could learn new things and adapt to new conditions. The vast field of community development itself is a big area for him to learn and to sharpen his skills.

Again the entire cell is dependent upon external factors such as incentives, job-satisfactions and other hierarchical coordination.

\textsuperscript{13} See, for services conditions Committee on training, p.12.
Adaptation Cell: This cell stands as distinct entity with respect to the other cells. He is faced here with the entire social structure to deal with. It is not simply changing of one old technique for a new one, but it is changing of the mores and the entire social fabric. The farming methods are entwined with the stratification and the entire belief-systems. Hence to change a technique, he should also meddle with the social structure one way or other. This, itself, keeps him on his tenterhooks.

As a member of the bureaucratic organization, the VLF has to define the task in existential terms. That is he accepts there is an external object system. The external object system in this connection is the rural social structure with all its intricacies. Tradition and values come under this. By moral-evaluative task categorization, he understands the casual relationships within the object system by way of stratification. That is, the hierarchical caste system, with rank order starting with Brahmins at the top and ending with the untouchables at the bottom. This is correct as far as the ritual hierarchy is concerned. But in economic and political hierarchies, the picture is quite different and some intermixing is apparent. Those castes who are not ranked high have controlling power in the village affairs because of economic and political superiority by virtue of possession of land.
and thereby the power in the panchayats. Thus the casual nexus of relationships are different from his own, i.e., his own bureaucratic organization.

By skipping the order let us start with cognitive task symbolization for convenience of explanation. Here the task is defined in universalistic terms. The VLM stimulates the villagers to ask:

"He stimulates them to ask! Are the present ways the very best the villagers can do? Are they the most convenient, economical, productive and profitable? Do all villagers know about a successful practice a few villagers are using?". To "it is most desirable therefore in approaching any problem that the villagers be encouraged to discuss and understand why they are now doing what they are doing in the way they are doing it."

In general, he has to act as a friend, as a representative and the intermediary of contact between all the development departments on one side and the villagers on the other, to create an urge amongst the villagers for self-help, to secure external aid and technical know-how for the


20Ibid., p.9. Italics in the original.
villagers, to inform people about new developments and
techniques, to perform specified services, etc. 21

From these universalistic orientations of task
symbolization, the VLS has to transform these into
situationally specific tasks. He is aware of the boundary
maintaining urge in the villager.

"The VLS must understand that for villager
to change from the old practice to taking some new
way means insecurity. And as people feel insecure,
they hold back, delaying in trying new one." 22

His translation into situationally specific action is
referred to as expressive task interpretation. He should
not show partiality or favouritism toward one over the
other. He should make personal contacts, as many as possible,
but these contacts should not restrict to one section or
group. This awareness has been amply pointed out, because
there are groups in the village situation.

"Groups rather than individuals should usually
be contacts. It is dangerous sometimes to contact
individuals as it may alienate those who are not
approached. In villages where there are factions,
leaders of the factions may have to be tackled
individually." 23


21 For a full list of functions of Gram Sevak (VLS), see
Political and Services Department, MANUAL ON COMMUNITY
of Bombay, 1952), pp.29-32.
22 MANUAL, p.10.
23 Madras Government, MANUAL ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT,
If there are no leaders who could carry the
message of the development activities, the VLS has to
find out, which the new generation of leaders are and to
train it in the dissemination of knowledge. Thus as
far as possible he should work unobtrusively.

By way of review of what has been said, the system
sub-system relations represented in the role will be
explained. From the theoretical point of view the system
is self-equilibrating by its internal adjustment of the
subsystems. But, in general, it may not be so empirically
because of the strains introduced and the malfunctioning of
the subsystems. The gratification obtained in each sub-
system would add greatly to the functioning of the next
subsystem in an integrated manner. To the extent tensions
are developed in a particular subsystem, they are also
passed on to the other subsystem depending upon their
hierarchical position and insulation. As subsystems they
are also independent or boundary-maintaining in character.
These considerations have some bearing on the system. Thus
we find structural constraints operating in each subsystem
because of the mechanism of the boundary-maintenance. A
look into the interdependence and boundary-maintenance
mechanisms will give a clear picture.

To begin our description with the intensity or pattern-
maintenance subsystem. Here the VBO is oriented toward getting a job with certain need-disposition from ego's point of view. From the alter point of view he has been selected for his job-suitability by way of histrionic talents, rural background, education, capacity for endurance, aptitude for development work. From the ego point of view it is the gratification for rewards that he works. From the alter point of view it is the capacity of skills that he possesses which are important. Both points of view would merge if the VBO shows a high performance capacity for which he is trained. That is he will have his rewards. That means he is highly goal-oriented and for this he gets his rewards. But this goal-orientation should not be at somebody's expense. As a member of the Integrative subsystem, i.e. as a member of the bureaucratic organization, he should keep to the norms of the subsystem. Because he is highly goal-oriented he should not be insubordinate to his superior officer. Within the limits that he keeps his normative orientations to the Integration subsystem, he could have high goal-orientation. Again as a part of the goal-orientation, he cannot undo the village social structure by all means. He must be persuasive and friendly rather than imposing and unfriendly. Because he has been charged with the task of alleviating the problems of villagers he could not simply merge his identity with them but should keep his distinction
as a non-member. Moreover, he cannot help only rich peasants because through them only he could get results quickly, he should also meet to the needs of the poor and landless. Thus everywhere the structural limitations for his action are evident.

Then again there is interdependence. His job-satisfaction is based on his performance skills, his regular rewards, and appreciation, etc. For this his orientations in the integration subsystem should be smooth. The more he could coordinate in the integration subsystem, the more he could help the villagers in their tasks. The more he is accepted by the villagers the more he would be appreciated in the integration subsystem. The more he is integrated the more will be his job-satisfaction. This will reinforce his ego's point of view and his native calibre. The entire system works as a unit, interdependent with its parts and at the same time exclusive in their own right. The stable interaction between the subsystems would upset if the VLS were to show preference for this subsystem or that or to put it in another, if the subsystems were to bring pressure in exclusion to the others, the system would be affected. The motivational orientations and the structural categories of the subsystem should be integrated in a systemic manner. At least so, the theory assumes.
By having recourse to our theoretical model we have deliberately opted for the analytical composition of the actor's role as a system. With the help of the model we dissect the components and find out the interrelationships, their congruity and distinctness. And at a higher level we will try to understand the constitution of role and the different impingements on its functioning, the role-conflict in the actor, and possibly the mechanisms for reducing the tensions in the actor's role system. With this theoretical appreciation of the role system, let us proceed to study the interaction of VLN and the rural social structure in the perspective of planned change.

We suggested above that VLN's adaptive cell is related to the social structure of the village. In fact, the cell suggests the normative orientations of the VLN in dealing with the social structure. There is one-to-one relationship between what we termed as adaptive cell of the VLN and the categories of social structure of the village such as economy, polity, stratification and values and tradition. The sub-cell representing existential interpretation is related to the village social structure in terms of tradition and values. The moral evaluative task categorization is related to the stratification aspect of the social structure. Expressive task interpretation is related to the polity or panchayat system. The adaptation
cell is related to the cooperatives in general and agriculture in particular. Thus there is one-to-one relationship.

In the last chapter reference was made to the developmental institutions like panchayats. More will be said of cooperatives in the next chapter. As we have seen in the panchayats, the landed castes occupied the places of position. And we will see in the next chapter, the cooperatives have also been occupied by landed castes. Thus the new institutional framework is dominated by the landed castes. They have become politically and economically powerful in controlling the affairs of the village. Despite the much fanfare, the land reforms could not make much headway, thus leaving the social structure and especially the stratification system untouched.

If stratification were to be defined as possession of facilities and power, the village social structure is as it were even after the new development plans. As such, what are the implications for the role of VLD?

As we emphasize above, the VLD is a representative of the constituting system. He is charged with the task of raising food production, rationalizing through panchayats, cooperatives and through social education. But the stratification system is as it were—-he has to come to grips with the situation.
The workload of the VLN is high enough not to allow him to concentrate on any one thing. But as time passed on, he turned out to be a consultant on agriculture alone. As system imperative is hanging on him like a sword, he is forced to meet only the landed people in the villages to meet his job requirements. Thus we see his neglecting of meeting other lower castes, agricultural labourers, artisans, etc. Out of 573 respondents, in the group of tenant cultivators 76% gave assent that the VLN had met them and in the agricultural labourers group 48% only gave assent that the VLN had met them only once. In the category of agricultural labourers they are more respondents who were not met by the VLN at least once. Even in the case of artisans, the percentage is 48 suggesting that the overwhelming number of them have not been met by the VLN.

What is the type of assistance received by these respondents from the VLN? Out of the total, 54 per cent of the respondents obtained help in one form or other. From this group 63% received instructions on improved methods, 53% received fertilisers, 56% seeds, 56% information about loans, 44% obtained vet's services, 32% pesticides, 66 poultry and fingerlings and 25 other services.24

As we see from the sample study, the VLN has turned

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24 For this sample study of respondents, see MITHA TEAM REPORT, pp.104-105.
into an agricultural consultant rather than a multi-
purpose agent. In the process he lost the quality of the
change agent. As we see in the table No.3, where a cross-
section of the blocks in the entire country was taken, the
picture emerging out of the sample is that VLW is singularly
committed to agriculture and its other ancillary works. Also
in the same breath he is confronted with the problem of
stubborn social structure, even reinforced with the addition
of new institutions such as cooperatives and panchayats.
He almost became subservient to the dictates of the new
"elite" in the developmental institutions. The interaction
of the predominantly agricultural consultant VLW and the
fortified social stratification produced the process of
transitional anomie. In the subsequent sections this
phenomenon is investigated.

Rumblings of Transitional Anomie: In this section, the
beginnings of transitional anomie are suggested, leaving its
detailed approach for a succeeding chapter. What are the
issues involved in this process? On one side we see the
VLW bound hand and foot to the bureaucratic organization.
On another side we find the formidable social structure
confronting with him. As we go deep into the social
structure, the blocks are too many to allow smooth change.
The elite is entrenched in the positions of power. What-
with the changes are coming they are able to absorb for
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Block</th>
<th>Alipur (Delhi)</th>
<th>Nowahal</th>
<th>Goher</th>
<th>Benejir (Punjab)</th>
<th>Palladam (Madras)</th>
<th>Burnpur (N. B.)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of villages</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>in the charge of VLDs</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
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Table No. 3. Percentage of time spent by VLDs on various development activities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Alipur (Delhi)</th>
<th>Rohanagar (Punjab)</th>
<th>Gosaberganj (U.P.)</th>
<th>Nellore</th>
<th>Palladam (Madras)</th>
<th>Burnpur (W.B.)</th>
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<td>(Education)</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Revenue Work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-</td>
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their own benefit. Although, the VLs are recruited for the background, viz., by way of rural background, stamina, aptitude for development work, histrionic talents, etc., the recruitment criteria are not uniform throughout the country. Some have been recruited from revenue department and some were recruited from the open market. It is the same case with the officials of the block also. In spite of protestations to the contrary, that revenue department approach to problems of development should not be used, because of their orientations to revenue work earlier, it has become difficult to undo it and hence the same approach is maintained such as boss-subordinate relations and taking all work as administrative work passing orders from the top.

The motivations of the VLs too are varied and different persons have joined this corps for different reasons.\textsuperscript{25} Moreover the training period idealism is not to be found in practice.\textsuperscript{26} Thus we find the absence of complementarity in the interactive situations due to differential motivations, expectations, backgrounds, orientations, and finally differential situations in the name of social


\textsuperscript{26}See COMMITTEE ON TRAINING, p.15.
structure. In the previous chapter we mentioned the participation problem is a function of social structure and hence our approach in determining the transitional anomic should also be directed in this direction. If there are motivational inadequacies coupled with structural constraints we call it non-participation and hence it is transitional anomic referring to its transitory nature.

When the new improved method is accepted at its ideational level we do not see the same in practical level. Thus we find peasants consuming the seeds which are meant for sowing. The village lanes are paved but not maintained. The medicines supplied by the VLM is utilized in times of emergency but a faith has not developed in the efficiency of the medicines given by the VLM. Novelty is accepted under pressure from kin and other peer groups but forgotten sooner or later. Fertilisers are used either in over or under doses. The VLM is given appointment but the peasants would not keep to it.27 Thus we find inadequate motivation toward the development activity. Compared to this some problems are cognitive. The idea of medicine chest is not properly publicized. The training centre idealism in the VLM is absent. The recruitment of VLMs is made on

27 See J. C. John, Katit, pp. 136, 74, 74-75, 136, 64, 192 and 205-206 for these examples.
criteria other than the job-requirements. Thus we find the departmental VLS more practical lacking idealism which is required for bringing in the changes. Those who have higher educational qualifications are a failure. Thus there are cognitive problems which could be rectified.

Another aspect is one of inadequate development of interaction pattern between the VLS, the official hierarchy, and the villagers. When there is a problem, the elite run to the higher authorities, because of political connections, rather than approaching the VLS who is recalcitrant. Tactlessly the officers denounce the VLS in front of the villagers and issue threats. The villagers think that whatever the government think is alright for them. Thus there is inadequate interaction pattern amongst the role-set players.

The most predominant of all the problems is one of structural constraints for action. The focus is made here mostly on the role of VLS, as intra-structural if the constraint is there in the bureaucratic organization, and inter-structural if the constraint is existing in the clientele system as well as bureaucratic system.

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23Ibid., pp.67, 165, 171 and 172.
29Ibid., pp.135, 168 and 196.
officers say that the entire block staff is a family like Hindu joint family, but in practice they behave in a different way. The officers rebuke them in the open meetings in the public. The evaluation of success is differently estimated by the VLWs and the officers. Targets cannot be formulated by the VLWs except by the officers. There is a general lack of cooperation from the officials, especially lack of freedom of speech.\textsuperscript{30}

From the clientele side such constraints are observable. In the night schools, daughters-in-law cannot come to the classes because of their subordinate status before begetting children and afterwards the daily chores do not let them to go to the school. For any smooth functioning the intercaste rivalry comes in the way. The villagers evaluate the success of the VLW in terms of their caste identification.\textsuperscript{31} After identifying the infrastructural constraints in both the clientele system and the bureaucratic system, let us proceed to identify the inter-structural constraints.

When the medical supplies were exhausted, new supplies were not rushed in time. The elites of the village and the officers of the block identify with each other.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., pp.175, 170, 169, 168, 169.

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., pp.136, 133 and 161.
for political reasons. Panchayat secretaries feel jealous of the position of the VLN and put blocks in the way of smooth functioning. The caste supervisors who are expected to coordinate their functions with the VLN are often identifying themselves with the elites of the village for reasons of prestige. Leaders of the factions make it impossible to work in the village. The new elite viz., those who command positions of power in the new institutions, treat VLN as servants. Thus we find inter- and intra-structural constraints which inhibit the action of VLN.

So the transitional anomie here consists of the factors of structural constraints and inadequate motivations and inter-active patterns. Thus we find on one side the formidable social structure represented by the new elite and on the other the bureaucracy of the officials of the block. As an intermediary variety we find ignorance, distorted cognition of problems from both sides. As this process continues, the variables involved also strengthen causing further discontinuities in the interaction. This will have a tell-tale effect on the development work. From this milieu of transitional anomie there arise role-types of VLN as modes of orientation to this situation. In the

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Ibid., pp. 74-75, 140, 175, 174, 173.
next section the problem of emerging role-types is discussed in the background of transitional anomie.

Emerging Role-types During Transitional Anomie: What is the effect of transitional anomie on the role of VLN's? How does it affect the individual roles of the VLN's? Strictly from the point of view of our theoretical model we defined transitional anomie as the product of disjointed subsystems in the role-system. Within this framework an attempt will be made to classify the role-types that are emerging from this process. This is done with reference to the motivational orientations of identity of the VLN's. If the motivational orientation of the VLN is strictly related to the ego-accomplishment and rewards, it is tagged as ego-oriented. The opposite of this is tagged as 'system-oriented'. If the VLN is highly oriented toward toward his bureaucratic organization, he is tagged as ethno-centric. If the VLN is highly oriented towards his clientele, i.e. the villagers, then it is tagged as zeno-centric. All these role-types are, again, related to the overall goals of the system. The problem is posed: if the VLN is highly system-goal oriented what are the structural constraints? Or if the VLN is highly ego-oriented what happens to the systemic goal? and so on.

The immediate source of material for such a classification is the work of National Institute of commu-
This work classifies the VLWs into three groups such as: i) role-players, ii) role-rejectors, and iii) role-seekers. The study was concerned with 15 VLWs. They are classified into i) five, ii) three, and iii) seven, groups. Whatever may be the classification given in the work, we will try to reclassify them according to our theoretical perspective as given in the role model use. According to the Institute's evaluation, the role-players are perfectly adjusted to the norms of the bureaucratic organization, the people's needs and perfectly in harmony with the system's needs. The role-rejectors are fully and completely out of gear with the system's needs, the villagers, and the organization and hence are termed as rejecters of role. And the third category, the role-seekers, is still grooving in the dark not knowing the orientations. This evaluation is grossly inadequate and highly loaded. Hence a re-evaluation is required with the same available material.

To begin with, the role-players are reclassified as ego-oriented VLWs. The emphasis is as "adaptive-expectations" from the model. For them the entire framework of

development is a field for personal advancement. Consequently there is no orientation to systemic needs. They "paddle" both the block staff and the villagers at times to pursue their ends. The Institute's evaluation is

"The members of this group in different degrees possess the understanding necessary to soft paddle (sic!) on occasion either the block or the village or the other time to indicate their preference with either, upon controversial issues. They also accept the initiative of others. That some of their activities are initiated by the block, some by the villagers, and some by themselves is indicative of their general flexibility. But whatever the source or origin of a particular activity, before taking any important steps, they endeavour to involve other parties and secure their cooperation."

As far as this group is concerned they balance the block staff on one side and the villagers on the other and see that their hands are on the top. Understandably, they are smart, active and bold. So typically they have faith in the programme and they feel satisfied in the job. The passage clearly denotes how these VLAs avoid "controversial issues" and they get away with it. They hurt no one and everyone is pleased with them. Their understanding with the project staff is cordial. The villagers feel satisfied with their performance.

35 See the typical comments: Block Official: "He brings proposals and discusses with us." "He sometimes takes time before accepting our orders." VLA: "I do not commit myself to the villagers unless I am sure the block can fulfill my promise." "I inform the villagers and then allow enough time for them to discuss and decide." Villager: "He frequently meets, discusses, and hears all of us." Ibid., p. 119.
This group ritualistically plays the norms of each

This group ritualistically plays the norms of each
group and keeps them satisfied and always sees that others are
group and keeps them satisfied and always sees that others are
committed before action is taken. This is what may be
called "playing the tune." So everyone is satisfied. There
called "playing the tune." So everyone is satisfied. There
are no controversial issues. So there is the reinforcing
are no controversial issues. So there is the reinforcing
faith in each other's performance. There is no wonder
faith in each other's performance. There is no wonder
that this group can do what others could not do because of
that this group can do what others could not do because of
the non-controversial issues they bring forth and insti-
the non-controversial issues they bring forth and insti-
tutionally playing the tune to the others.
tutionally playing the tune to the others.

In the period of transitional anomie, this type of
In the period of transitional anomie, this type of
incumbents thrive better than others because of the non-
incumbents thrive better than others because of the non-
controversial issues they tackle and avoid scrupulously the
controversial and consequently the real consequential
controversial and consequently the real consequential
issues. Because of this one can say, "there is nothing in
issues. Because of this one can say, "there is nothing in
my work which I dislike."
my work which I dislike."

A look into their frustrations ill give a real
A look into their frustrations ill give a real
picture of their intentions. As they are really ego-oriented
picture of their intentions. As they are really ego-oriented
their frustrations are related to the conditions relating
to the personal advancement. Their frustrations are related to the conditions relating
to the personal advancement.

g to the personal advancement.

36VLS: "I could do what many others could not do." Block
VLS: "I could do what many others could not do." Block
Official: "We have acknowledged him as our best VLS."
Official: "We have acknowledged him as our best VLS."
Villager: "Of all the VLSs the village has had experience
Villager: "Of all the VLSs the village has had experience
with, he is our best."
with, he is our best."

37Ibid.

38Frustrations: "The pay, working conditions and physical
Frustrations: "The pay, working conditions and physical
facilities fail to reward the hard work we put in." There
facilities fail to reward the hard work we put in." There
are no future prospects for a good VLS in the programme"
are no future prospects for a good VLS in the programme"
"I cannot pay any attention to my family and family
"I cannot pay any attention to my family and family
affairs." Ibid. Emphasis added.
Their frustrations give a real clue to their quality of work they put in. As far as personal advancement is concerned, there is nothing which can stop them. But what are the real issues involved in a development programme? If it is so easy to get on with villagers and if the villagers could accept the programmes at that level of WLA's "social mixing", by now, India would have been a different country. But unfortunately such a type of social mix up and personality-projectors, could not bring in changes in the village social structure. For them the ruling slogans are "rewards" and "future prospects." The life, itself, is a wondrous thing. From our role-model, their orientation lies in "rewards," but at the same time they keep the stable equilibrium in the stable condition. So "God is in heaven and all is well with the world." Hence they are ego-oriented.

Compared to this group, the so-called role-rejectors are highly goal-oriented and they try sincerely toward this end. But in the process they encounter the structural constraints everywhere. They find on one hand, constraints from the block staff and on the other hand they find resistance from the villagers in accepting the new. Thus, because of their extremely high-goal orientation, they are at a loss to know what to do with the structural constraints placed in front of them. Thus they
have become sulk s. The frustration pattern in this group
is related to the goal-orientation expectations. 39 Understandably from this frustration, comes the block staff's evaluation of the VLP. The complaining nature which is again the mores of the hierarchy in bureaucracy is evident 40. By becoming sulk s due to the structural obstacles this group ignores the block-meetings, contacts and communications. As the integrative expectations are weakened, so the block staff accuses this group of neglect and insubordination. Likewise as they find the ignorance, stubbornness and resistance of the villagers in accepting a programme, the villagers too accuse this lot, as an official puts it, that they have "no effective contacts with the villagers or with the block staff." 41 Hence for them the future of the programme is "dread" and with "no hope." As they have intense goal-orientation, they find it extremely difficult to pass through structural constraints which they encounter. Nevertheless they are system-oriented.

39VLP: "This is no job for me, I cannot bear any more
the dual standards and hypocrisy of the block staff who
talk of a family team and service to the people while,
all the time, act and behave in just the opposite way.
I am going to resign as soon as I complete my time-bond." Ibid., p.121. Emphasis added.

40Block Officials: "I used threat of resignation
against urging greater efforts." Ibid.

41Ibid., p.122.
Apart from these two polar types, the other two fall under intermediate types. One type out of these two is named as ethno-centric: they have no perspective in which they are working. Their vision does not reach beyond the immediate range. They have no goals and no clientele. Hence they are institutional conformists: "I do whatever I am told." "Whatever the superior officer think and say, must be, and is, the only just and right thing for me to do."\(^{42}\) The emphasis is on the integrative expectations rather than adaptive expectations. Hence these are termed as ethno-centric. In contrast to these are the VILs termed under zeno-centric.

These are the VILs who are termed as zeno-centric. With this group the boundary does virtually disappear. For them the village life is an ideal. They exhibit "pseudo-missionary view of village life." They seem to be busy but accomplishing nothing. From the point of view of our model the emphasis on the existential interpretation of village life. The clientele and their ways of life are more important. They identify themselves with the clientele thus losing their boundary which makes them distinct as change agents and friends of the village people. Thus they are zeno-centric.

\(^{42}\)Ibid.
These four role-types, reclassified from the three, are symptomatic of the transitional anomie. The first is one of adaptation to the conditions available without reference to the systemic needs. The second is frustrated due to high goal-orientation expectations, headed by two sides viz., officialdom on one and the villagers on the other. The third type is institutional conformist type whose emphasis lies in the integrative expectations of the bureaucratic organizations. The fourth type belongs to the category of zero-centric whose emphasis lies in the existential interpretation of the clientele, thus relinquishing the system-goal.

Appraisal of the Model: The model is useful in evaluating the different analytical components of action in the role of VLN. By giving systemic connotations, we were able to pin-point the structural blocks and constraints in the smooth functioning of the role. We were also aware of the subsystem dependence and independence. With this we traced the structural incompatibility and showed the way to anomie. Even it helped us to classify the role-types emerging out of this transitional anomie.

From this point of view, it seems probable, the model is mostly useful in occupational roles where there is set of orientating organization with goals and a set
of a clientele who are expected to consume the products or interact with the roleplayers.

The creation of VILS is unique in the context of development plans in India. He is the last official who is entrusted with the task of raising the food production from the system's point of view. But, unfortunately, the intricacies of the situation devoured his energies, and consequently he has become an automaton in the rural social structure grooving and sometimes coming to grips with the problems of development. He failed in his role of creating an action element in the name of the constituting system, viz., in terms of national plans, in the motivational structure of the peasant to raise the food production. The failure is also symptomatic of the nature of institutional change in India.

Simply economic approach is installed, in the hope that the peasant would accept the new improved methods if only he comes to know that he will be benefited. There is certain miscalculation in this approach. For that matter, the peasants have accepted the efficacy of the new method, i.e. to say that at value level it has been accepted, but the same cannot be said of practical level. The peasant encounters difficulties in adopting the new improved methods.
For example he complains, as we have seen, that he has to waste his time in carefully preparing the seed-bed which he has no inclination to, that he has to mix medicine with seeds before sowing (quite often not knowing why). In this situation of acceptance at value level and not practising it in work situations, what is needed in India is a study of working habits of the peasants. Unless this is undertaken the resistance towards accepting new methods will not gain understanding. By the study of working habits and other bodily movements, one could easily pin-point the difficulty in adopting the new improved technique.

The case in point in this connection is addition of vitamins to the rice. The housewife, who is in the habit of weeding out foreign objects, such as black stones, weed-bits, seeds of grass and cereals, from the rice, by colour-perception, weeded out yellow granules of vitamins added to rice and threw them away thus nullifying the effect of adding vitamins which would have otherwise been beneficial to the family. If they were added as white rice granules they would have been accepted by the housewife who is often illiterate to know the intricacies of vitamin therapy.

A beginning could be made in the direction of making the new methods acceptable. The function of intricate mixing of fertilizers could usefully be transferred to the housewife
who has left hands and patience. In the meanwhile the
preparation of delicate seed-beds also could be entrusted
to women. And whenever seed-beds are made, it should be a
wise practice to encourage the neighbours also to do at the
same time. This will help the acceptance as well as forgetting
the monotony and the unpleasantness.

Resume: The VIL is conceived as a multipurpose agent as
well as a change agent. He is entrusted with the task of
raising agricultural production. He is a system's representa-
tive. As a representative of the system, he failed to arouse
the villager to the task of increasing agricultural production.
As an agent of change, he is also entrusted with the task of
building rural institutions such as panchayats and cooperatives
to help raise the food production. As he encountered with
rural attitudes and values, he could not succeed further as
expected. Moreover, the rural social structure by its power
equation quite often thwarted the attempts of the VIL to
bring in useful changes in village social structure other than
the one's which are beneficial to the landed castes. The
factions and feuds, and the caste rivalries escalated his
despondency. Caught between the official hierarchy and the
rural social structure, the role degenerated into several
types with locus outside the role itself. The stubborn
institutional structure of the rural social system and hard-
pressing officials.exe created a situation of impasse for the VIL.

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